SYNOPSIS PAPISMI,

THAT IS,

A GENERALL VIEW OF PAPISTRIE: WHEREIN THE WHOLE MYSTERIE OF INIQVITIE, AND SVMME OF ANTICHRISTIAN DOCTRINE IS SET downe, which is maintained this day by the Synagogue of Rome, against the Church of Christ:

TOGETHER WITH AN ANTITHESIS OF THE TRVE CHRISTIAN FAITH, AND AN ANTIDOTVM OR COVNTERPOYSON OVT OF SCRIPTVRE, AGAINST the whore of Babylons filthie cuppe of abominations:

CONFVTED BY SCRIPTVRES, FATHERS, COVNCELS, IMPERIALL CONSTITVTIONS, PONTIFICIALL *decrees, their owne Writers, and our Martyrs.*

DIVIDED INTO FIVE BOOKES OR CENTVRIES, that is, so many hundreds of Popish heresies and errors.

NOW THIS THIRD TIME PERVSED AND published by the former Author, and augmented with a fift hundred of errors, and other necessarie additions, to be seene in the end of the Preface.

1. CORINTH. 11. 9.
There must be heresies, that they which are approued amongst you, might be knowne.

TITVS. 3. 10.
A man that is an heretike, after the first and second admonition, auoyde.

AVG. DE VERA RELIG. CAP. 6.
Ecclesia Catholica vtitur gentibus ad materiam operationis suæ, hæreticis ad probationem doctrinæ suæ, schismaticis ad documentum stabilitatis suæ: alios inuitat, alios excludit, alios relinquit, omnibus tamen gratiæ Dei participandæ dat potestatem: sunt illi informandi adhuc, siue reformandi, siue recolligendi sunt.
The true Catholike Church doth vse the Gentiles as matter to worke vpon, heretikes for the triall of their doctrine, schismatikes to proue their constancie: the first she inuiteth, the second she excludeth, the third she leaueth, yet to them all she offereth the grace of God: in instructing the Gentiles, reforming of heretikes, and bringing home again schismatikes.

AT LONDON
Imprinted by FELIX KYNGSTON, for THOMAS MAN, dwelling in Pater noster row at the signe of the Talbot. 1600.

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down, which is maintained daily by the Synagogue
of Rome, against the Church of
Christ.

TOGETHER WITH AN ANTITHESIS OF THE TRVE
CHRISTIAN FAITH, AND AN ANTIDOTVM OR
CONFVTATION OUT OF SCRIPTVRES, AGAINST
the whole of Papisticall corrupt
doctrine.

CONVEYED BY SCRIPTVRES, FATHERS, COVN
cels, Imperiall constitvtions, Pontificiall
decrees, &c.

DIVIDED INTO FIVE BOOKES OR CENTVRIES,
according to the Popish Hierarchie

Imprinted by PERRY KYNGSTON, for THOMAS MAN,
dwelling on Paul's wharf, at the signe of the
Talbot. 1600.

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TO THE RIGHT VERTVOVS, MOST EXCELLENT AND NOBLE PRINCESSE QVEENE ELIZABETH OVR DREAD SOVERAIGNE, BY THE grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith, &c.

CHriſt Ieſus, the Prince of Princes, by whom Kings and Queenes do raigne, who hath put the royall Scepter into your princelie hand, vnder him to gouerne his people righteouſlie, graunt your Maieſtie long to ſit, and many happie yeares ſtill to raigne ouer vs in all godlines and peace, to his glorie, your endleſſe comfort, and the true ioy of all your ſubiects.

Moſt gracious and dread Soueraigne, I haue preſumed now this third time, to preſent this generall treatiſe to your ſacred Maieſtie: wherein is contained the whole ſumme of that holy faith, and religion, which your Highnes maintaineth, and the Church of England profeſſeth, which your royall Scepter vpholdeth, and this Chriſtian Realme beleeueth. *Moſes* built vnto the Lord a tabernacle of tents; *Salomon* reared a temple made with hands: God hath raiſed vp your Maieſtie to build him a ſpirituall houſe, to reforme religion, and to reſtore the

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Esay 58.12. ruines thereof: as the Prophet *Isay* saith, *Vocaberis instaurator ruinæ, & restitutor semitarum:* You shall be called a repayrer of the breaches, and a restorer of the decayed pathes: As by *Moses* rod, *Elishas* staffe, *Zorobabels* stone of tinne; so by your Highnes Scepter hath the Lord wrought wonders in this nation.

The Prophet *Dauid* maketh these three the supporters of Princes Psalm 45.4. thrones, *Veritie, Clemencie, Equitie*: as he thus sweetly singeth: *Prosper with thy glorie, ride on, because of the word of* truth, *of* meekenes, *of* righteousnesse. These whether as the brasen oxen, that held vp the sacred Lauer in the Temple, or the yuorie Lyons that supported *Salomons* Kingly seate, or as the fierie horse that drew *Eliahs* chariot, are the maintainers and vpholders of the Princely state: by these your royall Throne was first *erected*, and is still *maintained*, and shall for euer be *preserued*.

One thus commendeth the chastitie of *Teuta* Queene of Illyricum, Hieron. lib. 1. aduers. Iouinian. *Teuta Illyricorum regina, vt longo tempore viris fortissimis imperaret miraculo meruit castitatis: Teuta* by her miraculous chastitie obtained, that she a long time a valiant people gouerned. The same thus writeth of *Moses* Hieron. ad Theophil. clemencie: *Omnium mansuetissimus prædicatur, & ideo per* 40. *annos principatum obtinuit: Moses* is reported to haue been a man of a most meeke spirit, and therefore his gouernment continued fortie yeeres. Another thus writeth of the singular temperance of the good Emperour *Valenti-* Ambros. orat. funeb. in Valentin. *nian: Etiam ludo iuuentutis putauit abstinendum:* He in his sporting youth vsed to abstaine. And againe, *Cœpit ita frequentare ieiunium, vt plerunque ipse impransus conuiuium solenne suis comitibus exhiberet:* He vsed so often to abstaine, that when he feasted his Nobles, he himselfe fasted. If these three vertues then, *Chastitie, Clemencie, Abstinencie*, as shining Diamonds adorne the Princely dignitie, and as most stedfast props vphold their regall authoritie; we do well see them all (I speake not with flatterie, but that God may haue the glorie) with a long and prosperous raigne by the Lordes mercie crowned in your princely Maiestie.

But among all other Princely vertues, and royall ornaments, these doe shine as Starres, and glister like precious stones set in golde, *Clemencie* and *Pietie:* the one in *Humane* matters, the other in *Diuine:* that toward the inferior *communaltie*, this toward the supreame and highest *Maie-* Lib. 2. offic. c. 7 *stie*. For the first, *Dauid* is set forth as an example, of whom *Ambrose* saith, *Diligi à subiectis, quam timeri malunt:* He had rather be affected of his subiects, then feared: the same author also thus reporteth of the good De obit. Theodos. Emperour *Theodosius, Maluit sibi homines religione, quam timore astringere;* He had rather binde men by true deuotion, then by a fearefull disposi- Cod. lib. 5. tit. 16. leg. 27. tion: the Emperour *Iustinian* is much commended for his saying; *Nihil tam peculiare imperialis maiestatis, quam humanitas, per quam sola Dei seruatur imitatio:* Nothing so well beseemeth the Imperiall *Maiestie*, as princely

princely *Humanitie*, wherein only is seene the imitation of the *Deitie*. This diuine qualitie to haue raigned in your *Maiestie*, all your louing subiects with all thankes do acknowledge, and your Highnes whole realme to the glorie of God, and the comfort of all Christian nations hath had most ioyfull experience. We may more truely pronounce of these dayes, then he, which first spake the words, *Nemo iam dicunt Augustum, nec Tiberij Cæsaris prima tempora loquitur*: No man needs now to wish for *Augustus* moderate raigne, or for *Tiberius Cæsars* first gentle daies: he further saith; *Conditum immo strictum apud te ferrum est, summa parsimonia etiam vilissimi sanguinis*: The sword lieth by you shut vp, nay bound in his scabberd, the vilest blood is spared: he is bolde yet to say more; *Difficile hoc esset si non naturalis ista bonitas fuisset; nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam*: This had been very hard, but that this goodnes is in you by nature; for no man can long faine another person. He was much deceiued that first vttered this: for he much altered from that he was, to whom he thus writeth, being soone changed from Clemencie to crueltie, of a mercifull Emperor, he became eftsoones a beastly persecutor. But we may more truely say, hauing a most sweet taste of your Highnes benignitie, now more then fortie yeeres, a person assumed cannot be long continued: this must needs be not onely a naturall *inclination*, but a spirituall and gracious *disposition*.

Seneca lib. 1. de clement. ad Neronem.

What though some contrarie spirits complaine of *Crueltie*, because some haue suffered in *Equitie*, for that, which they haue offered and attempted in treacherie? As one of them boldly stepped forth, and as impudently saith, *That the rage of the Calumnists* (he meanoth Protestants) *in few yeares haue consumed more Catholikes* (he should say Papists) *then there haue suffered Protestants among them*: which is a most slaunderous vntruth, and vniust accusation: your Maiestie may call heauen and earth to record, against these false witnesses: All Christian nations can *testifie*, this whole Land is able the same to *iustifie*, that none of them by your Highnes godly lawes haue dyed for *Religion*, but for their *Rebellion*, not for their *Profession*, but their *Practising*, not for *Contempt* of the truth, but their *Attempts* against the State. God be blessed for this peaceable gouernment, and *Alcyon* dayes, and long may this Land enioy your princely light, and your louing subiects the beames of your Highnes fauour, that as in the comfortable Sun-shine, we may still walke and refresh our selues in the brightnes thereof, and that to whom they haue inclined, they may yet incline more: And as *Iehu* said to *Iehonadab*, *Is thine heart vpright, as my heart is toward thee? and Iehonadab answered, yea it is: then giue me thine hand, and when he had giuen him his hand, he take him vp to him into the chariot*: So such faithfull *Iehonadabs* whole hearts are right, God send many to your Maiestie, as he hath, and yet doth; to whom your Highnes may still extend the right hand of fauour. God graunt that your faithfull subiects

Bellarm. lib. 3. de Roman. pontif. c. 7.

2. King. 10. 15.

both high and lowe, may long liue vnder the ſhadow of your princely fauour, and may ſtill reioyce, as the chirping birds in the branches of a ſpreading tree, in the defence of your proſperous ſtate: and as to the ſtone of tinne in *Zorobabels* hand, ſo to Gods Scepter vpon your princely ſhoulder, with ſhoutings may crie *grace, grace vnto it:* and as he ſaith, *Vt te procedente, tanquam ad clarum & beneficum ſydus certatim aduolent:* And at your Highnes comming forth, your louing people may ſtill flocke vnto you, as to a benigne and comfortable aſpect of Starres.

Zach.4.7.10.

Stuer.lib.1. de clim.c.3.

Concerning the ſecond princely ornament of Pietie and true Religion, there can be nothing, whereby Imperiall ſtates are more ſafely preſerued, and the princely throne more ſurely eſtabliſhed: as the Lord himſelfe ſaith, of that thrice vertuous King *Ioſias: Did he not eate and drinke and proſper, when he executed iudgment? and was not this becauſe he knew me ſaith the Lord?* That ſaying is excellent which is inſerted into the lawe: *Nihil eſt quod lumine clarius præfulgeat quam recta fides in principe, nihil eſt, quod ita nequeat caſui ſubiacere quam vera religio.* There is nothing, that ſhineth more brightly in a Prince, then the right faith, nothing leſſe caſuall, then true religion. Among all other honors, which God hath vouchſafed to your highnes, this is the greateſt, that he hath made you a nurſing mother to his Church, a chiefe patroneſſe of the Goſpell, and a defender of the true faith: How may your Maieſtie reioyce in this, yea and all true Chriſtians through the world haue cauſe to ioy therein, that by the Goſpell (ſet forth by your authoritie) ſo many ſoules are conuerted to God, that ſhould otherwiſe haue periſhed in ignorance; ſo many liues ſaued, that ſhould haue beene loſt for the defence of the trueth; ſo many hereſies diſcouered, wherewith the world hath beene deluded: So that in this behalfe we may wel ſay of your Maieſty as the wiſe man in the Prouerbes, *Many daughters haue done vertuouſlie, but you ſurmount them all:* and as *Ambroſe* of noble *Theodoſius: Eſt in alijs quoque laudabilis, tamen apex tuorum operum pietas ſemper fuit:* Although in other things you are moſt commendable, yet your pietie is the grace of all your workes.

Iere.22.15.16.

Cod.lib.1.tit.1. leg.4.

Prou.30.29.

Epiſt.32. ad Theod.

God hath not forgotten your faithfull ſeruice to his Sonne Chriſt, but richlie rewarded the ſame in earth, reſeruing further an euerlaſting crowne for the ſame in heauen: from hence commeth the peace and proſperitie, the length and *diuturnitie*, the fame and magnificencie of your happie raigne: in you is fulfilled, that which was ſpoken of the Prophet *Dauid, Becauſe the King truſted in the Lord, and in the mercie of the moſt higheſt he ſhall not ſlide:* and as he propheſieth of the raigne of *Salomon: The Kings of Tarſhiſh, and of the Iles, ſhall bring preſents, the Kings of Seba and Sheba ſhall bring gifts.* In like manner hath God honoured your Highnes, making your name famous in remote Kingdomes, ſo that both Sheba from the South, and Tarſhiſh, from the Northern ſeas, doe preſent themſelues

Pſalm.21.7.

Pſalm.72.10.

before

fore your Highnes: and therefore we doubt not, but that you doe most thankfullie confesse with that Christian Emperor *Iustinian.: Per Christum iura imperij suscepimus, &c.* By Christ, we haue receiued our Empire: and again, *Faciat nos secundum voluntatem eius regere:* God graunt I may gouerne according to his will. Lib 1 Tit. 3. lex 2. Ibid. leg. 1.

But yet notwithstanding this great honour abroad, there yet remaine some disloyal persons at home, who mislike the synceritie of religion, and prefer the obscuritie of superstition, whose dazeled eyes the owle-light of Rome doth better please, than the Sun-shine of the Gospell. When the Israelites went out of Ægypt, there was not a dogge to moue the tongue against them; in the building of *Salomons* temple, the noyse of a hammer was not heard: but we since we haue left the Ægyptian darknes, are continually barked against, and the building of the spirituall temple is hindered with the noyse of contrary hammers. To stop therefore the clamour of these mouthes, and to stay the beating of these hammers: I haue brought the whole body of Papistrie in this booke into euery mans view, confuting the same, by Scriptures, Councels, Decrees, our Martyrs, and their own writers. This I thought to be my part, that as vnder your Highnes peaceable raigne, I haue grown vp to this small light and knowledge of the truth, (hauing been a simple Preacher thereof now these eighteene yeares) so, though not as a chiefe builder, yet as a seruer and vnderlabourer, I might bring somewhat toward the building of the Lords house. Exod. 11. 7.

And now it is high time (may it please your Maiestie) that euery man should arme himselfe to fight for, and defend the truth: seeing, as serpents, when the sunne beginneth to decline, creepe out of their holes, so, many false seed-men in this colde and declining age of the world, are dispersed in corners to corrupt Religion, and to sowe false doctrine. They imagine that Religion was but the heate of your Maiesties youth, who shall well vnderstand, that the Lord hath made you, as the Cedars of Libanus, that are tall, and stoope not, greene and flourishing, and fade not, and one of those of whom the Prophet speaketh: *Adhuc abundabunt in canitie,* They shall bring forth more fruite in their age. Now then it behooueth your Maiestie to be bolde in Christs cause, to proceede in your most Christian course, to confirme what is decaying, to remoue what is letting, to supplie what is wanting in Gods house: as *Ambrose* well saith, *Non in principijs perfecta quaeruntur, sed de principijs, ad ea quae perfecta sunt peruenitur:* In the beginning we seeke not perfection, but from the beginning we proceede to perfection. And the same Father else where asking the question, why God in the creation as soone as he had made the creatures, *ornatus congruos non dedit,* did not produce them with their ornaments, as the Heauen with Starres, the earth with flowers, giueth this answere: *Imitatores nos sui Deus esse voluit vt prius faciamus aliquid, postea venustemus:* which Psalm. 92. 15.

 especiallie

Heuenter lib.1 cap.7. especiallie may be applied to Princes: that they herein should be like vnto God, first to lay the foundation, then to adde perfection, first to produce the creature, then to giue it his feature: as in a beautifull picture, first the lineaments are described, then the ornaments added. If either your Maiesties earth, that is the ciuill administration want flowers, or the Heauenly State starres, and shining ornaments, your Highnes is to play Gods part in earth to supplie them: The lampes of the temple waxe dim, where oyle faileth, and the Word is precious yet in many places, where the maintenance of the Ministers is short: your Princely care next vnder Gods prouidence, is onely able to helpe this, and your Maiesties most Christian desire hath therein well appeared, that the mouth of the Oxe be no Deut.25.10. more musled, that treadeth out the corne, nor the Leuite any longer constrained to serue in Micahs Iudg.17.10. house for meate and drinke and a suite of apparell. So many Foxes then would not breake into the vineyeard, if the vines wanted no keepers: neither would the enemie be so bold if euery Cantic.2.15. watchtower had his skilfull and carefull watchman. Eyzech.21.8.

But I presume too far, thus to trouble your Maiesties eares: I know not whether euer I may haue the like occasion to speake vnto your Highnes; and therefore I haue been bold thus to write: from the Lord we do hope yet for a blessing, and of your Maiestie we are perswaded all good: and we nothing doubt, but that you are resolued both to doe and say with that Cod.lib.1 tit.6 leg.42. Christian Emperour Iustinian: *Omnia, quæ ad Dei placitum fieri properamus, legibus constituere, & operibus adimplere desyderamus:* Whatsoeuer is to Gods glorie, we are readie by our lawes to *will*, and in our workes to *fulfill*.

Nothing now remaineth, but that I most humbly crauing pardon for my presumptuous boldnes, and tedious preface, doe with all Christian people commend your sacred Maiestie to Gods blessed protection: We pray as sometime the people for *Augustus Cæsar* did: *Patere illum generi humano tam diu ægro & affecto mederi; sydus hoc quod præcipitato in profundum & demerso in tenebras orbi refulsit, semper luceat:* Suffer our Prince to liue to Sentt.de brevitat.vitæ. heale and repaire the sicke and weake state of the Land, let the Starre alwaies giue light that hath shined to the world drowned in darkenes: Or as the Christians were taught to pray for their Emperour; so for your Maiestie we lift vp our voyce to Heauen: *Suis temporibus in hoc seculo cum* Concil. Rhemens.can.40. *omni felicitate custodiat Deus, & in futuro cum sanctis Angelis regnare faciat:* God keepe your Highnes with all felicitie, long to rule in this world, and in the next to raigne with Angels through Christ, Amen.

Your Maiesties most humble Subiect,

ANDREVV WILLET.

REVERENDISSIMIS IN CHRISTO PATRIBVS, D. IOANNI ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTVARIENSI, TOTIVS ANGLIÆ PRIMATI, REGINEÆ MAIESTATI A consilijs: & D. Richardo Episcopo Londinensi dioceſano ſuo; *ſalutem & pacem in Chriſto ſempiternam.*

QVod rectè ſcripſit *Hieronymus* (Reuerendiſſ. Patres) *Nolo in ſuſpicione hæreſeos quenquam eſſe patientem*; atque idem de ſe; *Meam iniuriam patienter tuli, impietatem contra Deum ferre non poſſum*: Id me ad ſcribendum impulit, atq; vt in iſto opere exornando elaborarem mihi ſtimulos addidit. Cum enim papiſtica doctrina pietati inimica ſit, & ipſum veritatis iugulum petat, & eo peior, quod ſub religionis ſpecie veram Religionem tolleret, & tanto periculoſior, quanto magis imperitis quibuſdam atque alijs ſponte cæcutientibus vulgo placeret & probaretur: Id mihi oneris non vt proprium, ſed cum alijs verbi Dei miniſtris commune incumbere credebam, vt fraudes pontificias retegerem, & dogmata omnia papiſtica in lucem proferrem, & veritatis antidotum paſſim apponerem. Iſta dum me cura exercet, prodijt primò Synopſis iſta, anguſtis concluſa finibus & breui libello comprehenſa; nunc exit tanto auctior, quanto longius ad ſui incrementum tempus nacta eſt: ex manipulo in faſciculum, ex lineis in folia, ex libello in volumen excreuit. Tribus primò centurijs Papiſmum totum complexus ſum; proxima editio quartam centuriam peperit; nunc tertiò quinta annumeratur, & neſcio an hic pontificiorum errorum finis ſit: Sicut enim cum quis à recto tramite diuertit, quo procedit longius, eò plus errat; vt bene Origenes, *Errantium à via multa differentia ſunt*; & quod crebro iactatur in ſcholis, *vno abſurdo conceſſo multa conſequuntur*: Ita papiſtica ſuperſtitio ſemel veritatis limites tranſiliens, erroris ſui modum inuenire non poteſt.

Ad Pammach. Aduerſ. Vigilant.

Tract. 27. in Matth.

Huic ſerpenti malo, & tanquam in perniciem multorum graſſanti peſti paſſim occurrendum eſt: Admonendos primò & docendos hæreticos, deinde poſt vnam vel alteram admonitionem reijciendos ſcribit Apoſtolus: hoc conſilium viri boni ſemper ſequuti ſunt, qui omni ætate hæreſibus ſui ſeculi fortiter reſtiterunt: & quamprimum nata eſt hæreſis, eam radicitus euellere cogitabant. Scripſit initio contra Baſilidis libros Agrippa; contra Marcionem hæreticum Iuſtinus Martyr; Apollinarius Hieropolitanus aduerſus Cataphrygas diſſeruit; Apollonius aduerſus Montanum; Archelaus Meſopotamiæ Epiſcopus Manichæo ſe oppoſuit; Dionyſius Alexandrinus in Paulum Samoſatenum ſurrexit; Euſtathius Antiochenus Arrianos refellit; Pacianus Nouatiano bellum indixit; Optatus Afer Donatiſtas verberat; Baſilius Cæſarienſis contra Eunomium ſcriptis pugnat; Audentius Hiſpanus Photinianis aduerſatur: Idem nobis hac ætate faciendum iudico, vt vnuſquiſque pro virili ſuo cum iſtius temporis hæreticis manus conſerat, & verbo vel ſcripto exerentis ſe hydræ caput conculcet & conterat: & vt bene Hieron. *Ad radices infructuoſæ arboris Euangelij ſecuris eſt admouenda.*

Tit. 3. 10.

Hieron. catalog. ſcriptor.

Gennad. cenſ. illuſt. ſcript.

Aduerſ. Helui dium.

In hoc opere, in recenſendis erroribus Papiſticis Bellarminum præcipue ſequutus ſum, qui dedita opera controuerſias omnes tractauit: *Quem cum vicero omnes homines ferme viciſſim, vt ait Hieronym.* Non eſt enim alius quiſquam ab illorum partibus, qui vniuerſim

Hieron. ad Domnionem.

vniuerſim & ex profeſſo omnes religionis quæſtiones percurrerit, aut tam dilucide Papiſtica dogmata propoſuerit, aut qui ſucum magis artificioſum veritati obſcurandæ offuderit. Atq; hunc ordinem mihi in toto hoc Controuerſiarum negotio tenere viſum eſt, vt primo loco aduerſaria doctrina poneretur; proximo ſuccederet veritas ſuis innixa firmamentis: quod feci Hieronymi conſilio, qui ſic ſcribit aduerſus Iouinianum,

Lib. 1. aduerſ. Iouinian. *Non moleſtum ſit lectori ſi nauſeam eius & vomitum legere compellatur, libentius Chriſti antidotum bibet, cùm diaboli venena præceſſerint.*

Nunc verò (Patres) cùm videam, quibus machinis Papiſtæ rectam fidem oppugnare, quibus technis Euangelij profeſſionem confodere, quanto molimine veram religionem euertere ſtudeant, vt ſudent, quomodo iungant dextras, quàm audaces & inuerecundi ſint, quam ſolliciti, quam indefeſſi: noſtrorum vel focordiam vituperandam, vel incuriam ſuggillandam merito quis iudicet? qui ſomno indulgemus, & nihil agimus dum inſomnes ducunt noctes aduerſarij, & nullũ quod aiunt non mouent lapidẽ, vt papiſtica repullulet & reuiuiſcat hæreſis. Hinc iam ſatis apparet, quæ aduerſantium Secta maxime noſtræ Eccleſiæ infeſta & inimica ſit; Senſerunt quidam, domeſticos hoſtes, nempe Puritanos (quos vocant) eiuſdemq; farinæ reliquos homines, plus nobis eſſe formidandos. Qui quidem mihi multum errare videntur: Quid enim illi? latrabant tantum (inquiet quis) querituli canes ad tempus; iſti mordent & lacerant voraces lupi, nec adhuc quieſcunt: illi ramuculos quoſdam & ſurculos amputare; iſti radicem ipſam euellere conantur: illi tectum & tegulas petebant; iſti ipſum fundamentum concutiunt: Illi aliquandiu moleſti, nunc veſtra aut humanitate inuitati, aut prudentia ſedati, aut ſaniori iudicio confirmati conticeſcunt: Reliqua turba toties Principis clementiam experta, argumentis euidentiſſimis conuicta, toties irritis conatibus pudefacta, exemplis diuinæ vindictæ commonita, implacabilis adhuc manet & irrequieta: in quos aptè cadit illud propheticum: *Improbi, vt mare propulſum quieſcere non poteſt, aqua eius expellunt lutum & cœnum.* Iſay. 57. 23. volitant paſſim eorum libelli, atq; etiam apud nos excuſi: quotidiè huc appellunt, & in angulis latitant olitores illi mali, quos Seminarium illud Romanum euomit, ad perniciem ſui & aliorum corruptelam. Quod ſucceſſiuè cæteri Eccleſiæ hoſtes fecerunt, primò tyrannica crudelitate ſæuientes, poſtea hæretica ſuaſione decipientes; nunc papiſtæ coniunctis viribus irruentes vtrumq; moliuntur. Bene Auguſtinus hæreticorum ſui temporis prauitatem deſcripſit in hunc modum: *Hoſtis ille noſter tunc leo fuit, cùm apertè ſæuiebat; modo Draco eſt, cùm occultè inſidiatur: ſicut patribus noſtris aduerſus leonem opus erat patientia; ſic nobis aduerſus draconem vigilantia: illo tempore cogebat Chriſtianos negare Chriſtum; iſto tempore docet Chriſtianos negare Chriſtum: apertum malum fremitus leonis à longè auditur, à longè cauetur; applicat ſe lubricus draco occultis lapſibus, ſerpens leni tractu ſurrepens, aſtuto ſibilo immurmurans, non agit, nega Chriſtum, ſed eſto Chriſtianus.* In Pſal. 58. Pontificia verò turba vtrinq; eccleſiæ Chriſti moleſtiam faceſſit, & tyrannidem leonum more exercens, vbi ſæuire licet, & aſtutum ſerpentem agens, vbi vi non præualet; vbi tormentis non eſt locus, vtuntur argumentis; vbi terrore non mouent, errore decipiunt; vbi minis non exagitant, precibus flagitant; vbi vi non compellunt, blandè *compellant*: ſi non regunt rogant: vbi violenti non ſunt, incipiunt eſſe virulenti.

Quamobrem (Domini mei) ſicut contra leonum ſæuitiam principis authoritate eccleſia munita eſt, ita aduerſus ſerpentũ aſtutiam vigilantia opus eſt veſtra, induſtria etiam requiritur noſtra: pergite igitur bonis fauere, doctos fouere, negligẽtes excitare, diligentes euocare; miſeris & oppreſſis opem ferre, fideles Euangelij miniſtros contra communem hoſtem veſtro auxilio & fauore armare; lupos papiſticos à grege dominico arcere, eorumq; conatus nefarios prohibere & irritos facere: Nemo vtilitatem ſuam veritati, aut dignitatem ſuam Chriſti honori præferat: plus valere debet apud nos fidei amor, quam honoris decor: gloriæ Chriſti cedant humani tituli: vt bene Hieron. *Quemadmodum in legionibus & exercitu duces ſunt, tribuni, centuriones, ſed commiſſa pugna vacant dignitatum nomina, & ſola fortitudo quæritur; ita in hoc campo & prælio, quo contra Dæmones dimicamus, non quæruntur nomina, ſed opera; & glorioſior ille ſub Chriſto Imperatore eſt, non qui nobilior, ſed qui fortior.* Lib. 1. aduerſ. Iouinian.

Nunc vno verbo dicam, quid in hoc opere præſtiterim: in refutandis papiſticis dogmatibus

manibus argumenta penè omnia ex Scripturis detorta potius quam desumpta attigi; in præcipuis etiam quibusdam controuersijs, ad Patrum testimonia responsa adhibui: id verò passim non feci; quia id operis longioris fuisset, neq; ad instituti mei rationem quod attinet, minus necessarium: cum in gratiam potius imperitorum, quam ad doctorum vsum suscepta hæc disputatio sit. Cum porro alios viderem hoc iter ingressos, vt vniuersa quæ ab aduersarijs afferuntur, refellerent, doctissimos nempe viros, D. Sutcliuium nostrum, & D. Reginaldum Oxoniensem; nolui illis scribendi materiam præripere, nec oneri humeros meos viribus maiori subijcere, quod fortes isti Athletæ sine sudore sufferre possint. Me librorum inopia, rei familiaris penuria, gregis rusticani pascendi cura, & alia multa impedimenta id efficere non sinunt, quod volueram, vt generalem aggrederer cum tota papistica cohorte pugnam & concertationem. Id tum laudis tum laboris ducibus nostris & antesignanis totum relinquo; atq; quod etiam vos imprimis adhortor, & tum meo tum Ecclesiæ nomine ab eis idem efflagito, vt illis tandem [illegible] vniuerso agmine pontificio subuerso, illud Hieronymi vsurpare: *[illegible] contra [illegible] & [illegible] primum [illegible] alia deinceps prælia [illegible] igitur contra singulos, tota contendum est agmine.* Lib. 1. cont. Iouinian.

Cui verò non cordi non est (colendissimi Episcopi) quòd domesticæ contentiones consopitæ sint, & quæ [illegible] inter nos gliscebat lis, iam [illegible] iam, & frigescat qui feruebat dissensionis calor? [illegible] mihi hoc loco beneficij est, quòd quibus inuicem digladiabamur, nunc in communem hostem conuertuntur arma? Bene Ambrosius; *Non congruit vnius fidei viros habere contentionem, sed patiantur se inuicem; siquid autem improbabile videtur, cum pace dissimuletur.* Huiusmodi concertationes Euangelicos professores non decent, quæ facem incendunt, non gignunt fidem: quarum meminit Hieronymus; *Incondita disputatione sua interrumpit, consputa pene inuicem facie recesserunt:* Me potius mouet, quod idem grauissimus author monet: *Noli accusare, ego cessabo defendere, quæ est audientium ædificatio duos senes inter se digladiare? errauimus iuuenes, emendemur senes: quamdiu inter nos iurgium fuerit, videbimur rectam fidem necessitate ducere, non voluntate, &c.* Quod ille de senibus dixit, ad iuuenes rectius accommodatur, ne feruidi & calentes spiritu commilitones eiusdem fidei prouocent. Præfat. in Daniel. In 2. Timoth. 2. Aduers. Luciferian. Apolog. 3. aduers. Ruffinum.

Vnum porro est (venerandi Patres) (dissimulare enim non possum) quod commune hoc gaudium nostrum non extinguere sed extenuare videtur; quod domesticis compositis, quibus aliquandiu agitata est ecclesia Anglicana, controuersijs, veteres renouentur & repullulent, quales sunt quæ de libero arbitrio, electione hypothetica, vniuersali gratia, [illegible] Christi, & consimilibus ventilantur inter nos quæstiones: Vestrum est (Patres) qui in puppi sedetis, subortas hasce tempestates ita vestra prudentia sedare & compescere, ne inde suscipiat Ecclesia detrimentum, aut fidei Euangelicæ officiatur: Quodcunq; quis dogma proposuerit, quod aut superstitionem sapiat, à communi fide deuiet, vel tantillum ad Papismum degeneret, vestra authoritate supprimite; prudentia & pietate ne succrescat, occurrite. Qui vno regno continemur, vnam profiteamur fidem: quos vna Ecclesia peperit, vnius religionis sensus nutriat: qui vno Christo fruimur, diuersis dogmatibus non separemur. Sed ineptè facio, qui vos sic audacter compellem, quibus semper pacis fouendæ & augendæ summum studium fuit & cura maxima: vt de vtroq; vestrum Hieronymianum illud ad Theophilum pronuntiari possit: *Per varios Scripturarum flores more apum volans, quicquid dulce & aptum concordiæ fuit, artificiose messuisti.*

Aliud etiam est (grauissimi Viri) quod libenter velim vestræ prudentiæ suggerere: mihi apprime necessarium videtur ad veram stabiliendam fidem, & omnes dirimendas lites, si, quod optimo successu Marloratus effecit, vt recentiorum scriptorum interpretationes in vnum conferantur; simili quis industria veterum interpretum commentarios simul colligeret: Huiusmodi ecclesiastica orthodoxorum patrum expositio mirum in modum studiosis omnibus vtilis esset, & ad totius Papismi molem subuertendam valdè efficax: Vis enim papistica à falsis Scripturæ interpretationibus magna ex parte pendet. Quibus satis est otij, & librorum copia suppetit, nec alia desunt adiumenta, fœlicissime

 hic

hic nauarent operam. Quod si vacillent interdum & varientur veterum interpretationes qui alicubi hæreant, nec genuinum attingunt sensum, sed toto coelo errant, aliquando fortassis papisticis commentationibus fauent, quamplurimis tamen in locis nostrorum expositiones communiunt & confirmant: leuis aliqua dissensio vel diuersitas interpretum veritati non affert præiudicium: vt bene Hieronymus Augustino, *Non puto sustinui-sem, vt diuersitate explanationum initium nec ledi patiens, quia nec tu læderis, si contraria nos senserimus.*

Postremo in loco, labores hosce qualescunque meos vestræ Paternitati commendo & iudicio subijcio: Reginæ sacræ Maiestati vniuersum hoc opus sacrum esse volui, sub cuius auspicijs integram hanc fidem, quæ hic præcipitur profitemur: vestræ reuerentiæ primam Centuriam consecro, quæ de Scripturis, Ecclesia, & Clericis tractat, vt vestris studijs consonam, professioni parem, personæ aptam. Vos qui testes estis studiorum meorum, laboris constituo iudices: A vestro nutu pendeo, in vestra sententia acquiesco: quod vos corrigitis emendo, quod reprehenditis, non defendo, quod approbatis teneo: sic me meaq; suscipite, vt ego vos omni reuerentia excipio: & vt vestri apud me iucunda est recordatio, ita mea apud vos non sit iniucunda oratio. Desino cum Hieronymo,

Prefat. in Daniel. *Magis vestra charitate prouocabor ad studium, quam aliorum odio & detractatione deterreber*. Vestræ Paternitati ex animo precor multos annos, vitam foelicem, ad Dei gloriam, Ecclesiæ commodum, & vestrum in præsenti solatium, in futuro præmium. *Dat.*

Barkiæ. Idib. Octobr. 1600.

Vestræ reuerentiæ obseruantissim.

Andreas Willet.

THE PREFACE TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

IT may seeme strange (good Christian Reader) that the Gospell hauing been taught amongst vs by Gods especiall goodnesse and mercie, now these two and fortie yeeres, with such euidence of truth, plaine demonstration out of Scripture, and most apparant conuiction of the aduersarie, that there yet should be found among vs, whose eares are open to heare, & their hearts more ready to beleeue lies, than to receiue the truth. What els should be the reason hereof, I cannot iudge but that, which the Apostle rendreth: Because they receiued not the loue of the truth, that they might be saued, God shal send them strong delusions, that they should beleeue lies, 2.Thessal.2.11. *And therefore we may say of them, as* Hierome *of some in his time:* Vnum tibi confiteor, mores meorum optime noui, facilius eos vinci posse, quam persuaderi: *I will confesse one thing vnto you, I know their manners very well, they may be sooner ouercome, then perswaded:* aduers. Luciferian. *For if our Sauiour Christes rule do hold, as it must needes stand:* Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis, &c. *Ye shall knowe them by their fruites, Matth.7.16. how can that Religion be iudged to be good, that bringeth forth such bad fruits as treacherie, conspiracies, practises against Prince and Countrie, which things are so notoriously knowne, and so fresh in euery mans memorie, that for proofe hereof I neede not descend to particulars. VVhat aileth then these men, that they cannot consent in Religion with vs: we build our faith onely vpon the Scriptures, we seeke onely the glorie of Christ, abasing our selues, and our corrupt nature, onely extolling grace: which of these can offend them: they enioy their liuings, whereas Protestants were denied their liues; they haue libertie, we were kept in thraldome and miserie; they grow rich and purchase, the Protestants could not holde their owne. I cannot see then, what it is, that should discontent them: did not the Prophet* Ezechiel *well prophesie of such?* They doe eate the good pasture, and tread downe the rest with their feete: they haue drinke of the deepe waters, and troubled the residue with their feete. *They are not content themselues to eate the fat, and drinke the sweete of the Land, but some of them (for I accuse not all) haue laboured and practised to disturbe our peace, and to trouble our quiet state. But let not vs (good brethren) be offended at these things. First, let vs not be astonished, as though some strange thing had befallen vs: for Saint* Paul *hath said, That heresies must be among vs, that they which are approued may be knowne: in time of persecution* exercebant patientiam Ecclesiæ, *they did proue the patience of the Church: but now as* Augustine *saith,* exercent sapientiam, *they doe exercise the wisdome of the Church. Let not the number and multitude offend vs of those, which doe band themselues against the Church: for so it must be,* Christs flocke is but a little flocke. *Let vs not be afraid of their wisdome, power or strength: the Scripture teacheth vs, that they in their generation are wiser then the children of light: yet the Lord our God, that is with vs, and fighteth for vs, is wiser and stronger then they. Let them not deceiue vs with a shew of holines:* for Sathan can transforme himselfe into an Angel of light: *neither let it moue vs because they endure some trouble and losse of their goods, and imprisonment of their bodies for their religion (which is falsely so called) for Saint* Peter *saith, That men may suffer as euil doers, and so doe these. And Saint* Augustine *saith,* Si poena martyres faceret, omnes carceres martyribus pleni essent, omnes catenæ martyres traherent: *If the punishment onely, and not the cause made Martyrs, all prisons should be full of Martyrs, and all that are bound with fetters and chaines should*

Genes.49.17. Ezec.39.18. 1.Cor.11.19. Luk.12.32. 2.Cor.11.14. 1.Pet.4.15. In Psalm.34. Conc.2.

should be Martyrs. But let vs (not stumbling at any of these stones) be constant in the faith, and goe forward in the profession of the Gospell, which is grounded vpon the Scripture, sealed with the blood of Martyrs, watred and attended vpon these many yeeres, as the mistresse with the handmaid, with peace, prosperitie, and abundance of all blessings. With them there is no peace to be had: their owne Doctors teach, that no reconciliation can be made betweene vs: And indeede so it is, for there is no fellowship betweene light and darknesse. The Israelites were commanded, not to sowe their ground with diuers seedes, nor to plough with an Oxe and an Asse. What is this else, but that the Church of God cannot consist of beleeuers and Idolaters, of true Christians and hypocrites, Catholikes and Heretikes, Protestants and Papists? Their seede and ours is diuers: they sow the doctrine of men, and humaine traditions: we sow the seede of Gods word. The Oxe is onely fit for the Lords plough, that cheweth the cud, and deuideth the hoofe; the Asse doth neither: Who is he that deuideth the hoofe and chaweth the cud? Augustine *telleth vs,* Fissa vngula pertinet ad discernendum quid detrorum, quid sinistrorum: ruminatio pertinet ad eos, qui cogitant postea quid audierint: *He deuideth the hoofe, that deuideth and discerneth what is good, and what euill: and they chawe the cud, that doe meditate of that, which they heare out of the worde. But such are not the common Catholikes among the Papists: for they doe not allowe euery one, the mistresse, the maid, the ploughman and artificer to talke of Scripture, or moue questions and doubts in Religion: and so make them Asses, not Oxen to chawe the cud. They say it belongeth not to euery Christian, to discerne betweene true and false doctrine, but they must take their faith of their superiours, and obey them in all things: and so neither could they haue them deuide the hoofe, taking from them their discerning iudgement. There is no agreement therefore to be looked for at their handes: no more then yron or clay can be tempered together. Their old vessels cannot receiue the new liquor of the Gospell: but they must first become new themselues: they must first put off their beggerly ragges of popish ceremonies and superstitions, or els they shall neuer put on Christ: And to be short,* Reuertantur illi ad te, ne tu reuertaris ad illos: *Let them returne vnto vs, we will not returne to them, as the Lord saith to* Ieremie.

Bellarm. de laicis. lib. 3. cap. 17.
Deut. 22. 10.
Homil 33.
Rhemist. Prefat. sect. 7.
Rhemist. 1. Ioan 4. sect 1.
Dan. 2. 33.
Ierem. 15. 19.

But lest now we should be thought to speake without booke, deeply charging our aduersaries with heresies, lyes, false doctrine, and proouing nothing: we will take some paines to set downe some principall opinions of the Papists, which haue in the purer ages of the Church been condemned for heresies.

1 Marcellina *the companion of* Carpocrates *the archheretike, worshipped the Images of Iesus and Paul, and offered incense vnto them,* August. hæres. 7. *So the Papists doe worship the Images of Saints, and in the second Nicene Councell it was decreed, that the Image of God should be worshipped with the same honour that God himselfe was.*

2 *The* Heracleonites *did annoynt their sicke which lay a dying, with oyle and balme,* Heres. 16. *So the Papists haue found out extreme Vnction and made it a Sacrament.*

3 *The* Caiani *did hold, that the sinne of* Iudas *in betraying Christ, was a benefite to mankind,* Heres. 18. *The Papists come somewhat neere: one of them affirmeth, that the Iewes had sinned mortally, if they had not crucified Christ:* Ex Iuel. defens. Apolog. p. 676.

4 *The* Pepuziani *iudged heretikes, because they permitted women to be Priests,* Heres. 27. *So it was decreed in the Florentine Councel among the Papists, that in the case of necessitie, not onely a lay man, but an heretike, pagan, and a woman too, may baptize.*

5 *The heretikes called* Angelici *were condemned, because they worshipped Angels,* Heres. 39. *So the* Rhemists *teach, that Angels may be worshipped,* Annot. in Apocal. 3. sect. 6.

6 *There was a sect of heretikes that walked with bare feete, because God said to* Moses, *put off thy shooes, &c.* Heres. 68. *And so are there of Friers that goe barefoot, as the Friers Flagellants, and Franciscanes.*

7 *The* Priscilianists *did make the Apocrypha, that is, bookes not Canonicall of equall authoritie with Scripture,* Heres. 70. *So doe the Papists, the bookes of* Tobie, Iudith, Machabees, *and others, which are not found in the Canon of the Hebrue, they make them bookes of Canonicall Scripture, and part of the word of God: yea, they say, that whatsoeuer the Pastors of the Church doe teach beside Scripture in the vnitie of the Church, is to be taken for the word of God,* Rhem. Annot. 1. Thes. cap. 2. sect. 12.

8 *An Archheretike called* Marcus, *did holde that Christ did not verily suffer and indeede, but*

in shew onely and appearance, Heref.14. *The* Apollinarists *also affirmed, that Christ tooke humaine flesh without a soule,* Heref.55. *I pray you, how farre are the Papists from these heresies? for they affirme that Christ suffered not in soule: Nay the* Rhemists *hold, that it is a blasphemous assertion so to say,* Annot.Hebru.5.v.7. *What is this els, but either with* Marcus *to say, that Christ suffered but in shew, and that he felt nothing in soule, when he cryed out vpon the Crosse, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? for if there were no such matter indeede, Christ must haue vttered those words onely in outward shew and pretense. Againe, they cannot shift off handsomely from them the* Apollinarists *heresie: for why did Christ take vpon him our flesh and soule, but to redeeme man, that was lost both in body and soule? and therefore he must needes haue suffered both in body and soule: for if there were no vse of the humaine soule in the worke of our redemption, you might as well say with the* Apollinarists *that Christ had no soule at all. Thus* Augustine *reasoneth:* Si totus homo perijt, totus beneficio saluatoris indiguit; si totus beneficio saluatoris indigebat, totum Christus veniendo saluauit: *If the whole man both in body and soule were lost, he wholly had neede of a Sauiour: and if he wholly needed a Sauiour; Christ by his comming did wholly saue him.* Ergo, *it followeth that Christ must wholly haue dyed and suffered in body and soule to redeeme man, that was wholly lost in body and soule.* Cont. Felician. cap.13.

9 *The* Anthropomorphites *did imagine, that God was in shape and proportion like a man,* Heref.50. *Doe not our* Rhemists *sauour strongly of this heresie, which allowe the Image of God to be pictured like an olde man with gray haires in their Churches?* Annot. Act. cap.17. vers.29.

10 *The heretikes* Abeliani, *thought it not lawfull for their sect to liue without wiues, and yet they neuer vsed, nor kept company with their wiues,* Heref.87. *Doe not the Papists come neere them, which hold that their Priests which were maried before orders, ought not afterward to haue accesse to their wiues, yet are they their wiues still, neither is the mariage knot dissolued betweene them?* Rhemist. Act.21.sect.1.

11 *The* Pelagian *heretikes did hold three pernicious opinions. First, that a man may be perfect in this life and keepe all the Commaundements,* Heref.88. *So the* Rhemists *say, it is possible to keepe all the precepts of the law,* Annot Iohan. 14. sect.1. *Secondly, the* Pelagians *say, that grace is giuen vnto men onely to this ende, that they may more easily doe those things which they are commanded to doe by their owne freewill,* Heref.88. *So the* Rhemists *say; that man was neuer without freewill, but hauing the grace of Christ, it is truly made free,* Annot.Ioan.8.sect.2. *What is this els, but that his free will is made more free, and that grace helpeth him not wholly to worke, but more easily onely? Thirdly, the* Pelagians *hold,* Gratiam Dei non ad singulos actus dari: *That the grace of God is not needfull to be giuen at euery assay, but that their freewill in most things is sufficient,* August.Epist.106. *So the* Rhemists *say, that though the Gentiles beleeued specially by Gods grace, yet they beleeued also of their owne free will,* Act.13.sect.2. *What say they else, but that a man may beleeue by his owne free will without grace?*

12 *The* Manichees *condemned the eating of flesh, as being vncleane and impure,* Heref.46. *So the Papists also forbid at certaine times the eating of flesh. And herein they perhaps differ from the* Manichees: *They held that flesh was vncleane by creation: The Papists by reason of the curse: for God cursed the earth, and not the waters (say they) and therefore vpon fasting dayes fish is preferred before flesh,* Durand.lib.6.capit.de alijs ieiunijs. *So they both agree in this, that flesh is a thing impure and vncleane: for if they had not so thought, why did not that popish Bishop of London* Stokeslie, *rather suffer the pigge to be eaten, which was found in one* Frebarnes *house in Lent time, his wife being great with child longing for a peece thereof, then command it as an vncleane thing to be buried in Finsburie fields, and so the good creature of God to be spoyled and lost?* Frebarne Fox.p.1584.

There was also another most blasphemous opinion of the Manichees: *for they helde that the parts and members of Christ were dispersed euery where, and that in their meats and drinkes, they did deliuer the members of Christ, which were tyed and bound in the creatures.* Tales (*saith* Augustine) sunt electi eorum, vt non sint saluandi a Deo, sed saluatores Dei; liberant enim membra Christi, cum manducant: *The elect amongst them (for so they call their principals) do make themselues the sauiours & redeemers of God, for they do set at libertie (as they imagine) the members of Christ, he is not their sauiour. Compare nowe the opinion of the Papists with these heretikes: see if they be not cosin germanes: for as they made themselues,* saluatores Christi, August.in Psal.104.

sauiours

ſauiours of Chriſt: ſo is it a ſaying among the Papiſts, that Sacerdos eſt creator creatoris ſui: *the Prieſt at Maſſe, which by fiue words ſpeaking maketh the body of Chriſt, is a maker, ſay they, of his maker, a creator of his creator,* Ex Iuell. lib. artic. pag. 615. *But herein the Papiſts goe beyond the* Manichees: *for they deliuered the bodie and members of Chriſt from the priſon of the creatures, and ſent them vp to heauen: the Papiſts bring them downe from heauen, and cloſe them in the creature, vnder the ſhape of bread and wine.*

Thus farre we thought good to ſhew, how neere the Papiſts come to the heretikes of olde time: that it might appeare to the world, that we doe not vniuſtly charge them with hereſie, and that we haue good cauſe to ſhunne and abhorre their poyſoned doctrine. Many other hereſies I could haue produced; which are reuiued by our aduerſaries, and raked againe as it were out of their graues,
In Tetraſtylon *where they did quietly reſt: But that I am not of purpoſe nowe to deale in this matter: which in a ſeuerall Treatiſe I haue handled more at large.*

I haue onely by the way giuen a taſt of the bitter and ſowre doctrine of Poperie: that our countrie men, which haue been any thing that way infected, may take warning, that if they haue ſipped of the whore of Babylons cuppe of fornication, they ſhould leaue off, before they haue drunke more deepely, leaſt they in the ende be conſtrained to drawe out the very dregges thereof, and to be drunken with their intoxicate cup. If they will in time be warned, they may: a word to a wiſe man is ſufficient: and if they be wiſe, they will alſo take heede in time, I ſay vnto them, as Auguſtine *did*
Contra Petilianum. 3. 59. *ſometime to the Donatiſts:* Si ſapitis, bene & rectè, ſi autem non ſapitis, nos veſtri curam geſſiſſe non pœnitebit, quia etſi cor veſtrum ad pacem non conuertitur, pax noſtra tamen ad nos reuertitur: *If you will be learned, it is well, and as we wiſh: but if you will not, it repenteth vs not, that we haue had ſome care of you: for although your heart be not conuerted to the peace of the Goſpell, yet our peace returneth to vs againe.*

Here by the way, I muſt remember my ſelfe of one thing, which I had almoſt ouerſlipped. Euery where both in this Preface and in this whole booke, ſpeaking of our aduerſaries, I call them Papiſts, as we are knowne by the name of Proteſtants: I ſuppoſe our Engliſh Romaniſts will take no offence or griefe hereby ſo to be called: although I haue heard that ſome of them hold great ſcorne to be
Annot. Act. 11. ſect. 4. *named Papiſts, yet I ſee no reaſon, why they ſhould ſo doe. The Rhemiſts like this name well enough, becauſe it is not deriued from any one man, but from their Popes and chiefe Biſhops, to whom (ſay they) we are bound to cleaue in Religion, and obey in all things: So to be a Papiſt (ſay they) is to be a Chriſtian man, a childe of the Church, and a ſubiect to Chriſts Vicar. Seeing then this name pleaſeth their ghoſtly fathers of Rhemes ſo well, there is no reaſon why they ſhould miſlike it: and therefore we will vſe it ſtill, as beſt expreſſing their profeſſion, who are pinned vpon the Popes ſleeue for their faith & Religion. As likewiſe the name of Proteſtants we refuſe not: which name I thinke, though elſwhere before in vſe, yet in England tooke beginning in King* Henry *the eights dayes;*
Fox. p. 1083. *when there was a generall proteſtation made in the name of the King, the whole Councell and Clergie of England againſt the Pope: In the which proteſtation, thus we finde:* England hath taken her leaue of popiſh crafts for euer, neuer to be deluded with them hereafter: Romane Biſhops haue nothing to doe with Engliſh people: the one doth not traffique with the other: at the leaſt, though they will haue to deale with vs, we will none of their merchandiſe, none of their ſtuffe. *Thus we ſee how a Papiſt and a Proteſtant are defined: A Papiſt is he that cleaueth to the Pope in Religion, and is obedient to him in all things: A proteſtant is he, that profeſſeth the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and hath renounced the iuriſdiction of the ſea of Rome, and the forced and vnnaturall obedience to the Pope. Theſe names therefore as beſt fitting both our profeſſions, ſeeing no cauſe to the contrary, I purpoſe euery where to vſe and retaine throughout this Treatiſe.*

I would here finiſh and make an end of this Preface, but that firſt I muſt make the Reader acquainted with the order and method, which I haue followed in ſetting downe the controuerſies: The whole body therefore of the controuerſies betweene the Papiſts and vs, our worthie and learned countriman D. Whitakers *hath digeſted and diſpoſed into a ſingular Method, the which I haue propounded to my ſelfe throughout this diſcourſe to obſerue.*

The hereſies and errors therefore of Poperie, doe either impugne the offices of Chriſt, with his benefites and merites, or his perſon: the moſt of them are of the firſt kinde, ſome errors they maintaine againſt his perſon, but not many.

Firſt,

First, the name of Christ sheweth his offices: for it signifieth annoynted: he was annoynted to be our Prophet, King and Priest: Iesus beareth a Saviour, and setteth forth the benefites of our redemption and salvation. First then of his offices, and thence of the benefites, that doe arise and spring thereof.

The first office of our Saviour Christ, is to be our heavenly teacher, and Prophet. His heavenly doctrine is contained no where els but in the Scriptures. The first generall enquirie then must be of the Scriptures: where there arise many questions: as of the Canonicall bookes of the Scripture, of the vulgar translation of Scripture, of the perspicuitie and plainenesse, authoritie, interpretation and perfection of Scripture, with such other.

The second office of Christ is to be our King: and because his kingdome is his Church: here we are to handle the controversies about the Church: which is either the Church Militant upon earth, or the Church Triumphant in heaven.

The Church militant is to be considered, either in generall, where these questions are moved, what the Church is, whether it be visible or not, by what markes it is known, whether it may erre, what authoritie it hath. Then the parts of the Church, which are either assembled and gathered together, as in generall Councels: where these doubts must be discussed, whether generall Councels be necessary, by whom they ought to be summoned, whether they can erre, whether the Pope be above Councels or not, and such like: Or else the parts of the Church are severally to be considered, and they are of three sortes, either the chiefe parts, the middle and meane parts, the lowest and baseft parts of the Church: The chiefe member they make to be the Pope: where there are many questions and of great waight, as whether the regiment of the Church be Monarchicall, whether Peter were appointed head of the Church, whether the Pope be Peters successour, whether he may erre, whether the Pope be Antichrist, with such other. The middle parts, are their Clerkes, which are either secular, as they call them, which have any Ecclesiasticall function, where we must enquire of their election and degrees, of their single life, and such like: the Regular Clerkes are their Monkes, and other of that profession, where we must entreat of vowes, of their solitarie life, their habite, their Canonicall houres, with other matters. The loweft members are the Laymen: where the questions about the Civill Magistrate must be handled: as whether he may put heretikes to death, whether he have any power and authoritie in Ecclesiastical matters, and hitherto of the Militant Church.

The Triumphant Church consisteth either of Angels, or other Saints departed: Concerning the Angels, we dissent about the orders and degrees of them, about their ministerie and office, and whether they are to be prayed vnto.

Concerning the Saints departed, there are many questions in controversie, as of Purgatory, Limbus Patrum, whether they are to be praied vnto, of their Reliques, Images, Temples, Holy dales, and such like.

The third office of Christ is his Priesthood, whereof there are two Parts, his intercession, where we must enquire, whether Christ be the onely Mediatour of intercession, and his Sacrifice, where the maine and great controversie concerning the Sacraments doth offer it selfe: for by the Sacraments the power and efficacie of the death of Christ is derived vnto vs.

Here first we must entreate of the Sacraments in generall, as of their number, their efficacie, the difference betweene the Sacraments of the olde and new Testament: then in particular, as of Baptisme, and the severall questions thereto belonging, of the Lords Supper, where also the great controversie about their Idolatrous sacrifice of the Masse, and other necessary questions must be handled. Then follow in order five other papish Sacraments, to be considered of, confirmation, penance, extreame vnction, orders, matrimony. And these are the controversies concerning the offices of Christ.

The controversies which concerne the benefits of our redemption, with other severall questions, are these. First of the state of man in Paradise before his fall: where we are to discusse of the state of Adams soule, and of his bodie, whether it were created immortall, of Paradise, whether it were a place knowne, and yet remaining. The second Controversie is concerning Adams fall, where the questions are handled of Adams transgression, and of originall sinne, with the severall parts thereof. The third Controversie consisteth of the reparation of mankinde: where these principall questions are decided, of Predestination, of Grace, Free will, Faith, Iustification, Good workes.

Lastly,

Lastly, there remaine some questions about the person of Christ, as whether he be αὐτόθεος, that is, God of himselfe, whether he encreased in wisdome, whether he suffered in soule, whether he merited for himselfe, with such others.

Thus haue we the summe and body of Antichristian doctrine, which we purpose by the grace of God to goe through, beginning at the first, and so prosecuting euery particular question, till we are come to the last. My purpose is not to set downe all the heresies which impugne the Christian faith, but onely those which are at this time aimed by the Church of Rome this day, who are the chiefe troublers and disquieters of the peace of our Church. I say therefore with Augustine, Omnis Christianus Catholicus ista non debet credere, sed nō omnis, qui ista non credit, consequenter nō debet Christianū credere: *Euery true Christian is bound not to beleeue these things, but yet not straightway euery man, that beleeueth them not, must hold himselfe to be a good Christian, for there are many errors and heresies in the world beside papistrie: But this we haue only chosen to deale against in this treatise, as being most dangerous to our state, most plausible to carnall men, and most like to infect. I haue now this third time, for thy behoofe, Christian Reader, perused, corrected, & augmented this worke, and published it for thy vse. The second edition was in these foure points enlarged more then the former: first, I haue answered more obiections of the aduersaries, and propounded more arguments for the truth: Secondly, I haue added the Canons of the auncient Councels throughout, for the more liuely euidence of truth: Thirdly, I haue adioyned to euery place of greatest weight, the seale and testimonie of the holy Martyrs: Fourthly, this booke containeth one hundreth more of popish Errors then the first: where I haue briefely touched* Bellarmines *chiefe arguments in some maine Controuersies of our faith, as he hath lately caused them to be published in the third volume of his Controuersies: which came forth since the first edition of this booke. In this third edition I haue performed more then in the former, in these foure points: First, I haue answered all such places of weight, which our aduersaries alleage out of Scripture, and remoued many more obiections of the aduersaries than before. Secondly, I haue inserted more testimonies of the Fathers for the proofe of the truth, and answered their shewe of the Fathers in some principall controuersies: Thirdly, I haue conuinced them by the Lawes Imperiall, and their owne Pontificiall decrees, and by their owne writers. Fourthly, I haue adioyned a confutation of* Bellarmines *first booke of Indulgences and Iubilee pardons, and added one Centurie more: so that the whole is increased to fiue Centuries, that is, so many hundreds of popish errors and heresies.*

This, through Gods gracious assistance I haue performed in this worke, and throughout the same, as neere as I could, I haue followed Augustines *rule,* Ita stylo, si potuero moderabor, vt huic operi in Dei voluntate peragendo, nec ea, quæ supersint dicam, nec ea quæ satis sunt prætermittam: *My care hath been so to temper my style, that neither things superfluous should be inserted, nor things necessary omitted. These my labours, farre beyond my strength, though not aboue my hope, by the Lords extraordinarie assistance (I must needes confesse) I haue brought to an ende. Recompence I looke for none, but thy good acceptation (Christian Reader:) it is the good of Gods Church which I seeke: other encouragement (the Lord helpe) in these dayes we haue small: I now commend my selfe to thy prayer, my labours to thy diligent reading (Christian brother) and both you and them to Gods good blessing: who giue vs grace to discerne truth from error, and hauing discerned them, power to shunne the one, and embrace the other: that as he well saith,* Speremus, quæ Christus promisit, & sequamur quò præcessit: *that hoping and trusting here to that which Christ hath promised, we may follow at length, whither he is preceded and gone before vs:*

Lib. 17. de ciuitat. Dei. c. 1.

August. de salutarib. document. c. 13.

Amen. Dat. Barleiæ. Idib. Octobr.

Anno. 1600.

Your harty welwiller and seruant to you all in Christ. And. Willet.

THE FIRST BOOKE OR CENTVRIE CONTEINING THE CONTROVERSIES OF RELIGION, WHICH ARISE IN QVESTION BETWEENE THE CHVRCH of God and the Papists, about the word of God conteined in the Scriptures, and the Church Militant here vpon earth, with the parts and members thereof.

THE FIRST GENERALL CONTROVERSIE of the holie Scriptures.

ACcording to the method which I haue propounded to my selfe (God assisting me by his spirit) to obserue throughout this whole treatise of the controuersies, and as I haue set it down in the end of the preface, in the first place we are to entreat of such matters as concerne the Prophetical office of Christ. He is our Prophet, our heauenly teacher, and Doctor, Matth. 23. vers. 8. from him proceedeth all holy knowledge: we haue not seene God, nor the high things of God: *but the onely begotten sonne, which is in the bosome of the father, he hath declared him.* Iohn 1.18. Wherefore all the true sheepe of Christ *will heare his voyce,* Iohn 10.13. His voyce is not else where heard but onely in the Scriptures: We must heare *Moses and the Prophets,* Luke 16.29. and as S. *Ambrose* well saith, *Qui vult ad Christi peruenire mysteria tanta, non ingreditur ad illud, nisi per euangelica scripturæ secretum:* No man can attaine to the knowledge of Christ, but by the euangelicall Scriptures. First of all therefore this great and most famous controuersie betweene vs and our aduersaries concerning the Scriptures must be handled: which is distributed into seuen seuerall questions. Serm. 57.

1 Concerning the Canonicall Scripture, what bookes are to be receiued into the sacred Canon, what bookes to be reiected and counted apocryphall.

2 Concerning the authenticall Edition of the holy Scriptures, whether the Hebrue, Greeke or Latine translation is chiefly to be followed.

3 Whether the Scriptures ought to be translated into the vulgar and English tongue: and whether publike prayers and diuine seruice ought to be vsed in the same tongue.

4 Whether the Scriptures are authorized by the Church, and not rather so knowne to be of themselues.

5 Concerning the perspicuitie and plainenes of the Scripture, whether it be so hard, that the common people may not safely be admitted to the reading thereof.

6 Concerning the interpretation of Scripture: which question is diuided into three parts: first whether the Scripture admit diuers senses and expositions: secondly who hath the chiefe authoritie to expound Scripture: thirdly what meanes ought to be vsed in expounding of it.

7 Concerning the perfection of the Scripture, three parts of the question. First, whether the Scriptures be necessary: secondly, whether they be sufficient to saluation: thirdly, whether there be any traditions beside necessarie to saluation.

THE FIRST QVESTION CONCERNING the Canonicall Scripture.

Of the state of the first Question.

WE haue not any thing in this place to deale with those heretikes, which denie either the whole Scripture, or any part thereof: but onely with our aduersaries the Papists, that holding all those bookes to be Scripture, which we doe acknowledge, doe adde vnto them other

bookes which are not canonicall: so that they offend not as other heretikes, in denying any part of the Scripture, but which is as bad, in adding vnto it, for both these are accursed, Reuel. 22.18. And here I could haue wished that they would haue followed S. *Hieroms* counsell, writing thus vnto *Leta*; as touching the canonicall bookes of the olde testament, which after he had reckoned vp, as we now hold them, giueth this caueat concerning the Apocrypha: *Caueat omnia Apocrypha, & si quando ea, non ad dogmata sua veritatem, sed ad figurarum regulam coactam legere voluerit, sciat non eorum esse, quorum titulis præscribuntur, miscriq; hic eloquia vitiosa, & grandis esse prudentiæ, aurum in luto quærere:* Let her take heede of all the Apocripha, which if she will read, not for the truth of doctrine, but reuerence of the stories, let her know, that they are not their writings, whose title they beare, and that many corrupt things are intermingled; and herein lieth great wisdome, how to gather gold out of durt. *Hieron. ad Latam.*

First of all briefly before we proceed, let vs see who they were that did offend in the first kinde, namely in denying and detracting from Scripture. Some heretikes generally reiected the whole Scripture, some certaine parts thereof, The *Sadduces* receiued no Scripture, besides the fiue bookes of *Moses*; the *Maniches* condemned the whole old testament, and so did wicked *Marcion*.

The bookes of *Moses* the *Ptolemaits* refused, the booke of the Psalmes the *Nicolaitaines*, and the *Anabaptists* in our dayes: there wanted not which condemned the booke of the Preacher and the Canticles as wanton and lasciuious bookes: and the *Anabaptists* are not here behind with their parts. The holy and excellent booke of *Iob* hath also found enemies, and some of the Rabbins, which doe thinke that the storie is but fained: which heresie is confuted Ezech. 14.14. for there *Noah, Iob, Daniel* are named together: so that it is manifest, that such a man there was. Wicked *Porphyrie* refuseth *Daniel* as forged.

The new testament the *Maniches* most impiously affirmed to be full of lies. *Cerdon* the heretike condemned all but *Lukes* Gospell. *Cerinthus* receiued none but *Markes*. The *Valentinians* could away with none but *Iohns* Gospell. The *Alogians* of all other hated *Iohns* writings. The *Ebionites* only admitted *Matthewes* Gospell. The Acts of the Apostles the *Seuerian* heretikes condemned. The *Marcionites* the Epistles to *Timothie*, to *Titus*, to the Hebrues. The *Ebionites* could not away with any of S. *Pauls* workes. But the Church of God hath euen from the Apostles time acknowledged and receiued all the bookes of the new Testament, as they now stand together, as by *Origene* a most anncient writer of the Church is in these words confessed: *Sacerdotali tuba primùm in Euangelio suo Matthæus increpuit; Marcus quoque, Lucas & Ioannes suis singuli tubis sacrificabilibus cœlestium &c.* First *Matthew* soundeth forth his euangelicall trumpet, then follow *Marke, Luke* and *Iohn* singing with their Priestly trumpets; *Peter* also sendeth forth the trumpet of his two Epistles; *Iames* also and *Iude*, and *Iohn* maketh melodie with his trumpet in his Epistles, and the Apocalypse, and *Luke* in the acts of the Apostles: *Et Paulus in quatuordecim epistolarum suarum fulminat tubis:* And *Paul* thundereth out in the trumpets of his fourteene Epistles. Vnto these former heretikes adde the *Zuinckfeldians*, and *Libertines* that refuse to be iudged by the Scripture, calling it a dead letter, and flie vnto the inward and secret reuelations of the spirit. And by your leaue the Papists are not far from this heresie some of them: although the Iesuite crie neuer so much with open mouth, that we belie them, *De verbo Dei lib. 1. cap. 1.* Take but a little paines to peruse that worthy learned mans and reuerent Fathers defence of the Apologie p. 521. there you shall finde how that *Lodouicus* a Canon Lateran in Rome, said in the Counsell of Trent, that the Scripture is but *mortuum atramentum*, dead inke. The Bishop of Poitiers said, that it was but *res inanimis & muta*, a dead and dumbe thing. *Albertus Pigghius*, that the Scriptures were but *muti Iudices*, dumbe Iudges. *Eckius* calleth it *Euangelium nigrum & theologiam atramentariam*, the blacke Gospell and inkie diuinitie: and it is *nasus cereus*, a nose of waxe saith he. And now in commeth *Hosius* with his part: that it is but lost labor which is bestowed in the Scripture: for the Scripture is a creature, and a certaine bare letter. But the Iesuit saith, that we abuse the name of that man, for those are not his owne words, but he reporteth them of *Zuinckfeldius*. Be it so for this time, though *M. Iewel* bestow some paines to proue them to be according to his owne meaning. Though these be not *Hosius* owne words, yet these are not much better, yea far worse, who speaking of *Dauids* writing of the Psalms, saith thus, *Quid ni scriberet, scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim*, why might not he write (saith he) being a temporall Prince, as *Horace* saith, we write ballads euery body both learned and vnlearned? *Hos. lib. 2. cont. Brentium.*

Homil. 7. in Iosu.

I pray you now how much doe these Papists differ from the Libertines and *Zuinckfeldians*, vnlesse it be in this, that the Libertines cleaue to secret reuelations; the Papists are pinned vpon the Popes sleeue, affirming that it is no Scripture nor Gospell without the determination of the Church. Nay one of them saith, *Determinatio Ecclesiæ appellatur Euangelium*, the determination of the Church is called the Gospell, *Iohannes Maria*. Will you yet heare of greater impietie? *Anno Domini*, 1240. or thereabout, there was a booke set forth by the Friers, called *Euangelium æternum*, full of their owne fables, and abominable errors: they taught that Christs Gospell was not to be

Fox. pag. 322. ex Mat. Parisiens.

compared

compared vnto it, and that the Goſpell of Chriſt ſhould be preached but fiftie yeares. This booke with much adoe was condemned by the Pope, (but after long diſputation) and it was burnt ſecretly, leaſt the Friers ſhould haue been diſcredited: and withall, the booke of *Guilielmus de S. amore*, which he had written againſt the Friers, and therein diſputed againſt their Goſpell, was commanded to be burned with the other. Beſides theſe hereſies, their opinion alſo is to be reiected, that thinke that the holy writers might in ſome things be deceiued, as miſtaking one thing for another, or fayling in their memorie. To this opinion *Eraſmus* enclined, whom *Bellarmine* taketh paine to confute, *lib.1.cap.8.* He might as well haue turned his argument vpon *Melchior Canus* their owne champion, who thinketh that *Stephen* Act.7. in telling ſo long a ſtorie might forget himſelfe in ſome things, *Can.lib.2.cap.18.* But we herein miſlike both *Eraſmus* conceite, and *Canus* his fancie, and who elſe haue ſo thought of the Scriptures; and ſay rather with S. *Auguſtine: Tantummodo ſcripturis canonicis hanc debeo ſeruitutem, &c.* I doe onely to the canonicall Scriptures owe this ſeruice and obedience, which I doe ſo follow, that I thinke the writers thereof erred not any whit at all: and with S. *Hierome*, who, whereas ſome accuſed S. *Matthew* of forgetfulnes, as though he ſhould haue named *Ieremie* for *Zacharie*, Matth.27.9. thus writeth: *Abſit hoc de pediſſequo Chriſti dicere, &c.* Far be it from me ſo to ſay of the follower of Chriſt, who in alleaging the Prophets, hunted not for words or phraſes, but had a care to ſet down the ſenſe and doctrine: for he thinketh that place there cited to be taken, though not word for word, out of *Ieremie*. But now to the queſtion. Epiſt.19. Hieron. ad Pammach.

CERTAINE QVESTIONS ABOVT SOME of the Canonicall bookes of Scripture.

THe bookes of Scripture whereof we now intreate, are of three ſorts: ſome are both by vs and our aduerſaries iudged to be Canonicall, as all the bookes of the new Teſtament, wholly as they ſtand: and all theſe bookes of the olde Teſtament, ſo many as are found in the Hebrue: Some are both of vs and our aduerſaries reiected, and thruſt out of the canon: what bookes they are, ſhall be declared in the next ſection.

A third ſort there is, which our aduerſaries would gladly bring into the number of the bookes of ſacred Scripture, but we herein doe by warrant of Gods word reſiſt and withſtand them: and of theſe alſo afterward.

Concerning the firſt kinde, namely ſuch bookes, as are both by them and vs acknowledged for Canonicall, there is no queſtion betweene vs for the authoritie of them: only about the booke of the Preacher there ariſeth ſome controuerſie betweene *Bellarmine* and vs, whom eſpecially I purpoſe to trace through out this treatiſe. We are agreed of the booke it ſelfe, that it is Canonicall; of the author, that he was *Salomon*: but theſe two points we varie about: firſt *Bellarmine* thinketh that *Salomon* made that booke before his fall: we thinke he ſet it forth after, as a token of his repentance: ſecondly, he thinketh that *Salomon* was a reprobate, and a caſt away for euer: we hold the contrarie: let vs firſt examine his arguments, and then ſet downe our owne.

The Papiſts.

THat this book of the Preacher was compiled by *Salomon*, before he fell, thus the Ieſuite would proue it.

*Argum.*1. The Preacher ſaith, that his wiſedome remained yet with him. chap.2.ver.9. But it is not like, that the heauenly gift of wiſedome continued with him, after his heart was turned from God to Idolatrie: *Ergo*, it is like this booke was made before his fall, while he was in the ſtate of wiſedome, *lib.1.de verb.cap.5.*

*Anſwer.*1. *Salomons* wiſedome was not only in diuine, but in humane things, and in the knowledge of nature: for he ſpake of trees, of hearbs, of beaſts and fowles, and therefore he is ſaid to excell in wiſedome the children of the Eaſt, and the wiſe of Egypt, whoſe knowledge was in naturall things, 1.King.4.verſ.30.33. And this wiſedome might remaine with *Salomon* in the middeſt of pleaſure, as we ſee it was not denied to the vitious and idolatrous heathen Philoſophers: yea and *Salomon* ſaith of himſelfe, that he thought to giue his heart to wine, and yet to leade his minde in wiſedome, chap.2.verſ.3. ſo that it ſeemeth, that the gift of wiſedome did not whollie faile him, no not in his fall.

2 And what if it were graunted, that the ſpirit of wiſedome departed from him all the time of his dotage? Why might it not returne to him againe afterwards, when he began to repent him of his fall: as the ſpirit of ſtrength and fortitude being gone from *Sampſon*, for a while, came to him againe.

3 Or thus rather the place may bee vnderſtood: *I was great, and increaſed aboue all (ſaith he) that were before me in Ieruſalem, alſo my wiſedome remained with me:* that is, he maketh a large and ample confeſſion of his ſinne, that while he was in honour and wealth, with wiſedome, euen then his heart was entiſed from the true worſhip of God, euen in the middeſt of Gods bleſſings: ſuch

was his vnthankfulnes to God, and forgetfulnes of his benefits. So then the time of the continuance of his wisedome, is not to be referred to the instant of making this book, but hath respect to his fall: for he saith, that his honour, riches, and wisedome continued yet, *(I was increased:)* but it is to bee thought, that as he being drowned in pleasure, decayed in wisedome; so also his credit and substance was empayred, which were giuen him as handmaides to waite of his wisedome.

*Argum.*2. *Salomon* doted when he was an old man, 1. King. 11. 4. to what time then will you assigne then his repentance? Againe, if this book had bin made after his fall, it is like, that whereas he maketh a particular rehearsall of all his pleasures, he would not haue omitted his pleasure and delight in such a multitude of wiues and concubines: And is it like, that he being besotted with the loue of so many women, could indite such excellent sayings? *Bellarm. ibid.*

*Anſ.*1. *Salomon* was old when he gaue himselfe vnto women, yet it is like he was older, when he weaned himselfe from his pleasure, and returned vnto God by heartie repentance: for there are diuers degrees of old age. Secondly, it was not necessarie that *Salomon* should reckon vp all his pleasures: neither indeed doth he: for he spake of trees, and beasts, and fowles, which no doubt was a great delight vnto a wise man, to be occupied and exercised in knowledge: yet thereof he maketh no mention in the 2. chap. Neither is he altogether silent concerning his delight in women: for he saith, *I prouided me men singers, and women singers, the delites of the sonnes of men*, vers. 8. And, *I haue gotten me men seruants, and maides, and had children borne in my house:* or as the Latin text readeth, I had a great household. He may in this place haue relation to the multitude of his wiues and concubines: why not? 3. To the third poynt, we answer: we say not, that at the same time, while *Salomon* gaue his minde to pleasure, that he wrote this booke; but afterwards, when he was come to himselfe, and awaked out of his long sleepe.

The Protestants.

AT what time the booke of Ecclesiastes was written by *Salomon*, though it bee no materiall poynt of our faith to know; yet because the trueth euery where, so much as by diligent endeuour may bee attained vnto, is to be sought out: It shall appeare by these reasons following, that both it is most like and probable, that it was indited after *Salomons* fall, and that it is most safe so to thinke, because there can no other time be assigned for *Salomons* repentance, as it shall euen now be shewed.

*Argum.*1. First, it is made manifest by the inscription and title of the booke: *the words of the Preacher*: for from whence is it, that *Salomon* being a King, to whom it pertaineth not to teach the people, but to the Leuits and Priests, doth giue himselfe so strange a stile? It is not because by his writing he preacheth: for then in his two other bookes of the Prouerbs and Canticles, by the same reason, he might haue so named himselfe: but of a King he is now become a Preacher, preaching vnto the people by the example of his conuersion. The word קהלת *chobeleth* properly signifieth *Ecclesiasten seu Ecclesiasticum*, a Churchman, or a man of the congregation: And so *Salomon* calleth himselfe, either because he was now restored, and made as it were a man of the Church againe: or because publikely he had some speech, after his returning to God, as is the manner of these, which publikely shew repentance for their sinne, *sic Iunius in hunc locum.*

*Argum.*2. The Preacher in this booke doth euery where vrge his owne experience: *as I turned me to behold*, 2. 12. *I haue seene vnder the sunne*, 3. 16. *I haue seene all things in the daies of my vanitie*, 7. 17. He also professeth as much, that he sought in his heart by his owne experience to finde out, wherein consisted the chiefe goodnes of men vnder the sunne, 2. 3. And hauing runne thorough the course of al things in his owne knowledge and experience, he at the length, as a man of much obseruation and great continuance concludeth: *Vanitie of vanities*, (saith the Preacher) *all is but vanitie*, chap. 12. 8. *Ergo*, it is like that *Salomon* wrote this booke, being now thorough aged, and of long experience: wisedome indeede goeth not by yeeres, but experience is the daughter and offspring of old age.

*Argum.*3. Further, the Preacher saith, he sought in his heart to giue himselfe to wine, and to apprehend folly, Eccles. 2. 3. But when else did he lay hold on folly, then, when he fell into the snares of women, and was seduced to Idolatrie? *Ergo*, this booke was made after his fall. It will here I know be answered, that there is no such thing in the text, as I haue alleaged: Indeed, in the vulgar Latine there is not, which translateth cleane contrary to the Hebrue: for in stead of, *Cogitaui pertrahere animum ad vinum, & prehendere stultitiam*, I thought to draw my selfe to wine, and to apprehend folly: it is read, *Cogitaui abstrahere me à vino, & denitare stultitiam:* I bethought to withdraw my selfe from wine, and to shunne follie; quite contrarie. But *Bellarmine* taketh vpon him to iustifie the vulgar translation, and saith that the hebrue letter ב *beth*, signifieth in construction as well *from* as *to*; and therefore wee may as well reade from wine, as to wine: and this is more agreeable to the text saith he, because it followeth, *and to leade my heart in wisedome*, &c.

Lib. 2. de verb. cap. 9. resp. ad arg. 3.

Anſ. 1. The Iesuite, that maketh himselfe so skilfull in the signification of the Hebrue, should haue quoted some place, where this letter ב, following in construction the word משך *masbach*, that

signifieth

ſignifieth to draw, is tranſlated *from*: but that can he not finde, but the contrarie: as Iudg. 4. 6. *Deborah* biddeth *Barack* draw the people not from, but to the mount Tabor. 2. But he ſaith nothing of the other word *vn achaz*, which neuer ſignifieth, *deuitauit*, he ſhunned, but the contrarie, *apprehendit*, he apprehended. 3. This reading agreeth better with the text: for the Preacher ſaith, that euen while his wiſedome remained with him, he gaue himſelfe to wine and pleaſure: as afterward in the tenth verſe.

Argum. 4. Laſtly, we hold it a very firme and ſure thing, that *Salomon* recouered his fall, and was reſtored to fauour before he dyed: as in the next place it is to be ſeene: and that this booke was ſet foorth as a ſeale and ſure ſigne of his repentance, which it could not be, if it were written before, and not after his fall. And of this iudgement is S. *Hierome*, that the booke of Eccleſiaſtes was written after *Salomons* fall, and to that purpoſe he expoundeth thoſe words, 2. Chron. 9. 29. *The reſt of the workes of Salomon firſt and laſt are written in the booke of Nathan the Prophet, &c. Priorũ antequam prauaricatus, poſteriorũ poſt quam prauaricatus*: His firſt workes were thoſe before his fall, and his laſt after his fall. But what workes were more like to follow after his fall, then his repentance, and the writing of this booke? and therefore in the ſtorie of the Kings it is ſaid, *The reſt of the words of Salomon*: 1. King. 11. 41. Wherefore *Salomon* euen after his fall vttered many wiſe words, and his wiſedome returned vnto him: and it is like to haue been ſome notable thing, that *Salomon* did in his latter time, ſeeing that three Prophets, as *Nathan*, *Ahiah*, *Iedo* in their bookes made mention thereof: as in 2. Chron. 9. 29.

The Papiſt.

THe ſecond point of the difference here betweene *Bellarmine* and vs, is that he thinketh, *Salomonem à Deo reprobatum fuiſſe*, that *Salomon* was reprobate of God: though (he ſaith) he is not ignorant, that the Iewes and *Hierome* alſo are of a contrarie opinion, yet he rather followeth *Auguſtines* iudgement herein, who ſhould ſo write (as he ſaith) *in Pſal.* 126. that *Salomon* was reiected of God. Other arguments beſide the credit of *Auguſtines* name, he vſeth none, *Bellarm. de verb. dei lib.* 1. *cap.* 5.

Anſ. I thinke the Ieſuite doth greatly miſtake and miſconſter *Auguſtine* in the place alleaged: he ſpeaketh there indeede of the fall of *Salomon*, not of his finall reprobation: *Quid mirum* (ſaith he) *ſi in populo Dei cecidit Salomon? in paradiſo non cecidit Adam?* What marueile is it if *Salomon* fell among the people, or in the Church of God? did not *Adam* fall in paradiſe? If *Salomon* were no more reprobate then *Adam* was, nor his fall more dangerous then his, *Salomon* was no caſt-away at all. *Auguſtine* addeth further: *Iſte Salomon adificauerat templum domini, in typo futuræ eccleſiæ, & corporis Chriſti*: This *Salomon* built the temple of the Lord, to bee a type of the Church, and bodie of Chriſt to come: *ibid. in Pſal.* 126. Hence then a reaſon may bee framed thus: you cannot ſhew me in all the Scripture, that a reprobate was euer appointed of God to be a figure of Chriſt or his Church: But *Salomon* was a figure of Chriſt, as it is euident throughout the whole 45. Pſal. and the temple he built, as a figure of Chriſts bodie, Ioh. 2. *Ergo.*

Againe, ſaith *Bellarmine*, the Scripture maketh no mention of the repentance of *Salomon*, and therefore it is like he repented not.

Anſ. 1. Though in matters of faith, and points of doctrine an argument may bee taken negatiuely from the Scripture, yet not ſo in matters of fact: it is a good conſequent, this doctrine is not found in Scripture, and therefore ought not to be receiued: yet it followeth not, this or that thing is not mentioned to haue been done in the ſtorie of Scripture, therefore it was not done: for Chriſt did many workes and miracles which are not remembred in the Goſpell: doth it follow therefore, that he did no more, becauſe no more are ſpoken of in the Goſpell? 2. I may then frame you the ſame anſwere, which your Maſter of Sentences maketh to that place of *Ambroſe*, who ſpeaking of S. *Peters* repentance, ſaith, *Lachrymas eius lego, ſatisfactionem non lego*: I reade of his teares, not of his ſatisfaction. Your Maſter thus anſwereth: *Multa facta ſunt, quæ ſcripta non ſunt*: Many things haue been done, that are not written. Though the Maſters anſwer be not ſufficient here, becauſe ſatisfaction is with them an eſſentiall point of penance, and pertaineth to doctrine: yet may it very well ſerue our turne in a matter of fact as touching *Salomons* repentance. 3. And yet wee doe affirme, that this act of *Salomons* conuerſion and repentance, is not altogether without euidence of Scripture, as now followeth to be ſhewed. Mag. lib. 4. d. 17. l.

The Proteſtant.

THat *Salomon* was not reiected or reprobate of God, but choſen rather and elected, thus by Scripture we make it plaine.

Argum. 1. I vrge thoſe places of Scripture, 2. Sam. 12. 24. it is ſaid, that God loued *Salomon*, and thereupon the Prophet called him *Ieidiah*, beloued of God: but whom God loueth, he loueth to the end. Againe, 2. Sam. 7. 14. there the Prophet thus ſpeaketh in the name of the Lord concerning *Salomon*: *I will be his father, and he ſhall be my ſonne: if he ſinne, I will chaſten him, &c. but my mercie ſhall not depart away from him, as I tooke it from Saul, whom I put away before thee*: the rea-

son is gathered thus: *Salomon* was not cast away as *Saul* was, *Saul* was cast away for euer. *Ergo*, so was not *Salomon*.

*Argum.*2. Reade 2.Chron.11.vers.17. *Roboboam* (saith the text) *for three yeares walked in the way of Dauid and Salomon*, that is, in the true worship of God: *Dauids* way and *Salomons* way, are here ioyned together, and taken for all one: but *Dauid* dyed the seruant of God: *Ergo*, also *Salomon*. Neither can any man here say, that *Salomons* way is here iudged by the beginning, not by the end: for God measureth the righteousnes of men by the end, not by the beginning: he iudgeth them as he findeth them, he regardeth not what they haue been, Ezech.18.24.

*Argum.*3. Though these places of Scripture are euident enough to conuince the matter in hand, yet we will vnto these adioyne this reason: Can any man shew me, when, and where, God vsed a reprobate as his instrument, and pen-man to write Scripture, or as a type and figure of Christ? but *Salomon* was both a writer and register of Scripture, and a most liuely type of Christ: *Ergo*, he was no reprobate. The proposition of this argument is apparantly grounded vpon Scripture, as Rom.8.14. *As many as are ledde by the spirit of God, are the sonnes of God*: but the Prophets which were the writers and pen-men of Scripture, spake as they were moued by the holy Ghost, 2.Pet.1.21. and so were led by the spirit: *Ergo*, they were the sonnes of God, and so not reprobates. Now wherein *Salomon* was a type of Christ, is thus declared by *Origen* in his prologue vpon the Canticles: *In plurimis Salomonem Christi typum ferre, &c.* That *Salomon* in many things did beare the type of Christ is not to be doubted: first, in that he is called peaceable: secondly, in that the Queene of the South came vnto him from the ends of the earth: and Christ is the true Ecclesiastes, or Preacher, who took vpon him the forme of a seruant, that he might congregate and gather together his Church: *A congregando enim ecclesiam ecclesiastes dicitur*: For he is named of the Church of gathering ỹ Church together. And thus it appeareth how *Salomon* was a type of Christ.

Againe, our Sauiour Christ saith, *Where I am, there also shall my ministers be*, Ioh.12.26. but the writers of Scripture were in this especiall seruice the principall ministers of Christ: *Ergo*, they rest with Christ and are not cast-awaies. But sufficient of this by matter, let vs now proceede.

OF THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKES of Scripture.

The Papists.

1.Error. THere are certaine bookes annexed to the old Testament, which the Papists themselues doe not acknowledge for canonicall, as the Prayer of *Manasses*, the two bookes of *Esdras*, commonly called the third and fourth of *Esdras*: also other which are not vsually in our English Bibles, as an appendix to the booke of *Iob* the 151. Psalme, a Preface to the lamentations of *Ieremie*, the third and fourth booke of the *Machabees*, a booke called the Pastor. None of all these bookes are found in the Hebrue: one of them onely is translated out of the Syriake, namely, the appendix to *Iob*: some of them are extant in Latin onely, as the Prayer of *Manasses*, the third and fourth of *Esdras*, the rest are in Greeke. Of all the other, the bookes of *Esdras* are worthie of least credit, being stuffed full of vaine fables, fitter to feed curious eares, then tending to edification: as *cap.*4.6.*lib.*4. there is a tale put in of two great fishes, *Henoch*, and *Leuiathan*, which no waters could hold: chap.4.41. he saith, that the soules are kept in the womb of the earth: in the 14. chapter he reporteth how the bookes of Scripture being lost in the captiuitie, were restored by *Esdras*, and how after he had drunke off a cup of water, but as fire in colour, giuen him by the Angell, he spake fortie daies together and ceased not: in which space fiue Scribes wrote from his mouth 204. bookes: these and such like tales that booke is full of. All these aforesaid bookes are as well by our aduersaries, as our selues reiected: so that they themselues dare not allow all that is extant in their Latin vulgar translation.

Other bookes also there were some annexed to the old Testament, some to the new, which were deuised by Heretikes, but now are not extant, whereof there is no question betweene vs: as another booke of *Genesis*, called *περίοδοι*, *Genesis* the lesse, whereof *Hierome* maketh mention, *tom.*4.*de.*43.*mansionib.* Likewise the booke of *Henoch*, which, as *Augustine* saith, *ob nimiam antiquitatem reijcitur*, is reiected because it is too old: *lib.*18.*de ciuitat dei.cap.*38.

Gelasius also in his Decretall, reciteth certaine Apocryphal bookes of the old Testament: as one of the daughters of *Adam*, another of *Ogias*, a giant, that should fight with the Dragon after the flood: a booke also called the repentance of *Iannes* and *Mambres*: *Decret.p.*1.*d.*15.*c.*3.

These bookes also were forged in the new Testament: as the gospell of the twelue Apostles, the gospell of *Thomas*, another gospell of *Matthias*: mentioned by S. *Ambrose*, *procem. in Luc.* S. *Hierome* also, *Catalog. scriptor.* maketh mention of these bookes: the acts of *Peter*, the gospell of *Peter*, the preaching of *Peter*, the reuelation of *Peter*: a gospell to the Hebrewes: an epistle of *Barnabas*: the peregrinations of *Paul* and *Thecla*.

Gelaſius in his Decretall reckoneth vp a great number of ſuch like forgeries: as the iourneyes of *Peter*, the acts of *Andrew*, the acts of *Philip*, the acts of *Peter*, the acts of *Thomas*: alſo the goſpell of *Thaddeus*, the goſpell of *Thomas*, the goſpell of *Barnabas*, the goſpell of S. *Andrew*: likewiſe certaine forged reuelations, as of *Paul*, of *Thomas*, of *Stephen*: with many ſuch other, as may bee ſeene in that place, as it is alleaged by *Gratian*, *Decret. p. 1. d. 15. cap. 3.* But of theſe and ſuch like there is no controuerſie betweene vs.

The queſtion betweene vs then is concerning theſe bookes: firſt, certaine peeces ioyned to canonicall bookes, as ſeuen chapters of *Eſther*, certaine ſtories annexed to *Daniel*, as of *Bell* and the Dragon, of *Suſanna*, the Song of the three children: alſo the Epiſtle of *Baruch* ioyned to *Ieremie*. Then follow certaine whole bookes, as *Tobie*, *Iudith*, the Wiſedome of *Salomon*, *Eccleſiaſticus*, two bookes of the *Machabees*: theſe ſixe bookes, with the other three appendices or peeces of bookes the Papiſts hold to be canonicall, and of as firme authoritie as any part of the Scripture. Arguments they haue none, beſide certaine teſtimonies of ſome Fathers and Councels, which we purpoſe not to deale withall, leauing them to our learned countrie men who haue taken in hand to diſcuſſe theſe controuerſies to the full, *Bellarm. de verb. dei lib. 1. cap. 4.* &c. *Iohnſon. de ſect. q. 1.*

The Proteſtants.

WE are agreed concerning the new Teſtament, that all the bookes thereof as they ſtand are to be receiued of all for Scripture: for as for thoſe forged goſpels of *Thomas*, S. *Andrew*, of *Nicodemus*, and the like, though the Church were troubled with them in times paſt, yet their memorie being now worne out, there is no queſtion of them. Concerning the bookes on both ſides acknowledged, if ſome one man ſeeme to doubt of ſome one part, as *Luther* is thought to doe of the Epiſtle of *Iames* and *Iude*, it ought no more to preiudice vs, then *Caietanus* opinion doth hurt them, who called more bookes in queſtion then *Luther* did, as the Epiſtle of *Iames*, of *Iude*, the ſecond of *Peter*, the ſecond and third of *Iohn*, the laſt chapter of *Marke*.

We differ not then in the new Teſtament, vnleſſe it be concerning the author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrewes, which our aduerſaries ſtoutly affirme to bee S. *Pauls*, which wee denie not, neither certainly can affirme it, ſeeing in ſome Greeke copies it is left out, and in the Syriack tranſlation: ſome would proue S. *Paul* to be the author of this Epiſtle, by that place 2. Pet. 3. 15. where the Apoſtle maketh mention of S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, which *according to the wiſedome giuen vnto him he wrote to you*: that is, the Hebrewes, for vnto them S. *Peter* writeth both the firſt, 1. epiſt. 1. 1. and the ſecond Epiſtle, 2. Epiſt. 3. verſ. 1. I finde alſo that many excellent godly learned men of ancient time, as *Hierome*, *Auguſtine*, *Ambroſe*, and before them *Origen*, *hom. 8. in Geneſ.* with others, haue taken S. *Paul* for the author of this Epiſtle. And among the late famous witneſſes of Gods truth, and holy Martyrs (to whoſe iudgement I attribute as much, if not more, as to any mans beſide) that bleſſed man Maſter *Philpot*, doth cite S. *Paul* to the Hebrewes, in a certaine epiſtle of his written to the Chriſtian congregation, *Fox.* p. 1832. and againe in another epiſtle to certaine godly brethren, pag. 1385. col. 2. But it mattereth not who was the author, ſeeing wee receiue it as canonicall: for the title is no part of the booke, and ſo neither of Scripture: and we receiue many bookes in the old Teſtament, the authors whereof are not perfectly knowne. And of this matter, thus further writeth S. *Hierome*: *Catalog. ſcriptor. Epiſtola, quæ fertur ad Hebræos, &c.* The epiſtle to the Hebrewes is not thought to be *Pauls*, becauſe of the difference of the phraſe and ſtile: but either the epiſtle of *Barnabas* according to *Tertullian*, or of *Luke* or *Clement*: or ſurely, becauſe *Paul* writ to the Hebrewes, he cut off the title of his name, becauſe it was enuied amongſt them: he writeth as an Hebrew to the Hebrewes, that is in his owne tongue moſt eloquently. Thus *Hierome* reporteth many opinions, ſetting downe nothing certainly himſelfe.

But here by the way, if I might be ſo bold, I would ſpurre a queſtion to our Romane Diuines, that whereas it was decreed (as they would beare vs in hand) by the Apoſtles, *can. Apoſtol. 84.* that the two epiſtles of *Clement*, and his precepts or conſtitutions contained in eight bookes, ſhould be counted amongſt the canonicall bookes of the new Teſtament: for theſe are the words of the canon, *Sint omnibus vobis Clericis & laicis, ſacri & venerandi libri, &c.* Let theſe be accounted of all both Clerkes and lay men, as holy and reuerend bookes: and then are reckoned vp the bookes of the old Teſtament, and afterward of the new, amongſt the which, the foreſaid workes of *Clement* are numbred. If thoſe bee the right canons of the Apoſtles, as wee are made to beleeue they are, how dare our aduerſaries doe contrarie to this decree? wee will giue them leaue to pauſe a while of this matter, and in the meane time proceede.

So then all the queſtion betweene vs, is about the Apocrypha of the olde Teſtament: they are called Apocrypha, becauſe they are hid and obſcure, not becauſe their authors are vnknowne: for as I ſaid, we knowe not by whom certaine Canonicall bookes were written. Neither are they ſo called becauſe of ſome vntruthes contained in them contrarie to Scripture, as the moſt of them haue, as we heard before out of S. *Hierome*: *Multa his adjecta vitioſa*: That there are many falſe things mixed in theſe bookes: for it followeth not, that euery booke which hath no vntrueth or lye,

Epiſt. ad Laetam.

lye, ſhould ſtraightwaies be taken for Scripture: but they are therefore iudged and called Apocrypha, becauſe they were not in former time receiued into publike and authenticke authoritie in the Church, neither to be alleaged as grounds of our faith, though they may be read for example of life, and may haue other profitable vſe, as S. *Hierome* well ſaith, *Legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad authoritatem Eccleſiaſticorum dogmatum confirmandam*: The Church readeth them for the edifying of the people, not the confirmation of doctrine: *Præfat. in Prouerb.* And S. *Auguſtine* ſheweth why they are ſo called, *Quia nulla teſtificationis luce declarati, de neſcio quo ſecreto, neſcio quorum præſumptione prolati ſunt*: Becauſe they were publiſhed with no light of authoritie, but hatched in ſecret by ſome mens, I know not whoſe preſumption. But the Canonicall Scripture only hath this priuiledge to giue rules of faith, and thereupon it hath the name, that we may be bold to beleeue and ground our faith vpon the Canonicall and holy Scripture, which is the onely word of God. Wherefore out of this number of Canonicall Scripture we exclude all the bookes afore named, and therefore let not the reader be deceiued, that although they be ioyned in one volume with the Scripture, to thinke that they are for that, of the ſame authoritie and credite with the reſt: firſt we will ſhew our reaſons in generall, and afterward come to the particular bookes in order.

Contra Fauſt. lib. 11. 2.

1 All Canonicall Scripture in the olde Teſtament was written by Prophets: We haue a ſure word of the Prophets, ſaith S. *Peter*. 2. 1. 19. and S. *Paul*, Rom. 16. 26. calleth them the Scriptures of the Prophets: and S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quas itaque ſcripturas dicimus, niſi canonicas, legis & prophetarum? de vnitat. eccleſ. cap.* 16. We acknowledge no Canonicall Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament, but the law and the Prophets: But none of thoſe bookes aforenamed, of *Tobias, Iudith* and the reſt, were written by the Prophets: for they were all written ſince *Malachies* time, who was the laſt Prophet, as the Church complaineth, Pſalm. 74. 9. *There is not one Prophet, nor any that can tell vs how long*: *Ergo* none of theſe bookes are Canonicall.

2 All the Canonicall bookes of the olde Teſtament, were acknowledged of the Iewes and Hebrues, for they were then onely the Church of God, and where ſhould Scripture be found but in the Church? *To them*, ſaith S. *Paul, were committed the oracles of God*, Rom. 3. 2. But the Iewes receiued none of theſe bookes into the Canon of the Scripture. For moſt of them were written in the Greeke, but none of them in the Hebrue tongue. And this ſome of the Papiſts cannot deny. *Ergo* they are not Canonicall. Here alſo S. *Auguſtine* thus writeth, *Omnes literæ, quibus Chriſtus prophetatus eſt, apud Iudæos ſunt*: All the bookes which propheſied of Chriſt, are kept amongſt the Iewes, *in Pſalm.* 56. and S. *Hierome* vpon thoſe words of the Parable, *All mine are thine*, Luke 15. thus writeth to the ſame purpoſe, *Omnia intelligamus legem prophetas eloquia diuina*: By all we vnderſtand, the law and Prophets, and the diuine ſayings: the Iewes then had all the Scriptures, but they had none of theſe Apocrypha, therefore they are no part of Scripture.

Tom. 4. de filio prodigo.

Canus a Papiſt anſwereth, *Non reiectos fuiſſe hos libros à Iudæis, ſed non receptos*, that theſe bookes were not reiected of the Iewes, but onely not receiued, *lib.* 1. *Annot. ad Anſ.* 1. This is but a quaint diſtinction, for that thing, which a man knoweth, and yet receiueth not, nor alloweth, what doth he elſe, but reiect it? As our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *He that is not with me, is againſt me: and he that gathereth not, ſcattereth abroad*, Luke 11. 23. The Iewes therefore in that they receiued not, nor acknowledged thoſe bookes, refuſed and reiected them. Secondly, how could they otherwiſe chuſe but reiect thoſe bookes, and ſunder them from the reſt of the Scripture, which were written in a ſtrange tongue, and not in Hebrue, wherein the reſt of holy Scripture was written? And what opinion the Iewes haue of theſe bookes, S. *Hierome* further witneſſeth thus: *Arguunt nos Hebræorum ſtudia, & imputant nobis contra ſuum canonem latinis auribus illa tranſferre*: The ſtudious Hebrues finde fault with vs, and blame vs for tranſlating into latine, bookes contrarie to their canon: *præfat in Tobiam.* The Iewes then did not onely not receiue theſe Apocryphall bookes, but reiected them alſo: and of this iudgement is *Arias Montanus* one of their owne Church, that no bookes of the old Teſtament not extant in the originall Hebrue, are Canonicall.

3 There is no Scripture of the old Teſtament, but it hath approbation of the new: for as the Prophets beare witneſſe to Chriſt, ſo he againe doth witnes for the Prophets, and therefore it is a true propoſition of *Caietane*, though he be controuled and checked of *Catharinus* another Papiſt for it, that there is no Scripture, which was not either written or approoued by the Apoſtles: but in the whole new Teſtament you ſhall not finde one teſtimonie cited either in the Goſpell or the Epiſtles out of any of the Apocrypha, as out of other bookes of Scripture: therefore hauing no approbation of the new Teſtament, we conclude, they are none of the olde.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Apoſtles haue declared thoſe books to be Canonicall, *lib.* 1. *de verbo. cap.* 10. *Anſwer.* 1. *Catharinus* herein is contrarie to *Bellarmine*. For he ſaith, that the Church hath receiued certaine bookes for Canonicall, *Quæcunque ſcripta ab Apoſtolis, nec approbata fuiſſe conſtat*? Which it is certaine, were neither written, nor approoued by the Apoſtles, *lib.* 1. *Annot.* Secondly, they are neuer able to ſhew, when and where the Apoſtles declared theſe bookes to be Canonicall, for as much as they are not cited, neither in the Goſpels, nor Epiſtles, written by the Apoſtles,

Apostles, which onely are their authenticall writings. And therefore we againe conclude, that because the new Testament doth not giue any witnesse to any of these bookes, as it doth to the law and the Prophets, *Quibus Christus* (as *Augustine* saith) *perhibet testimonium, vt testibus suis:* Vnto the which Christ giueth testimonie, as his witnesses, *lib. 2. contra. Gaud. cap. 23.* Therefore they are no part of the old Testament: As *Hierome* then saith of the interpretation of Scripture, *Sit illa vera interpretatio quam Apostoli probauerunt:* That is the true interpretation which the Apostles haue approued; so those are the very authenticall Scriptures, which haue the testimonie and approbation of the Apostles. Præfat. in Euangel.

4 It shall appeare in the seuerall discourse of the particular bookes, that there is somewhat euen in the bookes themselues to be found, that barreth them from being Canonicall.

OF THE BOOKE OF BARVCH.

The Papists.

THis is their best reason for the authoritie of this booke, because *Baruch* was *Ieremies* scribe: and therefore *Baruch* cannot be refused, vnlesse also we doubt of *Ieremie*. *Bellarm. lib. 1 de verbo Dei. cap. 8.*

The Protestants.

THis booke was neither written by *Ieremie* nor *Baruch:* first, because it is in Greeke: if either *Ieremie* or *Baruch* had written it, it is most like they would haue written in Hebrue. Secondly, the phrase and manner of speech sheweth, that it was neuer written in Hebrue: for in the 6. Chapter in the Epistle of *Ieremie*, vers. 2. it is said that the Israelites should be in captiuitie seuen generations, that is 70. yeares, but it cannot be found in any Hebrue booke that a generation is taken for the space of 10. yeares.

I will adde vnto this a matter of experience concerning this booke: One *Ed. Allen* a constant Martyr, reading this place in the 6. of *Baruch, Wherefore when you see the multitude of people worshipping them (he meaneth the Idols) behinde and before, say in your heart, it is thou, O Lord, that ought onely to be worshipped.* By this place, the said Martyr saith, he was seduced to heare Masse, and therefore his conscience gaue him, that it was no Scripture. *Fox.* pag. 1980. col. 1. Concerning this booke also S. *Hierome* writeth thus: *Præfat. in Ierem. librum Baruch Notary eius, qui apud Hebræos nec habetur, nec legitur prætermisimus:* I haue pretermitted the booke of *Baruch Ieremies* scribe, which the Hebrues neither haue nor reade: But if it had been one of the Canonicall bookes, *Hierome* would not haue passed it ouer.

We want not also the testimonie of our aduersaries: for *Iohannes Driedo*, a writer of their own, refuseth this booke to be Canonical. *lib. 1. de scriptur. & dogmatib. ecclesiastic. cap. vltimo.*

OF THE SEVEN APOCRYPHAL Chapters of Esther.

The Papists.

ONe of their chiefe Arguments, besides testimonies and authorities, which would make too great a Volume, is this (which is common also to the rest of the Apocrypha) they are read in the Church, and haue been of auncient time. *Ergo* they are Canonicall. I answere, that it is no good argument. *Hierome* saith plainely, *Legit Ecclesia, sed eos inter Scripturas Canonicas non recipit, Præfat. in lib. Solomon.* The Church indeede (saith he) readeth them, yet for all that they are not Canonicall. And *Augustine* was wont to reade vnto the people the Epistles of the Donatists, and his answers vnto them, *Epist. 203.*

The Protestants.

THe most of our reasons against the authoritie of the 7. Chapters added to *Esther* (for of the 10. first Chapters, which are found in the Hebrue, we make no doubt at all) are drawne from the matter of the booke it selfe.

1 In the second of the Canonicall *Esther*, ver. 16. it is said that the conspiracie of the two Eunuches against the King, was in the seuenth yeare of *Assuerus:* but in the 11. Chap. vers. 2. of the Apocryphall *Esther*, we reade that *Mardochæus* did dreame of this conspiracie in the second yeare. *Bellarmine* answereth, that both are true; for the dreame was in the second yere, and the conspiracie in the seuenth; so belike, there was fiue yeres betweene. But in the 11. Chapter, it is said that *Mardochæus* was much troubled about that dreame, and the next night after his dreame the conspiracie was enterprised.

2 The true historie of *Esther* saith, that *Mardochæus* had no reward at that time of the king, chap. 6. 3. but the forged storie saith, chap. 12. that at the same time the King gaue him great gifts, which cannot be meant of that great honor, as *Bellarmine* coniectureth, which afterward was bestowed vpon *Mardoche:* for then *Haman* (being hanged the same day that *Mardoche* was aduanced

ced to honor, Esther. 6.7.) could worke him no despite, whereas the forged storie saith, that after the King had rewarded him, then *Haman* began to stomach him, because of those two Eunuches.

3 Againe, the storie which is added, was written many yeeres after *Mardochaeus* and *Esthers* death, vnder the raigne of *Ptolemaeus* and *Cleopatra*, as it appeareth chap. 11.1. It is not like therefore to be a true storie. *Bellarmines* ridiculous coniecture is this, that there were two stories written in Hebrue of *Esther*, the one compendious and short, which wee now haue: the other more large, which might bee translated by *Lysimachus* there spoken of, chap. 11. whose translation we now only haue, the originall being perished. And it might be, saith he, that these 7. chapters were sometimes written in Hebrue, *sed casu aliquo excidisse*, by some mischance were lost. *Answ.* First, the text saith not that *Lysimachus* translated any such Hebrue storie, but onely the epistle of *Phurim*. Secondly, this cannot bee that ample and large storie imagined, being shorter, and not so full as the canonicall *Esther*. Thirdly, it is not like that these chapters, or this other storie, which he imagineth, was euer written in Hebrue: for they were more like to bee kept in the Hebrue tongue, then in the Greeke: for so much as there was neuer any people more carefull in keeping any thing, then the Iewes were of their Hebrue Scriptures. These therefore are but bare, and light coniectures to make canonicall Scripture.

4 Besides, the false storie saith, that *Haman* was a Macedonian, chap. 16. verf. 10. the true storie saith, he was an Agagite or Amalekite, chap. 8.3. how can these two agree? Nay, the forged booke saith, that *Haman* would haue destroyed the King, and so conueied the kingdome of the Persians to the Macedonians: which could in no wise be: for the kingdome of the Macedonians was not yet spoken of: and so it continued in small or no reputation till *Philippus* the father of *Alexander*, who was very neere 150. yeeres after, by *Bellarmines* owne confession.

Bellarmine to salue vp this matter, and to bring *Mardoche* neerer to the end of the Persian Monarch, when as the kingdome of the Macedonians began to florish, maketh him to be not so little as 170. yeere old, as old as *Abraham*; an age not incident into those daies, whereas in *Moses* time the age of mans life is abridged to 70. or 80. yeeres, Psal. 90. or els, saith he, whereas *Mardoche* is said to haue been brought with King *Ioachim* into captiuitie, it was not, because hee was then borne, but was in his fathers loynes. Who seeth not what sillie shifts these are?

5 Other contradictions there are betweene those two stories of *Esther*: the false storie saith, that when *Esther* came in to the King, that he looked fiercely vpon her, in so much, that she fell downe as dead, chap. 15.10. but the true storie witnesseth, that at the first the King held vp his scepter to the Queene in token of fauour, and well accepted of her comming. The false storie, that *Haman* went about to hurt *Mardoche*, because of the two Eunuchs, whose conspiracie he had reuealed, chap. 12.6. But the true storie saith, that he began to stomacke *Mardoche*, because he would not bow the knee to him, nor doe him reuerence, Esth. 3.2. *Vide plura apud Whitak. quaest. 1. cap. 18. de Scriptur.* S. *Hierome* with the rest of the Apocrypha, which are not extant in the Hebrue, excludeth these chapters of *Esther* out of the canonicall Scripture, *tom. 4. Paulino*: and in his preface to the bookes of the Kings. Neither doe we here want the testimonie of our aduersaries, for both *Nicholaus Lyranus*, and *Dionysius Carthusianus* in their commentaries vpon this booke, and *Sixtus Senensis, lib. 1. & 8. bibliothec.* doe refuse this appendix of *Esther*, as not being canonicall.

OF CERTAINE CHAPTERS annexed to Daniel.

THere are three parcels ioyned to *Daniel*, the Song of the three children, the storie of *Susanna*, of Bel and the Dragon, in the vulgar Latin, which are not any part of canonicall Scripture.

1 They are neither extant in Hebrue at this day, nor are like to haue been translated out of Hebrue into Greeke: but compiled first in Greeke, and therefore not written by *Daniel*: for verf. 54. 58. of the storie of *Susanna*, where one of the Elders saith, he saw her vnder a Lentiske tree, the other vnder a Prune tree: he vseth a certaine paronomasie or allusion vnto the Greek words: which cannot stand in the Hebrue, as of the tree σχῖνος, he saith the Angell of the Lord σχίσει, shall cut you in two: and so of the tree πρῖνος, πρίσαι shall deuide thee in two. As if a man should thus allude in English: thou wast vnder the Prune tree: the Lord shall prune thee. This allusion is not in the Hebrue, as the learned haue very well obserued, but onely in the Greeke. This exception was taken long agoe against this booke by *Iulius Africanus*, who liued vnder *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and hereof did write an epistle to *Origene*, from whom *Bellarmine* borroweth his answere which here followeth: *Hieron. catalog. scriptor.* Who also reporteth of a certaine learned Iew, that because of this allusion doubted not to say, that this booke was compiled by some Greeke: for the allusion (saith he) is in Greeke, as if a man should say in Latin, *De illice arbore, illico pereas, & de lentisco, non lente pereas*: and as if in English a man should thus say, thou wast vnder a firre tree, the Lord shall fire thee, or vnder a pare tree, he shall pare thee.

Præfat. in Daniel.

Bellarmine

Bellarmine anſwereth, that *Daniel* neither named the Lentiske tree, nor the Prime tree, but ſome other, that might haue an alluſion to cutting, as the names in Greeke haue: and that the Greeke tranſlator kept not the word, but the ſenſe. *Bellarm. cap.* 9. *Anſw.* Firſt, the Ieſuite, that is ſo full of his coniectures, ſhould likewiſe haue geſſed, what trees they were, and how they are called in Hebrue, that *Daniel* named: ſo ſhould his coniecture haue ſeemed more probable. Secondly, if his imagined Hebrue ſhould name one tree, the interpreter ſhould ſet downe another, to keepe the alluſion ſtill, one of them muſt needes tell an vntrueth, and ſo both of them could not be Scripture, which faileth not in the leaſt trueth.

2 The particular time is not knowne when this ſtorie ſhould bee done: yet it is certaine, it was in the captiuitie; for *Suſanna* dwelt in Babylon: but *Daniel* could not then bee ſo young a childe as the ſtorie maketh, for he was carried away in the firſt captiuitie with *Iehoiakim*, as it is Dan. 1. And *Ezechiel*, that liued about that time, doth ſpeake of the great prudence and ſage wiſedome of *Daniel*, Ezech. 28. 3. and ioyneth him with *Noah* and *Iob*, chap. 14. All this proueth that *Daniel* could not bee ſo very a babe in the beginning of the captiuitie, as the ſtorie maketh him.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that *Ezechiel* maketh mention of *Daniel*, *viuentis adhuc in etate puerili*, being but a childe: being euen then famous amongſt the people for the deliuering of *Suſanna*, and for his interpretations of dreames. *Anſwer.* But the contrarie is eaſily proued, that *Daniel* was no childe, when *Ezechiel* gaue this teſtimonie of him. 1. He is ioyned with *Noah* and *Iob*, and the text ſaith, *They ſhall ſaue neither ſonnes nor daughters*: which could not bee true of *Daniel*, being himſelfe but a childe. And though, as the Ieſuite ſaith, it be but a ſuppoſition, that if theſe three were among them, &c. yet would not the Prophet ſuppoſe a thing impoſſible, as if a childe might haue both ſonnes and daughters. 2. Againe, the word which the Prophet vſeth, ſaying (if theſe three men, &c.) [illegible], is neuer giuen to any childe in Scripture, but is alwaies ſpoken of the elder ſort: as 1. Sam. 17. 12. *Iſhai ſenex veniens inter homines*: *Iſhai* was counted old among men. Likewiſe, Eſay. 32. 9. *Riſe ye women or mothers, and heare ye daughters*: the word is [illegible], which is the plurall number of [illegible] the firſt letter radicall taken away. Wherefore it appeareth by the vſe and acceptation of this word, that *Daniel*, who is by the Prophet counted among the elder men, could at that time be no childe.

3 In the ſtorie of *Daniel* it is ſaid that he was ſixe daies in the Lions denne: but the true ſtorie ſaith, he was there but one night, chap. 6. The Ieſuit anſwereth, he was twice in the Lions denne, or rather he thinketh there were two *Daniels*, the one of the tribe of *Iuda*, which was that great Prophet: the other of *Leui*, which was the principall in thoſe two ſtories of *Suſanna*, and of Bel and the Dragon. But this is a poore ſhift, to inuent another *Daniel*, whom the Scripture neuer knew: and if it were ſo, why are all their acts ioyned together, as if one *Daniel* had done and writ them all?

Other exceptions were taken in times paſt, as S. *Hierome* reporteth, by a certaine learned Iew ſpoken of before, againſt theſe forged pieces of *Daniel*: as againſt the Song of the three children: *Tantum otij fuit trib. illis pueris, &c.* Had the three children ſuch leiſure, in the middeſt of the furnace to make verſes, and to ſtirre vp all creatures to the praiſe of God? And as for the ſtorie of Bell, what great miracle was it to finde out the deceit of the prieſts, or to kill the Dragon, with gobbets of pitch, which were done rather by a cunning wit, then a propheticall ſpirit? And concerning the taking vp of *Habbacucke*, ſaith he, where can the like example be ſhewed in al the old Teſtament, that any of the Saints was carried in his bodie, and did flie in the ayre: whereas *Ezechiel* (ſaith he) was tranſported in ſpirit; and *Paul* dare not affirme, that he was rapt vp in his bodie? Thus then that Iew oppoſed, as *Hierome* hath the ſtorie, *præfat. in Danielem.*

Vpon theſe and ſuch like reaſons, S. *Hierome* doubteth not to call the ſtorie of Bell and the Dragon fables: *præfat. in Daniel.* and ſo doth S. *Auguſt. de mirabilib. lib.* 2. *cap.* 32. *Bellarmines* anſwere is, that by fables, *Hierome* vnderſtandeth, hiſtories, *cap.* 9. which is a very ſimple anſwer, and vntrue: for *Hierome* in the ſame place further thus writeth: *Quas fabulas, &c. nos verum antepoſito, caſtigatum ſubiecimus*: Which fables, becauſe they are ſo well knowne, wee haue added, that is tranſlated, but marked them with a daſh ſtroke or croſſe line to cut the throat of them: for *Hierome* vſed this marke in his tranſlation, thereby ſignifying what he would haue put out. If *Hierome* calling them fables, ſhould meane ſtories, why did he thus write? And *Auguſtine* in the place alleaged giueth a reaſon, why he will not collect any wonders, or miracles out of theſe bookes, becauſe he counteth them fables: if he had vnderſtood ſtories, he would not haue pretermitted them.

But what opinion S. *Hierome* had of theſe fabulous ſtories, it is cleere by *Ruffinus* inuectiue, who blameth him, for that he cut off from the Scriptures the ſtorie of *Suſanna*, an example of great chaſtitie, and the Song of the three children. And *Ruffinus* in the ſame place, rather being ſtirred in choler, than ſpeaking of iudgement, thus argueth the caſe with *Hierome*: Firſt, ſaith he,

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it is not to bee doubted but that *Peter* sitting 24. yeeres at Rome, did deliuer vnto the Church all the bookes of Scripture, and these among the rest: but it is not like he would commend vnto them false bookes. Secondly, the Apostle biddeth vs to take heede of Iewish fables, and must we now be sent to the Iewes to learne, which are the Scriptures? Thirdly, thus the holy martyrs are held to haue been in error, which did vse to sing in the Church, the Song of the three children.

These and such like arguments *Ruffinus* vseth in his inuectiues against *Hierome*: to the which *Hieromes* answere may be thus gathered, though I finde not in any one place these arguments by him confuted.

To the first: it is denied, that *Peter*, of whose sitting at Rome so many yeeres it may be doubted, did not commend any of the Apocryphall bookes to the Church, as parcell of the Scripture: for *Hierome* thus writeth, *Apostolici viri scripturis vtuntur Hebraicis, &c.* The Apostolike men vse none but the Hebrue Scriptures. It is manifest, that thus did the Apostles and Euangelists: but the Apocrypha are not in the Hebrue.

Apolog. 2. in Ruffinum.

To the second: the same Apostle, which biddeth vs take heede of Iewish fables, yet referreth vs vnto them, for the diuine oracles: Rom. 3. 2. yea, and *Origene*, as *Hierome* saith, whom *Ruffinus* did so extoll, did conferre with the Iewes for the vnderstanding of the Hebrue Scriptures, as he confesseth, that he learned of one *Huillus* a Iew what is vnderstood by *Ariel*, in the 29. of Esay. v. 1 *apolog. 1. cont. Ruffin.*

To the third: it followeth not, though they bee read in the Church, that therefore they are Scripture: the Church readeth them for the edifying of the people, as *Hierome* saith, not for the confirmation of doctrine. And as touching the martyrs, they might haue their errors, as their sinnes: neither ought wee to embrace the errors of martyrs: *Defendamus ergo peccata* (saith *Hierome*) *quia qui postea martyres, prius peccatores fuerunt:* We might as well maintaine their sinnes, because they, which afterward became martyrs, first were sinners. Thus wee see how *Ruffinus* challenged S. *Hierome* for leauing out of the Apocrypha, and how S. *Hierome* defendeth himselfe: and yet it may seeme strange, that *Ruffinus* should blame *Hierome* for this, whereas, he himselfe in the Creede which goeth vnder his name, which is to bee found both amongst *Cyprian*, and *Hieromes* workes, doth exclude the bookes of *Tobie, Iudith, Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus*, the Wisedome of *Salomon*, out of the number of the sacred Scripures. But thus much of this controuersie betweene these two ancient writers.

Pammachio & Oceano.

Lastly, wee haue here the testimonie of our aduersaries, for *Ioannes Driedo*, a popish writer, refuseth these pieces annexed to *Daniel*, as being no part of the Scripture: *lib. 1. de scriptur. & dogmatib. ecclesiastic. cap. vltimo.*

OF THE BOOKE OF TOBIE.

1 THis booke is not found in the Hebrue, in the which tongue all the oracles of God were kept. *Ergo*, it is worthily doubted of.

2 Our aduersaries themselues confesse, that in *Hieromes* time it was not receiued for canonicall. The Iesuite answereth: that it might be doubted of before it was determined in a generall Councell: to whom (saith he) it appertaineth to define of canonicall Scripture: As though this were not a greater doubt, whether a Councel hath any such authoritie to determine which bookes ought to be receiued for canonicall, for *Canus* a Papist maketh a question of it, *lib. 2. cap. 8.* And the Iesuite himselfe saith that the Church cannot, *Facere canonicum de non canonico*, make a booke not canonicall to be canonicall, but onely to declare those to be canonicall, which are so indeed. Wherefore the Papists take too much vpon them, to make this booke within the Canon, being of it selfe not canonicall, and so adiudged by antiquitie.

3 There is some contradiction in the storie, as it is translated in the vulgar Latin, for chap. 3. vers. 7. the text saith, that *Sara* dwelt in Rages, a citie in Media: but chap. 7. 1. she is said to dwell in Ecbatane: and from thence *Tobie* sendeth the Angell to Rages, to receiue the money of *Gabael*.

Bellarmine answereth, that there might bee two cities of the same name (Rages) one where *Sara* dwelt with *Raguel*, another where *Gabael* dwelt: or she might bee said to dwell in Rages, because she dwelt neere vnto it, *Bellarm. cap. 11.*

Answer. First, who seeth not what beggerly shifts these are: as before the Iesuite found out two *Daniels*, so here he hath found vs out two cities: but none of these shifts can serue his turne: for whether he say, that *Sara* dwelt in his new found citie, or neere vnto Rages, both are false, if that bee true in the 7. chapter, that she dwelt in Ecbatane. Secondly, all this busines the Iesuit is put to, because he will not confesse an error in the Latin translation, which in stead of Ecbatane, readeth Rages, chap. 3. 7. as by examining of the Greeke text may easily appeare: And thus *Michael Medina* dissolueth this doubt, whose iudgement though *Bellarmine* mislike, yet in the end he must bee faine to agree to him: or else those places will neuer bee reconciled. This obiection,

though

though it maketh nothing against the credit of this storie, which wee impugne by other arguments, yet it much shaketh the authoritie of their vulgar Latin.

He that readeth the booke it selfe shall finde that both the stile, and the matter is not such as becometh canonicall Scripture: as chap. 1. 8. the euill spirit named *Asmodeus*, a word not found in the canonicall Scripture, see *Tremel.* vpon that place. Chap. 6. 2. the Angell is made to say he was of *Azarias* stocke. 6. 1. in the vulgar Latin, but not in the Greeke, *Tobie his dogge followed him*, a matter not beseeming the grauitie of Scripture. Chap. 12. 15. *Raphael* one of the seuen Angels: see *Tremel.* vpon that place. Chap. 8. 3. the diuell driuen away with the smell of a broyled liuer.

S. *Hierome* of the booke of *Tobie*, thus writeth, *Legit quidam ecclesiasticis Canonibus adscriptus non recipitur*. The Church readeth them, but receiueth them not into the number of Canonicall Scriptures. Præfat in Prouerb.

OF THE BOOKE OF IVDITH.

AN especiall argument against this booke is, that the historie cannot bee assigned to any time.

It is pretie sport to see how the Papists doe moyle themselues about this point, and cannot agree amongst themselues. Some hold that this storie fell out after the captiuitie in *Cambyses* time, as *Lyranus*, and *Driedo* some in *Darius Hystaspis* raigne, as *Gerardus Mercator*: some would haue it before the captiuitie in *Sedechias* time, as *Genebrard*: some in *Iosias* time, as *Iohan. Driedo*: but the Iesuite confuteth them all, and bringeth the storie to *Manasses* raigne: but he hath dasht out the cushion.

It appeareth that this storie could not be after the captiuitie, for we reade not of any *Nabuchadnezar* afterwards, for the kingdome was translated from the Assyrians to the Persians and Medes. Againe, it could not bee before, either in *Iosias* time, *Sedechias*, or *Manasses*: first, because in the 5. chapter vers. 18. it is said, that the Temple had been destroyed and cast downe, which could not be in any of those Kings raignes. It is but a shift of *Bellarmines*, to say those words were foysted into the text: it is rather to be thought, that the Iesuite is put to his trumps, not hauing else what to answer. Secondly, *Iudith* being at this time in the flower of her age, and liuing afterward many yeeres till she was 105. yeeres old, all which time, and many yeeres after her death, the booke saith in the last chapter, the land had rest: this cannot agree with *Manasses* times: for within 40. yeeres or not much aboue, the land fell into great trouble, straight after *Iosias* death. Where then is this long time of rest? And the Iesuite that stil groundeth vpon impossibilities and vnlikelihoods, that *Iudith* was at this time fortie yeere old, which was (saith he) in the beginning of *Manasses* raigne, and so to die about seuen yeeres before *Iosias*: yet for all his scanning is driuen to this shift, that the many yeeres peace after her death must be vnderstood of poore seuen yeeres. Prælat. in Iudith.

Thirdly, if all this happened in *Manasses* time, whom the King of Assur tooke and carried away prisoner, and had much troubled and afflicted the countrie of Iudea: what neede had *Holofernes* to enquire so curiously of *Achior* the Ammonite, of the countrie, their citie, people, kings, and such like: seeing they had knowne the countrie too well before in spoyling and wasting of it, as the Iewes by wofull experience had felt? And this is *Bellarmines* owne reason against their opinion that hold *Iudith* to haue liued after the captiuitie: *argum.* 8. because *Holofernes* needed not then to haue enquired of the people, and of the countrie, seeing the Persians could be ignorant of none of these things, saith he, when as they had dismissed the Iewes thither a little before. But this reason holdeth stronger against *Bellarmine*: for what neede any such inquisition after this people, seeing the King of Assur had sent his host and Captaines thither before to fetch *Manasses* to Babylon? Iudith cap. 5. Prælat. in Tobiam.

S. *Hierome* saith, that this booke of *Iudith*, as the other of *Tobie*, were not receiued of the Church into the Canon of the Scriptures: *præfat. in Proverb.* And *Augustine* againe thus affirmeth out of S. *Hierome*: *Librum Iudith Iudæi in canonicis scripturis non recipiunt, & minus authoritatis habet ad ea roboranda, quæ in controuersiam veniunt*: The Iewes are said, not to haue receiued the booke of *Iudith* into the canon of the Scriptures, and it is of small authoritie to strengthen any doctrine, that commeth in question, *de ciuitat. dei* 18. 36.

OF THE BOOKE OF WISEDOME.

The Papists.

OVr aduersaries reason thus: they say that S. *Paul*, Rom. 11. 34. vsing this speech: *Who hath known the Lords mynde, or beene his counseller?* doth allege it out of the 4. chap. of this booke, verse. 13. *Ergo*, it is Canonicall. We answere. First, the Apostle seemeth not in that place to cite

any testimonie, though the words which he vseth may else where be found. Secondly, though the like words are read in the booke of Wisdome, yet it is not necessarie the Apostle should borrow them from thence, but rather they are alleaged out of the 40. of Esay 13. where the Prophet saith: *Who hath instructed the Spirit of God, or was his counseller?* And this also is the opinion of the Rhemists, that S. *Paul* in that place vseth the Prophets words.

The Protestants.

OVr reasons against the authoritie of this booke are these and such like.

1 Because this booke is not found in the Hebrue, but written onely in Greeke: wherefore it is not Canonicall, seeing the Iewes had all the oracles of God.

2 *Philo* a Iewe is thought by the Papists themselues to be the author of this booke, who liued after Christ in the time of *Caligula*, neither himselfe was a Christian or beleeued in Christ: therefore an vnlike man to be a writer of Canonicall Scripture. *Bellarmine* saith it was another *Philo*, who was more auncient. Indeede *Iosephus* maketh mention of a *Philo* before this time, but he was an Heathen and no Iewe: But this booke was held to be *Philonis Iudaei*, *Philo* the Iewes, as S. *Hierome* witnesseth, *praef. in Prou.* and S. *Aug. lib. 17. de ciuit. cap. 20.*

3 If this booke were written by *Salomon*, why is it not extant in Hebrue? For *Salomon* wrote in Hebrue and not in Greeke. Many of the Papists also doe prooue, that it was not written by *Salomon*: for though *Salomon* in the second chapter be brought in praying vnto God, that is no good argument to proue *Salomon* the author, for the author might speake in the person of *Salomon*. S. *Hierome* doubteth not to call this booke, *Pseudepigraphum*, falsely intituled: and against *Vigilantius*: *De Salomone sumis testimonium quod Salomonis non sunt?* You bring a saying out of *Salomon*, which was none of *Salomons*. And S. *Augustine*, *Propter nescio nescio quam similitudinem, vt Salomonis dicatur, obtinuit consuetudo*: Custome hath so preuailed, that it is called *Salomons*, for the likenes of stile and speech: *de ciuit. dei lib. 17. ca. 20.* If this booke then were none of *Salomons*, and yet beareth his name, it cannot be Canonicall Scripture wherein there is no vnitruth.

OF THE BOOKE, CALLED Ecclesiasticus.

The Papists.

THey haue none but common and generall argumen ts for the authoritie of this booke, as that it was of old read in the Church, and diuers of the fathers alleadged testimonies out of it. All this proueth not, as we haue shewed before, that it was Canonicall, but that it was well esteemed and thought of, because of many holesome and good precepts which are contayned in it. And for further answere, we say, that it followeth not, because the Fathers doe quote Ecclesiasticus in their writings, that therefore it is Canonicall. First, the Fathers alleage also the testimonies of the heathen Philosophers and Poets, and yet they are nothing lesse then Canonicall. Secondly, *Hierome* saith, *Legit Ecclesia, &c.* The Church readeth them, but yet doth not take them for Canonicall: as then the Church doth reade them, and yet maketh them no Scripture, so the Fathers in their writings may vse them. Thirdly, if it shall be said, that the Fathers doe cite this booke as Canonicall: to this I answer, that therein, they may be deceiued as *Augustine* was, who sometime alleageth Ecclesiasticus vnder the name of a Prophet, *lib. cont. Pagan. 6.* and calleth the booke Prophetical, *lib. 2. de Genes. c. 5.* But this his opinion he retracteth: *lib. 1. Retract. 20.* Or else the Fathers doe alleage these bookes not as Canonicall, but as *Hagiographa*, that is, holy writings, such as were inferior to the Scriptures; but yet to be preferred before other mens writings: as *Hierome* saith the Hebrues did count the bookes of *Tobie* and *Iudith* among the *Hagiographa*, and yet did cut them off from the Scriptures.

Praefat. in Prouerb.

Praefat. in Tobiam.

The Protestants.

WE doe thus improue the authoritie of this booke.

1 The author in the Preface sayth, that he translateth in this booke such things, as before were collected by his grandfather in Hebrue, and excuseth himselfe, because that things translated out of the Hebrue doe loose their grace, and haue not the same force: so then it appeareth that this booke cannot be canonicall being imperfect: Neither was his grandfathers worke (which is now lost) to be thought any part of the scripture, seeing he was no prophet himselfe, but a compiler and a collector of certayne things out of the prophets.

2 He exhorteth his countrey men to take it in good worth, and so craueth pardon: but the spirit of God vseth not to make any such excuse, whose works are most perfect, and feare not the iudgement of men.

3 This booke saith, chap. 46. vers. 20. that *Samuel* prophesied after his death, and from the earth lift vp his voice. Whereas the canonicall Scripture saith not that it was *Samuel*, but that *Saul* so imagined, and thought it to be *Samuel*, 1. Sam. 28. And *Augustine* thinketh it was, *phantasma Samuelis*, but a shew onely and representation of *Samuel*, and an illusion of the diuell, *lib. ad*

Dulcitium,

Dulcitium, quæst. 6. For it is not to be thought, that the diuell can diſeaſe the ſoules of any men, much leſſe of Saints departed. See more of this, *controuerſ. 9. quæſt. 1. part. 2.* S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that Eccleſiaſticus is thought to be *Salomons*, as before he ſaid of the other booke called the *Wiſdome of Salomon: Propter nescio nullam eloquij ſimilitudinem:* For ſome likenes of the phraſe, *lib. 17. de ciuit. Dei c. 20.* S. *Hierome: Hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis:* Theſe two bookes the Church may reade for edifying of the people, not any confirmation of doctrine: *præfat. in Prouerb.* In the 84. Canon of the Apoſtles, there are onely three bookes aſcribed to *Salomon*, the Prouerbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and the Canticles: but as for this booke the Canon giueth this caueat, *Extrinſecus addiſcant iuuenes ſapientiam eruditi Sirach:* Let the young men learne the wiſdome of learned *Sirach*, beſide and without the Canon. *Gelaſius* Biſhop of Rome in his decree of the Canonicall Scripture, doth bring in onely two bookes vnder *Salomons* name, the Prouerbs and Eccleſiaſtes with the Canticles, both which he maketh one booke: And thus haue we the teſtimonie of our aduerſaries owne authors againſt them.

OF THE TWO BOOKES OF THE Machabees.

OVr Arguments againſt the authoritie of this booke are theſe enſuing, for our aduerſaries bring nothing on their parte, but ſuch arguments drawen from teſtimonies and authorities, as doe generally ſerue for all the Apocrypha, which are aunſwered afore.

1 *Iudas* is commended, 2. booke chap. 12. for offering ſacrifice for the dead: which was not commaunded by the law, neither is it the cuſtome of the Iewes ſo to doe to this day. And againe, they were manifeſt idolaters: for there were found iewels vnder their coates conſecrate to the Idols of the Iamnites. And our aduerſaries grant themſelues, that prayer is not to be made for open malefactors dying impenitently. *Bellarmine* ſaith, that *Iudas* did godlie thinke, that they might repent them at the very point of death, *c. 15. ad obiect. 1. Anſw.* By this reaſon a man may pray for the wickedeſt man, that dyeth, if he haue a conceite, that he might repent in the very inſtant of death: but this is contrarie to their owne Canons: *Decret. par. 2. cauſ. 24. qu. 2. c. 4. Gelaſ. Nobis fas non eſt aliud decernere præter id in quo dies ſupremus quemque inuenit:* We ought not to iudge otherwiſe of a man, then as his laſt day findeth him.

2 *Lib. 2. cap. 2.* many things are reported of the arke, the holy fire, the altar, the tabernacle, which ſhould be hidde by *Ieremie* in a caue, and that the Lord would ſhewe the people theſe things at their returne. Here are many things vnlikely and vntrue. Firſt, it is found, ſaith the text, in the writings of *Ieremie*: but no ſuch ſtorie is there found. Secondly, *Ieremie* was in priſon till the very taking of the Citie: and the Citie being taken the Temple was ſpoyled, the holy things defaced and carried away: how could they then be conueyed by *Ieremie*? Thirdly, in their returne they found neither arke nor fire, nor any ſuch thing. But, ſaith the Ieſuite, the Iewes in their conuerſion to God in the end of the world may haue them againe: as though when they ſhall beleeue in Chriſt, they will any more looke backe to the ceremonies or rites of the law: for what vſe then I pray you ſhall they haue of altar or ſacrifice or any ſuch like?

3 There is a great diſagreeing in the ſtorie betweene the two bookes concerning the death of *Antiochus, lib. 1. cap. 6. v. 8. 16.* It is ſaid that *Antiochus* died for griefe in Babylon, hearing of the good ſucceſſe of the Iewes. *lib. 2. 1. ver. 16. Antiochus* was with the reſt of his ſoldiers ſlaine in the Temple of Nanea, and his head cut off and throwen forth. Chap. 9. the ſame *Antiochus* falling ſicke by the way dyed with a moſt filthy ſtinking ſmell, conſumed of wormes: thus, *this murtherer and blaſphemer*, ſayth the text, 2. *lib. 9. 28. died a miſerable death in a ſtrange countrey among the mountaines.* How could this man dye thrice, in Babylon, in Nanea, and by the way in a ſtrange countrey? It is confeſſed by the Ieſuite that it was the ſame *Antiochus*, who ſaith he loſt his armie in the temple, and ſickened by the way, and dyed at Babylon. But the ſtorie ſaith, that their heads were cutte off: I thinke then he could not liue, and that he dyed in a ſtraunge countrey, therefore not at Babylon in his bed. Theſe things hang not together.

4 Further, the author of theſe bookes ſayth, that he abridgeth the ſtorie of one *Iaſon* a Syrenean, *lib. 2. cap. 2. ver. 23.* who was an Heathen: but the ſpirit of God vſeth not, neither needeth to borrow of prophane writers. He ſaith that this worke was not eaſie but painefull to him, but required ſweating and watching. verſ. 26. But to the holy writers of Scripture though their owne labour and diligence was not wanting, yet was not the worke hard or moleſtious vnto them. Laſtly, the author (ſaith he) writeth for pleaſure and recreation of the reader, and craueth pardon if he haue not done well, *lib. 2. 15. 39.* But to reade for pleaſure is no end of Scripture: neither doth the ſpirit of God vſe any excuſe either for matter or manner.

Our aduerſaries ſay, that S. *Paul* likewiſe confeſſeth, that he was rude in ſpeaking, 1. Cor. 11. 6. We anſwere, he ſo ſayth, becauſe the falſe Apoſtles ſo gaue out of him, not that he was ſo indeede:

and yet in that place S. *Paul* doth not excuse himselfe, for his not sufficient handling of his matter, as this author doth. Neither is that speech of S. *Luke* any thing like: for there the Euangelist doubteth not to say, that he had attayned to an exact knowledge of all things. Vpon these premisses we conclude, that these bookes of the Machabees are not Canonicall, nor to be taken for any part of holy Scripture, though we denie not, but that there may be some profitable vse of them for the storie.

5 Lastly, 2. Machab. c. 14. v. 42. *Razis* is commended for killing of himselfe, contrarie to the Scripture. *Bellarmine* answereth, that he is commended not for his godly, but manfull act: he is said to haue dyed manfully.

Answ. 1. The word is ἀγαθῶς, nobly, valiantly: which very word is vsed, Act. 17. 11. where the Disciples of Berrea are said to be more noble, then they of Thessalonica, that is, more religious and godly: for as the Apostle saith, godlines is great riches, so is it true nobilitie: neither shall any man finde any nobilitie in Scripture to be commended without godlines. Wherefore this author, if hee speake according to the phrase of Scripture, commending nobilitie, meaneth also godlines; otherwise, as *Augustine* saith, *Sic fortes laudare solet historia gentium:* The histories of the Gentiles doe vse so to commend the valour of their men. 2. *Augustine*, when the Donatists alleaged the example of *Razis* in defence of their madnes, which killed themselues, thus doubteth not to answer, denying the authoritie of the booke: *Non habent Iudæi hunc librum, sicut Mosis & Prophetarum:* The Iewes doe not account of this booke, as of *Moses* and the Prophets, *lib. 2. cont. Gaudent. ad cap. 24.*

And that the authoritie of these bookes hath alwaies been vncertaine it may appeare: for that the number of them is not agreed vpon, some making but one, some two, some three Canonicall: *Gelasius* in his Canon, holdeth but one of the Machabees Canonicall: the 84. Canon of the Apostles reciteth three Canonicall bookes, the Papists generally holde but two: and thus our aduersaries owne authorities doe not make for them.

Thus haue we seene in particular, what credite is to be giuen to these Apocryphall books, that they are not to be receiued into the Canon of the Scripture: and now of them all in generall, that they are not to be held to be any part of the Scripture, beside the arguments before set downe, we haue fower most eudent testimonies of antiquitie.

The first of S. *Hierome*; who bringeth all the Canonicall bookes to the number of the Hebrue Alphabet, making them but two and twentie in all: for as, saith he, there are but two and twentie Hebrue letters, whereby a man learneth to speake, and expresse his minde; so are there so many bookes of Scripture, whereby wee are trained vp to holy knowledge. And these are the bookes: fiue of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numbers, Deuteronomie: eyght of the Prophets, Iosua, the Iudges with Ruth, Samuel, the Kings, Esaias, Ieremias, Ezechiel, the small Prophets: then nine, which he calleth, *Hagiographa*, holy writings: as Iob, the Psalmes, the Prouerbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticles, Daniel, the Chronicles, Esra, with Nehemiah, Ester: which make in all two and twentie. Some, saith he, make Ruth, and the Lamentations two seuerall bookes, and so number them foure and twentie, to answer the foure and twentie Elders in the Reuelation: *Sciamus, quicquid extra hos est, inter Apocrypha esse ponendum:* Let vs knowe, that whatsoeuer booke is not among these, is to be placed amongst the Apocrypha: *Hieron. præfat. in lib. Regum.*

The second authoritie is of S. *Cyprian*: who after he had rehearsed the Canonicall bookes, then addeth further: *Sciendum est, quod & alij libri sunt, qui non Canonici, sed Ecclesiastici à maioribus appellati sunt:* We must know, that there are other bookes beside, not Canonicall, but Ecclesiasticall so called: as the wisdome of Salomon, Ecclesiasticus; the bookes of Tobie, Iudith, Machabees: *Cyprian. in symbolum.*

The third authoritie is from the 84. Canon of the Apostles, where none of the Apocrypha are named amongst the bookes of the olde Testament, but three bookes of the Machabees onely, which are not all held to be Canonicall of the Papists.

The fourth and most pregnant witnesse is the Councell of Laodicea, in the 59. Canon: *Quæ oportet legi & in authoritatem recipi, hæc sunt:* The bookes that ought to be read and receiued into authoritie, are these, and then the two and twentie bookes Canonicall are rehearsed, no mention at all being made of any of the Apocrypha. This Councell though it were prouinciall, yet is ratified by their owne Canons, *decr. p. 1. dist. 16. c. 11.* and was confirmed in the sixt generall Councell, *Can. 2.* as *Gratian* also witnesseth: *decr. p. 1. d. 16. c. 7.* And the Pope is sworne to obserue the eyght generall Councels, whereof the Trullane being the sixt, is one. *decr. p. 1. dist. 16. c. 8.* And so it was decreed in the Councell of Constance, *sess. 39.* and in the Councell of Basile, *sess. 38.* that the new elected Pope should take his oath not to violate the faith of the eyght generall Councels: Wherefore how is not the Pope forsworne in receiuing the Apocrypha into the number of the Canonicall Scripture, contrarie to the 59. Canon of the Councell of Laodicea, which was confirmed

firmed in the ſixt Trullane, Can. 3. which Councell and euery Canon thereof, the Pope is ſworne to obſerue; and thus the edge of their owne weapons is turned vpon their owne head.

THE SECOND QVESTION CONCERNING THE authenticall and moſt approoued Edition of the Scriptures.

The Papiſts.

WHereas it is confeſſed that the Hebrue Edition of the old Teſtament is the moſt ancient, in the which tongue the Scriptures were compiled by the Prophets; and that the new Teſtament was written in Greeke by the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts: yet our aduerſaries doe generally holde, as it was decreed in the *Tridentine* Chapter, *Seſſ. 4. decret.* 1: That in all ſermons, readings, diſputations, controuerſies, the vulgar Latine tranſlation ſhould be taken for authentike before the Hebrue or Greeke, and that no man ſhould preſume vpon any occaſion, to reiect it or appeale from it. 2. Error.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe truely affirme, that although there are diuers Editions of the olde Teſtament beſides the Hebrue, and ſome of them very auncient, as the tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, compiled by ſeuenty two ancients of the Iewes, at the inſtigation of *Ptolemaus Philadelphus* King of Egypt, 300. yeares before Chriſt; and after Chriſt there were other tranſlations in Greeke made by *Aquila, Symmachus, Theodoſion*, and others; alſo a Chaldee Paraphraſe compiled by the Iewes, and laſt of all diuers Latine tranſlations; the which as *Auguſtine* ſayth, in his time were ſo many, that they could not be numbred; and S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Apud Latinos tot ſunt exemplaria, quot codices:* The Latines haue ſo many tranſlations as bookes, *præfat. in Ioſu:* Yet of all the reſt the Hebrue being the moſt ancient, and the mother of the reſt, and freeſt from corruptions, ought to be receiued as moſt authentike. And for the new Teſtament, though there be a Syriacke tranſlation very ancient, yet the Greeke ought to be preferred (being the ſame tongue wherein the Apoſtles and the Euangeliſts wrote) to be the onely authentike copie.

The queſtion then betweene our aduerſaries and vs, is not about any other tranſlation of the old and new Teſtament, but the vulgar Latine, as it is read in their Churches and vſed amongſt them. As for the Chaldee Paraphraſt they themſelues confeſſe, that it is ſtuffed with Iewiſh fables: *Bellarm. lib. 2. c. 3.* And the Syriake is by him confeſſed not to be ſo auncient, as the times of *Athanaſius, Epiphanius, Hierome:* and therefore not to be compared either with the Greeke or Latine tranſlation. And as for the Greeke tranſlations of the olde Teſtament, of them all the tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, was of greateſt account; who are ſaid to haue been put apare in 72. celles, and to haue all agreed in their tranſlation: But S. *Hierome* holdeth this to be a fable, of the 72. celles, the ruines whereof a long time after were ſhewed at Alexandria, ſeeing that neither *Ariſteus*, who was a chiefe man about King *Ptolemie*, that ſet the 70. interpreters on worke, nor *Ioſephus* maketh any mention thereof. And as touching the interpreters themſelues, he ſaith, *Aliud eſt vates, aliud interpretes:* It is one thing to be a Prophet, another to be an interpreter. And as for the tranſlation, he ſaith, *Germana illa & antiqua tranſlatio corrupta & violata eſt:* That auncient and true tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, is corrupted and violated, which as *Hierome* ſaith, was agreeable to the Hebrue: but ſo is not the Greeke copie now extant, which is full of corruptions, and ſeemeth to be a mixt and confuſed tranſlation of many: wherefore our aduerſaries doe labour to iuſtifie their Latine tranſlations: ſome of their arguments, let vs ſee. Apolog. 2. in Ruffin.

The Papiſts.

Arg. 1. THe Latine Church hath vſed the vulgar Latine tranſlation for the ſpace of eight hundred, or nine hundred yeares, and it is not like that the Church all this while was without the true Edition of the Scriptures. *Ergo* it is onely authenticall. We anſwere, firſt, by this argument it followeth that this vulgar Latine being generally vſed, was preferred before other Latine tranſlations, which were at the firſt in great number, not that therefore it is more authentike then the Hebrue in the old, and the Greeke in the newe Teſtaments. Secondly, there were other Churches beſides the Latine all this while, as amongſt the Greekes famous congregations and Churches: that be it in the Latin Church, the vulgar tranſlation was reteined being erroneous, yet the whole Church continued not in that error, which were not ſo tyed and bound to the Latine tranſlation. Thirdly, if men all this while (knowledge decreaſing, and a way being in preparing for Antichriſt) were negligent in correcting and amending the common tranſlation, this is no good argument to make it authenticall.

Argum. 2. As the Hebrues had an authentike tranſlation in their owne tongue, and the Grecians in theirs, why ſhould not the Latine Church haue it alſo authenticall in Latine? We anſwere, firſt, it is no good reaſon, becauſe the Lord did conſecrate the Hebrue and Greeke tongue, and therein would haue his word written, that therefore he would or ſhould alſo haue made the

Latine as well authenticall, as they? Secondly, if the Latine Church must haue an authentike translation, why should not other countries likewise haue their authenticals? The Armenians had the Scriptures of olde translated by *Chrysostome*, the Sclauonians by *Hierome*, the Gothes by *Vlphilas*; why should not these also as well be authentical? And so looke into howe many tongues the Scriptures should be translated, so many authentical translations should there be.

Argum. 3. They say that all other translations which are come forth since, are erronious, and much differ amongst themselues. *Answ.* First, this is no reason to preferre it before the Hebrue and Greeke, though it were better then all other translations. Secondly, they charge vs falsly, that our translations are dissonant and erronious: for their disagreement is not in such substantiall points, and where any of them doe swarue from the originall, we allow them not: and yet there is not the meaneſt of them, but may iustly compare with theirs, yea and be preferred before it. Thirdly, if their translation were so pure, as they say *Beza* himselfe maketh it, he would not haue set forth a new Edition: and he preferreth it in some places before other translations, but is farre off from making it authenticall, and so are we.

Argum. 4. The Hebrue text of the olde Testament in many places is impure and corrupt, and the Apostles diuers times in citing the old Scriptures, doe follow the *Septuagint*, and not the Hebrue. *Ergo* it is not authentical. *Bellarmine* to proue the Hebrue to be corrupt, giueth an instance of fiue places: the three principall I will set downe: first, Isai 9. the Latine hath, *his name shall be called wonderfull*: in the Hebrue, *vocabit nomen eius*, he shall call his name, which *Caluine* himselfe confesseth, not to be so good a reading. *Answ.* First, there is no great difference in the sense, to say his name shall bee called, or he or they shall call his name: for it is obserued by the learned in this tongue, that verbs of the third person are often taken impersonally among the Hebrues, *sic Vatablus*. Secondly, the same letters in the Hebrue doe serue for both these words, the alteration is in the pricks or points: which as *Bellarmine* himselfe saith, *Extrinsecus addita sunt, nec mutant textum*, were added outwardly, that is, by other writers and interpreters of Scripture, and doe not change the text, which consisteth of the letters, not of the poynts. Secondly, he obiecteth that place, Psal. 21. 16. the Latine hath, *foderunt manus*, they pierced my hands: but the Hebrue is, not *Caru*, they pierced, but *Cauri tanquam leo*, as a lyon: but the former reading of all Christians is approoued.

Answ. First, this is the onely place of moment, which can be obiected: *Bellarmine* also here doth furnish vs with an answere: that these two words being so like in sound, and in the characters might easily be mistaken either by the negligence of the writers and penmen, or by the *Rabbins*, that first added the prickes. 2. Diuers learned men of both sides doe testifie, that there be many Hebrue copies to be found, which haue *Caru*, not *Cauri*: *sic Andradius, Galatinus: Ioannes Isaachus lib. 2. cont. Lindan.*

The third place is that, Psal. 19. where the Latin hath, as S. *Paul* doth cite the place, *Their sound is gone forth*: but the Hebrue saith, their line is gone forth. *Answ.* Indeede the Hebrue word so signifieth, but the *Septuagint*, whom the Apostles follow, doe interpret according to the sense: for the glorious workmanship of the heauens, as with a noise or sound doth ring in euery mans eare, and set forth the power of God, as *Iob* saith, *How little a portion doe we heare of him, and who can vnderstand the thunder of his power?* Iob. 26. 14. the workes of God doe as it were thunder out the power of God. But this is no good argument to iustifie the Latin translation before the Hebrue, because the Latin followeth the *Septuagint*, which the Apostle approueth: for first, by this reason also the *Septuagint* should be authenticall, which they themselues will not graunt. Secondly, S. *Hierome* sheweth the cause, why the Apostles sometimes followed the *Septuagint*: *Vbicunq; loquuntur ad populos, his testimonijs vtuntur, quæ iam fuerant in gentibus diuulgata*: So often as they speake to the people, they vse such testimonies, as were commonly knowne amongst the heathen: as the translation of the 70. was. Another reason thereof was, that when the Apostles alleage any testimonie out of the old Testament, *non verba secutos esse, sed sensum*: that they follow not so much the words, as the sense: and therefore where the *Septuagint* keepe the sense, though not the words, the Apostles doe not refuse them, because the translation was so well knowne, as in this place now in question: *Sed vbi 70. ab Hebraïs discrepant*, but where the 70. doe differ from the Hebrue, the Apostles expresse the Hebrue sense, &c.

Tradit. in Gen. 46.

Hieron. Algaſ. quæſt. 2.

We answere further: first, that the Iesuite hath not proued, nor yet is euer able to proue the Hebrue fountaines to bee corrupt. Secondly, where they are faultie, it is to bee imputed to the negligence, or vnskilfulnes of those through whose hands they haue passed, and no otherwise. Thirdly, that the Apostles alleaged the *Septuagint*, it maketh not for the Latin, and they alleaged it not as better then the Hebrue, but because the Greeke tongue was then more vniuersally knowne. Fourthly, neither did the Apostles in citing Scripture alwaies tie themselues to the vulgar *Septuagint*: as for example sake may appeare in those places, Mica. 5. 2. cited Mat. 2. 6. Ierem. 31. 13. cited Mat. 2. 18. Esay. 9. 2. alleaged Mat. 4. 15. 16. Esay. 42. 1. rehearsed Mat. 12. 18. but

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the Apoſtles as they being directed with the ſpirit were able to write Scripture, ſo alſo to recite and alleage Scripture. Fiftly, for thoſe fiue places which the Ieſuite ſaith are faultie in the Hebrue, we are able to ſhew almoſt fiftie times fiue places in the Latin, and therefore by this reaſon they haue gained nothing. Theſe are the Ieſuits arguments, *de verb. dei lib. 2. cap. 10.* and ſome of our Rhemiſts in their preface to the new Teſtament.

Bellarmine alſo taketh the like exception againſt the Greeke of the new Teſtament, ſhewing in ſome places, that the Latin text is leſſe corrupt. Firſt, ſaith he, 1. Cor. 15. 49. the Greeke hath, *the ſecond man is the Lord from heauen:* the Latin more truly, *is from heauen heauenly.* Lib. 2. de verbo, cap. 7.

Anſ. 1. How can the truth of the Latin bee tried, but by the Greeke, out of the which it was tranſlated? which being more ancient, muſt firſt bee beleeued. 2. The firſt reading is moſt agreeable to the text, and ſo readeth *Damaſcen lib. 3. de fide cap. 12.* proouing by this place Chriſt to be God, and man; which could not be ſo well gathered, if wee ſhould not reade, *the Lord from heauen.* 3. The Syriake tranſlation alloweth the firſt reading according to the Greeke.

Secondly, 1. Cor. 7. 33. the Greek hath, *there is a difference betweene a wife and a virgin*, or they are diuided: the Latin much better, ioyneth it to the verſe before, *the man that is married, is diuided*, that is, diſtracted about many things.

Anſ. 1. The former reading is approued by the Syriake tranſlation, by *Theophylact.* and *Baſil*, as *Beza* ſheweth vpon this place: and S. *Hierome* alloweth it writing againſt *Heluidius*, though elſewhere he diſſent from himſelfe. 2. It is more agreeable to the text, for the Apoſtle ſheweth how they are diuided: *The vnmaried careth for the Lord, the maried for the things of the world.*

Thirdly, Rom. 11. 12. the Greeke hath, ſeruing the time, καιρῷ. the Latin much better κυρίῳ ſeruing the Lord.

Anſ. The beſt Greeke copies haue alſo κυρίῳ ſeruing the Lord, as appeareth in the Syriake tranſlation: and who ſeeth not, that it might rather be a ſcape of the writer, taking one word for another, then a fault in the text. Thus we ſee that *Bellarmine* by theſe exceptions hath gained nothing for the Latin, nor yet empayred the credit of the Greeke. And be it graunted, that ſome ouerſights might be committed through the ignorance of the Scribes and Notaries, yet the authoritie of the originall is ſound ſtill: and for one ſcape in the Greeke, it is an eaſie matter to ſhew twentie in the Latin.

The Proteſtants.

Arg. 1. IF the Latin tranſlation be authenticall, as it was decreed in the Councell of Trent, then it muſt haue been ſo from the beginning, ſo ſoone as there was any Latin tranſlation: for the Councell had not authoritie to make that authenticall, which was not, but onely to declare it ſo to be. But the Latin tranſlation, for the ſpace of 680. yeeres after Chriſt was not receiued as authenticall: for we finde that the Latin writers, as *Lactantius, Hilarius, Ambroſius, Hieronymus, Auguſtinus*, and others, did not vſe the ſame Latin tranſlation: *Ergo*, this vulgar Latin hauing not been alwaies, ſince it was extant, authenticall, neither ought it to be now.

Argum. 2. That edition which was made, and framed, and firſt written by the Prophets, Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, is to be preferred before that, which was not compiled by any Prophet or Apoſtle. But ſuch are the Hebrue in the old Teſtament, and the Greeke edition in the new, by the confeſſion of our aduerſaries, *Bellarm. cap. 7. lib. 2.* Such is not the Latin, for it is vncertaine by whom it was written: for the Ieſuite confeſſeth that it is not all of *Hieromes* edition: as the booke of the Pſalmes, Wiſedome, Eccleſiaſticus, the Machabees, which they thinke were not tranſlated by *Hierome*. But let vs graunt that the whole was of *Hieromes* doing, yet was he no Prophet nor Apoſtle: ſaith he, *Aliud eſt vatem eſſe, aliud interpretem:* It is one thing to bee a Prophet, another to bee an interpeter. Wherefore it is no reaſon, that *Hieromes*, or whoſe tranſlation elſe ſoeuer ſhould be receiued before the writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles.

But ſay our aduerſaries, if we had a perfect copie of the Hebrue and Greeke editions, wee confeſſe they were to be preferred: but now they are full of faults, and greatly corrupted. We anſwere: firſt, the Ieſuit himſelfe diſputing againſt *Canus* and *Lindanus*, two archpapiſts, that though there may be ſome ſcapes in the tranſlations by the fault of ſome Libraries and imperfect copies, yet concerning the doctrine of faith and manners, ſaith, there is no corruption in them, *lib. 2. c. 2.* Secondly, though there may be, and are, ſome words falſely written, and by error thruſt into the text, yet they ſhall neuer proue that they are more corrupt, the Hebrue and Greeke, then the Latin: for it followeth no more, that becauſe of ſome ſcapes the Latin is to bee preferred before them, then that a cloake altogether patched and ragged is better then a cloake of veluet that hath but one piece.

Argum. 3. The Ieſuite himſelfe, and other Papiſts confeſſe, that in ſome caſes it is very neceſſarie to haue recourſe to the originall: as when ſome word ſeemeth to be miſtaken by the writer, as where *cecinit* is read for *cecidit: dorix*, for *virax: cor*, for *eorum:* or when the Latin copies doe varie, as Ioſ. 5. ſome Latin bookes haue, *Quibus iurauit, vt oſtenderet eis terram*, vnto whom he ſware

that he would shew them the land: that he would not say some other, and this (saith *Bellarmine*) is the truer reading, being agreeable to the Hebrue. Thirdly, when the sentence is ambiguous, as Luk. 2. *Pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis*, peace vnto men of good will: the originall sheweth, that (good will) is to be referred to peace: peace or good will vnto men, not vnto men of good will. Fourthly, and lastly, the force and propertie of the words is better vnderstood in the originall, *Bellarm. lib. 2. cap. 11. Ergo*, by the Iesuits confession, the originall or fountaines are more certaine and sure without doubtfulnes and ambiguitie, therefore more authenticall then the Latin.

Argum. 4. S. *Hierome* himselfe findeth fault in diuers places with the vulgar Latin, as it now standeth: and therefore it is not authenticall, nor yet any of *Hieromes* translation.

Bellarmine answereth, that all the old Testament, beside the Psalmes, the Wisedome of *Salomon*, Ecclesiasticus, the Machabees, are of *Hieromes* translating, and that these reasons may be giuen, why notwithstanding there are some places remaining in the translation, which *Hierome* found fault with. First, through the negligence of the Notaries. Secondly, because of the diuers acceptions of the Hebrue words, *Hierome* sometime taking one signification, sometime another. Thirdly, because *Hierome* might afterwards correct and amend the place himselfe, otherwise, then he first found fault.

Arist. I will now produce some few places out of *Hieromes* translation, wherein none of these former shifts shall serue their turne.

Matth. 5. 22. S. *Hierome* readeth: he that is angrie with his brother without a cause, *licet* (saith he) *in pleriſque Latinis codicibus, ſine cauſa additum non ſit*, though in many Latin bookes, this (without a cause) is not added: and so is it left out in the vulgar Latin.

Hieron. Amando. Matth. 6. 34. *Hierome* readeth, sufficient for the day is, *afflictio*, the affliction or griefe thereof; rather, then *malitia*, the malice thereof, as in the vulgar Latin.

Hieron. Minorio. 1. Cor. 15. 51. This (saith he) which is read in the Latin, *we shall all rise, but not all be changed*, is not found in the Greeke: yet so readeth the Latin.

Dial. 1. aduerſ. Pelagian. 2. Chron. 35. *Iosias* was buried *in Mauſoleo patrum*, in the Mausoleum or tombe of his fathers; so readeth the vulgar Latin: but *Hierome* saith, *Iſta vox profana, & gentilis*: This is a prophane, and heathenish terme.

Ibid. 1. Tim. 3. 2. *Hierome* readeth, *qui poſſit docere*, that is able to teach: the vulgar, a Doctor, or teacher, or *docilis*, teachable: which *Hierome* in the same place calleth, *Latinam ſimplicitatem*, the simplicitie or ignorance of the Latin translator.

In these places alleaged, the translation whereof *Hierome* reproueth, it may easily appeare, that the fault was neither in the Notarie or penman, nor yet is the diuers signification of the word the cause; neither did *Hierome* correct his iudgement afterward, restoring that to the first reading which he had corrected: as may appeare most sufficiently by this one place, Rom. 12. 3. where he

Lib. 1. aduerſ. Iouinian. saith, *Male in Latinis codicibus legitur, ſapere ad ſobrietatem*: It is an euill reading in the Latin, to vnderstand according to sobrietie: for sobrietie he readeth chastitie. So likewise, to shew that he

Ibid. was no changeling, 1. Tim. 2. 15. he saith, *Non vt male habetur in Latinis codicibus ſobrietas eſt legenda*: We must not reade sobrietie, as it is euill translated in the Latin, but chastitie: S. *Hierome* would neuer haue called the authenticall translation, simple, vnlearned, euill, prophane, as he doth this vulgar Latin, as we haue seene in these places.

Argum. 5. There are many and great errors in the vulgar translation, and contrarie to the originall: *Ergo*, it is not authentike. Some of the places we will quote, as Genes. 3. *ipſa conteret*, for *ipſum*, she shall breake the Serpents head, where we doe reade that not the woman, but her seede shall breake his head. Genes. 6. vers. 6. for *figmentum cordis malum*, the thoughts of mans heart are euill; they reade, *intenta ad malum cogitatio*, inclined to euill: and so extenuate originall sinne. Ecclesiast. 16. 14. for *ſecundum opera*, a man shall receiue according to his workes; they reade after the merit of his workes. Esdras 9. vers. 8. the vulgar Latin hath, *pax illius*, for *paxillus*. Pro. 16. vers. 11. *lapides ſeculi*, stones of the world: for *lapides ſaculi*, stones of the bagge. And though *Bellarmine* here acknowledge a fault in the copies by mistaking some letter, yet are those words retained in the vulgar Latin still without correction. In their Latin translations of the Psalmes there are many corruptions, Psal. 2. vers. 12. *Apprehendite diſciplinam*: apprehend discipline, or instruction, for *Oſculamini filium*, Kisse the sonne. And thus an euident place against the Iewes for the second person in Trinitie, is obscured and ouerthrowne, by the corrupt Latin text. Psal. 67. vers. 12. *Si dormiatis inter medios cleros*, though ye sleepe betweene two lots, without any sense: the Hebrue thus, *inter ollas*, though you haue lien amongst the pots, as being blacke with affliction. It is pretie sport how *Bellarmine* and the rest, that would in all things iustifie the vulgar Latin translation, how he runneth himselfe out of breath, to finde out some likely exposition of this place: and in the end he thus plaieth the interpreter, *if ye sleepe betweene two lots*, that is, if ye Preachers abide in the midst between two lots, the heauenly, and the earthly, neither giuen wholly to action, nor wholly to contemplation; then shall the Church bee like a doue, &c. A goodly exposition

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ſure, they muſt ſleepe betweene two lots, action and contemplation, that is, they muſt come at neither, but ſleepe betweene both: the words will rather enforce this ſenſe, if we take his expoſition. And indeede of this ſort were moſt of their fat bellied Monkes and Friers, neither ſeene in contemplation of knowledge, nor action of good life. Verſ. 23. of the ſame Pſalme they reade, *conuertam in profundum maris*, I will turne them into the bottome of the ſea; for *reducam profundo maris*, I will bring them from the depth of the ſea, cleane contrary. Pſal. 132. 15. *viduam eius benedicam*. I will bleſſe his widow; for *victum*, I will bleſſe his victuals. So in the new Teſtament are many falſe readings. Matth. 6. 11. *Panem ſuperſubſtantialem*, for, *quotidianum*, ſuperſubſtantiall bread, for daily or neceſſarie bread. chap. 24. 6. *Opiniones praliorum*, for, *rumores*. Chap. 20. 9. *acceperunt ſingulos denarios*, for, *ſinguli denarios*: they tooke euery peny, for, euery man a peny. Chap. 21. 30. *Eo domine*, for, *ego domine*, I goe Lord, for, I Lord. Luk. 1. 28. *plena gratia*, for, *gratis dilecta*, haile Mary full of grace, for, freely beloued. Luk. 15. 8. *euertit domum*, for, *euerrit*: ſhe ouerthrew the houſe, for, ſhe ſwept the houſe. 1. Cor. 15. verſ. 51. *non omnes immutabimur*, we ſhall not all be changed, for, *omnes immutabimur*, we ſhall all be changed. Epheſ. 2. 10. *creati in bonis operibus*, created in good workes, for, *ad opera bona*, created vnto good works. Rom. c. 16. 23. *Gaius hoſpes meus & vniuerſa Eccleſia*, for, *vniuerſa Eccleſia*: *Gaius* mine hoſt, and the whole Church, for of the whole Church. 1. Cor. 9. 22. *vt omnes ſa. non facerem, pro. vt omnino aliquos ſaluos facerem*: that I might ſaue all, for, that I might ſaue ſome. Heb. 12. 8. *Ergo adulteri, non filij eſtis, pro. ſpurij & adulterini*: wherefore ye are adulterers, and not children, for, ye are baſtards, and not children. An hundred more errors and ouer, you may finde noted in the readings of our learned countrie man *D. Whitak. 2. queſt. de ſcrip.* 10. 11. 12. *cap.* Theſe I haue ſet downe for a taſte.

And as the vulgar Latin is imperfect and full of corruptions, and maketh the Scriptures darke and obſcure: ſo on the contrary ſide, the originals of the Hebrue and Greeke are exceeding profitable, and doe bring great light and perſpicuitie to the Scripture: for neuer were the Scriptures better tranſlated, or more plainly vnderſtood, then ſince they were tranſlated out of the originals. Heare the iudgement of a reuerend and learned man ſometime a Biſhop in this land: who in a certaine conference and diſputation of the Biſhops, when ſome of them ſtood mightily for vnwritten tradition, ſtanding vp made an oration, vſing among other theſe words: *The Germanes haue made the text of the Bible ſo plaine and eaſie by the Hebrue and Greeke tongues, that now many things may be better vnderſtood without any gloſſes at all, then by all the commentaries of the Doctors*, B. Fox. Fox pag. 1183. col. 1.

Laſtly, we will rehearſe *Auguſtines* iudgement: *Vtcunque eſt, ei linguæ magis credatur, vnde eſt in aliam per interpretes facta tranſlatio*: Howſoeuer the caſe ſtandeth (ſaith he) wee ought to giue more credit to that tongue, out of the which other are tranſlated, *lib. 15 de ciuit. cap. 13. Ergo* the Hebrue in the old Teſtament, and the Greeke in the new, out of the which the Latin and all other tranſlations haue iſſued, ought to haue the onely preheminence. To this agreeth S. *Ambroſe, lib. de incarnat c. 8. Ita in Græcis codicibus inuenimus, quorum prior eſt authoritas*: So we find in the Greek copies, whoſe authoritie is to bee preferred. *Et lib. 2. de ſpiritu, cap. 6. Si quis de Latinorum codicum varietate contendat Græcos inſpiciat codices*: If any man doe take exception againſt the diuerſitie of the Latin bookes, let him looke into the Greeke. And S. *Hierome ad Lucinium*: *Vt veterum librorum fides de Hebrais voluminibus examinanda eſt, ita nouarum Græci ſermonis formam deſiderat*: As the credit of the old Teſtament muſt be examined by the Hebrue volumes, ſo in the new by the Greek. And this authoritie of S. *Hierome* is ratified and allowed by their owne decrees: *Gratian. decr. p. 1. d. 9. cap. 6.* And to this purpoſe *Franciſcus Mirandula* made an oration to *Leo* 10. and the Councell of Laterane, that the Scriptures might be conferred with the originall copies. So alſo *Iſodor. in præfat. ad Concil. Quod ſi veritas quærenda eſt, Græcorum ſequamur ſtylum, eorumq; imitemur editiones & exemplaria. Et poſtea*: *Vanas & veritas ab ipſis quærenda eſt, quorum linguæ edita eſſe noſcuntur*: If we ſeeke for the trueth, let vs follow and imitate the Greeke copies and examples. And afterward: The trueth is to be ſought for at their hands, in whoſe tongue or language it is ſet foorth. This he ſpeaketh of the true originall copies of the Councels to be had from the Greeke. And the ſame reaſon alſo ſerueth for the authentike originals of the holy Scriptures. Thus haue we their owne teſtimonies againſt them.

THE THIRD QVESTION: CONCERNING the vulgar tranſlation of Scripture.

The Papiſts.

THey doe not abſolutely condemne the tranſlation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, whatſoeuer they haue thought in times paſt: neither would they generally haue euery man permitted to reade the Scripture, but ſuch onely as haue eſpeciall licence from their ordinarie, hauing the teſtimonie of their Curates that they be humble and deuout perſons, *Rhemenſ. præfat. ſect.*

sect.6. So then they hold it daungerous for all men to reade Scripture, and they would not willingly licence any, but their Pope holy deuout Catholikes: they are like to make a mad peece of worke, that goe about to picke their faith out of Scripture, say the Rhemistes, *anno*. 1. Cor. 1. 5. This then is their opinion, that it is neither necessarie nor conuenient for all men to haue accesse to the Scriptures: we will see som of their reasons.

Argum. 1. From the time of *Esdras* till Christ, and in our Sauiours time, the Scriptures were not in the vulgar tongue, but onely in the Hebrue, which the Iewes vnderstoode not after the captiuitie: *Ergo* it is not nowe necessarie to haue them in the vulgar tongue. That the people vnderstoode not Hebrue, the Iesuite proueth out of the 8. of *Nehemiah*: where it is said, that *Esdras* did expound the law to the people, because they vnderstood it not. We answere, that the text saith cleane contrarie, that he read the law before the people that vnderstood it, vers. 3. and they might giue the sense, though the people vnderstoode the language. Concerning the places obiected out of the Gospel, to proue the Iewes spake another language then Hebrue, as it appeareth by those speeches Marc. 5. *Talitha cumi*, Matth. 27. *Golgotha*, which sauour not of the Hebrue tongue. We answere, that although they spake not pure Hebrue, but many strange words were vsed, yet they vnderstoode the Hebrue; for why els doth Christ bid the people to search the Scriptures? And they were not the Iewes, but the Romane souldiers that vnderstoode not the voice of Christ vpon the crosse, saying, he called for *Elias*. And whereas *Bellarmine* further would gather by that place, Iohn 7. 49. *This people, that knowe not the law*, that the Iewes vnderstoode not the Scriptures in the Hebrue tongue; it is a meere cauill: first, they note the ignorance of the people not in the letter of the law, but the sense thereof, which the Pharisees had obserued by their traditions, and therefore Matth. 23. they are said to haue shut vp the kingdome of Heauen. Secondly, it is euident Luke 4. 18. that the people vnderstoode the reading of the law: for when Christ had read the text, without further construing, or translating of it, he shut the book and said to the people, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your eares*. Againe, Act. 15. 21. *Iames* saith, that *Moses* is preached, because he is read: in what sense can reading be called preaching, if it be not vnderstoode. And yet it is more euident, that the people vnderstoode the Hebrue tongue, Act. 22. 2. for when they heard, that *Paul* spake Hebrue, they kept silence. What dare not now these fellowes affirme, thus contrarie to Scripture not being ashamed to say, that the Iewes vnderstoode not Hebrue?

Bellarmine argum. 2.

Argum. 2. The Apostles (saith the Iesuite) wrote their Epistles onely in Hebrue or Greeke, and not in the vulgar tongues of the nations to whom they preached: *Ergo* it is not necessary that the Scriptures should be in the vulgar tongue. We answere: first, it had been an infinite labour for the Apostles, to haue left their writings in euery language; neither was it necessary, seeing out of the originals they might be translated into euery language. Secondly, they preached the same things vnto the Gentiles in their owne tongues, which they afterward left in writing. Thirdly, the Greeke tongue, wherein they wrote, was vniuersally knowen, and fewe countries were ignorant of it especially in the East partes. But it is most certaine, that the Apostles did write to no Churches in the Greeke tongue, which vnderstoode it not. And whereas the Iesuite giueth an instance, of the Epistle written to the Romanes, whose vulgar tongue was Latin and not Greeke, and the Epistles of *Iames* and *Peter* written to the dispersed Iewes: it can be no question, whether the Romanes vnderstoode Greeke, the language being so common, and most of them being Grecians, as may appeare by their names, yet resiant at Rome, to whom he writeth: and how could the Iewes being dispersed among the Gentiles, be ignorant of the Greeke tongue, seeing now also they speake the languages of those countries, where they are dispersed?

Bellarm. lib. 2. cap. 15. argum. 3.

Argum. 3. There is no cause (say they) why the Scriptures should be translated: if it be for the vnderstanding of the people, they vnderstand them not being translated neither. We answere: many things they may easily vnderstand: and for the harder places, they are neerer the vnderstanding of them being translated, then before: for then they haue two great lets, the tongue vnknown, and the obscure and hid sense; now they neede not to labour for the tongue, but onely for the sense.

Rhemist. praef. sect. 13.

Argum. 4. The Scriptures are occasion of offence and heresie, being not right vnderstood. *Ergo*. And here *Bellarmine* telleth vs a tale of a certaine woman in England that stoode vp in the Church when she heard the 25. Chapter of Ecclesiasticus read and said, is this the word of God, nay it is the word of the Deuill? We answere: first, because many surfet of meates and drinkes, it is no reason that sober men should bee forbidden the vse of them: no more for heretikes and wicked mens sakes ought the people of God to bee barred from Scripture. Secondly, more haue perished by ignorance in Scripture, then by misunderstanding it: and the Scripture was ordayned of God to meete with offences, and to confute heresies. 2. Tim. 3. 15. Wherefore these men make themselues wiser then God, that thinke the Scripture is an occasion of those diseases, for the which it is appointed a remedie. The like blinde reason sometime a po-

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pish Frier vsed against M. *Latimer*, in his friarly sermon: If the rude people, saith he, should heare the Scriptures read in English; the ploughman when he heareth, that *he which holdeth the plough, and looketh backe, &c.* would then cease to plough any more. And the baker when he heareth it read, *a little leauen corrupteth the whole lumpe*, might be moued not to vse leauen at all: and when the Scripture saith, *If thine eye offend thee pluck it out*, the ignorant might be perswaded to pull out their eyes: And therefore it was not good to haue the Scriptures in English. To this friarly reason, M. *Latimer* vouchsafed no other answere but this: he would wish the Scriptures no longer to be in English, till either the ploughman were thereby perswaded not to plough, or the baker not to bake. *Fox.* p. 1734. col. 2.

Now concerning *Bellarmines* tale, though we neede not beleeue it vnlesse we will, seeing he hath it but by hearesay: yet if any foolish woman should be so simple, as to be offended with the reading of the Scriptures, which she vnderstandeth not, this can be no preiudice to so holy an exercise, no more, then the exclamation of the Pythonisse, *Act.* 16. was vnto S. *Pauls* preaching. But the Iesuite pleaseth himselfe in this tale, because he misliketh, that women should be acquainted with the Scriptures: and yet can he not be ignorant how *Aquila*, and *Priscilla* his wife expounded to *Apollos* the way of God more perfectly, Act. 18. And *Ruffinus* that translated some of *Origens* homilies giueth this as a reason: *Hoc beneficij procreabitur huic lectioni, vt prophetiæ peruenire non solum ad viros, verumetiam ad religiosas fœminas possit*: This benefite, saith he, shall come by this reading or translation, that the knowledge of this prophesie not only men, but women also may attaine vnto: *præfat. in hom. Origen. in Psal.* 36. In those dayes women vnderstoode the Latin tongue, and were acquainted with the Scriptures translated into that language.

The Protestants.

WE doe beleeue and holde that it is requisite, expedient, and necessarie for the Scriptures to be vttered and set forth in the vulgar and common speech, and that none vpon any occasion ought to be prohibited the reading thereof for knowledge and instructions sake: and that Christian Magistrates ought to prouide, that the people may haue the Scriptures in their mother and knowen tongue. Wherefore great wrong was offered to the people of England, that diuers 110. yeares, till King *Henrie* the eight, could not be suffered to haue the Scriptures in English. And how, I pray you, did the Papists storme, when as *Tindals* translation came fourth: some affirming that it was impossible to haue the Scriptures translated into English: some that it would make the people heretikes: others that it would cause them to rebel, *Fox.* pag. 1179. col. 1. What foule and shamefull slanders were these? For the vulgar translations of Scripture we reason thus.

Argum. 1. It is Gods commandement, that the Scriptures should be read before the people, that they may learne to feare God, Deut. 31. vers. 11. 12. The people are commanded to write the law vpon their gates, and in their houses to conferre and talke with their children, and teach them the law, Deut. 6. 6, 7, 8. And our Sauiour biddeth the people search the Scripture, Ioh. 5. vers. 39. *Ergo* what God hath commanded, no man ought to prohibite or forbid: the people therefore must not be kept from reading of the Scripture.

Argum. 2. Without Scripture there is no faith, faith is necessarie for all people: *Ergo* the knowledge of the Scripture: that faith commeth by the Scriptures, reade Iohn 20. 31. these things are written, that ye might beleeue Iesus Christ to be the sonne of God. Againe, the weapons of Christian men are not denied to any, whereby they should fight against their spirituall enemies: but the word of God is a speciall part of our harnesse, and a principall weapon, euen the sword of the spirit, *Ergo.* Ephes. 6.

Argum. 3. The Gospell may be preached in the vulgar tongue, as our blessed Sauiour and the holy Apostles taught the people: *Ergo* the word of God may be read and written in the vulgar tongue. The proposition our aduersaries grant, that sermons may be made in the vulgar tongue: but it followeth not, say they, that therefore Scripture should be in the mother tongue, *Rhem.* 1. Cor. 14. 8. But I pray you how can the Preacher alledge Scripture in his sermon, vnles it be recited in the vulgar tongue? or how should the people know they preach the word, vnles they may compare their doctrine with Scripture, as the Berreans did, Act. 17.

Argum. 4. I will adioyne the testimonie of three godly learned Martyrs, vnto whose iudgement, I thinke as much ought to be giuen, as vnto any mans beside, who sealed the trueth they professed with their blood: these three Martyrs are *Tindal, Lambert, Bradford.* *Tindal* was the first, that in those last times translated the new Testament into English: whereat the Papists so stormed, that some of them said it was not possible to translate the Scriptures into the English tongue: others, that it was not lawfull for the lay people to haue it in their mother tongue: some, that it would make them all heretikes: yea, they so practised against *Tindal*, that at the length they tooke from him his life. This holy Martyr saith, that the very cause why the Papists would not haue the Scriptures translated, was this, that the people might be kept in ignorance still, and so they might tyrannize ouer their consciences by their superstitious doctrines, *Fox.* pag. 1077.

Lambert saith, that there can be no reasonable cause to withhold the Scriptures from the people,

ple, being the foode of their soules, especially when they desire no more then bodily foode ought to be kept from those that hunger after it, pag. 1. col. 1.

Blessed *Brainford* saith, It was plaine robberie to take from the people the English seruice: to whom one *Hallerton* replyed, that the people ought to learne at the priests hands: to whom he answered, then will you bring the people to creep at Christmas time, and let *Barrabas* goe, if all must be learned at the priests hands, for the priests then perswaded the people, pag. 1612.

Argum. 5. We haue the practise of the Church of God in times past for our warrant: for in *Chrysostomes* time the people had vulgar translations: whereupon he exhorteth them to get them Bibles, or at the least the new Testament, the Actes of the Apostles, the Gospels; *Homil. 9. Epist. ad Coloss.* We heard before how the Armenians, Sclauonians, Gothes had the Scripture in their owne language: six hundred yeare ago in England King *Alured* translated the Psalter: a copie whereof was found in Crowland Abbey, called S. *Guthlakes* Psalter, as Master *Lambert* witnesseth and *Beda* our learned Saxon translated S. *Iohns* Gospel, *Textus notus col.* 2. The Rhemists also confesse, that aboue 600. yeares ago the Italians had the Bible translated, and the French men about 200. yeares ago, *Praef. in Tessar. 4. fol.* Why should not the people of God haue the same liberty now-a-dayes to reade the Scriptures, as they haue had in times past?

Bellarmine answereth, that he denieth not, but that the Scriptures were in times past extant in the vulgar tongue, yet not vniuersally to all, but to such as might profite by reading of them. Our Rhemists also say, that *Chrysostome*, when he exhorted the people to reading of Scripture, spake as a pulpit man, and not giuing a rule in schooles, *praef. in Tessar. fol.* 14. And *Bellarmine* addeth that it was not his meaning that they should all reade Scripture, but such as might doe it safely. *lib. 2. cap. 16. respons. ad argum. 7.*

Answer. First, seeing in times past, great and populous nations had the Scriptures translated, as the Armenians, Sclauonians, into their vulgar tongue, how is it like that any man was forbidden the reading of them? As we doe proue vnto them, that these nations had the Scriptures in their owne tongue, so if they can shew any prohibition to haue been made in those countries, to bar any from reading of Scripture (which they are neuer able to doe) they should say somewhat. 2. That *Chrysostomes* meaning was, that all men should be exercised in reading of Scripture, it doth plainely appeare: for how often in his sermons, vnto the which all the people of all conditions resorted, therefore he spake to all, yea he would haue boyes and children to reade Scripture. And though *Chrysostome* were none in the Pulpit, what of that? He would not (I thinke) say one thing in the Pulpit, and an other thing in his schooles: he would not speake otherwise then he thought, or make the Pulpit a place to tell lies in. Whereas Christ giueth liberty to all to search Scripture, yea commandeth them so to doe, with what authoritie can they restraine this liberty? And if euery man must be ready to render a reason of his faith and hope, 1. Pet. 3. 15. then euery man ought to studie the Scriptures, thereby to learne to giue accoumpt of his faith. What profiteth it a man to haue meate, and not to eate it, apparell and not to weare it? so what good doth it to haue Scriptures, and not to reade them?

Let vs heare *Augustines* opinion: *Lectiones diuinas* (saith he) *& in Ecclesia, sicut consuetum, audite, & in domibus vestris relegite.* I would haue you both to attend vnto the publike readings in the Church, and in your houses to reade ouer againe the holy lessons: but how could the people reade them at home, if they were not in their vulgar tongue?

But *Augustine* was but one man, beare then the consent of whole councels. *Turon. sub Carolo can. 17. Homilias Episcopus transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam, aut Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere, quæ dicuntur.* The Bishop must haue a care to translate ye Homilies into the countrey Latin or vulgar tongue, that al men may the better vnderstand what is said: If it be answered, that sermons and Homilies may be read and preached in the vulgar, but not the Scriptures: we oppose an other decree. Anno 1528. *In ecclesijs parochialibus, post singulas dies dominicas & festiuos clarâ voce & intelligibili, ac verba materiæ annuncient 10. præcepta decalogi, et articulos fidei:* In the parish Churches euery Lords day, let the Presbyters declare with a loud and intelligible voice and in the mother tongue, the ten commandements and articles of the faith: synod. *Senonens. diuersi mersim 11.* And it was also decreed Anno 1548. synod. *Augusten. cap. 3 fin.* That the Angels salutation, and the Lords prayer should be said in the vulgar tongue. Thus we see that those popish prelates that liued 400. or 500. yeares agoe, were not altogether so popish and vnreasonable, as our Romanists in these dayes are. I will also oppose against them their owne Master of Sentences, who prescribing the office and dutie of a lector, thus saith, *Cum accentuum scias distinctiones legas ut intellectum auditoribus auferas, &c.* Let him know the accents, and reade distinctly, that he hinder not the vnderstanding of the hearers: let him marke what must be read indicatiuely, what with an interrogation, and keepe his distinctions: which if he doe not, he troubleth the peoples vnderstanding, and moueth other to laughter: *Mag. lib. 4. dist. 24. d.* But what needeth these precepts of obseruing the accents, and keeping distinctions where no man vnderstandeth what is read: or what neede they feare the hindring of the

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peoples vnderstanding, where nothing is vnderstood: Wherefore it appeareth by this, that it standeth with the masters minde, to haue the Scriptures read in the vulgar tongue.

AN APPENDIX OR PART OF THIS QVEstion, concerning publike prayers and diuine seruice in the vulgar tongue.

The Papists.

IT was decreed in the Tridentine Councell, that the seruice of the Church which they call the Masse, should not be celebrated in the vulgar tongue. *sect.* 22. *cap.* 8. And it is the common practise euery where of the Romish church to vse the Latin tongue onely. We must be content (say they) with those three tongues which God honored vpon the crosse: namely, the Hebrue, Greek, and Latin. This libertie onely they grant, that their priest may expound some things, as he readeth, and shew the meaning to the people. 4. Error.

Argum. 1. Thus they argue: The maiestie and grauitie of the sacred busines, doe require also to be vttered in a sage, sanctified and graue language: *Ergo*, not in the vulgar. *Bellarm. lib.* 2. *cap.* 15 *argum.* 7. We answere, the grauitie, reuerence and holinesse consisteth not in words, phrases, and sounds, though neuer so eloquent, but in the things themselues. Neither is any tongue that is vnderstood, before the Lord counted barbarous: for S. *Paul* saith, that he is a barbarian, and speaketh barbarously in the Church, that cannot bee vnderstood, 1. Cor. 14. 11. And Acts 2. 11. the very strangers and barbarians heard the Apostles vtter in their languages the wonderfull things of God: they thought the tongue no disgrace to those holy mysteries they vttered.

Pope *Nicholas* 1. *Epist. ad Michaelem Imperator. Constantinop.* writeth thus of this matter, the Emperour in a certaine Epistle to the Pope had termed the Latine tongue barbarous: whom he answereth thus: *Omnis operis derogatio, redundat ad opificis iniuriam: ô furorem, qui nec linguae nouit parcere quam deus fecit: in eo ipso, quo verum Deum colit lingua Latina, quantum barbaram, vel Scythicam linguam antecedit, agnoscitur:* The disgracing of the worke, tendeth to the iniurie of the worker! What madnes is thus, not to spare that tongue which God hath made? and herein, how farre the Latine tongue exceedeth the Barbarians and Scythians language, it is seene, because it worshippeth the true God. By these two reasons, whereby he prooueth the Latin tongue not to be barbarous, we likewise affirme neither the English tongue, nor any other vulgar language of Christians to be barbarous: both because they are the gifts and workes of God, and because the true God is by those vulgar tongues acknowledged and worshipped.

Argum. 2. Leuit. 16. ver. 17. The people is commanded to stand without, till the Priest went in and made attonement for them: they vnderstood not the Priest, for they heard him not: *Ergo* it is not necessarie the people should vnderstand the Minister. We answere. First, that was a type of our Sauiour Christ, who euen so ascended into heauen, as the high Priest did into the holy place: but types and figures proue nothing. Secondly, they vnderstood not the Priest, because they heard him not: but they cannot proue that the Priest vttered any thing in their hearing at any time, which they vnderstood not. Bellarm. lib. 2. de verb. c. 16. res. ad arg. 2.

Argum. 3. We must onely vse those tongues in holy affayres, which were sanctified in the crosse: that is Hebrue, Greek, and Latin. We answer: Those tongues were not then vsed for any such purpose, but that the death of Christ might by those common and vniuersall tongues be the further spread abroad. And surely if they would proue that these tongues were hereby sanctified, me thinkes *Pilate* was no fit instrument of that sanctification, by whose appointment the title was written: why then are not all tongues as well sanctified, wherein the holy Ghost spake, as these which were written by *Pilate*? Thirdly, doth not the Apostle say, that euery tongue shall confesse that Iesus Christ is the Lord, &c. 2. Philip. 11. Seeing God hath sanctified euery tongue and language for the confession of the faith, how dare you goe against Gods ordinance? Lastly, if those three tongues onely were consecrated vpon the crosse, why did Pope *Nicholas* the 1. when he had decreed that seruice should bee said in the Latin tongue, yet dispensed with the Sclauonians and Polonians, to haue it in their owne vulgar tongue? Rhemist. annot. 1. Cor. c. 14. sect. 14.

The Protestants.

WE doe affirme, that as it hath beene the commendable vse of all ancient Churches, to haue the seruice in the vulgar tongue, that the people might vnderstand, and be better stirred vp to deuotion: so the same godly vse ought for euer to remaine and bee retained in the Church of God.

Argum. 1. This is most agreeable to S. *Pauls* doctrine, 1. Cor. 14. vers. 26. who would haue all things done to edifying: but by an vnknowne tongue no man is edified: and he saith, he had rather speake fiue words to be vnderstood, than ten thousand otherwise. Some of the Papists say, that S. *Paul* speaketh of preaching especially, and but *obiter* of praying: so *B. Brooks, Fox* pag. 1599.

But

But in the 14. verſe he ſpeaketh namely of prayer, and in the 16. of the peoples ſaying Amen, which was not giuen at ſermons, but in the end of prayers: this is but a weake anſwer. The Rhemiſts and the Ieſuite ſay, he meaneth certaine extraordinarie Hymnes and giuing of thankes, whereof S. *Paul* ſpeaketh Epheſ. 5. 19. *Anſ.* S. *Paul* ſpeaketh generally of all publike exerciſe in the Church, whether of prayer, preaching, ſinging, that it ſhould all be done in a knowne tongue: for he vſeth the generall termes of ſpeaking, νοῦς, and of the voyce, as verſ. 11. *If I vnderſtand not the power of the voyce* (he ſaith not of the ſong or preaching) *I ſhall be to him that ſpeaketh, a barbarian:* ſo he miſliketh not onely preaching, or ſinging, but any kinde of ſpeaking in the Church in a ſtraunge tongue. And againe, S. *Pauls* reaſon is generall againſt all exerciſes in the Church ordinary or extraordinary in an vnknowne tongue, becauſe he would haue all things referred to the edification of the Church. *Bellarmine* againe thus anſwereth, that the reaſon is not alike, for theſe extraordinary ſongs and prayers, which were vſed in thoſe times, and for the ordinary ſeruice: for the end of thoſe ſongs, was the inſtruction and conſolation of the people: but that is not the end of our ordinarie prayers, but the ſeruice and worſhip of God: *Bellarm. cap. 16. ad obiect. 1. Anſw.* How is not the Ieſuite aſhamed thus to contradict the Apoſtle, who ſaith directly that the Scriptures are written for our comfort and conſolation, Rom. 15. 4. yet he ſaith the end of reading the Scriptures in the diuine office is not for conſolation. Secondly, as though the worſhip or ſeruice of God, can be ſeuered from the inſtruction and conſolation of the people: or can God be rightly worſhipped by that, which giueth no inſtruction to the worſhipper? Thus would the Ieſuite bring in againe, a Samaritane ſeruice or worſhip: *for they* (as our Sauiour ſaith) *worſhip they know not what*, and ſo doe the Papiſts: *but wee*, ſaith he, all true worſhippers, *worſhip that wee know*, Ioh. 4. 22. and conſequently wee know what wee worſhip. This place of S. *Paul* is too euident and plaine, then that it may bee ſo eaſily wreſted and depraued by their hereticall and deceitfull gloſſes.

Out of this place of the Apoſtle, which maketh ſo directly againſt prayer in a ſtrange tongue, theſe arguments may bee gathered. Firſt, no language not vnderſtood ought to bee vſed in the Church, becauſe it edifieth not, and they ſhould ſpeake in the ayre, that is, vainly, to no purpoſe, verſ. 9. *Ergo*, ſeruice in the Latin tongue is vnprofitable where it is not vnderſtood. So ſaith S. *Ambroſe: Si ad edificandam eccleſiam conuenitis, ea debent dici quæ intelligunt audientes:* If you come together to edifie the Church, thoſe things muſt be ſpoken which may be vnderſtood. Secondly, he that ſpeaketh with a ſtrange tongue, muſt keepe ſilence if there be no interpretor, verſ. 28. *Ergo*, Latin ſeruice muſt be abandoned, vnleſſe they will interprete it, which were a loſt labour, ſeeing they may haue it as well in Engliſh. Againe S. *Ambroſe: Tacere debet in eccleſia, qui linguis loquitur, quia ſibi ſoli ſonat:* He muſt hold his peace in the Church, which ſpeaketh with a tongue, which he onely vnderſtandeth. Thirdly, he that ſpeaketh in a ſtrange tongue is as a Barbarian, or an alien to the hearer that vnderſtandeth not, verſ. 11. but it were abſurd, that the Miniſter of the word or Sacraments ſhould be an alien to the people. *Ergo.* So S. *Ambroſe: Non competit fidelibus audire linguas, quas non intelligunt, ſed infidelibus, qui non ſunt digni intelligere:* It is not meete for beleeuers to heare thoſe tongues, which they vnderſtand not, but for vnbeleeuers, who are not worthie to vnderſtand. Fourthly, no prayer or giuing of thanks ought to be vſed in the Church, vnto the which the people cannot ſay Amen, verſ. 16. but they cannot ſay Amen to Latin prayers, becauſe they know them not. *Ergo.* Fiftly, if it were not lawfull to vſe the miraculous gift of tongues, ſuch as this was in the Apoſtles time, without interpretation: much leſſe is the Latin to be vſed, which may be pronounced and read without a miracle. *Argum. Proteſtant. diſput. Weſtmonaſt. pag. 1230.*

In 14. 1. ad Cor.

Argum. 2. Who ſeeth not that prayers made with the vnderſtanding are more comfortable and fruitfull: the other nothing to profit at all, nor yet to be auaileable before God? Howſoeuer our aduerſaries ſay, that the heart and affection may pray, though the vnderſtanding pray not, yet S. *Paul* ſaith, they ſpeake in the ayre: their prayer is but winde, 1. Cor. 14. 9. and mine vnderſtanding (ſaith the Apoſtle) is without fruite, verſ. 14. Therefore not amiſſe did that godly martyr *M. Wiſeheart* compare the ridiculous geſtures of the prieſt at Maſſe, being not vnderſtood of the people, to the playing of an Ape: *Fox* pag. 1269. col. 2. And one *Iohn Roburne* was vniuſtly troubled of *Longland* Biſhop of Lincolne *Anno* 1530. for ſaying, if we had our *Pater noſter* in Engliſh, one ſhould ſay it nine times againſt once now: *Fox* pag. 984. col. 2. And was not that ghoſtly and Biſhoplike counſaile thinke you of the Biſhop of *Cauaillon* to the Merindolians in France? that it was ſufficient to know their *Pater noſter*, and Creede in Latin: it was not neceſſarie to ſaluation to vnderſtand or expound the articles of faith: for there were many Biſhops, Curats, yea Doctors of Diuinitie, whom it would trouble to expound the Creede or *Pater noſter*. *Fox Martyrolog.* pag. 949. col. 2.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that a prayer in an vnknowne tongue may be profitable, if there bee the intention of the heart, for the prayer is made vnto God, and it is ſufficient if he vnderſtand it: we

ſee alſo, that they which are abſent, who neither heare, nor vnderſtand our prayers, yet may bee profited by them: neither is the inſtruction or edification of the people any end of prayer, but it is a part of ſeruice that belongeth vnto God: *Bellarm. cap. 16. reſpond. 2. & 4. obiect.* Againe, ſaith he, the Apoſtle doth not ſay that his prayer is without fruite, but onely his minde or vnderſtanding, but his ſpirit and affection is profited: for he ſaith, thou verily giueſt thanks well: and the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of ſuch a tongue as none doe vnderſtand in the Church: but the Latin, though the common people vnderſtand it not, yet many that know the language doe.

Anſ. The heart cannot bee neere vnto God without faith, whatſoeuer intention it hath; but faith is ioyned with knowledge: he then that prayeth, he knoweth not what, can haue no faith or hope of thoſe things, which he knoweth not. And if it were ſufficient, that God vnderſtood our prayer, then neede not the prayer to bee vttered by the voyce, becauſe God knoweth the thoughts of the heart. Secondly, they which are abſent vnderſtand not the prayers made for them, becauſe they know them not: and they are praied for, they pray not: but the people is preſent, within hearing of the voyce, and they all offer vp one prayer, therefore they ought to vnderſtand it. Thirdly, it is an abſurd anſwere, that publike reading is not for the peoples inſtruction: it hath no vſe nor end, in reſpect of God, who neede not to receiue any information, or to haue his memorie renued by reading of ſtories: wherefore it is either in vaine, or elſe the end thereof is the peoples inſtruction. And if prayer be a part of Gods worſhip, which muſt proceede from the loue of God, and God is to be loued, with all our heart, our ſoule and minde, Matth. 22. 37. then our prayers muſt not bee made with a bare intention onely, but with knowledge and vnderſtanding: for God requireth both the heart, the minde and the ſoule. Further, where the Apoſtle ſaith, my ſpirit praieth, but my minde is without fruite, he doth not ſo ſpeake, as though the ſpirit (that is the affection) could pray without the vnderſtanding: but by the ſpirit is vnderſtood the ſpirituall gift of ſpeaking with tongues, as *Hierome, Sedulius, Primaſius* expound this place, as they are cited by *Eſtenſius: de Chriſt. Mediator. pag. 234. g.* So that the meaning is this, he for his owne part, that hath the gift of tongues, praieth or giueth thankes well, knowing and vnderſtanding what he praieth; but the vnderſtanding of other, that heare, is not edified. Fiftly, and therefore the Apoſtle miſliking that any ſhould ſo pray, not being vnderſtood of others, ſaith, I will pray with the ſpirit, and I will pray with the vnderſtanding alſo, verſ. 15. And that the affection cannot be good in prayer without the vnderſtanding, and that ſuch prayer is without fruit, Saint *Ambroſe* expounding this place ſaith: *Quem fructum habere poteſt, qui ignorat quæ loquatur?* What fruit can he haue, who knoweth not what he ſpeaketh? Sixtly, neither were theſe ſtrange tongues vnderſtood of none in the Church, for there was alſo the gift of interpretation, as well as the gift of tongues, verſ. 27. and yet many times your Latin ſeruice is vnderſtood of none in the Church, no not of the Prieſt that ſaieth it: as may appeare by that Prieſt that ſpake falſe Latin, when he baptized, ſaying, *In nomine patria, filia, & ſpirita ſancta:* Which baptiſme was called into queſtion: and for better reſolution, they were faine to poſt vp to Rome to Pope *Zacharie*, who after much conſultation determined that notwithſtanding the falſe Latin, the baptiſme was good: *Doctor. pag. 3. d. cap. 86.* And that many popiſh prieſts are no better Clerkes now a daies, then they were in thoſe times, let vs heare what *Eraſmus* ſaith: *Quanquam ſacerdotum vulgus hodie magnifacit ſua verba, quæ nec ipſi quæ ſonant intelligunt:* Though now a daies the moſt ſort of Prieſts doe ſo magnifie their Latin words, which they vnderſtand not, that ſpeake them: *Præfat. in Hieron. epiſt. Paulino. tom. 4.*

Argum. 3. In the time of the Law, all things pertaining to their publike prayer, benedictions, thankſgiuings, ſacrifices, were celebrated in their vulgar tongue. 2. Chron. chap. 29. *Ezechias* commaunded the Leuites to praiſe God with the Pſalmes of *Dauid* and *Aſaph*, which no doubt were in the Hebrue tongue: If they did ſo in the ſhadowes of the Law, much more ought we now, who, as our Sauiour ſaith, ought to pray, *ſpiritu & veritate*, in ſpirit and trueth. *Argum. Proteſtant. diſput. Weſtmonaſt.*

We will conclude with *Auguſtine: Quare data ſunt, niſi vt ſciantur? quare ſonuerunt, niſi vt audiantur? quare audita ſunt, niſi vt intelligantur? Tract. in Iohan.* 21. Why are things ſpoken in the Church (ſaith he) but to be knowne? why are they pronounced but to be heard? why are they heard but to be vnderſtood? *Ergo*, Leſſons, and Scriptures, and publike prayers muſt bee vſed in a knowne tongue, and eaſie to be vnderſtood.

It was thus alſo decreed not long ſince in a general Counceil: *Concil. Lateranenſ. ſub Innocent. 3. c. 9. Quoniam in pleriſq; partibus intra eaſdem ciuitatē permixti ſunt populi diuerſarū linguarū, diſtincte præcipimus vt pontifices huiuſmodi ciuitatum, prouideant viros idoneos, qui ſecundum diuerſitates rituum & linguarum diuina officia illis celebrent, & eccleſiaſtica ſacramenta miniſtrent:* Becauſe in many places, in one and the ſame citie there be mixed together people of diuers languages, we do ſtraightly charge the Biſhops of thoſe cities to prouide able men, to celebrate diuine ſeruice, and miniſter the Sacraments of the Church vnto them, according to the diuerſitie of their rites and languages.

What could be sayd plainer, for the celebrating of diuine seruice in the vulgar tongue? *Bellarmine* thus would answere this authoritie, that *Innocentius* decree is to bee vnderstoode onely of the Greeke and Latin tongues, and of no other; and that he would haue the seruice of the Church celebrated in these two tongues and no other. *Answ.* 1. This appeareth to be a weake answere, for the decree maketh mention of people, *diuersarum linguarum*, of diuers languages; and therefore he would haue the diuine office celebrated according to the diuersitie of their tongues. But diuers tongues implie not a dualitie onely of two, but a pluralitie of many. 2. This Canon prouideth, that seruice shall be said in diuers languages, because of the diuersitie of the people: but what need this prouision, if that the vnderstanding of the people should not be respected? for otherwise one language might serue diuers people. 3. A little before, if the Iesuite be remembred, he said, that many hundred yeares agoe, long before *Innocentius* time, neither the Greeke in Grecia, nor the Latine in Italie were the vulgar tongues, nor commonly vnderstoode, chap. 15. and yet now he graunteth, that *Innocentius* would haue Greeke and Latine Seruice, because of the diuersitie of the people; that is, to their vnderstanding: so *Bellarmine* neither agreeth with himselfe, nor with their owne Canons.

Lastly, in defence of this truth, that praiers ought to be vsed in the vulgar tongue, *Iohn Ardelie*, and *Iohn Simson* gaue their liues. *Fox* pag. 1583. col. 1. and *Iohn Hallingdale*, pag. 2026. See the confession also of Master *Rogers* before *Winchester*, pag. 1485. col. 2. and of Master *Bradford*, pag. 1617. col. 2. holy Martyrs: let the Papists shew the like constancie in their popish professors if they can.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION: OF THE authoritie of the Scriptures.

The Papists.

5. Error. Echius enchirid. loc. de authorit. eccles. Pighius lib. 1. de Hierarch eccles. cap. 2. Can. loc. com. lib. 2. cap. 8. Stap. lib. 9. doc. princip. cap. 1.

THe Papistes of former times doubted not to say, that the Scripture is not authenticall without the authoritie of the Church; so *Echius* saith, so *Pighius*, that the authoritie of the Scripture dependeth of the authoritie of the Church necessarilie. *Hermannus* a Papist most impudently affirmeth, that the Scripture should be of no more credite then *Æsopes* fables, without the approbation of the Church: a fowle blasphemie. But our Papistes of later time, being ashamed of their forefathers ignorance, they say that the Scriptures in themselues are perfect, sufficient, authenticall, but that to vs it appeareth not so; neither are we bound to take them for Scripture without the authoritie of the Church: so *Canus*, *Bellarmine*, *Stapleton*. So that (say they) in respect of vs the Church hath absolute authoritie to determine, which is Scripture, which not. *Ex Whitaker. quæst. 3. de Script. cap. 1.*

Argum. 1. There is no more certaine authoritie, then of the Church: *Ergo* the Church must determine of Scripture, *sic Stapleton*. We answer. First, the Maiestie of the Scriptures themselues is more certaine, and the inward testimonie of the spirit, without the which we cannot be perswaded of the truth and authoritie of the Scripture. Secondly, if they meane by the church, the Synagogue of Rome, it hath nothing to doe to iudge of Scripture, being the seate of Antichrist: neither is the authoritie of that Church to be credited, but rather suspected and mistrusted.

Argum. 2. There are certaine writings of the Prophets and Apostles not Canonicall; and other writings of some that were no Prophets, made Canonicall: *Ergo* the Church hath authoritie to iudge of Scripture, *sic Stapleton*. For the first, where he obiecteth that there are many writings of the Prophets, as of *Salomon*, *Nathan*, *Abija*, *Ieedo*, 2. Chron. 9. 29. that are lost, and if they were extant, should not be receiued: We answere. First, it is not to be doubted of, but some part of the Canonicall Scripture is lost. Secondly, how proueth he that if they were extant, they were not to be acknowledged for Scripture?

Stapleton further obiecteth, that S. *Pauls* Epistle written to the Laodiceans whereof mention is made, Colos. 4. 16. was neuer receiued into the Canon. We answere, there is no such Epistle mentioned in that place sent to the Laodiceans, but from Laodicea, as it is in the Originall, which was not like to haue been of the Apostles writing to them, who at that time had not seene the Laodiceans, Colos. 2. 1. but an Epistle rather written by them to the Apostle; which S. *Paul* would haue the Colossians reade, because it might conteine somewhat, which did concerne them: that Epistle therefore, that carrieth S. *Pauls* name to the Laodiceans, is but a forged, and bastard writing, and therefore worthilie reiected out of the Canon. This was the iudgement also of a generall Councell. *Nicen. 2. action. 6 tom. 5. Inter epistolas diuini Apostoli, quædam fertur ad Laodicenses, quam patres nostri tanquam alienam reprobarunt:* Amongst the Epistles of the diuine Apostle there is one counted, bearing the name to the Laodiceans, which our fathers haue reiected as a bastard and forraine writing. Their sentence is that this Epistle was fained, and neuer written by S. *Paul*.

To the second, that bookes not made by Prophets are iudged Canonicall, as of *Toby*, *Iudith*:

We

We anſwere, that theſe bookes ought not to be canonicall, neither thacever they were ſo taken, till of late it was decreed by Councels of no great antiquitie: for in the Laodicene Councell and other auncient Councels, they were deemed not to be Canonicall.

Argum. 3. Certaine bookes of the new Teſtament before doubted of, as the Epiſtle to the Hebrues, the Apocalypſe, the ſecond Epiſtle of *Peter*, the ſecond of *Iohn*, are receiued into authoritie by the Church: and other bookes, as the Goſpel of *Thomas, Matthias, Andrew, Peter*, were reiected by the authoritie of the Church. We anſwere. Firſt, we deny not, but that the Church is to diſcerne betweene the true Scriptures and forged bookes: but this ſhe doth not of her owne authoritie, but following the direction of Gods ſpirit ſpeaking in thoſe writings: for the Church looking into the ſacred and diuine matter of the Apoſtles writings, was moued to acknowledge them for the word of God, though of ſome they were doubted of: and finding the other to be fabulous bookes did by the direction of the ſame ſpirit reiect them. Secondly, *Auguſtine* and *Hierome* think that the Canon of Scripture might be confirmed in the Apoſtles time, *Iohn* being the ſurniuer of them all, who both acknowledged the true writings of the Apoſtles, and condemned the contrarie. If it be ſo (the ſpirit of God in the Apoſtles hauing determined this queſtion already concerning the Canonicall Scripture) the Church hath no authoritie to alter or change that decree. Concerning this matter S. *Auguſtine* writeth thus vnto S. *Hierome*, *Epiſt.* 19. *Veritas diuinorum ſcripturarum, &c. non à quibuſlibet, ſed ab ipſis Apoſtolis, ac per hos in Canonicum authoritatis culmen receptæ, ex hoc iam per ſe verax & indubitata perſiſtit.* The truth of the diuine Scriptures was receiued into the Canon of authoritie by none other but the Apoſtles themſelues, and therefore is vndoubtedly true. The Apoſtles then by the ſpirit of God haue ſet downe the Canon of the Scriptures, which the Church is bound to receiue, and beleeue: it hath no authoritie to make the Canon of the Scriptures.

Argum. 4. The Church is more auncient then Scripture, and was before it. *Ergo*, it is of more authoritie then Scripture. *Argum. Eckij Buchirdi & Heſ. lib.* 3. *de authoritate ſcripturæ.*

Anſw. 1. We graunt, that the Scriptures, that is the word written, haue not been from the beginning: yet though there were a Church before the Scriptures, that is the word written, the word of God notwithſtanding was before the Church, which is the ſame now written, that was before vnwritten. 2. Neither is the argument good, for alwaies that, which is more auncient, is not of greateſt authoritie: for *Iohn* Baptiſt, in reſpect of his office came before Chriſt, yet was not his authoritie greater.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe not deſpiſe the ſentence of the Church, as our aduerſaries doe falſly charge vs: nay we doe reuerence the iudgement of the Church of God, and heare it with all obedience, to whome we confeſſe it belongeth. 1. As a faithfull keeper or treaſurer, carefully to preſerue and keepe the holy Scriptures from being violated or corrupted by heretikes or other enimies of Scripture. 2. According to her ſpirituall cunning, to diſcerne the Scripture from other forged and baſtard writings, as the Goldſmith doth the gold from other adulterate mettall. 3. To propound and preach, and hold out the light of Gods truth to the people. 4. To interpret and expound Scripture according to the analogie of faith. *Whitach. quæſt.* 3. *cap.* 2. *de ſcriptur.* We confeſſe alſo as much, as hath been in former times decreed by the Papiſts themſelues: *Penes eccleſiam eſt diſcernendi authoritas ſcripturas veras ab adulterinis: ſic etiam poteſtatem habet interpretandi, atque adeo ex eiſdem ſcripturis elicicndi & explanandi dogmata*: the Church hath power to diſcerne true Scripture from falſe; alſo to interpret the Scripture, and out of the ſame to deriue and explane precepts of religion, that is to preach. But the Church ought not to ſet the Lords ſtamp vpon falſe coine, as the Papiſts doe in making Apocryphall bookes Canonicall. Neither doe we onely beleeue the Scripture, becauſe of the Churches teſtimonie, nor chiefly, but becauſe the ſpirit of God doth teach vs, and the Scriptures themſelues doe teſtifie for themſelues: ſo that euery man is bound to acknowledge the Scripture, though there were no publike approbation of the Church: *Rolloc. Galat.* 6. *Whitacher. quæſt.* 3. *cap.* 2. *de Scriptura.* We doe reaſon thus, Interrelig. Cæſarea cap. 11. anno. 1548.

Argum. 1. The Ieſuite doth reaſon ſtrongly for vs: he bringeth fiue arguments to proue the Scripture to be the word of God: *veritas vaticiniorum*, the conſtant and perpetuall trueth of the Propheſies: *incredibilis ſcriptorum conſpiratio*, the wonderfull harmonie and conſent of holy writers of the Scripture: *teſtis eſt Deus ipſe*, the ſpirit of God is a principall witneſſe vnto vs: *teſtis eſt ipſa Scriptura*, the Scripture it ſelfe beareth witneſſe, as 2. Tim. 3. all Scripture is giuen by inſpiration: *teſtis eſt diuinorum munerum ſuffitus miraculorum*: laſtly, the many and great miracles wrought by the Prophets and Apoſtles doe teſtifie for the truth thereof. He maketh no mention at all of the teſtimonie of the Church, but ſaith the ſame that we hold, that the ſpirit of God inwardly working in our hearts by the Scriptures themſelues, which we find to be moſt perfect, conſonant, true, of ſingular maieſtie, doth teach vs which is the word of God. *Bellarm. de verbo Dei. lib.* 1. *c.* 2.

Thoſe arguments or inductments, which do ariſe of the conſideration of the Scriptures themſelues (as *Bellarmine* here ſetteth downe ſome, and other may be added vnto them) are more forcible

able to perswade vs, that it is the word of God, then the bare testimonie of the Church: First, *diuinæ maiestas*, the singular maiestie of the Scriptures, in the bookes of the Prophets and Apostles, and of the heauenly doctrine therein contained: wherein none of the writings of the Philosophers or Orators, are to be compared vnto them. Secondly, beside the maiestie of the matter, the pureness of stile, grauitie and diuinenesse of speech, doth commend the excellencie of Scripture. Thirdly, the antiquitie of these holy writings sheweth them to be diuine: for the bookes of Moses are found to be more ancient, then all the writings in the world. Fourthly, the prophetic all predictions and prophecies, which hauing come to passe, yea the very names of certaine men were set down many yeres before they were borne, as *Iosias*, 1. King. 13. 2. *Cyrus*, Esay. 44. 28. Fiftly, the wonderfull and strange miracles, which were wrought by the Prophets and Apostles: Sixtly, the testimonies also of Martyrs, which giue their liues in defence of the holy doctrine set forth in Scripture, doe euidently declare, that they are diuine writings. Seuenthly, the exercise of the Scriptures, which haue attempted all meanes to extinguish them, and could not preuaile, doe set forth the maiestie, and authoritie thereof. Eightly, the writers also of the Scriptures the Prophets and Apostles, doe not a little moue vs: who were but simple and plaine men, as shepheards, heardmen, fishermen, before they were called and set apart of God for this worke: whereby it is apparant, that God who inspired them with so great grace, was the author of the Scriptures: *Hæc Caluinus lib. institut. 1. cap. 8.* These aforesaid motiues do easily conuince, that the Scriptures are no humane, but diuine writings: and they are more able to moue vs, then the bare testimonie of the Church: yet perswade vs they cannot, which is the onely worke of the spirit, but onely prepare our hearts, and stirre vs vp: *Ergo*, much lesse is the authoritie of the Church able to doe it.

Argum. 2. The Scripture giueth authoritie to the Church: *Ergo*, the Church giueth not authoritie to the Scripture: the first we proue by our aduersaries owne confession: for being asked, how they know that the Church erreth not, they alleage such places of Scripture, as Matth. 28. 20. *I am with you to the end of the world*, and the like: how then doth the Church giue authoritie to Scripture, seeing it taketh her warrant and authoritie from thence? The Iesuite himselfe saith, that *nihil est certius vel notius Scriptura*, nothing is more certaine or notoriously known then Scripture. And againe, *sacra Scriptura est regula credendi certissima*, the holy Scripture is the most certaine rule of faith. *Bellarm. de verbo. 1. 2.* If the authoritie of Scripture then be most certaine, what reason is it, that they should depend vpon the iudgement of the Church, which is nothing so certaine? The lesse certaine ought (rather and so doth indeed) depend of the more certaine; the Church vpon the scripture, not contrariwise; for the Scriptures are the foundation of the Church, Ephe. 2. 20. *Argum. Whitak. 3.*

Argum. 3. To beleeue the Scripture is a worke of faith: the Church cannot infuse faith into vs, but the spirit of God. *Ergo* the spirit of God not the Church teacheth vs to beleeue Scripture. *argum. Whitak. 18.*

Againe, if the Scriptures depend vpon the approbation of the Church, then the promises of saluation and eternall life conteined in the Scriptures doe so likewise: but it is absurd to thinke that the promises of God doe stand vpon the allowance of men, *Ergo* neither the Scriptures, *argum. Caluini lib. 1. institut. cap. 7.*

Argum. 4. The Scripture is the chiefe iudge, and ought so to be in all controuersies: we may appeale from the Church to the Scripture, not from the Scripture to the Church: the Church is subiect to the Scriptures, the rule of faith is in the Scriptures, not in the Church: for the companie of the faithfull which is the Church, are ruled by faith: they doe not ouerrule faith: neither are a rule thereof: the Church is a point of beleefe, as in the Creed, not a rule or measure thereof. *Ergo* the Church is not the chiefe iudge of Scripture, but it selfe to be iudged by Scripture. *Whitak. argum. 16.*

Argum. 5. We haue euident places of Scripture; Iohn. 5. 34. saith Christ, I receiue no witnesse of men: but the Scripture is the voice of Christ, and of the same authoritie. *Ergo*, ver. 36. I haue a greater testimonie then of *Iohn*, the Scriptures doe testifie of me. ver. 9. The testimonie of the Scriptures is greater then the record of *Iohn*: *Ergo* then of the Church. 1. Ioh. 5. 6. the spirit beareth witnes, that the spirit, that is, the doctrine of the spirit, is the truth. And ver. 9. if we receiue the witnesse of man, the witnesse of God is greater, *Ergo*, not the iudgement of the Church, but the witnesse of the spirit doth certifie and assure vs of the truth and authoritie of Scripture.

I will adde one saying out of *Augustine*: *Mihi certum est, nusquam à Christi authoritate discedere, non enim reperio valentiorem. Contra Academic. lib. 3. cap. 20.* I am resolued for no cause to leaue the authoritie of Christ (speaking in the Scriptures) for I finde none more forcible: *Ergo* the authoritie of Scripture is aboue the Church, which is denied by the Rhemistes, *annot. 1. Gal. sect. 2.* I will here vrge them with their owne authoritie: *Thomas Aquinas* hath this distinction: that God worketh two waies; first by mediate causes, as the Prophet saith, Psalm. 138. Thou hast made me,

that is, by the worke of nature: secondly, he worketh some things immediatly, as miracles: so he saith, *Deus docet hominis intellectum per alias scripturas mediate, sed per sacram scripturam immediate*: God instructeth man mediatly by other writings, but immediatly by the Scriptures. As miracles then are Gods workes immediatlie, so are the Scriptures his words. Then as miracles of themselues are knowne to be Gods works, as the Magitians in *Egypt* confessed, *digitus Dei est*, it is the finger of God; so the Scriptures are knowne to be Gods writings: for if we should neede the testimonie of men to perswade vs of the word, then God thereby doth not immediatly instruct vs, as *Thomas Aquinas* here saith. So then, as the Lawes of Emperours, though they were *sine die & consule*, without the date of the day and the Consull, were notwithstanding authenticke, because they were imperiall, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 23. leg. 4. de Iustinian.* much more the holy Scriptures ought of themselues to beare credite, because they are diuine. Excitation. Espenses in 2. Tim. p. 120. g.

Lastly, let vs see the confession of the holy Martyrs, whose iudgement in matters of faith, though our aduersaries regard it not, yet is it so much to be regarded, seeing they doubted not to spend their liues in defence of their faith.

Maister *Philpot* thus answereth to *Morgans argument*, who vrged that the Church was before Scripture, and therefore aboue Scripture: that the word of God consisted not onely in letters and externall writing, but it was the word, *wherewith the hearts of the Patriarches*, Prophets and Apostles were inspired, both before it was written, as the salutation of the Angel was the Scripture of Christ, and word of God, euen before it was written. *Fox. Philpot. pag. 1707.* [illegible]

Maister *Bradford* saith, that the Church is a meane more speedily to bring vs to know the Scriptures: as was the woman of Samaria a meane to bring the Samaritans to know Christ: but as they, when they had heard Christ, beleeued not so much because of her report, as for that they heard him themselues speake: so after that Scriptures are discerned, and shewed to vs by the Church, we beleeue them to be the word of God, not because the Church saith so, but for that indeed we finde them to be so, as true sheepe acknowledging the voice of our shepheard Christ Iesus speaking therein, *Fox. ibid.* pag. 1616.

Maister *Glouer* Martyr, to this argument propounded, the Church sheweth which is the word of God, *Ergo* it is aboue the word, answereth thus: this is no good reason, for by the same argument *Iohn Baptist* shall be aboue Christ, because he shewed Christ: and he that telleth one which is the King, should be aboue the King. pag. 1712.

Robert Drakes Martyr, being asked how he knew the Scriptures to be the word of God, answered: by the holy doctrine which it containeth, teaching saluation by Christ, and giuing precepts of holines, to withdraw vs from a wicked life. *William Tims* answered, that the old Testament doth giue witnesse to the new, and one of them doth testifie for another: whereby it appeareth, they are the very word of God. *Fox.* pag. 1897. All those holy Martyrs died in this confession of their faith: therefore blessed be God that hath not left his truth without such excellent witnesses, in those crooked and euill daies.

THE FIFT QVESTION CONCERNING THE perspicuitie and plainnesse of the Scripture.

The Papists.

OVr aduersaries doe hold that the Scriptures are most hard, difficult, and obscure. *Bellarmine* saith, *necessario fatendum est, Scripturas esse obscurissimas*, it must needes be granted that the Scriptures are most obscure, *de verbo Dei. lib. 3. cap. 1.* They doe not onely affirme that some things are obscure in the Scriptures: but that they are all hard, and doubtfull, and vncertaine, and compare them therefore to a leaden rule, which may be turned euery way, *Petrus a Soto.* And to a nose of wax, *Lindanus* a Papist, *in Tilmanno de verbo Dei, error. 5.* Our Rhemists say, it is all one to affirme some things to be hard in a writer, and the writer to be hard: so they conclude, that the Scriptures are both in respect of the matter and manner, very hard, and therefore daungerous for the ignorant to reade them. *Rhemens. annot. in 2. Pet. 3. vers. 16.* 6. Error.

Argum. 1. They obiect that place, 2. Pet. 3. 16. where the Apostle saith, speaking of S. *Pauls* Epistles, that many things are hard. *Ergo*, the Epistles of S. *Paul* are hard, and so the Scriptures: this is *Bellarmine* and the Iesuites Argument. We answere, First, he saith not, that *Pauls* Epistles are hard, but many things, which he entreateth of. Secondly, they are hard not to all, but the vnstable and vnlearned doe peruert them. Thirdly, we denie not, but that some places in the Scripture are obscure, and haue neede of interpretation: but it followeth not, that therefore the whole Scripture is obscure: and because of some harde places, that the people should be forbidden the reading of all.

Argum. 2. The Scriptures are obscure both in respect of the matter and manner: first the matter is high and mysticall, as of the Trinitie, of the incarnation of the word, of the nature of Angels,

gels, and such like. We answer, these mysteries may be said to be obscure three diuers waies. 1. In their own nature so are they hard indeed, for by humane reason, we cannot attaine to the depth of them. 2. In respect of their handling in the Scripture, so are they not obscure, for all these things are plainly declared in the word, as the nature of such deepe mysteries will afford. 3. In respect of vs: so must they needes be obscure, if men be not contented with the knowledge in the word, but curiously search further. *Luther* therefore doth aptly distinguish of these things, he saith that, *res Dei*, the things of God are obscure, the very depth of his mysteries cannot be comprehended of vs; but, *res Scripturæ*, these things, as they are opened in Scripture, are plaine, if we will content our selues with that knowledge.

Secondly (saith *Bellarmine*) the matter of handling is hard and obscure: there are many tropes, metaphors, allegories, Hebraismes, which cannot easily be vnderstood. We answer: First, many of these are rather ornaments of the Scripture, as tropes, but the phrase, then impediments to the leader. Secondly, though the phrase of Scripture seem hard at the first, yet by further tract in the Scriptures it may become easie and plaine: for all things are not vnderstoode at the first. Thirdly, we denie not but that some places are obscure, and had need to be opened.

Argum. 3. If the Scriptures be not hard, what need so many Commentaries, and expositions, *Rhemist.* 2. Pet. 3. 16. & *Bellarm. lib. 4. de verbo Dei cap.* 1. We answer: First, if many Commentaries are not requisite, some may be spared. Secondly, expositions are not dull for the vnderstanding of darke places; but many things are plaine enough without expositions, and may be vnderstood of the simple.

The Protestants.

WE doe not hold that the Scripture is euery where so plaine and euident, that it needeth no interpretation, as our aduersaries doe slander vs, and therefore here they doe fight with their owne shadow: *Bellarm. lib. 3. de verbo cap.* 2. We confesse, that the Lord in the Scriptures hath tempered hard things and easie together, that we might be exercised in the Scriptures, and might knocke and labour by prayer and studie, for the opening of the sense: and that there might be order kept in the Church, some to be hearers, some teachers and expounders, by whose diligent search and trauell, the harder places may be opened to the people. But this we affirme against our aduersaries: first, that all points of faith necessarie to saluation, are plainely set forth in the Scriptures. Secondly, that the Scriptures may with great profite be read of the simple and vnlearned, notwithstanding the hardnes of some places, which in time also vsing the meanes they come to the vnderstanding of, *Ex Fulk. answ. 2. Pet. 3. 16. Whitaker quæst. 4. cap.* 1.

Argum. 1. First, that which we maintaine is euident out of the Scripture, Deut. 30. 11. *The commandement which I command thee, is not hid from thee, nor farre off.* And as it followeth, *Thou needest not ascend to the heauen, or go beyond the sea: the word is neere vnto thee, euen in thy mouth and heart, to doe it.* *Argum. Bremij, Ergo* the Scriptures are plaine. First, the Iesuite answereth, that it is meant onely of the decalogue and the ten commandements, that they are easie, not of the whole Scripture. As though if the commandements be easie the rest of the Scriptures be not likewise, as the Prophets and historicall bookes, being but commentaries and expositions of the decalogue. S. *Paul*, Rom. 10. 6. vnderstandeth this place of the whole doctrine of faith, who better knew the meaning of *Moses* then the Iesuite. Againe, the Prophet *Dauid* saith, *Thy word is a lanterne to my feete, and a light to my pathes:* which is not to be vnderstood only of the commandements and precepts in Scripture, but of the whole word of God, as *Augustine* expounideth it: *Quod ait lucerna pedibus verbum tuum, verbum est quod scripturis omnibus sanctis continetur*: where he saith, thy word is a lanterne to my feete, he vnderstandeth the word of God, which is contained in all the holy Scriptures, *August. tractat.* 23. *in Psalm.* 118.

Argum. 2. 2. Cor. 4. 3. If our Gospell be hid, it is to them onely that are lost: *Ergo* the Scriptures are plaine to the faithfull. The Iesuite answereth, S. *Paul* speaketh of the knowledge of Christ, not of the Scriptures. First, it is manifest out of the second verse, that S. *Paul* speaketh of that Gospell, which he preached to the Corinthians, which is the same hee wrote vnto them: wherefore if the Gospell preached were easie and plaine, why is not the Gospell written by him, I meane the doctrine of faith, being the same which he preached? Secondly, if they graunt that the knowledge of Christ is easie, we aske no more: for this is that we say, that the doctrine of faith and saluation is plainely expressed in Scripture.

Argum. 3. This is the difference betweene the new Testament and the old: the old is compared to a clasped book, Esa. 29. 11. the new to a book opened, Apoc. 5. The knowledge of Christians far exceedeth the knowledg of the Iewes: it was lawfull for them to reade the Scriptures, much more for all Christians. The Iesuit answereth that our knowledge is greater then theirs, not in all Scripture, but in the mysteries for our redemption only. We answer: this is all we desire: for if the mysteries of saluation and redemption be plainely opened in the Scripture, why should not the people be admitted to the reading of the word, to be confirmed in the knowledge of their redemption? Who

ſeeth not what ſillie anſwers theſe be? *Auguſtine* thus writeth of this matter, *In iis (inquit) quæ apertè in ſcripturis poſita ſunt, inueniuntur ea omnia, quæ fidem continent moreſque viuendi: De doctrin. Chriſtian. lib. 2. cap. 9.* The plaine and eaſie places of Scripture containe all things neceſſarie vnto faith and good life: *Ergo*, the doctrine of ſaluation in the Scriptures is not hard and difficult, but eaſie of good Chriſtians to be vnderſtood.

Toletan. 4. cap. 16. it was thus decreed: *Qui Apocalypſin Iohannis à Paſcha vſq; ad Pentecoſten Miſſarum tempore in eccleſia non prædicauerit, excommunicationis ſententiam habebit:* He that refuſeth to preach to the people in the time of diuine ſeruice from Eaſter to Whitſontide the Apocalypſe of S. *Iohn*, ſhall haue the ſentence of excommunication. By this appeareth, that this Councell deemed not the reſt of the Scripture ſo very hard, ſeeing they ſo ſtreightly enioyne the reading and preaching of the hardeſt booke in Scripture to the people: which ſome reformed Churches euen at this day doe forbeare the reading of.

Further, if that by the Emperiall law it was prouided, *Vt ad omnium notitiam, conſtitutiones valeant peruenire*: That the conſtitutions ſhould come to euery mans knowledge: *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 1. lege. 3. Iuſtinian:* And againe, *Conſtitutionum noſtri codicis inbar omnibus elareat, leg. 3.* That as the Sunne beames our conſtitutions ſhould ſhine vpon all. How much more comfortable and perſpicuous to all is the Sunne light of the Scriptures?

I will alſo vrge them with their owne decrees: *Decret. par. 1. diſt. 38. cap. 9. Ignorantia ſcripturarum, ignoratio Chriſti:* The ignorance of the Scripture, is the ignorance of Chriſt. If then the people be kept from the knowledge of Scripture, they cannot attaine to the knowledge of Chriſt.

Heare alſo what a writer of your owne alleageth to this purpoſe out of *Peſſer. Parauli, magni, fortes, infirmi, habent in ſcripturis vnde alantur & ſatientur:* Great and ſmall, ſtrong and weake, may finde nouriſhment in the Scriptures. And in the ſame place he hath theſe verſes:

Quæ nullis annis, nullis non congruit annis
Lacte rigans parnos, pane cibans validos.

Eſpenſ. in 2. Tim. p. 117. B.

Which may be tranſlated thus.

No age ſo young, no wit ſo ſmall,
which Scripture doth not fit:
Ther's milke for babes, and yet withall
ther's meate for ſtronger wit.

If then children and little ones, and men of ſimple wit may be admitted to the reading of Scripture, it ſeemeth not that it ſhould be ſo difficult and obſcure, as they would beare vs in hand.

I will in the laſt place adde the iudgement of a reuerend and learned man, that faithfull martyr, and bleſſed ſeruant of God *D. Taylor*, who in an epiſtle of his confuteth a certaine ſermon made by a popiſh Prieſt in Hadley, whereof the ſaid *D. Taylor* was Paſtor: He ſaith, the Scripture is full of darke ſentences: but indeed it is called of *Dauid*, a candle to our feete, and a light to our ſteps. Our Sauiour Chriſt calleth his word the light, which euill doers doe flie from, &c. *Fox* p. 1528.

THE SIXT QVESTION: CONCERNING the interpretation of Scripture.

THis queſtion doth deuide it ſelfe into three parts: Firſt, concerning the diuers ſenſes of the Scripture. Secondly, to whom the chiefe authoritie to expound Scripture is committed. Thirdly, what meanes muſt be vſed in the interpretation of Scripture.

THE FIRST PART OF THE SIXT QVEſtion: of the diuers ſenſes of Scripture.

The Papiſts.

THere are two ſtrange aſſertions of our aduerſaries concerning this matter. Firſt, they affirme that the Scripture may haue diuers ſenſes and meanings in the ſame place. The ſenſe of the Scripture is either literall (ſay they) and hiſtoricall, which is the firſt and moſt proper ſenſe; or ſpirituall, that is an higher ſenſe deriued out of the other. The literall ſenſe, which there is gathered directly, and immediatly out of the words: the ſpirituall, which hath another reference, then to that, which the words doe properly ſignifie. The literall is of two ſorts, either plaine and ſimple, or elſe figuratiue: as where Chriſt ſaith, *I haue other ſheepe, which are not of this folde, &c.* Iohn 10. Whereby he vnderſtandeth other people beſide the Iewes. The ſpirituall is of three kindes; Allegoricall, Tropologicall, Anagogicall: they ſhew by particular inſtance and induction, that the Scripture beſide the literall ſenſe may haue theſe alſo. 7. Error.

The Allegoricall ſenſe is, when beſides the plaine hiſtoricall and literall meaning, ſomewhat is ſignified, which by an allegorie is referred vnto Chriſt, or the Church, as Gal. 4. beſide the trueth

of

of the storie of the bond and free woman, S. *Paul* applieth it vnto the two Testaments: *Ergo*, one place may haue more senses then one.

The Tropologicall sense is, when as there is somewhat signified appertaining to manners, as Deut. 25. *Thou shalt not muzle the mouth of the oxe that treadeth out the corne:* this by S. *Paul* is applied to the ministers of the Gospell, 1. Cor. 9. *Ergo*, the Scripture hath diuers senses.

The Anagogicall sense is, when the place is applied to decipher and set forth the kingdome of heauen and eternall things, as Psal. 94. *I sware vnto them, if they should enter into my rest:* this is literally vnderstood of the rest in Canaan, and spiritually of life eternall: *Ergo*, many senses. Thus reasoneth *Bellarm. lib. 3 de scriptur. cap. 3.*

The Protestants.

WE affirme that of one place of Scripture there can bee but one sense, which we call the literall sense, when as the words are either taken properly, or figuratiuely to expresse the thing which is meant: as in this place, *The seede of the woman shall breake the Serpents head:* the literall sense is of Christ, who should triumph ouer Sathan, though it bee spoken in a borrowed and figuratiue speech. There can bee therefore but one sense, which is the literall: as for those three kindes, they are not diuers senses, but diuers applications onely and collections out of one and the same sense: as S. *Ambrose* saith *in 17. cap. Luc. Non vna tantum figura, sed multiplex in scripturis esse consuevit, vt vnus sermo plures species comprehendat:* The Scripture is accustomed to afford not one, but diuers figures, that one saying may comprehend diuers kindes vnder it: that is, diuers speciall senses, or applications of one generall sense.

Argum. 1. It shall appeare by a seuerall induction of all these kindes: In the first example of the Allegoricall sense, Galat. 4. the Apostle saith not that there is a double sense, but that it may be allegorically applied, which is historically set downe. There is then but one sense of the place, part whereof consisteth in the storie, part in the allegorie: so that the whole sense is contained in them both. Concerning the second example of the Tropologicall: there is not a twofold sense of that place, but one whole generall sense, that as the mouth of the oxe was not to bee muzled, so the minister of the Gospell must bee prouided for. Likewise of the Anagogicall kinde: it is not one sense to vnderstand the rest of Canaan, another of the kingdome of God: but there is one whole sense, that as they for their Idolatrie were depriued of the land of promise, so wee should take heede least by our disobedience we lose the hope of the kingdome of heauen. So wee conclude that those are not diuers senses, but one sense diuersly applied.

Argum. 2. The literall sense is the onely sense of the place, because out of that sense only may an argument strongly be framed: wherefore seeing allegories and tropes doe not conclude, they are not the senses of the place. An allegorie or type may be part of the literall sense, and then it concludeth: but when an allegorie is framed beside the literall sense, it concludeth not; and therfore is no part of the sense: as to reason thus, the oxes mouth must not be muzled: *Ergo*, the Minister must bee maintained, it followeth well, because it is part of the sense. But allegories deuised beside the sense proue not, though they may illustrate.

Argum. 3. That propertie is the sense of the place, which the text alwaies yeeldeth: for no text of Scripture is without his sense: but the spirituall sense is not in euery place to be found, but the literall sense alwaies. And this the Iesuite confesseth: *Non inueniuntur spiritualis sensus in omni sententia scripturæ:* The spirituall sense is not found in euery sentence of Scripture: *Ergo*, it is not the sense properly.

Here also I will vrge the Iesuite with his owne testimonie: *Spirituales sensus licet ædificent, & tamen non semper constat, an sint à spiritu sancto intenti:* The spirituall senses, though they may edifie, yet it is not alwaies certaine, whether they bee intended by the spirit: but the literall sense is certaine alwaies to bee the sense of the spirit, *Bellarm. cap.* 3. The literall sense therefore is the onely sense, because it is the sense of the spirit.

I will also oppose against them their owne decrees: *Sext. decretal. lib. 5. tit* 12. *c.* 3. *Nicholaus* 4. *Glossæ non fiant, nisi forsan per quas verbi sensus, vel constructio, quasi grammaticaliter ad literam, vel intelligibilius exponatur:* Let there bee no glosses made, but such, whereby the sense or construction of the word may bee grammatically expounded according to the letter. This decree alloweth none but the grammaticall and literall sense.

The Papists.

8. Error. THeir other assertion is this, that it is lawfull to allegorize scripture both in the old and new Testament, *Bellarm. lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. They reason thus, *Rhemens. annot. Hebr.* 4. *ver.* 5. The Apostle applieth the rest of the Sabbath to the eternall rest: *Ergo*, the like applications of the Fathers are lawfull. See *Annot. Hebr.* 7. 2. The Apostle (say they) findeth great mysteries, euen in the very names: *Ergo*, it is lawfull to make allegories.

The

The Proteſtants.

WE ſay it is dangerous to make allegories of Scripture, without the warrant and direction of Gods ſpirit. This was the occaſion that diuers of the ancient fathers greatly erred: as the Ieſuite himſelfe giueth an inſtance of *Origen*, who doth allegorize the ſtorie of Geneſis concerning the terreſtriall paradiſe. And it is much to bee wondered at that our aduerſaries doe ſo much ſtand for the allegorizing of Scripture, beyond the litterall ſenſe, ſeeing that, contrary to their owne iudgement, who ſo much eſteeme of tropes and allegories, in theſe words of Chriſt, *hoc eſt corpus meum*, they ſtand onely vpon the litterall and verball ſenſe, admitting no trope, figure or allegorie at all. I will put them in minde here of a ſaying of an old popiſh Biſhop, aboue two hundred yeeres agoe: The words in Scripture (ſaith he) muſt not bee iudged by the ſenſe which they make, but the ſenſe whereof they are made, the conſtructions in Scripture are not bound to *Donates* rules, where faith is farre placed from the capacitie of reaſon: *Sic Iohannes Treſnant. Epiſcop. Hereford. Fox* pag. 465. How well the Papiſts now a daies doe follow this rule it appeareth by the former example.

To their arguments our learned countrie man *D. Fulk* anſwereth: Firſt, it followeth not, becauſe it was lawfull for the Apoſtles, gouerned by the ſpirit, to make allegories, that it is therefore lawfull for others. Secondly, when the fathers or any other writers can bee aſſured of the ſame ſpirit, which the holy writers had, and of the like dexteritie in vnderſtanding and expounding Scripture, they may likewiſe be bold to make allegories.

Let vs heare what *Auguſtine* ſaith of this matter: *Sicut mihi multum errare videntur, qui nullas res geſtas aliquid aliud præter id, quod eo modo geſta ſunt, ſignificare arbitrantur: ita multum audere, qui perſuaſi ibi omnia ſignificationibus allegoricis inuoluta eſſe contendunt:* As they are much deceiued, which thinke that the ſtories in the Scripture doe ſignifie no other thing, but that which was done: ſo they are too raſh and bold, that would draw all things to allegories, which they reade in Scripture. *Ergo*, it is not lawfull for any to inuent allegories of Scripture, as it ſeemeth good to themſelues.

Concil. Bracarenſ. 1. can. 30. it was thus decreed: *Placuit, vt nihil veteris teſtamenti poetice compoſitum in Eccleſia pſallatur:* It ſeemeth good to vs that no part of the old Teſtament ſhould be ſung in meeter in the Church, or compoſed after a poetical manner. But what do they elſe but follow poeticall fictions, that draw the Scripture as they liſt, to imagined allegories? *Synod. Auguſt. c. 13. Concionator ſe ad captum auditorum demittat, nunc Catechiſtam agat, nunc interpretem ſcripturarum, nunc vitiorum reprehenſorem, nunc doctorem myſteriorum:* The Preacher muſt apply himſelfe to his auditors capacitie, ſometime playing the Catechiſt, ſometime interpreting Scriptures, otherwhile reprehending vice, and againe vnfolding myſteries. He muſt then vnfolde myſteries, not allegorize Scripture at his pleaſure, and make more myſteries.

Let them heare alſo their owne decrees: *Decr. par. 1. d. 37. c. 4. Pſeudoprophetas eos habendi ſunt, qui aliter ſcripturarum verba accipiunt, quam ſpiritus ſanctus ſuaſit:* We vnderſtand them to bee falſe prophets, which doe take the words of Scripture otherwiſe, then the ſpirit ſoundeth. And againe, *ibid. cap. 14. Clemens 1. Multa quidem, vt audiuimus veſtrarum partium ingenioſi homines, ex his, quæ legunt, veriſimilitudines capiunt:* Certaine wittie conceited men in your parts, as I heare, doe gather ſimilitudes and reſemblances out of that which they reade: which vſe is forbidden in this decree: the former canon calleth them, *imagines, vmbras, phantaſmata*: ſhadowes, and phancaſies. And I wiſh in my heart, that in handling of Scripture, this age of ours were not too much giuen to follow ſuch wittie rather then pithie conceites and phancaſies.

THE SECOND PART OF THE SIXT QVEſtion: to whom the chiefe authoritie to expound Scripture is committed.

The Papiſts.

IT was decreed in the Councell of *Trent*, that Scripture ſhould bee expounded, as the Church expoundeth it, and according to the common and conſonant conſent of the fathers, *Seſſ. 4.* The Rhemiſts ſay, that the ſenſe of the Scriptures muſt bee learned of the fathers and paſtors of the Church, *Preface, fol. 18.* If the fathers agree not, the matter is referred to a generall Councell: if there it be not determined, we muſt haue recourſe to the Pope and his Cardinals. The Ieſuite dare not referre the matter to the Pope alone to expound Scripture, but ioyneth the Colledge of Cardinals with him, *Bellarm. lib. 3. de ſcript. cap. 3.* 9. Error.

Argum. 1. They obiect that place Deut. 17. 9. where the people are commanded to reſort vnto the Prieſt or Iudge in doubtfull matters: *Ergo*, there ought to bee a chiefe and ſupreme Iudge in Eccleſiaſticall matters, *Bellarm.* We anſwere: Firſt, here the ciuill Magiſtrate and the Iudge are ioyned together, as well. 2. Wherefore if they will gather hereby, that the Pope muſt bee ſupreme

preme Iudge in all Ecclesiasticall matters, then the Emperour ought to be as well in ciuill. *Bellarmine* answereth, that by the Iudge is vnderstood the chiefe Priest: or if it be taken for the ciuill Iudge, he is but to execute the sentence giuen by the Priest. *Contra.* 1. It appeareth in the 12. verse, that the high Priest and the chiefe Iudge are not all one: *that man, that shall not hearken to the Priest, & vnto the Iudge*, howsoeuer the vulgar Latin reade otherwise. 2. We graunt that the Priests office was to declare to the Iudge the word of God, but not to giue sentence: for the Priest had not to doe with matters of blood, which are named amongst other causes, vers. 8. Secondly, the text saith, they shall come to the Priests, vers. 9. assigning many, not to one onely Priest. Thirdly, they must iudge according to the law, vers. 11. not as they list themselues. *Bellarmine* saith, that this is no condition, *if they shall iudge according to the law*; for then the people should iudge the sentence of the Priest: but it is a promise, &c. *Contra.* 1. We say not that the people should iudge of the sentence of the Priest, but the law of God it selfe: as the Disciples by the Scriptures did examine the Apostles preachings, Act. 17. who were not inferiour in office in the Gospell to the Priests in the law. 2. Neither had the Iudges any such promise not to erre in iudgement, but so farre forth as they followed the law: for there were among them vnrighteous Iudges, as *Abimelech*, Iudg. 9. and the two Elders, that condemned *Susanna*, which booke is good scripture with them. Fourthly, here is no mention made of doubts in interpreting Scripture, but of controuersies that may fall out betweene man and man, either ecclesiasticall to be decided by the Priest, or ciuill by the Magistrate. Fiftly, we graunt that in euery countrie there ought to bee a supreme and high seate of iudgement for the determining of controuersiall matters betweene men: but it followeth not that there should be a supreme Iudge ouer the whole Church, especially in such matters as this concerning the sense of the Scriptures, which is not committed to the iudgement of men, neither is any such controuersie named in that place, vers. 8.

Argum. 2. Eccles. 12. 11. The Wiseman compareth the words of the wise to nayles which are fastened, giuen by one pastor. In this place *Salomon* teacheth, that men ought to rest in the sentence of the chiefe pastor, without any further inquirie or search. And if the chiefe pastor in the old Testament had such authoritie, much more the chiefe Priest in the new: *Ergo*, we ought to rest in the sentence and iudgement of the Pope with his assistants, *Bellar. cap. 4. argum.* 3.

We answere, the wise men are here vnderstood to be the Pastors and Ministers of Gods word, but this one pastor signifieth neither the high Priest in the old law, nor the Pope in the new, but Iesus Christ the high shepheard for our soules. What great boldnes is this to attribute that to the Pope, which is onely proper to Christ?

Argum. 3. They also picke out some places in the new Testament, as Matth. 16. 19. to thee will I giue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. Christ saith so to *Peter*: *Ergo*, the Pope hath authoritie to expound Scripture. We answere: first, by the keyes here is meant commission to preach the Gospell, not onely to expound doubts. Secondly, they were giuen to all the Apostles, not to *Peter* onely, Matth. 28. vers. 18. 19. *Concil. Aquisgranense cap. 9. ex Isidor. Ceteri Apostoli cum Petro par consortium honoris & potestatis acceperunt*: The rest of the Apostles were receiued together with *Peter* into the same fellowship of dignitie and authoritie or power. Thirdly, the Pope is not successor of *Peter*, no more then any other godly Bishop, nor so much, vnlesse he follow *Peters* steps: As S. *Hierome* saith to *Damasus*, as it is alleaged in your own decrees: *Decr. p. 1. cauſ. 24. qu. 1. c. 14. Petri sedem & sedem teneas*: You hold both *Peters* seate and faith. So they abuse that place, Matth. 18. 17. *He that will not heare the Church*, &c. *Ergo*, the Bishops and chiefe pastors must expound the doubts in Scripture. *Answ.* First, our Sauiour speaketh here of the discipline of the Church, of corrections and admonitions, not of interpreting Scripture, which dependeth not vpon the will and plaine of Popes, Cardinals, or Popish Councels, but must bee tried by the Scriptures themselues. Secondly, wee must giue eare to the Church, but with a double condition: first, we must be sure it is the Church of God, as our Sauiour himselfe expoundeth, vers. 20. *Where two or three are gathered together in my name*, &c. so that euery congregation is not the Church, but that which is assembled in the name and authoritie of Christ. Secondly, we must not heare them, contrarie to the Scriptures, but so long as they doe teach the doctrine of Christ: for otherwise an Angell from heauen is not to be heard, 1. Galath. 1. 8.

Argum. 4. S. *Paul* went to Ierusalem to conferre with S. *Peter*, *Iames* and *Iohn*, otherwise he saith he should haue runne in vaine: *Ergo* the iudgement of faith belongeth to *Peter*, and *Peters* successor. *Bellar. cap.* 21.

Answ. First, S. *Paul* went not vp to Ierusalem of necessitie, as though he needed to haue his doctrine confirmed by the former Apostles: for he himselfe saith contrarie, Galat. 2. 6. They that seemed to be the chiefe communicated nothing with me. And againe, *Peter* was rather confirmed by him, whom he openly rebuketh for a certaine slip of infirmitie, vers. 12. but he speaketh in respect of others, that said he taught contrarie to the Apostles, least he should haue runne in vaine. Secondly, S. *Ambrose* saith to this purpose, that *Paul* went vp to Ierusalem to set *Peter* not of necessitie,

cessitie, *Neque vt aliquid ab eo disceret, qui iam ab autore didicerat, sed propter affectionem Apostolatus, & propter concordiam:* Neither to learne any thing of him, who had learned of Christ the author himselfe, but for loue vnto his fellow Apostle, and for concord sake. *Ambros. in hunc locum.*

The Protestants.

WE haue a more compendious way to come to the vnderstanding of the Scripture: It were too long when we doubt of any place to stay till wee haue the generall consent of the pastors of the Church, or to expect a generall Councell, or goe vp to Rome. And it were too much to trouble the Popes grauitie with euery question; the Lord hath shewed vs a more easie and readie way, so that wee neede not ascend to heauen, or compasse the earth, or passe the Alpes: but the word of God is amongst vs, the Scriptures themselues and the spirit of God opening our hearts doe teach vs how to vnderstand them. And yet wee say not, as they doe falsely charge vs, that wee allow euery priuate mans interpretation of Scripture, and refusing the iudgement of the Pastors of the Church, place the gift of interpretation in euery mans particular breast, *Bellar. de verb. dei. lib. 3. cap.* 4. But wee denie, that the interpretation of Scripture is assigned to any succession of Pastors, or tied to any place or persons: and yet graunt, that it is the office of the Pastors and Ministers, to whom the dispensation of the word is committed, not of priuate men to expound Scripture according to the sense and meaning of the spirit; and to discerne betweene the orthodoxall and hereticall interpretations: yet they are but the instruments, the spirit of God speaking in the Scriptures is the interpreter of himselfe; and in this vnderstanding we consent to a decree of one of your owne Synodes: *Senonens. synod. decret. 4. de fide: Ecclesia catholicum sensum ab heretico, germanum ab adulterino discernit:* The Church doth discerne the Catholike sense from the hereticall, the true from the false. It hath no power to make or coyne interpretations beside Scripture, but to discerne and distinguish. Our arguments now follow.

Argum. 1. That only hath power to giue the sense of Scripture, which doth beget vs faith: the spirit onely by the Scriptures begetteth faith, Rom. 10.17. faith commeth by hearing the word; *Ergo*, the spirit of God is the onely interpreter of Scripture. The proposition also is cleere: for seeing the Scripture is the true sense and meaning thereof, if any should giue the sense of the Scripture, but that which worketh faith, then vpon him should our faith bee grounded. If the Pope therefore giue the sense of Scripture, and our faith ariseth of the Scripture vnderstood, then our faith is builded vpon the Popes sense, *argum. Whitach.* 2. *&* 9.

Argum. 2. The Scriptures cannot be interpreted but by the same spirit, wherewith they were written: but that spirit is found no where but in the Scriptures. *Ergo.* The first part the Papists themselues graunt: the second is thus proued. The spirit of the Apostles is not giuen by secret inspiration, that sauoureth of Anabaptisme: where is it thē to be found? whether is it like that S. *Peters* spirit shuld be found in ẏ Popes chaire, or in his Epistles? or if they haue S. *Peters* spirit, where is S. *Pauls* found but in his writings? Yet it is all one spirit, and appeareth not elsewhere but in the Scriptures: where euery man may finde it as well as the Pope: *The spirituall man iudgeth all things.* 1. Cor. 2.15. *You haue an oyntment from him that is holy, and you haue knowne all things,* 1. Ioh. 2 vers. 27. *You neede not that any man teach you.* By these places it is euident, that euery faithfull man by the spirit of God according to the measure of his gift, and qualitie of his calling may vnderstand the Scriptures. To this beareth witnesse that decree, *Synod. Coloniens. part. 2. cap. 4. Presbyteri in lege domini meditentur die & nocte, & iudicia diuina exquirant & scrutentur non propria praesumptione, aut humano sensu, sed spiritu sancto dictante, &c.* Let the Preachers and Presbyters meditate in the law of God day and night, and search and trie out the diuine iudgements, not by their owne presumption, or humane sense, but according to the direction of the spirit. This Canon referreth Preachers for the vnderstanding of Scripture, not to the Pope or Cardinals, but to the spirit of God as the author; and the diligent searching of Scripture as the meane.

Argum. 3. The doctrine of the Church must bee examined by the Scriptures; *Ergo*, the Scriptures are not to stand to the iudgement of the Church. The former part is prooued by the example of the Berroeans, Act. 17.11. If they did well in examining *Pauls* doctrine, much more may the decrees of the Pope, Church, Councels, be examined by the Scriptures. But they knew not whether *Paul* was an Apostle or not, therefore they might examine his doctrine, saith the Iesuit. *Answ.* First, they could not bee ignorant of his Apostleship, who was famous throughout the Churches. Secondly, they doubted only whether *Paul* was an Apostle, but we are sure the Pope is none, neither successor of any Apostle, but very Antichrist: *Ergo*, wee haue more iust cause to examine his decrees. Thirdly, if S. *Pauls* Apostleship might be doubted of, much more may the Popes authoritie be called into question.

Argum. 4. S. *Paul* saith, We are builded vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Ephes. 2.20. The Pope nor his Church are not the foundation of the Saints: *Ergo*, wee are not to build vpon them nor their interpretation. *Bellarmine* denieth the assumption or second part, and saith, that the testimonie of the Church is a second foundation: for we know not which is the

word but by the Church. *Resp. ad arg.* 13. *Anso.* 1. The Iesuite speaketh absurdly, in saying the Church is the foundation, the Church is the building, and the building and foundation cannot be all one. Secondly, there cannot be diuers foundations: as the Apostle saith, 1. Cor. 3. 11. Other foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid, Iesus Christ. If it shall be obiected, how then are Apostles said to be foundations? I answere, the persons of the Apostles is not the foundation, but their doctrine, which is the faith in Iesus. Thirdly, it is another vntruth, that the Scriptures are not knowne but by the testimonie of the Church: as partly hath been shewed before, and shall more afterwards, as Christ saith, Iohn 5. 34. He did not receaue the testimonie of men, his owne workes did witnesse of him; so the efficacie of the spirit speaking in the Scriptures doth testifie of it, that it is the word.

Argum. 5. If the Pope haue authoritie to iudge of Scripture, and that the sense of the Scripture without his approbation is not authenticall, then it would follow, that the Pope is aboue Scripture, which were not onely a great absurditie, but a grieuous blasphemie.

Bellarmine. To be said to iudge of the Scripture may be taken two waies, either to iudge whether the Scripture be true or no: and who so thus iudgeth, should be aboue Scripture; but so doth not the Pope. Or else to iudge of the sense of Scripture, which is not to be aboue Scripture, but aboue the priuate iudgements and interpretations of men, *sic Bellarmin. lib. 3. cap. 10. respons. ad argum. 14.*

Anso. First to expound and giue the sense of Scripture, by the Scripture it selfe, is not to be a iudge of Scripture, or superiour to it, but to be subiected rather vnto it and ordered by it: but the Pope in taking vpon him absolute authoritie to expound Scripture, doth make himselfe superiour to it, in as much as the Scripture is not the letter, but the sense thereof: he therefore that ouerruleth the sense, ouerruleth Scripture. Secondly, againe, he that may giue the sense to Scripture, as it pleaseth him, may at his pleasure make the Scripture true or false; for the Scripture is the sense: the Pope for the most part giueth a false sense of Scripture, and so maketh the Scripture false: and thus is he become a Iudge of Scripture after the first way, which the Iesuite denieth.

Now let *Augustine* speake: *Nouit charitas vestra omnes nos vnum magistrum habere, & sub illo condiscipulos esse, nec illum magistrum summum, qui de superiori loco loquimur vobis, sed magistrum esse omnium, qui habitat in nobis omnibus.* You know brethren (saith he) that we are all fellow schollers vnder one master, and though we speake to you out of an higher place, yet are we not your master, he is the teacher and master of vs all that dwelleth in our hearts. *Ergo* the spirit of God speaking in the Scriptures is the chiefe and best interpreter thereof.

I will enforce against them first their Imperiall lawes, then their owne pontificiall constitutions, which order I purpose God willing to obserue throughout.

First, *Iustinian* hath this law. *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 17. leg. 1. Quis legum emigmata soluere idoneus esse valebit, nisi is, cui soli legislatorem esse concessum est?* Who is thought more fit to open the darke sentences of the law, but he that hath authoritie to make them? And therefore he concludeth, *Tam conditor quam interpres legum solus Imperator nobis constituitur:* The Emperour onely is of right taken to be both the maker, and interpreter of the law. As then the Imperiall lawes must be interpreted by the Emperor that made them, so the diuine lawes by the spirit of God that gaue them: so also saith your owne law, *decret. Gregor. lib. 5. tit. 39. c. 31. Innocent. 3. Vnde iura prodiit, interpretatio quoque profluat:* Let the interpretation proceede from whence the law commeth.

Secondly, search further your owne decrees, *part. 1. dist. 20. prafat. Diuinarum traditarum scripturarum in sacrarum scripturarum expositoribus eis præponuntur:* The interpreters of Scripture for the exposition thereof, must be preferred before the Popes: *Ergo* all resteth not in the Popes breast.

Let vs lastly heare the iudgement of an holy Martyr, that maintained this trueth with the losse of his life; who being demaunded of *Boner*, denyed that the Pope had any authoritie to expound Scripture: adding further, what a goodly exposition did the Pope make of Scripture, when he set his foote vpon the Emperours necke, and sayd, *Thou shalt walke vpon the Lyon and the Aspe, the young Lyon and the Dragon: sic Roger. Holland. Fox* pag. 1040. col. 2. His reason is this, the Pope misconstrueth Scripture, and expoundeth it as he list. *Ergo* this authoritie is not giuen him of God.

THE THIRD PART OF THE SIXT QVESTION: concerning the meanes or method to be vsed in interpreting of Scripture.

The Papist.

10. Error. OVr aduersaries prescribe this method and course to be taken in expounding of Scripture, which consisteth in foure rules: the generall practise of the Church, the consonant interpretation of the Fathers, the decrees of generall Councels; lastly, the rule of faith, consisting

partly

partly of the Scriptures, partly of traditions vnwritten, *Stapleton.* Concerning the three firſt, we haue already touched them in part: they appeare to be inſufficient. Firſt, the Councels and Fathers he made chiefe interpreters of Scripture before, and now they are but meanes: what other chiefe iudge then is there to vſe theſe meanes? ſurely none but the Scriptures. Secondly, theſe meanes are moſt vncertaine, the practiſe of the Church is often changed, Fathers agree not in their expoſitions, and Councels cannot alwaies be had.

Concerning the rule of faith conſiſting of vnwritten verities: he groundeth it falſly vpon that place Rom.12.6. Let vs propheſie according to the rule of faith, and Gal.6.16. As many as walke according to this rule. This rule was a certaine platforme of religion, giuen by the Apoſtles before the Scriptures were written, according to the which (ſay they) the Scriptures were afterward compiled by the Apoſtles, *Rhemen. in Rom.12.6.* *Anſwere:* Saint *Paul* meaneth no other rule, but that which is ſet downe in his writings, no other forme of doctrine but that contained in his Epiſtles, as in the 6. to the Galathians, ſpeaking of this rule, he alludeth to the former verſe, where he ſaith, he reioyced in nothing but in the Croſſe of Chriſt: his rule therefore is to receiue Chriſt onely without the ceremonies or workes of the law: againſt the which hereſie he diſputeth in the whole Epiſtle. But of all other it is a great blaſphemie to ſay that the Apoſtles ſet downe the Scriptures by a rule, as though the ſpirit of God, by whom they ſpake, had need of any ſuch direction. So then no vnwritten rule can giue a direction to the written word, but the written word rather giueth a rule to all other things, as one of your owne Popes confeſſeth: *Cum ex ſcripturis, integram quis & firmam regulam ſuſceperit veritatis, &c.* When a man hath gathered a firme and certaine rule of truth out of the Scriptures, then may hee compare with it other liberall arts, &c. Concerning alſo theſe foure waies of theirs, I will appoſe them againe with their owne authoritie: *decr.p.1.d.20.c.3.* *Innocentius* 1. the decree ſtandeth thus, which I will onely ſet downe tranſlated, becauſe it is long: *If there be any cauſe which cannot be diſſolued by the bookes of the olde Teſtament, the foure Euangeliſts and writings of the Apoſtles, then haue recourſe to the diuine writings in Greeke: if nothing be found there, then to the Canons of the Apoſtolike ſeas: if not there, then to the Catholike ſtories of the Church: if neither there, conſider the practiſe of the Saints: if yet the queſtion cannot be diſſolued, gather the elders of the prouince, and aske them, &c.* Out of this decree I gather three things: firſt that the meanes here preſcribed, are not to be vſed, but where the Scripture is ſilent: and therefore where any thing may be decided by Scripture, theſe helpes are ſuperfluous. Secondly, in the laſt place we are not referred to the Pope and his Cardinals, but to the Elders, that is, the Biſhops, Paſtors, and Miniſters of euery Prouince. Thirdly, he ſendeth vs to the Greeke originall of the Scriptures, which is one of the meanes that we doe preſcribe.

Clemen. 1. decret. p.1. d.37. cap.14.

The Proteſtants.

When wee ſay that the Scriptures muſt expound themſelues, our meaning is, that by certaine compendious and readie meanes, wee ſhould labour to vnderſtand the Scriptures by themſelues: the meanes are eſpecially theſe foure: Firſt, to haue recourſe to the Original tongue, as in the old Teſtament to the Hebrue; in the new, to the Greeke: as 1.Tim.2.15. *Through bearing of children they ſhall be ſaued, if they continue in faith and loue*: in the Engliſh it is doubtfull whether this clauſe, *if they continue in faith*, be referred to children, or to thoſe that beare them; but reade the Greeke and the doubt is remoued: for bearing of children is all one word in the originall τεκνογονια, ſo that it muſt needes be vnderſtoode of the women, for the word τεκνογονια, bearing of children is in the ſingular number, that which followeth of the plurall, and it is but an action, not a perſon; ſo that it ſhould be improperly ſayd, if they continue, that is, in bearing of children.

Stapleton obiecteth againſt this meane: that it is not now needfull, ſeeing there is a perfect and abſolute tranſlation authoriſed by the Councell of Trent, he meaneth the vulgar Latin. We anſwere: firſt, it is no perfect, but an erronious tranſlation, and very corrupt. Secondly, if it were neuer ſo perfect, yet for more certaintie, it is profitable to ſearch the originall: euery man will truſt his owne ſkill, rather then another mans. Thirdly, the Councell did fondly in authoriſing an olde blinde tranſlation, before the authenticall copies of the Hebrue and Greeke. For the Greeke originall, we haue the decree of *Innocentius* the firſt, before repeated; and for recourſe to be had to the Hebrue, we haue the practiſe of their owne Maſter of Sentences: who in deciding of a certaine queſtion, in the ſecond of Geneſis, whether we ſhould reade *conſummauit Deus*, or *complenit*, God did conſummate, or accompliſh his works vpon the ſeuenth day, reſolueth vpon the latter reading: *quod habet Hebraica veritas*, which is, ſaith he, according to the Hebrue verie. *lib.2.d.15.g.*

2 Secondly, the ſcope of the place, the circumſtance of it, with that which goeth before, and commeth after, muſt be weighed, which will bring great light to the place we haue in hand: an example we haue 1.Pet.4.8. *Loue coureth the multitude of ſinnes*: the Papiſts gather out of theſe words, that loue doth iuſtifie vs before God, and taketh away our ſinnes: But by the circumſtance of the place, the Apoſtle ſaying immediately before; *Haue feruent loue among you*, it is euident

dent he vnderstandeth brotherly loue amongst our selues, whereby faults are buried, forgiuen, and forgotten.

Stapleton obiecteth, that this is but an vncertaine way, and many times fayleth: for the Scripture passeth many times from one matter and argument to another: how then can it helpe to consider the circumstance of the place being of a diuers matter? We answere, we say not that any of these meanes serueth for euery place, but when one fayleth, to vse another: when the circumstance helpeth not, to run to the originall; if there we finde no succour, to compare places together; and when we may, to vse them all, or the most. This rule of examining the circumstances, as the precedence, and consequence of a text, may be also warranted by their owne practise: So *Nicholas* the fourth, in expounding of the rule of S. *Francis* giueth this precept: *Sext. decretal. lib. 5. tit. 12. c. 3. Vtriusque iuris argumenta nos docent, ea, quæ in principio ad medium & finem; illa verò, quæ in medio, ad principium & finem, & quæ in fine ad vtrumque, vel eorum alterum sæpe referri:* The reason of both lawes doth teach vs, that the beginning must be referred to the middest and the end; the middest to the beginning and the end; the end vnto both the other, or the one of them at the least. If they themselues then are so curious in the sifting out of the meaning of their superstitious Father, with what face can they blame our diligence in searching the sense of the Scripture.

3 Thirdly, the conference of places is very profitable, as Iames 2. 21. *Abraham* was iustified by workes, compare it with that place, Rom. 4. 2. there S. *Paul* saith flatly, that *Abraham* was not iustified by workes. Wherefore seeing one Apostle is not contrary to the other: we must needes gather, that this word iustified is diuersly taken: *Paul* saith that *Abraham* was not iustified, that is, made righteous before God by his workes; *Iames* saith he was iustified, that is, declared to be iust before men, and so *Thomas Aquinas* expoundeth it.

Stapleton obiecteth, that this meanes in comparing of places is of it selfe many times of small force. *Answ.* As though we affirme that these meanes must be vsed a sunder, and not rather ioyntly togither, and where one faileth, another to helpe. Secondly, some things are found but once in the Scriptures. *Answere*, they are then either very plaine, or not greatly necessary. Thirdly, heretikes haue erred in comparing of Scripture. *Answere*, they compared them not diligently, nor with a syncere minde, but corruptly and negligently.

Let vs heare what that reuerend and learned man, and constant Martyr, B. *Cranmer* thinketh of this meane in comparing and conferring of Scripture: *I wonder*, saith he, *that you doe attribute so little to the reading of Scripture, and conferring of places, seeing the Scriptures doe so much commend the same, as* Ioh. 5. *Scrutamini scripturas*, search the Scriptures, *Fox.* pag. 1460. *in disput. Oxoniens.* This reuerend fathers iudgement, I dare set against either *Stapletons* opinion, or any others of that side: nay put the sentence of their whole Church in one balance, it shall not be able, in this, or any other poynt of the Christian faith, to weigh against the faith of these holy Martyrs in the day of iudgement, but shall be found lighter then vanitie.

Leo the first also somtime Bishop of Rome, whose iudgement our aduersaries, I thinke, dare not refuse, thus writeth of this meane in hauing recourse to the Scripture, *Epistol. decretal.* 10. *cap.* 1. *In hanc insipientiam cadunt hæretici, qui cum ad cognoscendam veritatem aliquo impediuntur obscuro, non ad prophetica vocem, Apostolicas literas, nec ad Euangelicas auctoritates, sed ad seipsos recurrunt, &c.* Such is the foolishnes of heretikes, that when as by some darke place they are hindred from knowing the trueth: they will not resort to the Prophets and Apostles writings, but trust onely to themselues. His counsell is, if we meete with any darke place in Scripture, to resort to none other but to the Prophets and Apostles for the vnderstanding thereof. And *Clemens* the first saith, as he is cited by *Gratian. decr. p. 1. tit. 37. c. 14. Ex ipsis scripturis debemus sensum capere veritatis:* We must take the sense of the Scripture, from the Scriptures themselues.

4 The fourth rule is the analogie and proportion of faith, which is nothing els but the summe and grounds of religion gathered out of Scripture, such as are contayned in the Creede, the Lords Prayer, the ten Commaundements, and in our whole Catechisme. We must take heede that in the interpretation of Scripture we swarue not from this rule of faith, nor impugne any principle of Religion. Wherefore the Papists interpretation of those words of Christ we doe reiect, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this is my bodie: who would haue the very flesh of Christ present in the sacrament: for this is against the article of the Creede, that Christ is ascended into heauen, and there sitteth till his comming againe in iudgement.

Concerning these meanes, thus writeth *Augustine*, *Rarissimè inuenitur ambiguitas in verbis propriis, quam non aut circumstantia ipsa sermonis qua cognoscitur Scripturarum intentio, aut interpretum collatio, aut præcedentis linguæ solnat inspectio, de doctrin. Christ. lib. 3. 4.* There is almost no ambiguitie in any word properly vsed (that is not metaphoricall or borrowed) which may not either by the circumstance of the place, the conference and comparing of interpreters, or by looking into the Originals, easily be taken away. *Augustine* we see approueth this methode, though our aduersaries like it not. So also in your owne decrees: *decr. p. 2. caus. 24. qu. 3. c. 27. Quicunque aliter scripturam intelligit,*

intelligit, quam ſenſus ſpiritus ſancti flagitat, qui ſcripta eſt, hæreticus appellari poteſt: He that otherwiſe vnderſtandeth Scripture, then after the meaning of the ſpirit wherewith it is written, is an heretike. Wherefore the Scripture out of Scripture muſt be expounded: for where elſe is the ſpirit of the Scripture to be found, but in the Scripture?

Beſides theſe meanes, which I haue ſhewed, prayer muſt be vſed before we enterpriſe any thing, that the Lord would direct vs. And they which cannot ſo eaſily take this courſe, which is preſcribed, ſhall doe well to ſeeke helpe of learned and godly expoſitors, or to conſule with their paſtors and miniſters.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION: CONCERNING the perfection and ſufficiencie of Scripture.

THis queſtion is deuided into three parts. Firſt, whether the Scriptures be abſolutely neceſſary. Secondly, whether they be ſufficient without vnwritten traditions. Thirdly, whether there be any traditions of faith and manners beſide the Scriptures.

THE FIRST PART OF THE NECESSITIE of the Scriptures.

The Papiſts.

THe Ieſuite laboureth to proue that the Scriptures are not ſimply neceſſary: which we denie not, for meate is not ſimply neceſſary, for God may preſerue man without: ſo in reſpect of God nothing is ſimply neceſſarie: God is not neceſſarily tyed to vſe this or that meanes. But his arguments doe tend to this end, to ſhew that the Scriptures are not neceſſarie at all, and may be ſpared in the Church (ſo ſaith *Petrus à Soto*) the Scripture was not alway extant, and it is not neceſſarie vnto faith: and the Scripture is not now ſo neceſſarie ſince Chriſt, as it was afore, *Tilman. de verb. dei error. 17.* 11. Error.

Argum. 1. There was no Scripture from *Adam* to *Moſes*, for the ſpace of two thouſand yeares, and yet true religion was kept and continued, and why might not true religion be as well preſerued 1500. yeares after Chriſt without Scripture, as afore? *Bellarmine de verb. dei lib. cap. 4. argum. 1.*

We anſwere: It followeth not, becauſe in times paſt God taught his Church by a liuely voyce, that the written word is not neceſſarie now: for the Lord ſaw it good, that his word ſhould be left in writing, that we might haue a certaine rule of our faith in this corrupt and ſinfull age. And what els is this, but to controll the wiſdome of God, ſaying, it is not neceſſarie or needfull for the Church, which the Lord ſaw to be needfull: for if the Lord had thought it as good for vs to be taught without Scripture, as in that ſimple and innocent age of the world (I meane innocent in reſpect of vs) he would not haue moued and ſtirred vp his Apoſtles to write.

Argum. 2. After the time of *Moſes*, when the law was written, yet there were many that feared God amongſt the Gentles, which had not the Scriptures, as *Iob*, and the other his friends: *Ergo*, the Scripture not neceſſarie. The Iewes alſo themſelues vſed traditions more then Scriptures, as Pſal. 44. verſ. 1, 2. The fathers did reporte the workes of God to their children: by the negligence alſo of the Prieſts the law was loſt, as 2. King. 22. we reade that the volume of the law was found, which had been miſſing a long time, *Bellarm. ibid.*

We anſwere: firſt, euen the faithfull amongſt the Gentiles did reade the Scripture, as the Eunuche Act. 8. had the booke of the Prophet *Iſay*. Secondly, the Iewes declared the workes of God vnto their children, but the ſame were alſo written, as how the heathen were caſt out before them, and of their deliuerance out of Egypt: thoſe were the things they heard of their fathers, as we reade Pſal. 44. and 78. yet all theſe things are recorded in the bookes of *Moſes*. Thirdly, what though the Prieſts were negligent in preſeruing the Scriptures, it is no good argument to proue that therefore they are not neceſſarie, neither was the whole booke of the law loſt, but either *Moſes* owne manuſcript, or the booke of Deuteronomie. Yet he hath proued nothing.

Argum. 3. The Church after Chriſt wanted the Scriptures many yeares: *Ergo* they are not neceſſarie, *Bellarm. ibid.*

We anſwere, it is a great vntrueth: for the old Teſtament the Church could not be without, and the new teſtament was written not long after in the age of the Apoſtles: whoſe liuely voyce and preachings were vnto them, as their writings are now to vs. See now, what ſtrong arguments they bring: the Scriptures were not neceſſarie in the time of the Patriarkes, when God taught them by his owne voyce; they were not neceſſarie in the time of the Prophets and Apoſtles, when they had men inſpired of God to teach them: *Ergo* they are not now neceſſarie, when neither God teacheth from heauen, neither haue we any Prophets or Apoſtles to inſtruct vs by heauenly

onely reuelations: nay rather becauſe they were not neceſſarie then, when they had other effectuall meanes, notwithſtanding they are neceſſary now, ſeeing there is no other way of inſtruction left vnto vs.

Argum. 4. If the writing of the Scriptures were neceſſarie, then Chriſt would not haue omitted to haue giuen his Apoſtles charge and commandement ſo to doe: but this he doth not, neither doe the Apoſtles make mention of any ſuch charge that was giuen them, but onely to preach, *Bellarm. de cap. 4. argum.* 2.

Anſw. 1. It was not needfull that our Sauiour Chriſt ſhould giue his Apoſtles charge concerning all neceſſarie things to bee done in the Church, ſeeing he was to ſend them the holy Ghoſt who ſhould leade them into all truth: and therefore our Sauiour telleth them, that he had many things to ſay, but they could not beare them, but the ſpirit afterward ſhould teach them, Iohn 16. 12. 13. The inſtitution of deacons, Act. 6. the forbidding of things ſuffocated, Act. 15. for a time, were neceſſarie, yet herein they receiued no inſtruction from Chriſt, who referred them to the direction of the ſpirit. Secondly, Chriſt notwithſtanding did alſo giue them a charge to write, both by way of implication, where he biddeth them teach all nations, Matth. 28. which was impoſſible to be done by their liuely voyce, and therefore muſt be ſupplied by their writing: as alſo directly *Iohn* is charged to write to the Churches, Apocal. 1. 11. And this being the laſt booke which is commaunded to be written, it is not to be doubted of, but that the reſt were written by the ſame authoritie. Thirdly, the Ieſuite himſelfe ſaith: *Apoſtoli non niſi neceſſitate quadam coacti:* The Apoſtles did not write, but thereunto moued of neceſſitie. But if the Scriptures were not neceſſarie, there ſhould be no neceſſitie of writing.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Scriptures are neceſſarie for the people of God, the reading, preaching, and vnderſtanding whereof is the onely and ordinarie meanes to beget faith in vs, we thus proue out of the Scriptures themſelues.

Argum. 1. Theſe Scriptures containe neceſſarie knowledge to ſaluation, which cannot be learned but out of the Scripture, *Ergo* they are neceſſarie. The knowledge of the law is neceſſarie; but that onely is deriued from the Scripture: as the Apoſtle witneſſeth Rom. 7. 7. he had not knowen luſt to be ſinne, vnleſſe the law had ſaid, Thou ſhalt not luſt. And if the right knowledge of the law is not learned, but out of Scripture: much more the knowledge of the Goſpell is more high and myſticall, and more ſtrange vnto our nature.

Argum. 2. That where by we are kept from error and doubtfulnes in matters of faith is neceſſarie: but this is performed by the Scripture, *Ergo*. Firſt, the Scripture keepeth vs from error, Matth. 22. 29. Yee erre, not knowing the Scriptures (ſaith our Sauiour.) The ignorance of Scripture was cauſe of their error. Secondly, if our knowledge were onely builded vpon tradition without Scripture, wee ſhould bee doubtfull and vncertaine of the trueth: ſo Saint *Luke* ſaith in his Preface to *Theophilus*: I haue written (ſaith hee) that *thou mighteſt bee certaine of thoſe things, whereof thou haſt been inſtructed.* Hence wee conclude, that although wee might know the trueth without Scripture, as *Theophilus* did, yet wee cannot knowe it certainly without it.

Argum 3. If the Scriptures be not neceſſarie, then we may be without them; but this cannot be: *Ergo* the Scriptures cannot be ſpared: for then God had done a needleſſe and ſuperfluous worke in ſtirring vp the Prophets and Apoſtles to write. S. *Paul* ſaith, that *whatſoeuer is written, is written for our learning, that through patience and conſolation of the Scriptures we might haue hope*, Rom. 15. 4. The Lord ſaw in wiſdome that his people could not be without the Scriptures, which are neceſſarie for their learning, for their comfort, and to ſtrengthen their hope: how then dare our aduerſaries ſay, that the Scriptures are not neceſſarie, ſeeing theſe things wrought in vs onely by the Scriptures, knowledge, conſolation, hope, are moſt neceſſarie.

Argum. 4. The knowledge of eternall life is neceſſarie; but that commeth onely by the Scriptures, Iohn 5. 39. Search the Scriptures, for in them you thinke to haue eternall life: *Ergo* they are neceſſarie. Againe, to be made wiſe vnto ſaluation, and perfect to euery good worke, are neceſſarie: but theſe things the Scripture worketh, 2. Timoth. 3. 15, 17. Further, a man cannot walke in darkenes without light, ſo that light in darkenes is neceſſarie: but the Scriptures are light in a darke place, 2. Pet. 1. 19. Laſtly, our Sauiour himſelfe ſaith to *Martha*, Luke 10. 42. *vnum neceſſarium*: one thing is neceſſarie, namely that which *Marie* had choſen, to heare the word and voyce of Chriſt, who elſewhere ſpeaketh not but in Scripture, Iohn 5. 39. they teſtifie of me, and verſe 46. *Moſes* wrote of me: *Ergo* the knowledge of the Scriptures is neceſſarie.

Let *Auguſtine* now put in his verdict: *Illud credo, quod etiam horum eloquiorum clariſſima auctoritas eſſet, ſi homo illud ſine dispendio ſalutis ignorare non poſſet. de peccator. meritis & remiſſ. lib. 2. 36.* I thinke (ſaith he) that euen concerning this matter (ſpeaking of the Originall or beginning of the ſoule) the Scriptures would not haue been ſilent, if we might not ſafely be ignorant of this matter,

without

without danger of saluation: *Ergo* whatsoeuer is necessarie to saluation, is onely to be found in Scripture (for other matters there not expressed, there is no danger in not knowing them) therefore the Scriptures by this Fathers iudgement are most necessarie. Let vs heare a testimonie of their owne.

Concil. Lateranens. sub Innocentio 3. *cap.* 1. we finde this decree: *Inter cætera, quæ ad salutem spectant populi Christiani pabulum verbi Dei potissimùm nostris temporibus sibi necessarium, quia sicut corpus materiale, ita anima spirituali nutritur cibo.* Among other things which concerne the saluation of Christian people, the foode of the word of God is knowen to be most necessarie; for as the bodie is fed with materiall foode, so the soule with spirituall: the foode therefore of Gods word is most necessarie. And least it might be imagined, that the word vnwritten is as well here vnderstoode, as the word written: let it be considered what *Gelasius* Bishop of Rome writeth in his decretals, *Epistol. ad Euphemium. Fides ex auditu, auditus per verbum Dei: illud verbum, quod confessioni B. Petri Apostolorum principis inferri nunquam prævalituras esse promisit.* Faith commeth by hearing, hearing by the word of God: that is, that word which promised that the gates of hell should not preuaile against the confession of *Peter*. And this is the word written; the necessitie then of the word of God, is the necessitie of the word written.

THE SECOND PART OF THE SEVENTH question, of the sufficiencie of Scripture.

The Papists.

THey do strangely affirme, that the Scriptures containe not all things necessarie to be knowen concerning faith and manners, and that they are not sufficient without traditions, *Bellarm. cap.* 3. 4. *Lindanus* a Papist saith, that the Scriptures containe not all things necessarie to saluation. *Andradius*, that their approued traditions are of equall authoritie with the Scripture, *Ex Tilman. de verbo error.* 2. 12. Error.

Argum. 1 The Iesuite thus reasoneth against the sufficiencie of Scripture: There are diuers bookes of Canonicall Scripture lost and perished: *Ergo* that part of Canonicall Scripture which remaineth, is not sufficient. That much is lost, he thus proueth, 1. *Chron. cap. vlt.* mention is made of the bookes of *Nathan* and *Gad.* 2. Chron. 9. of the bookes of *Ahijah* and *Iedo*: and in the new Testament, Col. 4. of the Epistle of S. *Paul* to the Laodiceans: all those bookes are lost.

Answ. 1. S. *Augustine* thus answereth, those bookes of the Prophets, which are nameth in the Kings, are not found in the Canon, for what cause, saith he, I know not, *Nisi quod eruditiores prophetas illos, alia scisse homines, historica diligentia; alia scisse prophetas inspiratione diuina scribere potuisse:* But that I thinke, that those Prophets might write some stories as men, and some things as Prophets, by the inspiration of the spirit, *lib.* 36. *de ciuitat. Dei c.* 38. Thus *Augustine* thinketh that those bookes now wanting, were no part of the Canonicall Scripture. But wee denie not, but that some bookes are now wanting, which were part of Canonicall Scripture, and yet that which remaineth is sufficient: as some of *Salomons* bookes are perished, which he wrote of hearbs and plants, and many of his Prouerbs: the Lord saw that they were not so greatly necessarie for vs to saluation, as containing matter of storie rather then of doctrine. Secondly, there is not so much wanting, as the Iesuite would beare vs in hand: for the bookes of the Prophets which he nameth, are the same with the books of the Chronicles and of the Kings, which no doubt were written by those Prophets. And as for the Epistle of Saint *Paul* to the Laodiceans, there was neuer any such: the text is, Written from the Laodiceans; it was the Epistle rather of the Laodiceans to Saint *Paul*, vnto the which he partly maketh answere in the Epistle to the Colossians, and therefore he would haue it read also in their Church. And this is Saint *Hieromes* iudgement concerning this epistle: *Legunt quidam & epistolam ad Laodicenses, sed ab omnibus explauditur:* Some doe reade the Epistle to the Laodiceans, but it is refused of all men: *catalog. scriptor.*

Argum. 2. There are two things in Scripture, the letter and the sense: the first is knowne to all, that can reade, but the second is not had without tradition: *Ergo*, the Scriptures are not sufficient, *Bellarm.*

Answ. First, the sense of the Scriptures is contained in the Scriptures themselues, and if it bee not there to be found, it is not the sense of the Scriptures. And of this matter your owne *Clemens* giueth a good rule, as he is alleaged by *Gratian: Decret. pag.* 1 *dist.* 37. *cap.* 14. *Non sensum, quem extrinsecus adulteretis alienum & extraneum debetis quærere, &c. sed ex ipsis scripturis sensum cupere veritatis:* You must not seeke for a strange sense without, which you may adulterate at your pleasure, but out of the Scriptures themselues the sense of truth must be had. Secondly, the Iesuite is intangled in his owne speech: for he saith, *Duo esse in scriptura, voces scriptas, & sensum.* There are two

things in Scripture, the written words, and the ſenſe: *Ergo*, the ſenſe of Scripture (by his owne confeſſion) is in the Scripture.

Argum. 3. There are many points, which we ought in no wiſe to be ignorant of, which the Scriptures ſpeake either obſcurely of, or not at all.

Firſt, theſe things are obſcurely and doubtfully ſet downe in Scripture, the equalitie of the perſons in Trinitie, the proceeding of the holy Ghoſt, from the Father and the Sonne; the doctrine of Originall ſinne.

We anſwere: firſt, if theſe things be found at all in the Scriptures, it is ſufficient concerning the queſtion we haue in hand. Secondly, the Scripture doth manifeſtly declare the trueth in all theſe poynts, the equalitie of the perſons is directly proued, 1. Iohn 5.7. There are three, which beare record in heauen, the Father, the Word, and the holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are one: the proceſſion of the ſpirit, Iohn 15.26. The ſpirit is there ſaid to be ſent from the Father and the Sonne; and Iohn 14.26. Whom the Father will ſend in my name: Originall ſinne is deſcribed plainely by the Apoſtle, Rom. 5.12. though the name be not found in Scripture: By one man ſinne entered into the world, and death by ſinne, for as much as all men haue ſinned.

Secondly, there are diuers things neceſſarie to be knowen, not at all declared in Scripture: theſe examples he ſetteth downe. It is neceſſarie to beleeue that the Canonicall Scriptures are contained in the old and new Teſtament. And not onely ſo, but to know which bookes are Canonicall, as that the Goſpell of *Marke* and *Luke* are Canonicall, and ſo of the reſt: yea it is neceſſarie to know that theſe are the very Goſpels which were written by S. *Marke* and *Luke*, and ſo of the reſt of the Scripture: but theſe things cannot bee knowen out of the Scriptures themſelues, but by tradition. *Ergo* the Scriptures containe not all neceſſarie knowledge.

Anſwere: Firſt, the Scriptures doe giue teſtimonie of themſelues, the old Teſtament giueth witneſſe to the new, and the new againe to the olde. All Scripture is giuen, ſaith S. *Paul*, by inſpiration: and the harmonie and conſent of Scripture, the propheticall predictions, the holy precepts, the chaſt and pure ſtile, doe euidently ſhew, that they are the writings of the holy Ghoſt: and the iudgement and ſentence of the Church concerning Canonicall Scripture, if it be right, muſt and doth ariſe, and is grounded vpon theſe conſiderations drawen out of the Scriptures themſelues.

Secondly, likewiſe to know euery particular booke of Scripture to be Canonical, it is not ſimply neceſſarie to ſaluation, ſeeing many godly learned men haue doubted of ſome bookes, who (God forbid) but might notwithſtanding be ſaued. Againe we anſwere, that thoſe very particular books, as the Goſpels of *Marke* and *Luke* are receiued, the Goſpels of *Bartholmew* and *Thomas* refuſed, not ſo much becauſe the Church hath ſo determined, but becauſe their determination agreeth with the trueth it ſelfe: ſeeing thoſe forged goſpels are found to be full of fables, and therefor worthie of ſmall credit: the other are pure, chaſt, and diuine writings. So S. *Auguſtine* ſaith: *In Apocryphis licet inueniatur aliqua veritas, tamen propter falſa multa, nulla eſt canonica authoritas*: In the Apocryphall bookes, though ſome things bee true, yet becauſe there are many falſe, they are not of any canonicall authoritie: *lib.* 15. *de ciuitat. dei. cap.* 23.

Thirdly, we anſwere, that it is not neceſſarie to know the author of euery booke, for as much as there are diuers books of Scripture whoſe authors are not knowne: it is enough to beleeue them to be Scripture.

Further ſaith the Ieſuit, it is neceſſarie to know that *Mary* continued a perpetuall virgin. We anſwere, the Scripture ſaith euery where ſhe was a virgin, neither maketh mention of any children ſhe had: and therefore out of the Scripture we gather, that ſhe ſo continued. And thus doth S. *Hierome* anſwere *Heluidius*: *Vt hæc, quæ ſcripta ſunt, non negamus, ita ea, quæ non ſunt ſcripta renuimus*: As we denie not, what is written, ſo we refuſe, what is not written. That God was borne of a virgin we beleeue, *quia legimus*, becauſe wee reade ſo in Scripture: but that *Mary* was married afterward, we beleeue not, *quia non legimus*, becauſe we doe not reade it. Secondly, *Baſil* ſaith that it is ſufficient to know ſhe was a virgin before the birth of Chriſt. Laſtly, to know that the Paſch or Eaſter muſt be kept vpon the Lords day is neceſſarie. *Anſwer.* There is no ſuch neceſſitie in it to ſaluation: neither needed the Church ſo much to haue contended about it in times paſt: theſe are the mightie weapons, which our aduerſaries vſe. That this day is meeteſt to be kept (as it is) vpon the Lords day, S. *Auguſtine* doth ſhew it out of Scripture: *Epiſt.* 118. *Quo die dominus crucifixus, & ſepultus, & reſurrexit, ex Euangelio manifeſtum, &c.* It is manifeſt in the Goſpell, what day our Sauiour was crucified, buried, and roſe againe: *Et vniuerſo orbi perſuaſum eſt Paſcha ſic celebrari oportere*: And the whole world was perſwaded, that the Paſch ought to bee celebrated after that manner.

Vnto thoſe obiections which the Ieſuite maketh, I will adde alſo one other, which ſometime was obiected to that excellent learned man, and famous martyr Maſter *Philpot*, by Maſter *Chriſtoferſon*: How doe you know that Chriſt is *homoüſios*, that is, of one ſubſtance with his father, but

by

by the determination of the Church? *Anſ.* I doe know it by Scripture, Heb.1.3. Chriſt is ſaid to bee the expreſſe image of Gods ſubſtance. Obiect. Nay he ſaith, but *expreſſa imago ſubſtantiæ*, and an image is an accident. *Anſ.* Yes, the text is *ſubſtantiæ illius*, of his, that is Gods ſubſtance: and ye know that in God are no accidents. Neither is this the onely place for this purpoſe, but we haue other: as our Sauiour himſelfe ſaith, *Ego & pater vnum ſumus*, I and my father are one: *ſic Philpot. Fox* pag.1820.col.2.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe not affirme, as our aduerſaries charge vs, that all things neceſſarie to ſaluation, are expreſſely contained in Scripture, that is, in ſo many words: but this wee hold, that all things, which are neceſſarie to be knowne of vs, are either expreſſely declared in Scripture, or neceſſarily concluded out of Scripture, and ſo contained in them. Wee alſo graunt, that it was not Goſpell onely which was written, but all that Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught by liuely voyce: the whole ſumme whereof and ſubſtance is contained in the written word: and ſo we conclude, that nothing neceſſarie to ſaluation either concerning faith or manners, is elſewhere to bee found but in the holy Scriptures.

*Argum.*1. S. *Paul* ſaith: If wee, or an Angell preach vnto you otherwiſe then that which wee haue preached, let him be accurſed: *Ergo*, the Scripture containeth all things neceſſarie.

Firſt, the Ieſuite anſwereth, that S. *Paul* ſpeaketh not onely of his writings, but alſo of his preachings which were not written.

We anſwer, that the ſumme of all S. *Pauls* preachings is contained in his Epiſtles and other holie writings: for S. *Paul* confirmed his doctrine out of the Scriptures, as Act.17.10. the Berroeans examined his doctrine by the Scriptures, and found it to bee conſonant, and to agree in all things.

Secondly, he condemneth thoſe which preach any thing, not beſides or otherwiſe, but contrarie: and therefore not any other doctrine beſides Scripture is forbidden, but that which is contrarie. We anſwere, whatſoeuer is impoſed as neceſſarie to ſaluation beſide the Scripture, *præter Scripturas*, is alſo *contra Scripturas*, contrarie to Scripture; as are all popiſh traditions, which they lay a neceſſitie vpon, both beſide and contrary to Scripture. 2. Neither did thoſe falſe Apoſtles, againſt whom S. *Paul* writeth ſo much, bring in another or contrarie Goſpell, as the Apoſtle ſaith verſ.7. as they did labour to corrupt and peruert that Goſpell, which S. *Paul* taught. Therefore all traditions whether *præter*, or *contra*, beſide or contrary to Scripture, are notably by this place ouerthrowne. And as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Qui prætergreditur fidei regulam, non incidit in viam, ſed recedit a via*: He that paſſeth beſide the rule of faith, doth not goe in the way, but departeth from the way. So that, as he doth not only goe out of the way, which goeth againſt it, but he alſo that goeth beſide it: ſo not onely traditions and ceremonies apparantly contrarie to ſcripture, but euen them alſo, which haue a ſuperſtitious ſhew of holines are againſt it.

*Argum.*2. Ioh.20.31. *Theſe things are written, that ye might beleeue that Ieſus Chriſt is the ſonne of God, and that in beleeuing ye might haue life through his name*: *Ergo*, the Scripture containe all things neceſſarie to ſaluation: for they ſuffice to worke in vs faith, and faith bringeth vs to eternall life.

Firſt, *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that *Iohn* ſpeaketh onely of that which he had written. *Anſw.* If this one Apoſtles writings were able to worke faith, the whole bodie of Scripture much more: but he rather ſpeaketh of all other holy writings of the Apoſtles, for he was the ſuruiuer of them all, and acknowledged their writings & approued thē. Secondly (ſaith he) the Apoſtle ſaith not that thoſe writings onely ſuffice, but they are profitable, and referred to this end, to worke faith. *Anſ.* The Scripture is not one of the meanes, but the ſole, whole, and onely meanes: for if they perfectly worke faith, what neede any other helpes: but the firſt is true; for they doe beget in vs a perfect faith, which ſhall bring vs to eternall life: *Ergo*, they are the onely meanes of faith.

*Argum.*3. The whole Scripture (ſaith S. *Paul*) is profitable to teach, to improoue, to correct, and inſtruct in righteouſneſſe, 2.Tim.3.16. *Ergo*, it containeth all things neceſſarie: for what elſe is requiſit beſides theſe foure, to teach the right faith, improue error, to inſtruct in righteouſneſſe and vertue, and to correct vice?

Firſt they anſwere, the Apoſtle meaneth as well euery booke of Scripture, as the whole: euery part therefore hath this perfection as well as the whole. But you will not ſay, that euery booke containeth all things neceſſarie to ſaluation: therefore this perfection is not ſo to be taken, *Bellar.*

We anſwer. Firſt, S. *Paul* vnderſtandeth the bodie of Scripture, as verſ.15. thou haſt knowne the Scriptures, he ſpeaketh of them all. Secondly, if euery part had theſe vtilities, you might as well conclude that euery word and ſillable hath them, for they are parts of Scripture. Thirdly, it appeareth by theſe foure great vtilities here ſet downe, that the Apoſtle meaneth not any part or parts of ſcripture, but the whole, for euery part of ſcripture is not profitable for all theſe endes, but the whole.

Secondly,

Secondly, they say it followeth not: the Scripture is profitable, therefore sufficient, they also graunt it is profitable. *Anſ.* But we conclude out of S. *Paul*, that the Scripture is not onely profitable, but sufficient, as it followeth, verſ. 17. That the man of God may bee absolute, perfectly instructed to euery good worke. If then the Scriptures are able perfectly to instruct vs, then are they sufficient, then neede we no other helpes.

Neither are the Scriptures sufficient onely to instruct the ignorant and vulgar sort, but euen the learned, and such, as are the teachers of others: *That the man of God* (saith the Apostle) *may be absolute, &c.* That is, the Preacher of the Gospell. To this agreeth the 67. Canon. *Concil. Cabil. sub Carolo: Quid generaliter ab omnibus & in omnibus sequendum sit, quid vitandum, qualiter intra sanctam ecclesiam sit versandum, qui plenius nosse desiderat, sanctarum scripturarum prata percurrere non desistat:* What is of all men, in all cases to be followed, what to be auoyded, how a man should liue and behaue himselfe in the Church of God, he that is desirous more fully to know, let him not cease to trace the pleasant fields of the holie Scriptures. The Scriptures then doe teach all men, in all cases both concerning faith and manners, what is to be done, what to be left vndone.

Further *Auguſtine* thus writeth, *in Pſal. 66. Ne putetis* (saith he) *ex alijs Scripturis petendum, quod forte his deeſt.* Thinke not (saith he) that it is to bee found in any other writings if it bee not in Scripture. And in another place: *In Euangelio quaramus, nam ſi ibi non inuenimus, vbi inueniemus?* Let vs (saith he) seeke to be resolued in the Gospell, if we finde not there, where shall we finde it? *Ergo*, by the iudgement of *Auguſtine* there is no trueth necessarie to bee knowne, which is not to be found in the Scripture.

I forbeare to vse other testimonies of the Fathers, as that of *Origen: In Euangelijs omnis veritas, & omnis manifeſtatio veritatis:* In the Gospels is all trueth, and manifestation of trueth, *Hom. 9. in Exod.* And that of *Ambroſe: Quod non legi vſurpare non debeo:* I dare not vse, or receiue, that which I reade not, *lib. de incarnat. cap. 9.* I will spare to cite the Fathers on our side, because I omit the testimonies, which our aduersaries vse: professing in this treatise chiefly to deale with the Scriptures: purposing hereafter, if it please God, to handle the authorities alleaged on both sides: I will at this time onely vrge against them such euidence, as I finde both in the Emperiall, and pontificial constitutions.

First *Iuſtinian. Cod. lib. 1. tit. 1. leg. 1.* thus decreeth concerning the authoritie of his constitutions, that they should onely be vsed in deciding of all causes, *Quis vtitatio conſtitutionum codicis noſtri ſufficiat:* Because the allegation onely of the constitutions of our Codex is sufficient. If then the Emperours Codex be sufficient for all ciuill causes, shall we thinke that the diuine Codex is lesse sufficient for spirituall?

Againe, *Cod. lib. 9. tit. 29. leg. 1.* the Emperours, *Theodoſ. Gratian. Valentinian.* enacted this law: *Qui diuinæ legis ſanctitatem, aut neſciendo omittunt, aut negligendo violant, &c.* They are guiltie of sacrilege, that either of ignorance omit, or of negligence violate the diuine law. Then must our aduersaries be guiltie of sacrilege, which doe omit and neglect the Scriptures, by following vnwritten traditions.

Secondly out of your owne Canons, *Extrauag. commun. lib. 1. tit. 3. cap. 1. Bonif. 8.* thus writeth: That none should be receiued as a Legate of the Apostolike sea, *niſi fide doceat oculata:* vnlesse he demonstrate it or make faith to the sight, that is, by some writing: for it is the manner of that sea to doe no such thing, *ſine ſignatis apicibus*, without signed letters. If then in humane matters, there must be *fides oculata*, and *ſignati apices*, a faith in sight, and signing of writings, how much more needfull is it in diuine?

Yet more directly, Ioh. 22. *Extrau. lib. 5. tit. 8. c. vinc. Diuina exempla debent eſſe actionum noſtrarum regula:* The diuine examples in Scripture (for so he meaneth, as it followeth in the Canon) must be an example of our acts.

Lastly, the trueth of the doctrine that the Scripture containeth all things necessarie to saluation, hath been sealed with the blood of Martyrs: this was one of the articles obiected against Doctor *Taylor*, *Fox* pag. 1522. And in testimonie whereof (saith *Bradford*) I giue and render my life, *epiſtol. ad Londinenſ. pag. 1626. col. 1.*

To this also giueth testimonie, that valiant souldiour of Christ M. *Haukes* martyr: Is not the Scripture (saith he) sufficient for my saluation? Yes, saith one of *Boners* Chaplaines, it is sufficient for our saluation, but not for our instruction. He answered, God send me the saluation, and you the instruction, *Fox* pag. 1586.

For this article also that the word of God doth containe sufficient doctrine to saluation, the townships of Winson and Mendlesam in Suffolke were persecuted, pag. 1912. What neede wee doubt then of this doctrine which is proued by Scripture, grounded vpon reason, and confirmed by the blood of the Saints?

THE

THE THIRD PART OF THE SEVENTH QVE-
ſtion: whether there be any traditions beſide Scripture concerning faith and manners.

The Papiſts.

THey vnderſtand by this word tradition, doctrine, precepts, and ceremonies, with others vſa- 13. Error.
ges of the Church, which are not written in the Scriptures. They doe not ſay that all their traditions are neceſſarie, but they make diuers kindes of them: ſome are vniuerſall, obſerued in the whole Church, ſome particular: ſome are free, ſome neceſſarie: ſome are Apoſtolicall, inuented by the Apoſtles, ſome Eccleſiaſticall by the Church. So then they conclude: all traditions decreed in Councels, and iudged Apoſtolicall and whatſoeuer the Church of Rome receiueth as Apoſtolicall, are not to be doubted, but to be Apoſtolicall indeede. Secondly, all Apoſtolicall traditions are of equall authoritie with the writings of the Apoſtles, *Bellar. lib. 4. cap. 9.* And they are that part of the word of God which is vnwritten, as well as the Scriptures are that part which is written. Let vs ſee what arguments they bring for theſe traditions.

Argum. 1. They giue an inſtance of certaine traditions, as the baptiſme of infants, and the not rebaptiſing of thoſe, which were before baptiſed by heretikes. We anſwer, theſe two cuſtomes of the Church are grounded vpon Scripture: for as children were in the time of the law circumciſed, ſo are they now vnder the Goſpell baptiſed: and that promiſe, Geneſ. 17. *I will be thy God, and the God of thy ſeede:* as it belonged to them and their children, ſo doth it appertaine to vs and our children.

Concerning the other point, that they whom heretikes haue once baptiſed, ought not to bee baptiſed againe: S. *Auguſtine* doth prooue it out of the Scripture, Epheſ. 4. *There is one faith, one Baptiſme. Ergo*, not to be repeated.

But now they come in with other traditions, as the Lenten faſt, which they vſe moſt fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly: the eight Eccleſiaſticall orders, Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, Subdeacons, Acolythiſts, Readers, Exorciſts, Doore-keepers, the worſhipping of Images, with many other: theſe they would face vs out to be Apoſtolicall traditions, and ſo haue bin vniuerſally obſerued, which are but their vaine brags, and Thraſonicall crakes: they ſhall neuer proue them vniuerſall, much leſſe Apoſtolicall. And becauſe they finde no ſcripture to eſtabliſh theſe their ſuperſtitious phantaſies by, they flie vnto tradition, which is their onely hauen, where they hope to finde ſuccour: but all in vaine. *Bellarm. lib. 4. cap. 9. Conſul. Whitacher. quæſt. 6. cap. 4.*

Argum. 2. They proceede and alleage Scripture for their traditions, as that place Ioh. 16. 12. *I haue many things to ſay but you cannot beare them now: Ergo*, ſay they, there are many traditions not written.

We anſwere. Firſt, it followeth not, becauſe Chriſt declared not all things at that time, that therefore he kept them from his Apoſtles altogether. Nay, whatſoeuer afterwards the Apoſtles learned of the ſpirit of God, they had heard before of Chriſt: for it was the office of the ſpirit, partly to put them in remembrance of Chriſts ſayings, Ioh. 14. 26. which they had heard before, but vnderſtood them not, and ſo forgat them, partly they were taught of the ſpirit, whatſoeuer was neceſſarie, who ſhould leade them into all trueth, and teach them things to come, which are the ſame things which the Apoſtles did both preach and write. Wherefore theſe things, which Chriſt forbeareth to ſpeake, are the ſame things, which were afterward taught by the ſpirit, and are contained in the Apoſtles writings. Secondly, if there were other matters, which Chriſt vttered not, how followeth it, nay what great preſumption is it to ſay, that thoſe triſles and apiſh toyes, which the Papiſts vſe in their Idolatrous ſacrifice, and their other beggerly ceremonies (which boyes may well laugh at) are thoſe profound matters, which the Apoſtles were not then able to conceiue.

Argum. 3. That of all other, they take to be an inuincible place, 2. Theſſ. 2. 15. *Keepe the inſtructions or traditions, which ye haue beene taught either by word, or by Epiſtle: Ergo*, there are traditions beſide Scripture.

We anſwere, when S. *Paul* wrote this Epiſtle, all the Scriptures were not written: wherefore beſides theſe two ſhort Epiſtles, which doe not containe the ſumme of the Goſpell, nor all neceſſarie precepts, he by his preaching ſupplied what was wanting, and ſo declared vnto them the wholeſome myſterie of the Goſpell, as he ſaith, 1. Theſſ. 2. 2. theſe he calleth his traditions, becauſe yet he had not written his other Epiſtles, wherein thoſe inſtructions and traditions are contained. This then is but a weake argument: the Theſſalonians had other inſtructions and traditions, beſide the two Epiſtles written vnto them: *Ergo*, they had other traditions, beſide all the writings of S. *Paul* and the other Apoſtles. This is their maine and waighty argument. And further, it is not onely the Apoſtles phraſe, but the vſe of the Fathers, to call the Scriptures a tradition; as S. *Cy-*

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prius epist. ad Pompeium: Si quæ in Euangelio præcipitur, aut in Apostolorum epistolis, aut all thou contineatur, obseruatur etiam quæ hac fluxit traditio? If it be either commaunded in the Gospell, or contained in the epistles or acts of the Apostles, let this tradition also bee obserued. Likewise S. *Ambrose: Corpus Christi traditiones sunt Scripturarum:* The bodie of Christ are the traditions of the Scriptures.

The Preacher.

FIrst, wee graunt that all things are not written which our Sauiour Christ and the Apostles taught, and that it was the Gospell, which they preached, as well as that which is written: yet in substance they preached the same Gospell, which now is expressed in the Scriptures: neither was there any necessary precept deliuered in their sermons, which is not now to bee found in the Scriptures. Secondly, we denie not but there were certaine rites and orders ordained by the Apostles in diuers Churches, which were not committed to writing, because they were not to continue and endure for euer in the Church: as that precept, Act. 15. that the Gentiles should abstaine from strangled, and from blood. Thirdly, we also graunt that the Church may vse externall rites and orders either left by tradition, or ordained by the Church for decencie and comlinesse, and tending to edification. But we constantly affirme, that there are no traditions in the Church of God necessarie to saluation beside Scripture: wherein all things are contained necessarie to saluation, both concerning faith and manners.

Argum. 1. It is not lawfull, as to take ought from the word of God, so to adde any thing vnto it, Deut. 12. 32. Apocal. 22. 18. But they which bring in traditions necessarie beside the Scriptures, doe adde vnto them. *Ergo.*

To the proposition the Iesuit answereth: that all addition to the word of God is not forbidden, for the Prophetes did write after *Moses*, and the Apostles after the Euangelists. We answere: first, that those holy men had authoritie from God to compile Scripture: if the Papists haue the like Apostolike authoritie for their traditions, let them shew it, and we will beleeue them. Secondly, the Prophets did but explane *Moses*, and expound the law, and the Apostles did as it were set forth their Commentaries vpon the Gospell: this therefore was no addition, because they did not derogate from the perfection of the Scriptures any way.

To the assumption they answere: that their traditions are but expositions of the Scripture. We answere, their traditions are cleane contrarie to Scripture, as the worshipping of Images, and the sacrifice of their Masse: and they adde to Scripture, making it vnperfect, saying, It doth not containe all things necessarie to saluation. Wherefore they cannot escape that curse, which they runne into that adde to the word of God.

Argum. 2. All traditions among the Iewes beside the law were condemned, Matth. 15. 3. *Ergo*, all vnwritten traditions now must bee abolished. The Iesuite answereth: First, Christ condemned not the ancient traditions of *Moses*, but those which were newly and lately inuented. *Ans.* First, the Scripture maketh no mention of any such traditions of *Moses*: Christ biddeth them search the Scriptures, not runne vnto traditions. Secondly, these seemed to be ancient traditions, bearing the name of Elders traditions, and they were in great authoritie amongst the Iewes: most like, because of some long continuance.

Secondly (saith he) Christ findeth fault with wicked and impious traditions. *Ans.* First, their traditions were not openly and plainly euill and pernicious, but had some shew of holinesse, as the washing of pots, and tables, and beds. I would the Papists did not here take themselues by the nose, whose traditions come neerer to open impietie, and blasphemie, then theirs did. Secondly, Christ in opposing the Scripture against traditions, therein condemneth all traditions not written, besides the Scripture.

Argum. 3. If *Paul* preaching the whole Gospell, Act. 20. 27. did say none other things then *Moses* and the Prophets; then all things necessarie to saluation are contained in the Scriptures. For it cannot bee said to bee a whole and perfect Gospell, if any thing necessarie to saluation bee wanting. But *Paul* preached nothing, but out of *Moses* and the Prophets, Act. 26. 22. *Ergo*, much more now is the Scripture a perfect rule of faith; wor hauing beside *Moses* and the Prophets, the holy writings of the Euangelists and Apostles. So that wee further reason thus: If *Moses* and the Prophets were sufficient without any other helpes for the times of the law, much more sufficient is the new Testament together with the old now. But the first is true, therefore the second. The consequence of the first proposition cannot bee denied: for we see now more then the Prophets did, Matth. 13. 17. and if the old Testament then was sufficient, much more the new together with the old. The second part is thus proued, Luk. 16. 29. The rich mans brethren are sent to *Moses* and the Prophets, which were more sufficient to instruct them, then if one should come from the dead: so that the written word is to be preferred before vnwritten reuelations. And *Abraham* in saying, *heare them*, testifieth, that they contained sufficient instruction vnto life: *Ergo*, much more the Gospell now.

Argum.

Argum. 4. The Scriptures were written, to be a rule and measure of our faith : And they being the worke of God, whose workes are all perfect, must needes also be a perfect rule of our faith : and so containe all things necessarie to faith : for the rule and measure must not come short of that which is measured.

Bellarm. 1. The Scripture was not ordained especially to be a rule of our faith : but onely to be, *Commonitorium quoddam*, as a remembrancer to nourish and preserue sound doctrine by preaching : for if it were to that end, it should conteine onely such things as belong vnto the faith ; but now it conteineth many things beside.

Answere 1. That the Scriptures were not written, to be a rule of our faith, it is a bold and vntrue assertion contrarie to Scripture: the Scriptures doe teach and shew vs eternall life, Iohn 5.39. but it is eternall life to beleeue in Iesus Christ, Ioh. 3.16. *Ergo*, the Scriptures doe teach and giue rules of our faith and beliefe: yea S. *Paul* doth in direct termes call the doctrine of Christ crucified, which is set forth in Scriptures, a rule, Gal. 6.15.16.

Bellarm. 2. Againe we say, that the Scripture is a rule of faith (though this be not the chiefe end thereof) yet not a totall and absolute rule, but in part onely : the word of God is one part or peece of the rule, vnwritten traditions another.

Answere 1. That it is the chiefe end of Scripture to be a rule of faith and good manners, the wise man speaketh plainely, Prou. 1.1. The prouerbs of *Salomon to know wisdome and vnderstand the words of knowledge, to receiue instruction to doe wisely*. This is the end of Scripture to know true wisdome, and to doe wisely : And least they should say, that this is the end onely of that booke, S. *Paul* sheweth the same generally to be the end and vse of all Scripture, 2. Tim. 3.16. 2. If the Scripture be a rule, then is it a perfect rule : for God leaueth not any of his workes vnperfect : *I knowe*, saith the Preacher, *that whatsoeuer God doth, it shall be for euer : to it can no man adde, and from it can no man diminish* : Eccles. 3.14. But the Scripture is one of Gods workes : *Ergo*, it is perfect : yea Saint *Paul* saith plainely, that the Scriptures are able to make the man of God perfect to euery good worke ; *Ergo*, themselues are much more perfect. 3. It is no good argument which the Iesuite vseth, the Scriptures conteine more then belongeth to faith, or then is necessary to be beleeued : *Ergo*, they are not properly a rule of faith. We answere. 1. Though the Scriptures be profitable to other ends, then to instruct in faith and good manners, yet this is the chiefe and principall, as we haue shewed : and though many things in Scripture declared historically, are not properly of the substance of faith ; yet there is nothing therein conteined, which may not be referred to faith and good manners, as profitable, and helping to one of those ends. 2. This argument may be returned vpon the Iesuites owne head : for if the Scripture speake of many things which are not of the necessitie of faith, much lesse is it silent in all necessarie points of faith : if it abound in things not necessarie, *Non deficit in necessarys*, much lesse doth it faile in necessarie.

Last of al, although we might multiplie many arguments, but these I trust strongly concluding out of Scripture, may serue as a sufficient bulwarke against all Popish paper bullets : Let vs heare in the knitting vp the iudgement of *Augustine*. *In his rebus, inquit, in quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura, mos populi Dei, vel instituta maiorum pro lege tenenda. Epist.* 86. In all those things (saith he speaking of externall rites, and ceremonies, of the which we haue no certaine rule out of Scripture, the custome of ye people of God, & the godly constitutions of our forefathers must stand for a law. But concerning matters of faith and good manners the Scriptures do giue certaine rules, as in another place; *In ijs quæ apertè in Scriptura posita sunt, inueniuntur illa omnia, quæ continent fidem, moresq; viuendi, de doctrina Christ.* 2.9. Al things appertaining to faith, and ye rule of life, are plainely expressed in the Scripture: *Ergo*, by the sentence of *Augustine*, traditions besids Scripture haue nothing to doe with the doctrine of faith and manners, but do consist only in externall rites & customes of the Church.

This doctrine also that no traditions concerning either faith or manners are to be receiued besides Scripture, wanteth not the glorious consent of Martyres. Sir *Iohn Borthwicke* knight was condemned by the Cardinall of *Scotland*, for affirming, amongst other things, that the Pope ought not to obtrude vpon the Church any lawes of faith beside or contrarie to the Scripture: for as the Prophets (saith he) alwaies in the beginning of their prophesies, said *The word of the Lord*, shewing thereby, that they preached not their owne phantasies, but the word of God ; and as our Sauiour bad his Apostles preach, Mat. 28. not what they would themselues, but what he commanded them : so now nothing ought to be taught in the Church beside the word of God conteined in Scripture. *Fox*. pag. 1264. See the confession also of *Iohn Fortune* Martyr, that he would not beleeue vnwritten verities, which agreed not with written verities. *Fox* pag. 1918. col. 2.

Let vs also see the consent of antiquitie : *Concil. Florentin. generall. Sess.* 7. *Andreas Colossen.* being chosen a champion for the Latine Church, thus speaketh vnto the Greeke disputers, which said speech was approoued of the whole Councel : *Velim à vobis (amplissimi patres) doceri an sacratissim. euangelium perfectissim. religionis nostræ doctrinam* [illegible] *(Equidem vos nihil aliud puto pro vestra summa pietate responsuros, quam consummatissimam fidei nostræ scientiam in ipso conclusam esse)* : I would

gladly

gladly learne of you (honorable Fathers) whether the most holy Gospell doth not set foorth the most perfect doctrine of our religion, I thinke you will make no other answere (such is your pietie) then that therein, the most absolute knowledge of our faith is contained.

Further for the Imperiall constitutions: *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 18. lex. vnic. Gratian. Valentinian. omnes scitote, nemini quicquam, quam quod scriptis probauerit, esse credendum:* Let all men know, that no man is to be credited in any thing, vnlesse he proue it by writing: Likewise, *lib. 3. tit. 1. leg. 8. Constantin. placuit in omnibus rebus præcipuum esse iustitiæ scripturarum:* It seemeth good to vs, that in all matters greatest regard be had vnto the written law. As then in ciuill matters, the written law onely tooke place, so also in diuine, the sacred writings should onely be heard: and the rather, because there is greater danger, and more vncertaintie in vnwritten Scriptures, then vnwritten lawes.

Heare also your owne decrees: *dist. 9. 2. can. 24. qu. 3. c. 30. Leo 1. Qui non ad propheticas voces, non ad apostolicas literas, non ad euangelicas authoritates, sed ad seipsos recurrunt, ideo Magistri erroris sunt:* They which doe not run to the propheticall sayings, Apostolicall writings, and Euangelicall authorities, but haue recourse to themselues, become the maisters of errors. Therefore Papists be maisters of errors, because they doe not in all things referre themselues to the Scriptures. I would therefore they were resolued to follow the voice of the Scriptures, and leaue their blinde traditions; as once one of their owne Popes bethought himselfe, Iohn 22. *extrau. tit. 7. c. 1. Dignum est, vt adulterinas plantationes, quas non pater cœlestis, sed humana temeritas audacia plantauit, Apostolici culminis censura diuellat:* It is meete, that such plantations, as not the heauenly father, but humane rashnes hath planted, should be rooted out by the Apostolicall censure. If the Pope would thus doe, as he saith, he should be an Apostolike man in deede.

THE SECOND GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING THE CHVRCH.

HAuing now finished the questions betweene our aduersaries and vs, concerning the Scriptures, and word of God, which all doe belong to the Propheticall office of Christ: in the next place such controuersies are to be handled, as doe concerne the Kingly office of Christ. And seeing the Church of Christ is his kingdome, where he ruleth and raigneth, we must intreat of the Church: and first in generall of the whole, then in speciall of the partes and members. This present controuersie concerning the Church in generall standeth vpon fiue principall questions.

1 Of the definition of the Catholike Church: two partes of the question. First, whether wicked men and infidels, be true members of the Church. Secondly, whether the Catholike Church be inuisible.

2 Whether the Catholike Church may erre, and whether the visible Church may faile vpon earth.

3 Concerning the true notes and markes of the Church.

4 Of the authoritie of the Church: two partes. First, whether the Church haue authoritie in matters of Faith beside the Scriptures, and whether we ought to beleeue in the Church. Secondly, concerning the ceremonies of the Church.

5 Whether the Church of Rome be the true Church: two parts. First, whether it be the Catholike Church. Secondly, whether the Church of Rome be a true visible Church: of these now in their place and order.

THE FIRST QVESTION: OF THE definition of the Catholike Church.

The Papists.

THe Catholike Church (say they) is a visible companie of men professing the same faith and Religion, and acknowledging the Bishop of Rome to be their chiefe pastor, and the Vicar of Christ

Chriſt vpon earth. *Bellarmin de Eccleſ lib.3.cap.2.Canſius capit de præcept.Eccleſ articul.9.Lindanus lib.4.cap.84.*

The Proteſtants.

THe Catholike and vniuerſall Church is the inuiſible companie of the faithfull elected and choſen to eternall life, Iohn.10.16. A particular Church is a member of the vniuerſall and Catholike Church,and it is a viſible companie and congregation of men,amongſt whom the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments rightly adminiſtred: in the which viſible congregation, there may be and are many hypocrites, euill and vnfaithfull men founde, and ſhall be to the end of the world. So then betweene the vniuerſall and particular Church,there is a treble difference. Firſt, the one is diſperſed ouer all the world; the other in ſome one countrey,citie,or any certaine place. Secondly, the vniuerſall conſiſteth onely of the elect;the particular both of good and bad. Thirdly,the Catholike is inuiſible;the other is viſible and to be ſeene.

The queſtion betweene vs and our aduerſaries,is about the vniuerſall Catholike Church,which they doe falſely define in three points. Firſt, they hold that wicked men are true members of the Catholike Church. Secondly,they allow not this diſtinction of the Church viſible and inuiſible, but doe affirme that the Catholike Church is viſible. Thirdly, they make the Catholike Church to be in ſubiection to the Biſhop of Rome. Concerning this laſt point,it belongeth to the controuerſie of the Biſhop of Rome, and therefore we will not touch it in this place. The other two are now to be handled in this queſtion as two parts thereof.

THE FIRST PART OF THIS FIRST QVEſtion, whether wicked men and infidels may be true members of the Church.

The Papiſts.

THey affirme that not onely the predeſtinate, but euen reprobates alſo may belong vnto the Church,and be true members thereof. *Bellarmin.Lib.3.de Eccleſ cap.7.* Nay they denie that the elect which are vnborne, and not yet called, doe appertaine to the Church of Chriſt. *Rhemiſts annot.in 1.Tim.3.Sect.10.* This then is generally their opinion, that there is no internall grace or vertue required in the members of the Church,but onely the externall and publike outward profeſſion. *Bellarmin cap.2.* And therefore they doubt not to ſay that euen wicked men and reprobates remaining in the publike profeſſion of the Church, are true members of the bodie of Chriſt. *Rhemiſts annot.in Iohan.15.Sect.1.* 14.Error.

Argum.1. They firſt alleage certaine places of Scripture, as Matth.3. the Church is compared to a barne floore,where there is both chaffe and corn. Mat.13.to a net caſt into the ſea, where all manner of fiſhe are gathered togither. 2.Tim.2. to a houſe,wherein there be veſſels of honor and diſhonour: *Ergo*, both good and bad are members of the Church, *Bellarm.cap.7.lib.3.*

We anſwere. All theſe places muſt be vnderſtood of the viſible Church: which is knowne by the publike preaching of the word,and therefore Matth.3. compared to a fanne, and Math.13.to a draw net;the Apoſtles,paſtors and teachers are the fiſher men. Wherefore we denie not but that wicked men may be in the Church,but not of it: yea they may be members of the viſible Church for a time,but cannot be truely ingraffed into the bodie of Chriſt. *Fulk.annot Iohan.15.Sect.1.*

Argum.2. The Church (ſay they) is compared to a bodie, 1.Cor.12. as in the bodie there are ſome parts, which haue neither ſenſe nor life: ſo in the Church there are ſome members, which haue neither faith nor charitie, which is the life of the Church: *Ergo*, wicked men may be right members of the Church: *Bellarm.cap.10.* There may be alſo ſome fruitleſſe branches in the vine, and ſo euill men may be members of Chriſt. *Rhemiſt,annot.15.Iohan.1. Euery branch not bearing fruit in me ſhall be caſt forth: Ergo*,there may be fruitleſſe branches in Chriſt.

We anſwere to the firſt, who would haue ſaid, as the Ieſuite doth, that there are parts in the bodie, that receiue neither life nor ſenſe of the bodie? doth he meane the nailes and haires, as he ſeemeth to giue inſtance in the end of the Chapter? but they are no partes of the bodie but excrements (he is ſo deepe in his ſophiſtrie,that he hath forgotten Philoſophie) and yet they receiue ſome gift from the bodie, for they growe and increaſe; but the wicked receiue no grace at all from the Church. The Rhemiſts yet are more reaſonable, that ſay the wicked in the Church, are as ill humors and ſuperfluous excrements in the bodie, rather then liuely parts thereof, *1.Iohan.2. Sect.10.*

To the ſecond,is a dead bough or a branch,I pray you,any part of the tree? I thinke not:the tree cannot conueniently ſpare any one of the parts thereof: but the dead parts are hurtful and comberſome,and it doth the tree good to cut the off. But that they haue preuented vs,we would haue vſed no better argument againſt them, then this drawen from the reſemblance of a mans bodie: for as what is in the bodie receiuing no life nor power from the bodie is not properly a part of the

bodie, howſoeuer it ſeeme to be ioyned to the bodie: ſo the wicked although they be in the outward face of the Church, yet becauſe they are not partakers of the ſpirituall life thereof by Chriſt, are not truely to be iudged members of it.

Argum. 3. If wicked men ſhould not be right members of the Church, but the faithfull and predeſtinate, we ſhould be vncertaine which is the true Church: which is not to be admitted, becauſe the whole doctrine, and all the principles of Religion doe depend of the teſtimonie of the Church. *Bellarm. lib. 2. cap.* 10.

We anſwere. Firſt, although it is neceſſarie that the true Church ſhould be certainly knowen, yet not for that cauſe, which the Ieſuite pretendeth: for the religion of Chriſtians is grounded vpon the Scriptures, and although the true Church doth giue a notable teſtimonie thereunto, yet doth not our faith depend vpon their witneſſe, teſtimonie, or allowance. Secondly, the true viſible Church is certainly knowne by the preaching of the word, and the right vſe of the Sacraments: ſo that we doubt not but there is the true Church, where we finde theſe markes: neither is it needfull to know the eſtate of euery particular member thereof; for ſo long, as all actions in the Church are directed and ordered by the rule of Gods word, we neede not to doubt to commit our ſelues to that Church, howſoeuer otherwiſe men doe ſtand before God: and yet, ſo much as is neceſſary, the faithfull may be iudged and knowne by their fruites.

Thirdly, though we admit that wicked men are members: yet the vncertaintie remaineth ſtill: for they themſelues hold that neither men not baptiſed, or perſons excommunicate, or heretikes can be of the Church: but many may liue in the Church, whom we know not to be baptiſed, which may be *ipſo facto*, by the deede doing excommunicate without publike ſentence, and heretikes alſo: Wherefore euen amongſt themſelues they are vncertaine, who are members of the Church.

Argum. 4. There is but one Church, the wicked, which outwardly profeſſe Chriſt, are of ſome Church: *Ergo*, of this one Catholike Church: *argum. D. Day epiſcop. Ceceſt. Anſwere*, there is but one true Church, but alwaies vnto the ſame was ioyned in the world a falſe, and malignant Church: theſe two Churches were repreſented in the beginning in *Cain* and *Abel*, and ſo haue continued. *Obiect.* I grant you, in the Law, before Chriſts comming there were two Churches, but not ſince Chriſts comming. *Anſwere.* Yes that there was, for was there not a Iudas in the new law, and a *Simon Magus*? *Obiect.* But you cannot finde me two Churches after Chriſt was aſcended. *Anſwere.* Yes, S. *Paul* ſaith that Antichriſt with his falſe generation ſhall ſit in the temple, 2. Theſ. 2. which is not the true, but the falſe Church, *reſponſ. Philpotti, Fox.* pag. 1818.

The Proteſtants.

Fulk. annot. 1. Iohan. 2. Sect. 10. Fox. pag. 609.

WE holde that the Catholike Church conſiſteth onely of the predeſtinate, and comprehendeth the vniuerſall number of all thoſe which ſhall be ſaued; not onely thoſe now liuing on earth, but all that haue been ſince the beginning of the world: of this Church S. *Paul* was euen being a perſecutor, for hee was neuer a member of the Diuell nor reprobate, as *Iohn Huſſe* ſaith, *articul.* 2. Of this Church *Iudas* the traytor neuer was, though he were reputed for a Diſciple of Chriſt for a while, *Huſſ articul.* 7. Therefore the wicked and reprobate though they liue in the outward aſſembly of Chriſtians, are no more the true members of Chriſt, then the tares in the field may be counted wheate or good corne.

Argum. 1. The true members of Chriſt are alſo his ſheepe: the wicked are not the ſheepe of Chriſt: *Ergo*, neither his members.

Iohn. 10. 3. The ſheep of Chriſt heare his voice; the wicked doe not heare his voice: *Ergo.* If they ſhall anſwere, that hypocrites and wicked men doe heare Chriſts voice, ſo long as they continue in the outward profeſſion of Chriſtians, we thus improue it: Chriſts ſheepe doe follow him in life and example, Ioh. 15. 4. but ſo doe not they. If it ſhall bee yet anſwered, that they may alſo a while walke in Chriſts ſteps: this is not enough, for all Chriſts ſhall be ſaued, verſ. 9. Wherefore the Goſpell vnderſtandeth ſuch followers, as continue to the end. *Bellarmine* would ſeeme here to anſwere with a diſtinction, that ſometimes in the Scripture ſheepe are taken both for the good and bad; as where Chriſt ſaith to *Peter, Feede my ſheepe:* ſometime for the predeſtinate onely, as Ioh. 10. *My ſheepe heare my voyce, cap. 7. reſ. ad argum.* 5. *Contra.* It is enough that he confeſſeth in this place of *Iohn* the predeſtinate onely to bee vnderſtoode by ſheepe: for it followeth in the ſame chapter, verſ. 16. *There ſhall bee one ſheepfold, and one ſhepheard:* therefore if the ſheepe onely be in the ſheepfold, and the predeſtinate onely bee the ſheepe; then they onely belong to the ſheepfold.

Argum. 2. Chriſt is the head of his Church, and all the parts thereof; but he is not the head of the wicked and reprobate: *Ergo.* The Ieſuite graunteth that he is the head, euen of thoſe parts that ſhall periſh, *Bellarm. cap.* 7. We thus anſwere, Chriſt is the head onely of thoſe, for whom he gaue himſelfe, Ephe. 5. 23. 25. but he gaue not himſelfe for the wicked: *Ergo.* If this be denied, we thus proceede, Chriſt died onely for thoſe whom he ſanctifieth and cleanſeth, to make them a glorious

Church

Church without ſpot and wrinckle, Ephe.5.26.27. But this cannot agree in any wiſe to the wicked. *Ergo.*

Argum.3. The Church of God is the whole familie of the children of God in heauen and earth, Epheſ.3.15. they both make but one Church, the wicked are not of this familie: for who would ſay that the Saints in heauen, and wicked and reprobate men vpon the earth, are fellow ſeruants, and of one houſehold? *Ergo*, they are not of the catholike Church. Likewiſe Ioh.11.52. The end of Chriſts death was to gather together in one the children of God, &c. but the wicked are not the children of God: *Ergo*, they belong not to the congregation which Chriſt hath gathered together.

Bellarmine anſwereth here by a diſtinction: that ſome are ſaid to bee the ſonnes of God and members of Chriſt, according to their preſent iuſtice; ſome according to Gods predeſtination: the wicked may be the firſt way the ſonnes of God, and the members of Chriſt, *Bellarm. cap.7. reſp. ad argum.6.*

Contra. 1. This diſtinction is contrarie to the Apoſtle, Rom.8.17. *The children of God are alſo heires*: but the wicked are not heires; therefore they are not children. 2. The Ieſuite doth not anſwere to the point in queſtion: for our aſſertion is, that the wicked cannot bee the true members of Chriſt: he anſwereth, they may bee ſo called after a ſort, according to their preſent ſtate, which is in ſhew only, and outward apparance, not in deede and in trueth: for they that doe beleeue in Chriſt, and are in deede his ſheepe, ſhall neuer periſh, Ioh.10.28. And againe, verſ.26. *Ye beleeue not, becauſe ye are not my ſheepe.* Wherefore faith and beleefe maketh men Chriſts ſheepe, contrary to that which the Ieſuite affirmed before, that there is no internall grace, or vertue required to make a member of Chriſts Church.

Argum.4. Of all other that is a moſt euident place, 1.Ioh.2.19. *They went out of vs, but were not of vs: Ergo*, heretikes and reprobates are not of the Church. *Bellarmine* anſwereth: though they were not of vs, that is, of the Church, *animis & voluntate*, in ſoule and minde, and purpoſe of hart: yet they were of vs, *externa profeſſione*, in externall profeſſion. Thus they are not aſhamed (ſuch is their great boldneſſe) to contradict the Scriptures: for the Apoſtle ſaith, *non erant ex nobis*, they were not of vs: they ſay, yes forſooth, after a ſort, *erant ex nobis*, they were of vs: the Apoſtle ſaith nay, they ſay yea, he ſaith indeede *exierunt ex nobis*, they went out of vs: which ſoundeth nothing like, as *erant ex nobis*, they were of vs, as the Ieſuite ſubtlely would conclude.

Let *Auguſtine* ſpeake for vs both: *Illa columba, vnica, pudica, caſta, ſponſa ſine macula & ruga non intelligitur, niſi in bonis, iuſtis, ſanctis:* That louely doue (ſaith he) the chaſt, vndefiled, & vnſpotted ſpoule (that is the Church of God) is onely vnderſtood of thoſe that are righteous, faithfull, holy: *Ergo*, the wicked are not of the Church, which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt.

Concil. Vermatienſ. in prafation. concil. Eccleſiam catholicam precio ſui ſanguinis redemptam, cum eo credimus in perpetuum regnaturam: That catholike Church, which is redeemed by his blood, we beleeue ſhall raigne with him eternally. The wicked therefore are no members of the catholike Church, for they ſhall not raigne with Chriſt.

We want not here the teſtimonie of our aduerſaries: *Ioannes de Turre cremata lib.4. de Eccleſ. par.2.cap.20.* holdeth, that they which haue no faith nor no inward grace, doe not belong to the Church.

So the Maſter of the Sentences out of S. *Auguſtine* affirmeth: *Illi ad templum dei non pertinent, qui cognoſcentes deum, non ſicut deum glorificant:* They belong not to the temple of God, which knowing God, doe not glorifie him as God, *lib.1.d.37.s.*

Hereunto agree their owne decrees, *Decr.p.2.cauſ.24 queſt.3. cap.8. Ad eccleſiam non pertinent illi, qui in eius vnitate corporaliter miſti per peſſimam vitam ſeparantur:* They belong not to the Church of Chriſt, which being corporally mixed in the ſocietie thereof, are ſeparated by an euill life. Againe, *Cauſ.33.queſt.3.diſt.1.de pœniten.cap.70. Qui peccator eſt, & aliqua ſorde maculatus, de eccleſia Chriſti non poteſt appellari, &c.* He that is a ſinner, and polluted, cannot be called of the Church, which is without ſpot, &c.

Laſtly, this doctrine, that the faithfull onely are the true members of the catholike Church, which is the myſticall body of Chriſt, hath the witneſſe and approbation of holy martyrs. This was one of the articles for the which *Iohn Hus* was condemned in the Councell of Conſtance, for ſaying that the catholike Church is the vniuerſall companie of the predeſtinate: grounding his opinion vpon that place of S. *Paul*, Epheſ.5. *Chriſt ſo loued the Church, that he gaue himſelfe for the ſame:* but he gaue himſelfe onely for the faithfull, *Fox* pag.610.arti.8. *Luther* openly proteſted before the Emperour at Wormes, that he would not conſent to the Councell of Conſtance, becauſe it condemned this article propounded by *Iohn Hus, That the catholike Church is the communion of the predeſtinate*, and ſo aboliſheth, ſaith he, this article of our faith, I beleeue the holy Church vniuerſall: and ſaith further, he was readie to ſpend his blood, rather then to reuoke any trueth agreeable to Gods word, pag.852. See the confeſſion alſo of *Richard Fenrus* a French martyr,

That the congregation of Christ consisted in the number of the elect, *Fox* p.912.col.1.

This also was the faith of the Merindolians, That the catholike Church was the fellowship of Gods elect: who for this and other points of their Christian faith, were persecuted, and their countrie destroyed, *Fox* pag.954.col.1.

That the faithfull onely are the members of Christ: it is affirmed by Doctor *Ridley*, and Master *Latimer* martyrs, according to the Scripture, If any man haue not the spirit of Christ, the same is none of his, Rom.8.9. And the Church of Christ standeth onely of liuing stones, 1.Pet.2.5. that is, true Christians, not onely outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and truth, *resp. ad articul. Antonij* 7.

The blood of these holy martyrs doth giue a liuely testimonie vnto the trueth, and doth notably confirme vs therein.

THE SECOND PART OF THE QVESTION, whether the Catholike Church be inuisible.

The Papists.

15.Error. THey doe affirme that the catholike Church is, and hath been alwaies visible: not so visible, because it might be seene, but that it hath been alwaies actually visible, and not seene onely vnto the members of the Church, but notoriously knowne to the whole world, *Rhemens. annot. in Matth.cap.5.sect.3.* Neither doe they meane any particular Church so to haue been visible, but the vniuersall catholike Church, which they define to bee a visible congregation of all faithfull men, *Canisius cap.de fide & Symbol.articul.18. Bellar.lib.3.de Eccles.cap.12.ration.7.*

*Argum.*1. The foundation of the Church is visible: therefore the Church is visible. The proposition they proue thus: for whether wee affirme Christ, or *Peter* to bee the foundation of the Church: both of them are now visible in him, which is the Vicar of Christ, and *Peters* successor.

We answere: First, we vtterly denie either *Peter* to be the foundation of the Church, or else the Pope to be his lawfull successor: for *Peter* is no more the foundation of the Church, then all the Prophets and Apostles, Ephes.2.20. whose doctrine is the foundation, not their persons. And as for the Pope, wee care not so much for outward succession in place, which notwithstanding they cannot proue to haue been perpetuall without interruption, as wee doe require a succession of faith and doctrine. Secondly, wee affirme that Christ is the foundation, but not the visible beholding of Christ with the carnall eyes, but beleeuing in his name: for when *Peter* had vttered that notable confession of Christ, he said that flesh and blood had not reuealed it, but his father in heauen: but if the beholding of Christ had giuen *Peter* a sight of the foundation, then flesh had reuealed it vnto him, his carnall eyes had brought him to Christ. Thirdly, we may much better returne this argument vpon themselues: that because the foundation of the Church, which is faith in Christ, is inuisible, therefore the Church is inuisible.

*Argum.*2. They heape vp many places of Scriptures, but to small purpose, as Matth.18. Tell the Church. Acts 15. When they came to Ierusalem, they were receiued of the Church. Philip.3.6. *Paul* persecuted the Church. How could the Church be persecuted? how could it receiue the Apostles, if it were not visible? *Bellarm.cap.*12.

We answere, what goodly reasons here be? a particular Church, such as was at Ierusalem may be seene: *Ergo*, the catholike and vniuersall. Secondly, a particular Church may bee sometime visible: *Ergo*, alwaies. Thirdly, the Church is visible vnto the faithfull, as in time of persecution, for to *Paul* it was not knowne, when he persecuted it, but onely to the brethren: *Ergo*, it is visible to the world. For these three points they must proue, that the catholike Church not a particular is visible, that the Church is not sometime but alwaie visible, yea and to the world, or else they say nothing. For shame masters make better arguments.

*Argum.*3. He hath set his tabernacle in the Sunne, Psal.19. The Church is as a citie vpon an hill, Matth.5. *Ergo*, it is alwaies visible, *Bellarm.ibid. Rhemist. Mat.5.sect.3.*

We answere. First, the Apostles themselues, euen at this time, when Christ spake these words vnto them, were not so *in sole*, or *in monte*, in the Sunne, or vpon the hill, that they were seene of the world, nay they were not seene nor acknowledged of the Scribes and Pharisees in Iewrie: the Church is seene of the faithfull, it is visible to them that search for her out of the Scriptures: they that can see the mountaine, shall see the citie, the mountaine is Christ, the citie is the Church. No maruaile if the Church be not alwaies visible to the world, for they see not, neither do they know Christ. Secondly, the Church is said to be on a hill: because the trueth seeketh no corners, heretikes and false teachers flie into the desert and into secret places, Matth.24.vers.26. but the truth is not ashamed: the Apostles confessed Christ, euen before Kings and Princes, Mark.13.19. So *Augustine* expoundeth it, *Cont.Faustum.lib.*13.*cap.*13.

*Argum.*4. Christs Church is alway visible. *Dic ecclesiæ*, saith he, Tell it to the Church. But how

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can a man goe vnto that Church, which he knoweth not? *argum. Bonn. pag. 1691. Marc. Anton. obiect. 6.*

Anſw. 1. In the times of the Apoſtles, when the Church was perſecuted, they were faine to congregate themſelues in houſes and priuie places: who though they were not knowne by any external pompe, yet were they knowne among themſelues, and redreſſed things that were amiſſe, euen in their ſecret aſſemblies. Neither were they altogether vnknowne of the world: for how could they then haue perſecuted them, though they were not regarded, *reſponſ. Rob. Smith. Mart.* tyr.

2. The fault why the Church is not ſeene, is not becauſe it is not viſible, but becauſe mens eyes are dazeled, and cannot ſee, vnleſſe they looke for it, by the light of Gods word, *reſponſ. Bead. pag. 1616. col. 1. D. Ridley ad 6. obiect. Marc. Anton. p. 1719.*

The Proteſtants.

COncerning the Catholike Church, wee hold, that becauſe it is an article of our faith, it is alwaies vnto the world inuiſible, and not to bee eſpied but by the eyes of faith, *Fulk.* Matth. 5. ſect. 5.

Concerning particular Churches, if by viſible, they vnderſtand that which may bee ſeene, ſo we graunt they are alwaies viſible, *Fulk.* Act. 11. verſ. 24. If for that which is actually viſible: we ſay it is not ſo alwaies viſible to the world, nay it may ſometimes bee ſo hid and ſecret, that the members know not one another, *Fulke in* Matth. 5. ſect. 3.

Argum. 1. To the Hebrues it is thus written, chap. 12. ver. 18, 23, 24. *You are not come to the mountaine, which might bee touched, but to the citie of the liuing God, the celeſtiall Ieruſalem, &c. Ergo,* the Church is inuiſible, and here oppoſed to the viſible hill of Sinay.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that this is vnderſtood of the triumphant Church in heauen, not of the militant vpon earth, chap. 15.

To this wee make anſwere, the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth the whole vniuerſall Church in heauen and earth, which both make but one familie, Epheſ. 3. 15. for here he nameth not onely the ſpirits of iuſt men which are in heauen, but the faithfull vpon earth, whoſe names are written in heauen: the congregation (ſaith he) of the firſt borne: the words are πανήγυρις and ἐκκλησία, a gathering together, collection or congregation, which muſt needes bee vnderſtood of men vpon earth. Againe (ſaith he) ye are come, not ye ſhall come: they had now left the ſmoking mountaine Sinay, and were come to Sion, the Church vnder the Goſpell. Wherefore this is a moſt firme and inuincible argument: the catholike Church is the vniuerſal number of Gods choſen in heauen and in earth: *Ergo,* inuiſible.

Argum. 2. We will giue an inſtance: In the daies of *Elias* the Church was not viſible, for he complaineth and ſaith that he was onely left alone, 1. King. 19. 10. *Ergo,* the Church is not alway viſible.

The Rhemiſts anſwere: Firſt, at that time the Church was viſible in Iudea, the ſouldiours were numbred to 1000. thouſand, 2. Chron. 17. We anſwere. Firſt, belike they haue taken a more exact account of them then the Lord himſelfe: for he (ſaith he) had reſerued 7000. 1. King. 19. 18. that had not bowed their knees to *Baal*: they ſay there were ten hundred thouſand. Againe, *Elias,* if he had knowne ſuch a number, could not haue been left ſo comfortleſſe, as in griefe of heart to deſire to die. But be it graunted that the Church was viſible in Iudea at this time, though it were not ſo to *Elias*: yet where was that viſible Church in the daies of *Achaz* and *Manaſſeh*, when Iudea fell alſo to Idolatrie? Annot. in Rom. 11. ver. 4.

Bellarmine alſo anſwereth, as the Rhemiſts doe, that in *Elias* time the Church was viſible in Iudea, and therefore God ſaith directly, that he had left 7000. in Iſrael: whereby thoſe tribes are vnderſtood which were vnder the King of Samaria, *cap. 16. reſp. ad argum. 3.*

Anſw. Firſt, they cannot ſhew vs of any Prophet notwithſtanding at this inſtant in Iudea. Secondly, I will aske the Ieſuite, theſe 7000. in Iſrael were they not of the Church? it cannot be denied: *Ergo,* the Church is not alwaies, and in all places viſible, as they would beare vs in hand: for they were not knowne to *Elias,* who complaineth that he was left alone. Thirdly, S. *Paul,* the beſt expounder of the Prophets, Rom. 11. 1. expoundeth Iſrael to be all the people of God: and himſelfe of the tribe of *Beniamin* he calleth an Iſraelite, which tribe notwithſtanding belonged to the diuiſion of Iuda. And in the fifth verſe the Apoſtle ſaith, *Euen ſo now* (ſaith he) *there is a remnant, through the election of grace,* as there were then 7000. left: whereby the Apoſtle ſignifieth, that this was the whole remnant of the elect which was left then.

Some other doe anſwere thus: They graunt that the Church before Chriſt might be inuiſible, but not the Church ſince Chriſt: for he ſaith, *ædificabo eccleſiam,* I will build my Church, not that I doe build, or haue built it: *ſic Hethus epiſcop. Eboracenſ.*

Anſ. By ſtanding thus ſtrictly vpon the future tenſe, you may as well proue that Chriſts Church was not at all before his comming, as that it was not viſible before. But Chriſts meaning is this

rather, that there is no building in the Church but by Chriſt only: for *Paul* and *Apollos* be but waterers, *ſee Bradford Martyr. Fox* pag. 1615. col. 1.

Argum. 3. To beleeue that there is an holy catholike Church is an article of our faith: *Ergo*, it is inuiſible. *Bellarmine* anſwereth. Firſt, the holineſſe of the Church is inuiſible. We replie, ſo the Church is partly viſible, partly inuiſible by his confeſſion. Firſt, why then doe ye define the catholike church to be a viſible congregation, if it be not wholly and altogether viſible? they know that *definitio* muſt *conuenire definito*, the definition muſt agree wholly to that which is defined: but now it is not: for they ſay, the catholike holy Church is partly viſible as it is a Church, partly inuiſible as it is holy. Secondly, doe we not ſay in the Creede, *Credo Catholicam*, as well as *Credo ſanctam*, I beleeue a catholike Church, as well as I beleeue the holy Church? then it is alſo inuiſible, as it is catholike, becauſe this alſo is part of the article. See I pray you what ſhifting is here.

Secondly he anſwereth, that ſome thing is ſeene in the Church, ſome thing beleeued: for wee ſee that viſible companie of men, which make the Church; but whether that companie be the true Church, we doe not ſee it, but beleeue it.

We replie againe: firſt, the Ieſuite hath not yet proued that ſome thing is ſeene in the Church, ſome thing beleeued: but one thing is ſeene, namely the congregation as they are men, another thing is beleeued, that they are the Church: the ſight and beleefe now by his owne confeſſion are not both in the Church. Secondly, wee denie that the vniuerſall companie of the catholike Church, which is the number of the predeſtinate, can be ſeene; therefore all is beleeued, and nothing ſeene. Thirdly, he ſaith that by faith we know which is the true Church: *Ergo*, by faith we know which are the members of the Church: *Ergo*, by faith the members doe know themſelues to be of the Church: therefore faith is requiſite in the true members of the Church: then vnfaithfull men cannot be true members of the Church: which point the Ieſuite ſtrongly before maintained againſt vs. *Mendacem oportet eſſe memorem*, a lier had neede haue a good memorie, leaſt he tell contrarie tales, and ſo hath the Ieſuite here: for before he denied that faith was requiſite to make a true member of the Church: here he ſaith, that without faith a member cannot be knowne, much leſſe therefore made.

Lib. 3. de Eccleſ. cap. 15. reſp. ad arg. 6. cap. 10. lib. 3. de Eccleſ.

Argum. 4. The Rhemiſts confeſſe in theſe very words, that *in the raigne of (their imagined and ſuppoſed) Antichriſt the externall ſtate of the Romane Church, and publike entercourſe of the faithfull with the ſame ſhall ceaſe, and that there ſhall be onely a communion in heart with it, and practiſe in ſecret. Anno. in 2. Theſſ. 2. ſect. 10.* Where then (I pray you) ſhall be your *tabernaculum in ſole, ciuitas in monte, candela ſplendens in domo*: your tabernacle in the Sunne, your citie in a mountaine, your candle ſhining in the houſe, that is (ſay you) in the world? Matth. 5. ſect. 3. *Ergo*, out of their owne words we conclude, that the Church ſhall not alwaies be viſible, and notoriouſly knowne in the world.

We muſt not here ouerpaſſe the ſentence and iudgement of the holy Martyrs, whoſe witneſſe is in ſtead of many arguments.

Maſter *Bradford* reaſoneth thus: As *Eue* was of the ſame ſubſtance that *Adam* was of; ſo is the Church of the ſame ſubſtance that Chriſt was of, fleſh of his fleſh, bone of his bones, Epheſ. 5. 30. Looke therefore how Chriſt was knowne when he was vpon earth, ſo is his Church: but Chriſt was not knowne by any external pompe in the world, but by conſidering according to the word of God: *Ergo*, ſo is his Church, *Fox* pag. 1613.

This was one of the articles for the which Biſhop *Farrar* was condemned, for denying that the Church was alwaies viſible vpon earth, *Fox* pag. 1554. col. 2. articl. 6.

M. *Robert Glouer* Martyr giueth an inſtance of *Elias* times, when the Church lay hid and was not apparant, no not to the Prophet. It was anſwered him that *Elias* complained onely of the ten tribes that fell from *Dauids* houſe. He replyeth, that they were not able to ſhew any Prophets that the other two tribes had at the ſame time, *Fox* p. 1712. col. 1.

M. *Philpot* confeſſeth the Church to be viſible, and inuiſible, the vniuerſall Catholike Church is inuiſible, conſiſting of the elect of God onely; the viſible conſiſteth of good and bad, and is known by the word of God and Sacraments, pag. 1824.

Enarrat. in Pſal. 128.

Laſtly, we will conclude with *Auguſtine*, *Aliquando in ſola domo Noah Eccleſia erat: in ſolo Abraham Eccleſia erat: in ſolo Loth & domo eius Eccleſia erat: in ſolo Henoch Eccleſia erat*: Sometime the Church was onely in *Henochs* houſe, ſometime onely in *Noah*, ſometime in *Abraham* alone, in *Loth* and his houſe. How then hath the Church been alwaies ſo viſible and notoriouſly knowne to the world, when it hath lien hidden ſometime in one houſe, yea in one man?

Interrelig. Caſarea. cap. 9. Eccleſia, quatenus conſtat membris talibus quæ ſecundum charitatem viuũt, ſanctorum eſt tantùm, & eatenus ſpiritualis & inuiſibilis: The Church as it conſiſteth of ſuch members, which liue after the rule of charitie, is onely of the Saints, and ſo ſpirituall onely, and inuiſible. Behold here we haue the teſtimonie of our aduerſaries themſelues, ſitting in Councell for the inuiſibilitie of the Catholike Church. To this their owne decrees alſo doe giue conſent:

decr.

decr.p.3.diſt.2.cap.63. Societas corporis & membrorum Chriſti Eccleſia in prædeſtinatis. The ſocietie of the bodie and members of Chriſt is the Church conſiſting of the Predeſtinate. If the Church conſiſt of the elect onely, then is it not viſible to men, but onely to God; for he onely knoweth who are his, 2. Tim. 2. 19.

THE SECOND QVESTION: WHETHER the Church may erre.

THis queſtion is diuided into two parts. Firſt, whether the Catholike Church may erre at all, or not? Secondly, whether the viſible Church vpon earth may fall away from God into Idolatrie and Apoſtaſie.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE CATHOlike Church may erre in doctrine.

The Papiſts.

THey doe teach that the Catholike Church cannot poſſibly erre, not onely in matters abſolutely neceſſarie to ſaluation, but not in any thing, which it impoſeth and commaundeth, whether it be contained in the word of God or not: yea that it cannot erre in thoſe things, which beſide the word of God in the holy Scriptures are commanded. And by the Church here they doe meane not onely the Paſtors and Biſhops, but the whole company of the faithfull: ſo that neither that which all the Paſtors of the Church doe teach, can be erronious, nor what is receiued generally of the whole Church, *Bellarm. de Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 14. Rhemiſt. annot. in Ioan. 14. vet. 16.* 16. Error.

Argum. 1. The Church (ſay they) is the pillar of trueth, 1. Tim. 3. *Ergo*, it cannot erre. We anſwere: firſt, it is no otherwiſe the pillar of trueth, then a Virgine without ſpot and wrinckle, Epheſ. 5. 27. As that place doth not priuiledge the Church from all ſinne and imperfection of life; ſo neither doth this place exempt her from all error in doctrine. Secondly, ſhe is called the pillar of trueth in reſpect of vs, becauſe the trueth is preſerued in the true Church, and is not elſe where to be found: not becauſe the trueth dependeth vpon the Church: for Saint *Paul* ſendeth not *Timothie* in this place to learne of the Church, as though it could not poſſibly be deceiued: but (ſaith he) theſe things haue I written, that thou mayſt know how to behaue thy ſelfe in the houſe of God, verſ. 14, 15. *Ergo*, the word of God is the rule of trueth, and the Church hath no warrant to be kept from error, but as ſhe is led and gouerned by the word of God. Thirdly, the argument followeth not, for *Peter* was a pillar, and yet erred, Gal. 2. 9. 11. Bellarm. lib. 3. cap. 14.

Argum. 2. They heape many arguments together. The Church hath the ſpirite of God, to leade it into all trueth, the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it, Matth. 16. God hath giuen it Apoſtles, teachers, Euangeliſts, to keepe it in the trueth, Epheſ. 4. Chriſt hath prayed for the Church that it may be ſanctified in the veritie, Iohn 17. Chriſt prayed that *Peters* fayth ſhould not fayle: *Ergo* the Church cannot erre, *Rhemenſ. annot. 1. Tim. 3. 15.*

We anſwere: euery one of the elect hath the ſpirit of God, neither ſhall the gates of hell preuaile againſt the faith of any one of the elect to ouerthrowe it: Chriſt prayeth for euery one of his Diciples that they may be ſanctified in the trueth. Ioh. 17. 20. wherefore it followeth as well by theſe arguments, that no one faithfull man can fall into error. The Paſtors and teachers ſo long as they follow the Apoſtles doctrine, may keepe the Church from error: but it is not gathered out of that place, Epheſ. 4. that the paſtors, if they ſwarue from Gods word, cannot erre: But rather the contrarie; and therefore the Apoſtle addeth further, verſ. 14. that we ſhould not be carried about with euerie winde of doctrine; but follow the truth in loue verſ. 15. The Church then, ſo long as it followeth the truth, and is not carried with wind of doctrine, cannot erre.

Concerning *Peter*, Chriſt prayed for him that his faith ſhould not faile in that grieuous tentation, which he fell into. Secondly, he prayed not for him as gouernour of the Church, but as he prayeth for euery faithfull man, Ioh. 17. 23. Thirdly, for all this prayer *Peter* erred, Gal. 2.

Argum. 3. This argument was vſed in the Councell of *Baſil*: the Church is without ſpot and wrinckle, Epheſ. 5. 27. *Ergo*, without error, *Fox.* pag. 672. *ex Aeneæ Siluio.*

We anſwere: firſt, S. *Paul* ſpeaketh there of a glorious Church, ſuch as it ſhall be in the kingdome of heauen, not of the Church, as it is vpon earth: ſo Reuel. 7. 14. The elders which ſate round about the throne, which are the Saints in heauen, were ſeene in long white robes, which they had waſhed white in the blood of the Lambe.

2. It followeth out of this place, that the Church is as well without ſinne, as free from error: which the diuines in the Councell did alſo grant. But ſeeing by their owne confeſſion euery member of the Church, being clothed in this mortall fleſh ſinneth, how can the Church be without ſinne? If the Church conſiſt of men, and all men are ſinners, how is the Church free? If all the

parts

parts and members be sinnefull, how is not the whole also polluted with sinne? If all the parts of the bodie be sicke and diseased, how can the whole be sounde? The Church also is not ashamed to confesse her selfe to be blacke, Can. 1. 5. she shall be made beautifull and glorious without all spot and blemish in the kingdome of God: and euen now also is made righteous and iust before God through Christ, not because she hath no sinne, but because it is remitted: and although some errors and imperfections remaine, yet shall they be no hinderance to her saluation.

The Protestants.

THis question, whether the Church may erre, must be vnderstood with a double exception: first, that the vniuersall Catholike Church of Christ erreth not, *Caluin institut. lib 4. cap. 8 sec.* 11. 12. But there is no visible Church in the earth, which may not erre, as well in faith as in manners: this position was maintained by M. *Bucer*, in open disputation at *Cambridge*, *Fox* pag. 1388. Secondly, the true Church of God may erre in some poynts not necessarie to saluation, but can not fall cleane away from God into any damnable error, *Calu. ibid. Fulk annot. in* Ephes. 5. vers. 29. And in this sense is the Church called, *Religionis & fidei perpetua mater*: A perpetuall mother and preseruer of faith and religion, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 5. l. 14. Leo & Anthem.* That the Church may erre as we say, we doe shew it thus: and by the Church, we vnderstand the whole company and congregation, the pastors with the people.

1 When our Sauiour Christ suffered, the Church erred in faith: *Ergo*, it may erre: the proposition is thus proued. The Church was either in the Scribes and Pharisies, or els in the Apostles: but both of them erred: they in putting Christ to death; the other in their incredulitie, not beleeuing rightly in the resurrection of Christ. *Bellarmine* answereth: first, that the Pharisies were priuiledged not to erre, onely till the comming of Christ. We reply againe: first, after Christ was come they sate in *Moses* chaire, and Christ biddeth they should be heard, Mat. 23. 2. If they erred not afore, neither could they now; for they were not displaced out of *Moses* chaire: but the truth is, they neuer had any such priuiledge not to erre. Secondly, the Master of Sentences seemeth herein to be of another opinion, who thus saith, answering to a certaine obiection, whether circumcision ceased to be in force straight after the institution of Baptisme: *In Christi morte terminata esse legalia omnia*: That all the legall rites were determined in Christs death, and from that time Circumcision ceased, *lib. 3. diss. 3 K.* If that all the Legals were in force till Christs death, then the Priesthoode also: wherefore what priuiledge they had before, they held it till then. Thirdly, if the Pharisies were now prone to error, then by our aduersaries owne confession, they ceased to be the Church: *Ergo*, the Church was not now visible, for in them it was not: and the Apostles fled from Christ, and shifted for themselues: how could then the Church be visible to the world?

Lib. 3. de eccles. cap. 17.

Secondly, the Iesuite answereth concerning the Apostles. First, the Apostles were not yet entred into their office and Bishopricke, but only appoynted to it, and therefore they might erre. We reply againe: first, they were not onely appointed Apostles, but partly alreadie they had exercised their Apostleship: for they were sent forth to preach the Gospell, and had power and commission to worke miracles, and heale diseases, Matth. 10. How then is not the Iesuite ashamed to say, that they were not yet Pastors nor Apostles? Secondly, if the Pharisies erred, and the Apostles erred, then all the world was in error: *Ergo*, by their saying at this instant there was no Church vpon the earth, which is a great absurditie, for the Church erreth not, they say.

Thirdly, (saith the Iesuite) the Apostles erred not in faith: they were reproued for not beleeuing the resurrection: which beliefe because they had not yet receiued, they could not loose it. We reply. First, though they had not erred in any materiall point; yet if there were any error at all in them, it is sufficient for our purpose: that they erred it is manifest, for they fled away from Christ. Secondly, he excuseth them for their infidelitie concerning the resurrection, because this faith they had not yet receiued. But had not Christ (I pray you) often instructed them of this matter? and if this were no such error in them, then Christ was too sharpe in reprouing them for their infidelitie. Thirdly, it appeareth, that they wholly were deceiued concerning the Messiah, Luk. 24. 21. the two Disciples say, they trusted that it had been he that should haue deliuered Israel: see then what weake answeres these are: did these fellowes thinke that their glosses should not be examined? or that their dreames should be taken for oracles?

Fourthly, some of the Papists affirme, that the true faith in the passion of Christ only remained in the virgin Maries breast: *Alexand. Halens. Iohan. de turre cremat.* If this be true, then is *Bellarmines* opinion false, that the Apostles at that time kept the faith. But it is most like that they are all deceiued, and that both *Marie* and the Apostles at that time were in great feare and doubt, and their faith shaken. That the Apostles wauered, we haue alreadie shewed: and yet there was greater cause, that they should be stable in faith, who were also to be preachers of faith, then *Marie* who was a beleeuer onely, not an Apostle or preacher of the Gospell.

Argum. 2. The Church of the Iewes erred before our Sauiour Christs comming: *Ergo*, the true Church may erre.

The

The proposition is proued: In the time of the raigne of good kings, they did offer sacrifice vpon hill altars, but onely to the Lord, which was an error. 2. King. 12. 3. 14. 4. The feast of the Passeouer was not kept so precisely according to Gods word at any time before, no not in the raigne of the best kings, as it was in the 18. yeare of *Iosias* raigne, 2. King. 23. 21. The feast of Tabernacles had not been so solemnly and truly kept from the dayes of *Iesua*, as it was in *Nehemiahs* time, Nehem. 8. 18. *Ergo* all this while the Church of the Iewes erred somewhat in the externall worship of God, *Fulk. Eph. cap. 5. Sect. 4.*

Argum. 3. We reade of famous Churches that erred both in faith and manners after our Sauiour Christs comming in the flesh, euen in the Apostles time: *Ergo*, the true Church may erre. The first part is thus proued: the Church of the Corinthians erred in manners: they went to law among heathen Iudges, chap. 6. which was a generall fault among them: *Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you?* vers. 5. They erred also in iudgement. It will be answered, that the error, or heresie rather, concerning the resurrection was not generall: for the Apostle saith, *How say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?* chap. 15. vers. 13. But that error and abuse in the receiuing of the Lords Supper seemeth to haue been more vniuersally spread: *Euery man* (saith the Apostle) *when they should eate, taketh his own supper afore, and one is hungry, another is drunken*, chap. 11. vers. 21. Euery man, saith he, that is, very many, yea and the most among them. The Church also of the Galathians, was (in no small part thereof) infected with this error, that the ceremonies of the law ought necessarily to be kept together with the Gospel: and therefore S. *Paul* vpbraideth in a manner the whole Church: *O ye foolish Galathians, who hath bewitched you? &c.* Chap. 3. 1. *Ergo*, these Churches, being notwithstanding the Churches of Christ, erred.

Bellarmine answereth, confessing that these Churches had their errors (yea he is more liberall in granting this, then we would haue him) for he slandereth the whole Church of Corinth, as though they denied generally the resurrection of the dead, which they did not: S. *Paul* only chargeth some of them, that is, the false brethren, with this error, as it may appeare 1. Corinth chap. 15. vers. 12.

Bellarmines last refuge therefore is this, that error may be in a particular Church, but not in the vniuersall Catholike Church: *de eccles. lib. 4. cap. 2. argum. 3.*

Answere: First, thus *Bellarmine* himselfe is constrained to vse *Caluines* distinction which he misliked before: who confesseth that a particular Church may fall into dangerous error, but not the vniuersall, *de eccles. lib. 3. cap. 14. princip. cap.* Secondly, the Iesuite hath granted, as much as we would desire: for if euery particular Church be subiect to error, then the visible Church is: for the visible Churches must needes be particular: for vniuersall things are not subiect to the sense, but to the vnderstanding: this then he hath granted, that a particular Church may erre, but the Italian, Spanish, French, and so of the rest, are but particular Churches: *Ergo*, they may erre. Thus we haue the Iesuites owne confession, that particular visible Churches may erre.

Augustine saith, *Quomodo erit Ecclesia in isto tempore, perfecta sine macula & ruga, cuius membra non mendacitor confitentur se habere peccata?* How can the Church be perfect in this life, without spot or wrinckle, whose members do truely confesse, that they are not without sinne? *Ergo*, the Church sinneth and is imperfect, and why not subiect to error? But in the Councell of *Basil* it was denied, as ye haue heard, that the Church could sinne. Contr. 2 Epist. Pelag. lib. 4. cap. 9.

We haue their owne testimonies against them: as before for particular men, of their side, we haue heard the opinion of *Alexander. Alens. 3. par. quæst. vltim. artic. 2.* and of *Iohannes de turre cremata, lib. 1. de eccles. c. 30.* That at the passion of Church the true faith onely remained with *Marie*: Hereupon it will follow, that the Church that then was, erred and failed in faith, vnlesse they will say, that *Marie* onely was the Church.

But let vs heare the iudgement of their owne Church against them: *decret. Gregor. lib. 5. tit. 39. c. 28. Innocent. 3. Iudicium Dei veritati quæ nec fallit, nec fallitur, semper innititur; iudicium autem ecclesiæ nonnunquam opinioni sequitur, quam & falsam sæpe contingit, & falli, propter quod contingit interdum vt qui ligatus est apud Deum, sit apud ecclesiam solutus, &c.* The iudgement of God is grounded vpon the truth, which neither deceiueth, nor is deceiued; but the iudgement of the Church is many times ruled by opinion, which both may deceiue, and be deceiued: whereupon it sometimes falleth out, that he, which is bound before God, is loosed with the Church; and he that is free before God, is bound by the Church, &c. Beholde then a testimonie of one of your most learned Popes, that the Church may erre in iudgement. But it will be here answered, that he speaketh of the discipline of the Church, not of doctrine. *Answ.* But *Bellarmine*, to proue that the Church erreth not, obiecteth that place, Matth. 18. *dic Ecclesiæ*, tell it to the Church: and he that heareth not the Church, let him be as an heathen and Publicane. But this were an hard matter, saith he, to bind men to heare the Church if it might erre: *Bellarm. c. 14.* But this place is vnderstoode altogether of discipline: wherefore his meaning is, that the Church cannot erre in the keyes: and in deede, so long as it followeth Gods word, it cannot, as our Sauiour saith, *Whatsoeuer you binde in earth,*

earth, shall be bound in Heauen: but otherwise it may erre in the keyes; so that sometime, that which the Church bindeth in earth, may be loosed in Heauen: as *Innocentius* in this Canon confesseth.

Shall we now in the last place see this doctrine put to the seale of the holy witnesses of Gods trueth: M. *Bilney* being demaunded, what he thought of the Church, whether it might erre or not: answered, that the Catholike Church can by no meanes erre in faith; for it is the whole congregation of the elect: otherwise he graunted not, *Fox* pag. 1000. artic. 4. The like confession made *Iames Brainham* Martyr, pag. 1028. But concerning the visible Pastors and teachers of the Church, we haue the ancient confession of *Walter Brute*, who liued about two hundred yeares agot, that they may all erre, and haue erred: yea *Peter* erred (saith he) Gal. 2. and was therefore reproued of S. *Paul*, onely the Scriptures are priuiledged from erring, *Fox* pag. 477.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THE visible Church may fayle vpon the earth.

The Papists.

17. Error. THey holde that it is impossible that the visible Church should vtterly faile vpon the earth, and fall from God; but that there shall alwaies be a visible and knowne Church vpon the earth, hauing a perpetuall succession of Pastors and Doctors, where the true worship of God shall be preserued and kept, *Bellarm. lib. 3. de Eccles. cap. 12.*

Argum. 1. These and such places of Scripture they stand vpon, Matth. 16. *The gates of hell shall not preuaile against it.* Matth. 28. *I will be with you to the end of the world.* Psalm. 88. *His throne shall be as the Sunne, and endure as the Moone. Ergo*, the visible Church shall not faile vpon earth, *Bellarm. ibid.*

We answere: that these places must be vnderstood of the Catholike and vniuersall Church, whereof we denie not, but euery true particular Church is a part. This Church is the spouse of Christ, this Church shall not perish, this is the kingdome of Christ, with this Church will he alway be present to the end of the world: we denie not but that the inuisible Church shall continue vpon the earth so long as the world endureth. Secondly, these places are vnproperly vnderstood of the visible Church, for therein are both good and bad: How then can that be the spouse of Christ, where there are many infidels and wicked ones, which haue not espoused themselues vnto him? How can it be called his kingdome, whereas it is not of all acknowledged? But in the true Catholike Church all and euery one are espoused to Christ: all and euery one haue the kingdome of God within them, as it is Luke 17. vers. 21.

Argum. 2. They doe abuse that place of S. *Paul*, Ephes. 4. 11. *He gaue some to be Apostles, some Euangelists, some Pastors and teachers, for the gathering together of the Saints: Ergo*, the Church shall alwaies be visible till all the Saints are gathered together, *Bellarm. cap. 13. Rhemist. Ephes. 4. Sect. 5.*

We answere: this place proueth that the Church hath neuer wanted Pastors and teachers for the continuance of the trueth, neither shall euer be without them, as the Lord said by the Prophet Esay 59. vers. 21. *My spirit which is vpon thee, and my words which I haue put into thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor the mouth of thy seed for euer.* We therefore denie not but that in all ages, yea in the most ignorant times of Poperie, God raised vp faithfull teachers vnto his Church: although they were not mitred and croziard Bishops, neither could shew any outward pompe or boast of any glorious succession: Such were *Guilielmus de S. Amore, Arnoldus de noua villa. anno.* 1240. *Berengarius, Ioachim Abbas*, in the time of *Innocentius* the 3. *Wicklef, Brute, Swinderby, Badby*, and others about *anno* 1400. with many which were not knowne to the world: for the trueth neuer in any age wanted witnesses.

By the continuance of the trueth and right faith we gather, that there haue been alwaies faithfull teachers, though not notorious to the world, and shall be: but who they were, and where they liued, what pompe, what authoritie they were of, it is not materiall to know: wherefore an outward visible succession of Bishops and Pastors is not necessarie for the continuance of the trueth: neither can it be concluded out of this place.

Argum. 3. Thus they reason, there haue been alwayes some faithfull men, which haue outwardly professed their faith: for if they dissembled or cloaked their profession, then were they not faithfull: *Ergo*, the Church hath been alwayes visible, as in the time of persecution, *Bellarmin. ibid.*

We answere: first, the Iesuite doth cleane peruert and change the state of the question: for he defineth a visible Church, to be *multitudo congregata, in qua sint prælati et subditi*: a multitude or companie gathered together, where there are both Prelates and Bishops, and people obedient vnto them. And now he giueth an instance of persecution, wherein some faithfull Christians may giue an outward profession of their faith: where is now that multitude congregate together?

where

where is that iuriſdiction of Prelates? where is that viſible and glorious ſucceſſion? We denie not but that in time of perſecution the faithfull may be knowen to themſelues; and yet ſometime they are not: for in Iſrael there were ſeuen thouſand faithfull beſide *Elias*, yet he knewe none of them. But it followeth not, that therefore the Church is then viſible to the world, and notoriouſly knowen to men, as the Rhemiſts ſay, *in Matth. 3. Sect. 3. & Act. 11. Sect. 3.* Thus they lie manifeſtly from the queſtion.

The Proteſtants.

WE denie not, but that the Catholike vniuerſall Church, as it hath hitherto continued ſince the beginning of the world, ſo ſhall it endure to the end: the Lord ſhall neuer want vpon earth a companie of faithfull men, which ſhall truely ſerue him: though it be not neceſſarie, neither hath alwayes been ſeene, that they ſhould be in any one place. A viſible Church we define to be a congregation of men, amongſt whom the word is truely preached, and the Sacraments adminiſtred. Such a Church hath not alwayes been, neither can we be aſſured that it ſhall alway be found vpon the earth, wherein the worſhip of God publikely and viſibly is practiſed.

Argum. 1. In the raigne of *Ahaz* King of Iuda there was no viſible Church, where the pure worſhip of God was practiſed; for both Iſrael vnder *Pekah*, and Iuda vnder *Ahaz*, fell to Idolatrie, and followed the cuſtome of the Gentiles, 2. King. 16. 3. yea *Vriah* the high Prieſt conſented with the King to ſet vp Idolatrie. Likewiſe in the dayes of *Manaſſeh*, who did euill after the abhomination of the heathen, 2. King. 21. 2. there was no place where God was publikely worſhipped: for Iuda was corrupted, Iſrael was carried away captiue: *Ergo*, there was a time when there was no viſible Church.

Bellarmine cannot here ſhift vs off with that anſwere, which he maketh to the obiection of *Elias* time: that he complayning of the ſmall number of the faithfull, meant of Iſrael onely: for at the ſame time, the true worſhip of God was exerciſed in Iudea: to this we haue anſwered before, *1. quæſt. 2. part.* of this Controuerſie, *in argum. proteſt. 2.*

The Ieſuite then hath another ſtarting hole: there is not the like reaſon betweene the Church of the Iſraelites then, and of Chriſtians now, for theirs was but a particular Church, and therefore though it failed with them, yet were there many faithfull among the heathen to be found, as *Melchiſedech* and *Iob*: but the Church of Chriſtians is an vniuerſall Church, &c. *Bellarm. cap. 16. reſpond. argum. 3.*

Anſw. Firſt, I demaund of them, was not the Church of the Iewes then the Church of Chriſt, as the Church of Chriſtians is now? but the Church of Chriſt was alwaies Catholike: *Ergo*, ſo was that Church then: and though it were viſible onely then among the Iſraelites, yet all the faithfull in the world were members of the ſame Church, that the Iſraelites belonged vnto: *Ergo*, there is no ſuch difference betweene theſe Churches, as the Ieſuite ſuppoſeth. Secondly, what tell'th he me of certaine beleeuers among the Gentiles? that is not the queſtion: for we doubt not but that the inuiſible Church of Chriſt hath been in all times and places: he ſhould haue proued, that there was another viſible Church to be found among the Gentiles, beſide that of the Iſraelites: which could not be, ſeeing that at Ieruſalem onely the ſacrifices were to be offered, and the law was onely and the Prophets among them, which then were the eſſentiall notes and markes of the Church. Thirdly, yet will the Ieſuite finde it an hard matter to finde any faithfull men at this time among the heathen, when there was none in Iſrael: In *Melchiſedechs* time, there was *Abraham*, and when *Iob* liued, there were many excellent men in Iſrael, as ſome thinke, hee liued about the time of *Moſes*: but whom can he name now among the Gentiles, that were true worſhippers, when as all Iſrael and Iuda were giuen to idolatrie? We conclude then, that ſeeing we can aſſigne a time, when as the Church was not viſible among the circumciſed Iſraelites, and among the vncircumciſed it could not be, that there was a time when as the viſible Church fayled vpon earth: *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Eccleſia Catholica, non ſolum poſt aduentum Domini & ſaluatoris noſtri præfigurata eſt, ſed etiam ab initio mundi multis figuris & ſacramentis deſignata*: The Catholike Church began not ſo to be called after the comming of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt, but was from the beginning of the world by many figures and ſacraments deſcribed, *ſerm. 27.* *Auguſtine* here ſaith, that the Church before Chriſts comming was *Catholica*, Catholike or vniuerſall. *Bellarmine* ſaith, *Eccleſia Iudæorum non erat vniuerſalis*, The Church of the Iewes was not vniuerſall or Catholike. Out of *Auguſtine* I conclude thus, the Church of the Iewes before Chriſt was the Catholike and onely viſible Church of the world, but it ſometime failed: *Ergo*, the viſible Church may fayle vpon earth.

Argum. 2. In the paſſion of our Sauiour there was no viſible Church, ſuch a Church we ſtill meane, as wherein there are *Paſtors & ſubiects, Paſtors & ſheepe*, Prelates and people, paſtors and ſheepe. We proue it thus: The viſible Church was not amongſt the Phariſees and Prieſts, for they ſhamefully and wickedly erred, *Bellarm.* ſaith it was not amongſt the Apoſtles, for they alſo erred; therefore after the Papiſts opinion, they haue not the Church: for the Church (ſay they) erreth not.

Secondly, he saith, they were yet but materiall parts, not formall, that is, not Bishops or pastors: how then could there bee a visible Church, which was without the formall and principall parts, that is, Pastors and Bishops: *Ergo*, there was then no visible Church.

3. When the abomination of desolation shall stand in the temple, and there shall be a generall defection and apostasie from the faith, then shall the visible Church faile vpon earth. But the first is true, Matth. 24. 15. 2. Thess. 2. 3. *Ergo*.

To the first place the Iesuite answereth, that it must bee vnderstood of the destruction of the temple, chap. 16. But the Rhemists more liberall then so, affirme that it shall bee especially accomplished in Antichrists time, when as the sacrifice of the Masse shall vtterly bee abolished, *Annot. in Mat. 24. ver. 15.*

To the next place concerning that defection and apostasie, which S. *Paul* speaketh of, first he saith, that it shall be a defection from the Romane Empire: but the Rhemists say, it shall bee a defection from most points of Christian religion. Secondly, the Iesuite answereth, that though it be a defection from the Romane faith, yet it shall not be generall but particular. But the Rhemists better aduised graunt it shall be a reuolt of kingdomes, peoples, prouinces: and the publike entercourse of the faithfull with the Church of Rome shall cease; they shall only communicate with it in heart, *Annot. in 2. Thess. 2. fol. 6.*

Now out of their owne words we conclude: there shall be a time when as the publike seruice of God shall cease, there shall be desolation in the Churches and temples of Christians: there shall bee then no publike entercourse with the Church, but a priuate communicating in heart: *Ergo*, there shall be a time when there shall be no outward visible Church notoriously and famously knowne: *Ergo*, our aduersaries are in an error, and are condemned by their owne mouth.

In the last place let vs see how this doctrine hath been sealed: Master *Philpot* that blessed martyr, by that place of S. *Paul*, 2. Thess. chap. 2. vers. 3. *Christ shall not come, except there be a departing first*, sheweth, that there should bee an vniuersall departing from the faith, for so the word ἀποστασία properly signifieth, and we call him apostata that forsaketh the faith: in which sense the word is vsed, 1. Timoth. chap. 4. vers. 1. When this vniuersal departing from the faith fell out in the world, which came to passe when Antichrist was reuealed, and the man of sinne disclosed, as the Apostle there saith: what was then become of the visible Church? I thinke it failed when the profession of the faith failed.

Fox pag. 1801. Examin. 4.

Let vs see antiquitie for this matter: The Emperour *Constance*, who fauoured the Arrians, thus tauntingly said to *Liberius* Bishop of Rome: *Quia pars es orbis terrarum, quid solus vindicas hominem nefandissimum?* I pray thee how many parts of the world art thou, that thou dareſt alone succour this naughtie man? meaning *Athanasius*. *Liberius* answereth: *Non ego quia sum solus fidei causa minuitur, nam & antiquitus tres soli reperti sunt resistentes præcepto regis:* The cause of faith is not therefore impaired because I am alone, for sometimes there were onely three found, which resisted the Kings wicked commandement, Dan. 3. When the true worship of God was only found amongst three persons, it is apparant that the visible Church of God failed vpon earth. Thus haue we an authoritie of one of the Bishops of Rome against them.

Theodor. lib. 2 cap. 16.

THE THIRD QVESTION: OF THE NOTES and markes, whereby the true Church may be discerned and knowne.

FIRST OF THE FALSE AND ERRONIOUS notes of the Church.

OVr aduersaries doe deuise many notes, whereby their Church is descried, as *Bellarmine* reckoneth vp fifteene in order, too many (certaine) to bee found in a good Church: but there are fiue principall which they doe most stand vpon; Antiquitie, vniuersalitie, succession, vnitie, the power of miracles, the gift of prophesie. We will first touch these in order, and then come to speake of the true and infallible notes of the Church.

Of Antiquitie. Note 1.

38. Error.

THe Papists make great braggs of the long continuance of their Church: yea, that they can shew the descent of their Church from *Adam*, *Rhemist. annot. in Act. 28. sect. 5.* But (alacke) sillie men, they must come short of our Sauiour Christ and the Apostles time, by fiue or sixe hundred yeeres, for the most of the opinions which they now hold. Let vs examine their reasons.

In any great change of religion (say they) the authors of the sect, the time when it began, the persons that oppugned it may be knowne: but no such thing can bee shewed of our Church (say they) as we can shew of yours: we can tell them the yeere, the place, and ringleaders of their reuolt,

tole, say our English Rhemists, *annot. in 1. Ioh. [illegible] Bellar. lib. 4. de Eccles. cap. 5.*

We answere: first, no maruelle if Papistrie herein doe much differ from other heresies: they, as the heresies of the Arrians, Pelagians, Donatists, because they were not long to continue, sudden-ly brake out, and suddenly againe were extinguished. But Papistrie, being the prop and pillar of Antichrists kingdome, by whom the world must bee deluded many yeeres, was at the beginning to worke closely and secretly, not breaking out at once into open impietie and blasphemie, but vnder pretence of holinesse to set abroch her deadly poyson: therefore S. *Paul* calleth it a myste-rie of iniquitie, which began euen to worke in his daies, 2. Thess. 2. 7. And so saith S. *Hierome*; *Nunc quoque mysterium iniquitatis operatur, & garrit vnusquisque quod sentit*: Euen now the mysterie of iniquitie beginneth to worke, and euery man doth vtter his owne fancies. Aduersus Pe-lag. dialog. 1.

And whereas you alleage, that the authors of euery heresie may be assigned, which cannot bee shewed, you say, of your profession: S. *Bernard* would haue told you otherwise, if you had consul-ted with him: for thus he writeth of the heretikes called *Apostolici*: *Quaere ab his suae sectae autorem, neminem dabunt*: Aske of them the author of their sect, they can name none: which heresie had not it proper author from amongst men, as the Manichees had *Manes*, the Sabellians *Sabellius*, the Arrians *Arrius*, &c. But with what name will you call this heresie? surely with none: *non est ab homine illorum haeresis*, their heresie is not of men, &c. yet is it not by reuelation, *sed per immissionem & fraudem daemoniorum*, but by the fraud and deceit of the diuell. Thus farre *Bernard*. Thus we see, that the heretikes called Apostolicall, could name no author of their sect, yet were they heretikes: so the Papists, that haue so much in their mouthes, the See Apostolike, Apostolical men, Apostolicall traditions, &c. and so shew themselues to be the *Apostolici* of these daies: though the authors of their superstitions lay hid, yet this were not sufficient to cleere them of heresie. Serm. 66. in Cantic.

Secondly, we also answere, that all these things, the authors of their sects, the time, the persons that withstood them, may manifestly be detected: first, concerning the time, we haue a manifest prophesie, Apocal. 20. that Sathan should bee bound a thousand yeeres, and afterward let loose? when no doubt Antichrist should begin to shew himselfe to the world. Concerning this space of a thousand yeeres, there are two probable opinions: some thinke they are to begin immediatly after our Sauiour Christs time, and so counting a thousand yeeres, all which time Sathan must be bound; then Antichrist should begin to appeare. Thus *Iohn Wickliffe* expoundeth it. Others say, the thousand yeeres ought to begin after the three hundred yeeres expired of persecution; for all that while it is most like Sathan was let loose, when he raged with open mouth like a Lion against the Church and Saints of God. Of this opinion was *Walter Brute* somewhat after *Wick-liffes* time: who by this meanes maketh the prophesie of *Daniel* of 1290. daies, and that in the Apocal. 12. of 1260. daies, to agree with the thousand yeeres of Sathans binding (a few yeeres ex-cepted, which in the computation of hundreds and thousands make no great odden) for taking euery day for a yeere, we shall come to 1290. yeeres after Christ: when the thousand yeeres must be expired, beginning from the three hundred yeeres of persecution. If wee count the thousand yeeres from Christ, wee shall come to the time of *Hildebrand*, called *Gregorie* the 7. who was Pope of Rome a thousand yeres after Christ and vpward: by whom the mariage of Ministers is thought first to haue been forbidden. If we begin after the ceasing of persecution, which continued three hundred yeeres, we shall fall into the yeere 1300. about the time of *Iohn Wickliffe*, when the great rabble of Monkes and Friers began to swarme, and superstition to increase. Fox pag. 426. Fox pag. 480. Fox pag. 101.

But we will take a little paine briefly to touch the authors of many superstitions in Poperie, and of their erronious and hereticall opinions. *Anno* 420. *Zosimus* Bishop of Rome did chalenge a prerogatiue aboue other Churches, that it might be lawfull to make appeales from other Chur-ches to that See: and to set the better colour vpon it, he falsely alleaged a decree of the Nicene Councell, but there was no such thing found there: wherefore it was decreed in the Councell of Carthage at that time, that none should appeale ouer the seas to Rome.

Boniface the 3. purchased of the wicked Emperour *Phocas* the title of vniuersall Bishop. Tran-substantiation was first concluded against *Berengarius*, *anno* 1062. vnder *Leo* the 9. but not pub-likely enacted before *anno* 1216. vnder *Innocentius* the 3. The Dominicke Friers brought in the same time, and their sect established by *Innocentius* the 3. Auricular confession also was brought in *anno* 1215. vnder the same Pope. Fox Martyrol. pag. 1147.

Telesphorus brought in the Lenton fast. *Calixtus* instituted the foure Ember fasts in the yeere: *Hyginus* brought in Chrisme. We can also shew by whom euery piece of their blasphemous Masse hath been patched together: Mariage was first prohibited by *Nicholas* the second, *Alexander* the second, *Gregorie* the seuenth, about the yeere 1070. The Communion in one kinde forged and inuented, and decreed in the Councell of Constance, not aboue two hundred yeeres agoe. By these few examples it may appeare that it is false which the Iesuite saith, that the authors of their sects and heresies cannot be shewed. Kemnit. exam. sess. 4.

Now wee will briefly declare what oppugners and gainsayers they haue had in all ages, since

their grossest opinions began to bee receiued: Such were *Berengarius* and *Berengarius* about Pope *Hildebrand* time, that mightily impugned the grosse opinion of Transubstantiation, *Robertus Gallus* 1291. *Robert Grosthead* Bishop of Lincolne, who was called *malleus Romanorum*, the maller or hammer of the Romanes, *anno* 1250. *Franciscus Petrarcha* 1350. *Iohannes de Rupe scissa*, who pro-
Fox. præfat. phecied against the Pope 1540. with many other, which ceased not to crie out against the abominable vices and erroneous opinions of the Church of Rome. Wherefore it is a great vntrueth, which the Iesuite doth so stiffly auouch, that we cannot set down the pedegree and descent of their Church and faith, and how it hath continually been resisted.

3. Now whereas they say, that they can name the ringleaders of our sect: we haue none other masters and authors of our faith, then our Sauiour Christ and his Apostles, by whose holy writings wee refuse not to bee tried. But you flie from the light, you disgrace the Scriptures, making them imperfect, and insufficient: this the true Disciples of Christ would not doe: you are the Disciples of Christ, as the Pharisees bragged that they were the Disciples of *Moses*. And as then the true Church was not in those that sate in *Moses* chaire, though they could alleage great antiquitie, but in Christ and his Apostles: so is not now the true Church to be discerned by custome or number of yeeres, but by that trueth which was taught and preached by our blessed Sauiour and his Apostles. *Augustine* also saith, *Possunt etiam latrones & adulteri pro se antiquitatem adfere*: Theeues and adulterers can also alleage antiquitie for themselues, *quæst. ex veter. testam. 114.* Antiquitie therefore is not a perpetuall note of the Church.

Here *Bellarmine*, whereas wee alleage, that our Church is most ancient euen from the Apostles time, though it hath a long time been hid, and not been notoriously knowne in the world, as the malignant Church hath been; doth thus replie against vs: That if the true Church of Christ hath been so many yeeres buried in silence, it should bee in more miserable case, then the people of the Iewes, which haue had alwaies their Synagogues: and where is then that glorie of the Church of Christ spoken of by the Prophets? *Beller lib. 4 de Eccles. cap. 5. in fine.*

Answ. 1. As for the Iewes, though their name and nation yet remaineth, yet they are a people ignominious through the face of the earth, and as vagabonds doe wander from one nation to an other, and therefore are not to be compared to the Church of Christ, which though it were in the first times obscured in the cruell persecutions of the Emperours, and since defaced through the ambition of the Bishops of Rome, yet hath been since Christs time, for many yeres a glorious and flourishing Church throughout the world. 2. Concerning the glorie of Christs Church, foretold by the Prophets, it was rather spirituall in the propagation of the faith, and preaching of Christ to the Gentiles, 1. Timoth. 3. 16. then temporall in the outward glittering shew: and yet the Church also was outwardly glorious from the time of *Constantine* for many hundred yeeres after. The spirituall beautie of the Church hath and shall continue to the end of the world: the temporall glorie it alwaies enioyed not, as in the persecutions vnder the Romane Emperours, and since vnder the Italian Bishops; though in the middest of the hot persecutions both then and since the true members of Christ shewed themselues; as partly I haue touched before, in the second part of this answere to their note of antiquitie, that for the space of these fiue or sixe hundred yeeres, there haue not wanted some of our Church, that haue tasted of the persecutions.

But saith *Bellarmine* againe, most of your Euangelicall Doctors came out of our Church, as *Luther* confesseth himselfe that he had been a Monke. *Answ.* 1. And from whence, I pray you, sprang our Sauiour Christ and his Apostles? came they not of the Iewes? and were not his Apostles taken out of the Iewish Church, that was then so corrupted in religion? 2. As vnder the gouernment of the high Priests and Scribes, there were notwithstanding many deuout men, that expected the comming of the *Messias*, as *Zacharie*, and *Simeon*: so wee doubt not, but that in Poperie there were many, and some of them Monkes, that had a taste of the Gospell, and loathed the corruptions of the Romish Church.

But concerning this note of antiquitie, that it is no sufficient mark of the Church, we can vrge them with both their lawes. *Inst. Cod. lib. 8. tit. 53. l. 2. Constantin. Consuetudo non valet, quæ rationem vincit non legem*: That custome or antiquitie is of no worth, which goeth against reason or law. But such is your antiquitie against the law of the word of God. *Ergo.*

Secondly, out of your owne law, *Decret. 1. d. 8. cap. 4. Veritate manifestata, cedat consuetudo veritati*: After the trueth is manifested, let custome giue place to the trueth. *Cap. 5. Gregorius 1. Christus dixit, Ego sum veritas, non consuetudo*: Christ said, I am the trueth, not the custome. *Cap. 8. Consuetudo sine veritate, vetustas est erroris*: Custome without trueth, is the oldnes of error. Likewise, *Decret. Gregor. lib. 1. tit. 4. cap. 11. Consuetudo non derogat iuri diuino*: Custome doth not preuaile against the diuine law.

By all these decrees it is manifest, that custome and antiquitie vnlesse it bee propped vp with trueth, and agreeable to the law of God, is of no force. Such antiquitie vnlesse you can shew for your

your Church, as wee are sure you cannot, you are able to say iust nothing.

Lastly, let them speake that haue sealed this doctrine with their blood: first, Master *Philpot* denieth that trueth ought to be measured by antiquitie: *Ex diuinis nulla occurrit praescriptio:* Prescription hath no place in matters belonging to God, pag. 1805. exam. 5.

Master *Bradford* also saith, that these three notes of the Popes Church, vnitie, antiquitie, consent, may as well be in the diuels Church as in Gods Church: as for example, the idolatrie of the Israelites had them all three, pag. 1622. col. 1.

Secondly, the same blessed martyr *Philpot* plainly auoucheth, that his religion was older then the Papists by a thousand yeeres, pag. 1821. exam. 14.

Roger Holland martyr, thus also with great boldnes protested: The antiquitie of our Church is not from Pope *Nicholas*, or Pope *Iulius*, but euen from the beginning from the time that God sayd to *Adam, The seede of the woman shall breake the Serpents head.* Moreouer of our Church haue been the Apostles, Euangelists, Martyrs, and confessors of Christ, that haue been at all times, and in all ages persecuted for the testimonie of the word of God. But for the vpholding of your Church, what antiquitie can ye shew? your idolatrous Masse is not yet 400. yeere old, and some of your Masses are younger, as that Masse of S. *Thomas* the traitor: *hac Roger Holland. p.* 2040.

Of Vniuersalitie. *Note* 2.

OVr Church is vniuersall, say they, both in respect of time, person, and place; it hath alwaies been in the world, in all countries and nations it hath florished: *Ergo*, it is the true Church. 19. Error.

That it is vniuersall, they first proue by the name of Catholike, which is, say they, by Gods prouidence appropriate to them, which name they affirme without ground to haue been imposed by the Apostles vpon true beleeuers, *Rhem. in Act. cap. 11. sect. 4. Bellar. lib. 4. de Eccles. cap. 4.*

We answere: first, the name of Christians is a more honourable title then the name of Catholikes: for it is manifest, *Act.* 11. 26. that this name was vsed in the Apostles time, and by the Apostles themselues allowed: but it is not certaine that the name Catholike came from the Apostles. Againe, many heretikes challenged this name to be called Catholikes, who did not so easily obtaine to bee called Christians: as *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 8. leg. 6. Theod. Gratian.* It is decreed, that the Nestorian heretikes, *non abutantur nomine Christianorum*, should not abuse the name of Christians: the law saith not Catholikes. But this ancient and honourable name the Papists doe despise: for in Italie and at Rome it is vsed as a name of reproch, to signifie a dolt or a foole, *Fulk. in Act.* 11. 26.

2. We say that you doe vsurpe this name, as the Donatists in *Augustines* time would be called Catholikes: for what is the name of Catholike, without the Catholike doctrine? They are the true Catholikes that professe the ancient and Apostolike faith: to vs therefore, bee it knowne to you, this name of better right appertaineth, then to you (ô ye Papists:) yet we haue better arguments to proue our Church by, then by sillables and titles: *Quasi nos* (saith *Augustine*) *huius nominis testimonio nitamur ad demonstrandam Ecclesiam, & non promissis Dei:* As though we (saith he) doe leane vpon this name to proue our Church by, and not rather vpon the promises of God. Epist. 48. And S. *Hierome* saith, *lib. 3. aduers. Pelag. Quid si te alius Catholicum dixerit, statimne assensum tribuam? stultissimum est, super fide mea, in alterius pendere iudicio:* What if another man call thee Catholike, shall I giue consent? it is a most foolish point concerning my faith to depend of another mans iudgement. So I say, it is a vaine thing for them to proue their faith, by the calling and naming of others.

Now then, although wee much force not of this name, that heretikes also haue chalenged to themselues: yet this title as it was first taken, doth also appertaine to vs: for the Imperiall law faith vs, which was made by *Theodos. Gratian. Valentinian. &c.* that they which hold the equalitie of the Trinitie, should bee called Catholike Christians, *Iubemus amplecti Christianorum Catholicorum nomen:* We will haue them called Christian Catholikes, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 4. l. 1.* But I trust our aduersaries cannot say, but that wee beleeue concerning the Trinitie as soundly as they themselues. Therefore we also doe make chalenge of right to this title.

Secondly, they proue their vniuersalitie, by the multitude of people that haue receiued the Romish faith: and their Church (say they) hath replenished the greatest part of the world. They would prooue this by the propagation of the Church, in the Apostles time, in *Tertullian, Ireneus, Hieromie, Augustine*, yea and afterward in *Gregories* daies: yea and now also besides many great countries in Europe, they haue of their Church in India, America, and the vnknowne parts of the world, *Bellar. lib. 4. cap. 7. nota 4.*

We answere: first, the trueth is not alwaies to be measured by the iudgement or opinion of the multitude: Follow not a multitude, saith the Scripture, to doe euill; the greatest part is not the best: Christ calleth his flocke *pusillum gregem*, a little flocke: *Feare not little flocke* (saith he). Saint

Hieroms saith, *Multitudo sectarum vnquamquam te Catholicum, sed hæreticum esse conuincit*: The multitude of your fellowes doth not therefore proue you a Catholike, but rather an heretike, *lib.3. aduers. Pelagian.* And S. *Augustine*: *Non omnes hæretici per totam faciem terræ, sed tamen hæretici per totam faciem terræ, alij hîc, alij ibi*: All heretikes are not dispersed ouer the face of the earth, yet heretikes are, some here, some there, *Homil. de pastorib.* Thus we see that heretikes may as well stand vpon vniuersalitie, as Catholikes.

The like also hath the Ciuill law, *Cod. lib.1. titul.20. l.1. Iustinian. Neque ex multitudine authorum, quod melius æquiusque est, indagare, cum possit vnius sapiens, & doctrinæ sententia, & multos & maiores aliquis in parte superare*: Neither by the multitude of authors iudge ye what standeth best with equitie, when as perhaps the sentence of one that is inferiour, may in some respect goe beyond the greater and higher sort. As then equitie in Ciuill causes goeth not by multitude, so neither veritie in diuine.

Heare also one of your owne Popes testimonie, *Nicholaus 1. ad Michael. Imperator. Numerus pessimus non obest, vbi abundat pietas; nec multiplex prodest, vbi abundat impietas: minime igitur gloriari in multitudine, quia non multitudo, sed causa damnationem, vel iustificationem adducit*: A mall company hindereth not, where pietie aboundeth, neither doth a great companie further, where impietie aboundeth; glorie not therefore in multitude, for not the multitude, but the cause iustifieth or condemneth.

Secondly, you haue nothing to doe with the Church which was propagated in the Apostles time, nor for the space of fiue or sixe hundred yeeres after Christ: it was not your Church, for the most of your heresies are more lately sprung vp then so. And you neede not bragge of your vniuersalitie now: for the Turke (I trow) hath a larger dominion then the Pope, and Mahometisme is as largely spred as Papistrie, and further too. And for Europe, I hope you need not make your boast: the Pope had neuer lesse iurisdiction then he hath now, and I trust euery day shall haue lesse. But many (you say) in the new found countries haue been conuerted to your religion. Indeede, if you had had grace, such an opportunitie being offered as the Spaniards had, you might haue wonne that simple people to Christ. But you thirsted more for their gold, then for their soules health: it is notoriously knowne to the world what extreame crueltie hath been wrought vpon that innocent people. Was that a Catholike part of the Spaniards to keepe dogs of purpose, to woarie and destroy the inhabitants, to vse them as horse and beasts, to plough, to carrie, to digge? Thus by your crueltie, there were out of one small Iland called Hispaniola, which was well peopled and inhabited, destroyed and rooted out in short time, two millions of men and women: the storie of *Benzo* an Italian, is abroad to bee seene of this matter: you haue none or few of your Popish Catholikes in those countries, but of your owne brood that haue been sent thither. But enough of this.

3 We nothing doubt, but that our faith, the truth of the Gospel hath been long since knowne and published to the whole world.

Those two conditions, which the Iesuite putteth in, to make the Church vniuersall, do helpe vs very well: the first is, that it is not necessarie, that all countries wholly should professe the Christian faith; but it sufficeth, if there bee some of the Church in euery countrie. The second, it is not requisite, that this vniuersalitie of the Church should be all at one time: but if it be done *successiuè*, that is, in diuers ages, one countrie to be ioyned to the Church after another, it is enough.

Now keeping these two conditions, we shall easily proue our Church to be vniuersall: for there are no countries in Europe, and few in the whole world, wherein there are not some of our faith, namely, that abhorre worshipping of Images, doe onely hope to be saued by faith in Christ without merit, and beleeue in the rest, as we doe. And againe, taking one age after another, we shall easily make it good, that our faith at times hath spred it selfe ouer the whole world.

Now let vs set to the seale of this our answere, the testimonie of the holy Martyrs.

Bl. *Philpot* first denieth that vniuersalitie, valesse it be ioyned with veritie, is a sufficient note of the Church, *Fox* pag. 1825. For the Church of God hath not for the most part the greatest multitude, for it is the broad way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that find it, *see Richard Woodman* Martyr. pag. 1996. col. 1.

Secondly, Master *Philpot* denieth that vniuersalitie is a note of the Romish Church: for the faith which that See now maintaineth, hath not consent of all nations, neither euer had: for the Greeke Church, and a good part of Christendome beside, neuer receiued their seruice in an vnknowen tongue, neither yet your Transubstantiation, your receiuing alone, your purgatorie, your Images: *see Roger Holland* Martyr. pag. 2040.

Thirdly, saith M. *Bradford*, our Church is rather to be counted vniuersall, though it were but in tenne persons, because it agreeth with the faith which the Apostles vniuersally did plant: for Christs Church is not so much called Catholike, because it is vniuersally spred ouer all nations, for so was it not in the Apostles time, but because the doctrine which they had receiued of Christ,

was perfect and appoynted to be preached to all the world. So ſaith *Auguſtine*, *Eccleſia ideo dicitur Catholica, quia vniuerſaliter perfecta eſt, & in nullo claudicat.* The Church is called Catholike, becauſe the doctrine thereof is vniuerſally perfect, and faileth not in any point, *lib. de Geneſ. cap. 21. Sir Philpot Fox pag. 1825.*

The third Note, of ſucceſſion.

THey make great boaſt of the long and perpetuall ſucceſſion of their Popes from the Apoſtles for the ſpace of theſe 1500. yeares and more: condemning all Churches which cannot ſhew the like order of ſucceſſion, *Bellarm. cap. 8. Rhemiſt. annot. in Epheſ. verſ. 13.* And further, ſaith *Bellarmine*, there are two things requiſite in lawfull Paſtors and Biſhops, ſucceſſion, and ordination: for firſt they muſt ſucceede either immediatly ſome Apoſtle, as *Clemens* did *Peter*; or ſome conſecrated by the Apoſtles, as *Ignatius* ſucceeded *Euodius*, whom *Peter* made a Biſhop; or muſt be conſecrated by him that hath the Apoſtolike authoritie: but ſuch ſucceſſion, you can ſhew none in your Church, either from Apoſtle, or Apoſtolike men. 10. Error.

Secondly, ordination is requiſite in a lawfull Biſhop, that he bee ordained of three Biſhops, which were ordained of others, and they of others before them, til they come to the Apoſtles: thus *Iacob* was ordained Biſhop at Ieruſalem by *Peter*, *Iames* and *Iohn*, *Anacletus epiſt. 2.* according to the firſt canon of the Apoſtles: neither can you ſhew ſuch ordination of your Biſhops: *Ergo*, you haue no true Paſtors, nor lawfull Biſhops, and ſo conſequently no Church, *Bellar. cap. 8.*

Anſw. Firſt, as touching ordination, then concerning ſucceſſion. 1. That there ought to bee in euery Church a ſeemely ordination and conſecration of the Biſhops, Paſtors, and Miniſters, and that according to the example and rule of the Apoſtles, wee denie not; and ſuch wee doubt not, but our Church hath. But ſuch ordination, as the Ieſuite requireth, is not neceſſarie, that euery lawfull Biſhop muſt prooue his ordination by three other ſucceſſiuely from the Apoſtles time: as thus it is ſhewed. Firſt, if you will credit S. *Hierome*, he ſaith, *Olim idem erat presbyter & epiſcopus:* In the beginning, a Biſhop and Prieſt were all one: and before that ſchiſmes entered into the Church, *communi presbyterorum concilio eccleſia gubernabatur*, the Churches were gouerned in common by the whole presbyterie: Which ſentence of his is allowed in your owne canons, *Decret. par. 1. diſt. 95. cap. 5.* If it bee thus, that this diſtinction of Biſhops and Prieſts was not brought in in the Apoſtles time, but afterward; then can no ſuch ordination be ſhewed from the Apoſtles time. Secondly, notwithſtanding the Canon which goeth vnder the name of the Apoſtles, it ſeemeth the practiſe of the Apoſtles, and of the Church was otherwiſe a long time: for *Timothie*, whom you hold to haue been a Biſhop, was ordained by the impoſition of the hands of the whole presbyterie or eldership, which was not the aſſemblie of Biſhops only, as *Bellarmine* would expound it, but of other paſtors alſo, as *Hierome* doth interprete it, *epiſt. ad Euagrium*, and the Rhemiſts alſo in the ſame ſenſe tranſlate it, the prieſthood, and in their annotations ſhew the ancient practiſe of the Church agreeable to this place of S. *Paul*, when as the reſt of the Prieſthood lay on their hands together with the Biſhop. And your owne Canons to this purpoſe approoue the ſentence of S. *Hierome*: *Senatum Romani habebant, cuius conſilio cuncta agebant, & nos habemus ſenatum noſtrum eatus presbyterorum*: The Romanes had their Senate, by whoſe counſaile they did all things, and we haue our Senate the companie of Presbyters, *Decret. part. 2. cauſ. 16. cap. 7.* And S. *Ambroſe* thus writeth plainly: *Nowhere omnia conuenimus ſcripta Apoſtoli ordinationi, quia nunc eſt in eccleſia*: The writings of the Apoſtle doe not in euery point anſwere the ordination now vſed in the Church, *in 4. ad Epheſ.* How then is the Ieſuite able to prooue their manner of ordination from the Apoſtles time? The practiſe alſo of their owne Church is contrarie: as *Decr. par. 1. diſt. 63. cap. 2. Martinus* thus decreeth: That at the ordination of a Biſhop, *adeſſe oportet omnes, qui ſunt in prouincia ſacerdotes*, all the other Biſhops of the prouince muſt bee preſent, whom the Metropolitane muſt ſummon by his letters: and if all come together it is well; but if this cannot be, yet moſt of the̅ muſt come: but they that cannot come, muſt be preſent by their letters, that ſo the Biſhop may bee ordained, *omnium ſalto conſenſu*, by a generall conſent of all. And there he concludeth thus: *Si aliter factum fuerit, &c.* But if it be done otherwiſe, then I haue preſcribed, ſuch ordination is of no force. Likewiſe, *diſtin. 66. 1. Anicetus: Archiepiſcopus ab omnibus ſuæ prouinciæ Epiſcopis ordinetur*: An Archbiſhop muſt bee ordained of all the Biſhops in the prouince. By theſe Canons a preſence of more then three Biſhops is required. Thirdly, whereas the Ieſuite ſaith, that *Iames* after this manner was conſecrated by three, *Peter*, *Iames* and *Iohn*, out of *Anacletus*, he ſpeaketh he knoweth not what, and is too much confident vpon his counterfeit *Anacletus*: for this *Iames* the Apoſtle named in the 2. to the Galathians with *Peter* and *Iohn*, is the ſame which was Biſhop of Ieruſalem: for the other *Iames* was ſlaine long before by *Herod*, Act. 12. and this the Ieſuite elſewhere confeſſeth, *lib. 1 de Romano pontifice cap. 18.* but now he bringeth in a third *Iames* to be Biſhop of Ieruſalem. And if *Iames* muſt needes be ordained by three, how commeth it to paſſe, that S. *Peter*, againſt the Canon of the Apoſtles, himſelfe alone appointed *Clemens* his ſucceſſor, ſaying thus,

Clementem hunc Episcopum vobis ordino? I ordaine *Clement* your Bishop? *Decr.par.1.dist.8.quæst.1. cap.2.* If it bee answered, *Peter* was an Apostle, and more then a Bishop, and therefore might ordaine alone; why then did he not as well alone ordaine *Iames* Bishop of Ierusalem? vnlesse you will say that it was the chiefe Bishopricke, and therefore required the presence of more Apostles. This vnlesse you will say, you can shew no reason of *Peters* sole ordaining *Clement*.

Fourthly, whereas *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that as in the old law the Priesthood went by carnall generation and lineall descent from *Aaron*; so in the new it must be deriued by succession from the Apostles. We answere: first, that our Sauiour Christ and his Apostles could shew no lineall descent from *Aaron*, neither had their ordination from his successors; and yet were the true pastors of the Church. *Bellarmine* answereth, that Christ began a new Priesthood after the order of *Melchisedech*, and therefore he was not tied to the lineall descent: but from Christ and his Apostles a succession must now necessarily be shewed. *Contra.* To grant this difference for this time, though indeed Christ came not to dissolue *Moses* law, but to fulfill it; yet this wee say further, that both before Christ there were true pastors and Prophets, which were not ordained by the Priests of *Aaron*; and since Christ, that receiued not their ordination successiuely from the Apostles. First in the old law, when the ordinarie Priesthood was corrupted, God raised vp Prophets from other tribes, that receiued not from the Priests their ordination and allowance; such an one was *Amos*, who was among the heardsmen, and as *Hierome* saith, *Ruborum morâ distringens subitò prophetæ effectus*: was made a Prophet as he gathered wilde blackberies. After the same manner, in the corrupt times of the Gospell, the Lord hath raised vp faithfull Ministers to his Church, that could shew no succession from the degenerated Clergie. Againe, since our Sauiour Christ S. *Paul* was appointed an Apostle, who had not his ordination from the other Apostles, but was immediately called by Christ: yet the Iesuite telleth vs that he was ordained of the other Apostles, and quoteth Act.9. Act.13. *Contra.*1. Act.9.17. *Ananias* layeth his hands vpon *Saul* to receiue his sight, and to baptize him, but not to make him an Apostle: for *Ananias* himselfe was but a Disciple, no Apostle; how then could he ordaine an Apostle? Secondly, Act. 13.3. The Prophets at Antioch named in the first verse, layde hands vpon *Saul* and *Barnabas*, not thereby giuing them ordination of Apostles, but separating and sanctifying them for that especiall worke: for if this imposition were an ordination, and that other also by *Ananias*; by this reason, he should be twice ordayned: and againe here were none but Prophets at Antioch, no Apostles; how then could they ordaine Apostles? Thirdly, if S. *Paul* were ordained by the Apostles, then he himselfe was no Apostle, for the Apostles had no authoritie to make new Apostles, but all Apostles were immediately designed from God. Fourthly, the Apostle himselfe saith, he was no Apostle of men or by men, but by Iesus Christ, Galath.1.1. And againe, he did not communicate with flesh and blood, neither went vp to the other Apostles, but after three yeares, verse.16.17. immediately after his calling from heauen preaching Christ. Here is no ordination from the Apostles, he was acknowledged by them, and receiued into the number of the Apostles, but not ordayned.

Ad Heliodor.

If it be answered, that this example of S. *Paul* was extraordinarie, but now in the Church an ordination successiuely from the Apostles must be shewed:

We replie againe, that we alleage not this example, as though we did expect the like extraordinarie calling now, or refuse ordination deriued from the Apostles, but to this end, that if S. *Paul* were made an Apostle, without the ordination of the lawfull Apostles; much more may the Lord raise vp new Pastors to his Church without ordination from the vsurpers of the Apostles. Secondly, we also hold that an ordination from the Apostles is alwaies necessarie in the Church, but not such as they meane by lineall succession, and outward tradition: but a lawfull consecrating and ordaining of Pastors and Ministers by the authoritie of Christ and his Apostles, according to the word of God committed to the faithfull dispensers in euery true Church and congregation of Christ; which ordinations our Church hath. As for their superstitious ordination, we refuse it as superfluous and vnnecessarie: there may be lawfull Bishops and Pastors without it, as there were Prophets in the Law not of *Aaron* yea and much more, for the Priesthoode of *Aaron* was of Gods institution, so is not your Popish consecration: And Saint *Hierome* here saith with vs; *Non facit Ecclesiasticus dignitas Christianum*: The Ecclesiasticall dignitie maketh not a Christian, as he sheweth by the example of *Amos*; and thus much concerning ordination. Now in the next place of *Bellarmines* obiection for succession.

We answere: first, they cannot shew such a precise and perpetuall succession, without any interruption, or discontinuance for so many yeares: for some time there were two, sometime three Popes together, and this schisme obtained 29. yeares, till the Councell of Constance, where three Popes were deposed at once: *Benedict.*13. the Spanish Pope, *Gregorie* 12. the French Pope, and *Iohn* 23. the Italish Pope. Besides there are many other doubts in their succession: First, whether *Peter* were Bishop of Rome or no; whereof more shall be said afterward in the controuersie of the Bishop of Rome: and yours of the Canons affirme, that *quòd Episcopus Romanus est successor*

Decr.par.1. d.22.cap.2. Anacletus.

both

both *Peter* and *Paul* did conſecrate the Romane Church: you muſt ſhew then a ſucceſſion from both. Secondly, it is vncertaine who ſucceeded *Peter*; your decrees hold, that he ordained *Clement*, as we haue ſeene before: others affirme that *Linus* was, *primus poſt Petrum Epiſcopus*, the firſt Biſhop after *Peter*, as *Dorotheus, Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 4. Hieron. in catalog. &c.* How then can you deriue your ſucceſſion from *Peter*? Thirdly, your ſucceſſion hath been interrupted and broken off, as when Pope *Ioan* ſtept into the Papall chayre, and a woman managed the affaires of your Church, ſay alſo, that ſhe was S. *Peters* ſucceſſor; ſo then they themſelues cannot ſhew that ſucceſſion, which they boaſt of.

2 If ſucceſſion be ſo ſure a note of the Church, it is found alſo in other Churches beſides, as in Conſtantinople where hath been a perpetual ſucceſſion (as *Nicephorus* ſaith) from S. *Andrew*, and where *Ieremiah* is at this day Patriarch, at *Alexandria* from S. *Marke*, where *Melitius* alſo hath at this time his patriarchal ſeate: in other Churches alſo of Grecia, they haue yet their Metropolitanes, as at Theſſalonica, where *Gabriel* now ſitteth, at Epheſus alſo and Corinth: as it may appeare by theſe reuerend patriarches and Metropolitanes authentike letters directed vnto our Churches here in the Weſt in the yeare 1593. in the behalfe of *Ieromy Miloita*, a Grecian of Pathmos, who collecteth for his raunſome. Other Churches therefore we ſee may alleadge ſucceſſion, as well as the Church of Rome.

The Ieſuite here is driuen to his ſhiftes, and hath nothing to ſay, but this: that the argument followeth negatiuely, that where there is no ſucceſſion, there is no Church: not affirmatiuely, that where any ſucceſſion can be ſhewed, there ſtraightwayes it ſhould follow there is a true Church: So by the Ieſuites owne confeſſion he hath made but a bad argument for the Church of Rome: we haue a perpetuall ſucceſſion of Popes from the Apoſtles time: *Ergo*, we are the Church. It followeth not, ſaith the Ieſuite: we grant it. Why then a little before did he call it *inſolubile argumentum*, an inſoluble and vnanſwerable argument?

3 Thirdly, we ſay, that a ſucceſſion of perſons in the ſame place, without ſucceſſion of doctrine, which they cannot ſhew, is nothing worth. A ſucceſſion of the Apoſtolike faith and doctrine proueth a continuance of Paſtors and teachers, and not contrariwiſe. We haue the Apoſtolike faith, and therefore we doubt not but that there haue been continually in the Church faithfull teachers, by whom that doctrine hath been preſerued and kept: though they were not famous, nor carried a glorious ſhew in the world. For that outward ſucceſſion is not neceſſarie, neither ſo much to be ſtoode vpon. *Auguſtine* when he had alleaged ſucceſſion againſt heretikes, concluded thus: *Quanquam non tantum nos diuinis documentis præſumamus, quanta de Scripturis ſanctis*: although (ſaith he) we preſume not ſo much vpon theſe documents as of holy Scripture. Epiſt. 165.

Wherefore briefely to ioyne iſſue with them: firſt we ſay that they themſelues can ſhew no ſuch ſucceſſion in place from S. *Peter*, as they pretend, as we haue ſhewed before. Secondly, though they did ſucceede in place, yet not ſucceeding in faith and holines, it is nothing: as *Symmachus* your owne Biſhop ſaith, that *Petrus hæreditatem innocentiæ tranſmiſit ad poſteros*, that S. *Peter* did leaue to his ſucceſſors the inheritance of his innocencie: *decr. p. 1, diſt. 40. c. 1.* Therefore hauing left his innocencie, they haue left the ſucceſſion. Thirdly, whereas diuers of the Fathers commend the ſucceſſion of that See from the Apoſtles, it was for that they kept alſo the Apoſtolike faith: as *decr. p. 2 cauſ. 24 qu. 1. c. 14. Hieromes* thus writeth to *Damaſus*, *Petri & fidem & ſedem ſequor*: You holde both the ſeate and faith of *Peter*. Fourthly, a ſucceſſion in doctrine is ſufficient to proue a Church, though in reſpect of the time and place, the ſucceſſion bee interrupted: ſo the Apoſtle ſaith: *Cui ſeruio à progenitoribus*: Whom I doe ſerue from my progenitors, 2. Timoth. 1. 3. meaning *Abraham*, *Iſaack* and *Iacob*, the firſt Fathers of the faith, for we doubt his immediate progenitors did ſauour of the leauen of the Phariſees: As the Apoſtle proueth his faith by a deſcent though interrupted from his progenitors, ſo we ſhew our Church, by ſucceeding the Apoſtles in doctrine.

And here your owne decrees doe helpe vs well, *decr. p. 1. diſt. 40. c. 12. Non cathedra facit ſacerdotem, ſed ſacerdos cathedram; non locus ſanctificat hominem ſed homo locum; non omnis ſacerdos ſanctus, ſed omnis ſanctus ſacerdos*: The chayre maketh not a Biſhop, but a Biſhop the chayre; the place doth not ſanctifie the man, but the man the place; euery Prieſt is not holy, but hee that is holy is a Prieſt. Wherefore where there is no epiſcopall chayre by ſucceſſion, holines of life and ſyncerity of doctrine may erect an Apoſtolike chayre.

Here wanteth nothing but the ſeale, I meane the blood of Martyrs giuen in teſtimonie of this and other points of our faith.

Bl. *Philpot* thus anſwereth to the argument of ſucceſſion: that it is no infallible note of the Church; for there may be a ſucceſſion of Biſhops where is no Church, as at Antioche, Ieruſalem: But if you put to ſucceſſion of Biſhops ſucceſſion of doctrine withall, as it was in *Auguſtines* time when he vſed this argument againſt the Donatiſts, it is a good proofe. *Obiect.* Why? will you not haue the Church to be certaine? by whom then will you be iudged? *Anſwer.* I denie not, but that the Church is certaine, but not neceſſarilie tyed to one place longer then it bideth

bideth in the word, by which all controuersies ought to be iudged, *Sic Philpot* pag. 1825.

Bl. *Bradford* being pressed with this argument, that he could not goe vpward and shew a succession of Bishops, as they could, he might make a leap downward, but vpward he could not goe: maketh this answere. 1. The ministerie of Gods word, and ministers be an essentiall point: but to translate that, saith he, to the outward glorious succession of Bishops, is a plaine subtletie.

2. S. *Stephen*, Acts. 7. being accused to teach newe and false doctrine, goeth not vpwards to proue his faith, but beginneth at *Abraham*, and so goeth downwards till *Isaias* time, and the captiuitie: from whence he maketh a great leap vntill the time he was in, which was about 400. yeares: On this sort can we proue our faith, and so can you neuer do yours. *sic Bradford* pag. 1614. col. 1.

The fourth Note, of Vnitie.

11. Error.

OVr aduersaries doe stand much vpon Vnitie; which they thinke is the glorie of their Church: they doe embrace vnitie amongst themselues, and all ioyne in obedience to their head. Their vnitie also is seene, say they, in the wonderfull consent of all their writers in matters of Religion: and the notable agreement and concord in the decrees of their Popes and Councels. But as for vs, and our Church, they say, it is full of rents, schismes and diuisions. *Bellarm. cap. 9.*

First of the vnitie of their Church, and then of the vnitie of ours. Their vnitie, they say, is partly seene in their obedience, and louing societie and fellowship, partly in their Religion and doctrine.

First, for their concord and loue one toward another: we will take some paines, a little to decipher it. About the yeare of the Lord 900. there was pretie sport amongst the Popes, nine of them one after another: *Stephen* the sixt abrogated all his predecessor *Formosus* decrees: and not content with that, he tooke vp his bodie which was buried, and cut two fingers of his right hand off, and commanded his bodie to be buried againe. After him succeeded Pope *Romanus*, *Theodorus* the second, *Iohn* the tenth, who ratified and confirmed the doings of *Formosus*. After them followed Pope *Sergius*, who disanulling all their actes, tooke vp againe the bodie of *Formosus*, cut off his head, and commaunded his bodie to be throwne into Tiber the great riuer in Rome. Was not heere great amitie and loue, thinke you, amongst the Popes? *ex Polychron.*

Another notable example of their vnitie we haue in Pope *Vrbanus* time the 6. against whom stood vppe a contrarie Pope in Fraunce named *Clement*: it is worth the noting, what coyle these two Popes kepte: betweene whom many battles were fought, many thousands slaine. Pope *Vrbanus* beheaded fiue Cardinals together after long torments. Bishop *Aquilonensis*, because he did ride no faster, was had in suspition, and slaine and cut in peeces by *Vrbans* souldiers, at his commandement. Behold heere I pray you the vnitie of these Catholikes.

Theoderic. Niem. de schism.

We will adioyne one other example, no longer since then in King *Henrie* the eights time. The Duke of Bourbon being the leader of the Emperors armie, laide siege to Rome, and sacked it: the Souldiers brake in vpon the Pope, which was *Clement* the seuenth being at Masse, slew diuers of the Priests, and one Cardinall called *Sanctorum quatuor*: they laide siege to the Castle of S. Angell, so long till the Pope yeelded himselfe. The souldiors daylie that lay at the siege, made iestes of the Pope: sometimes they had one riding like the Pope with a whore behind him, sometimes he blessed, sometimes he cursed, sometimes with one voice they would call him Antichrist. See here is their Catholike obedience to their chiefe Bishop. Thus much concerning their vnitie and concord in life.

Ex paralip. Abbat. Vrsp.

Let vs likewise take a view of their vnitie in doctrine. We heard before how Pope *Stephen* and *Sergius* abolished the decrees of *Formosus*: how then saith the Iesuite, that the decrees of Popes doe consent together? The Councell of Basill, and Constance before that decreed, that the Pope should be subiect to generall Councels: but this Canon was afterwarde reuersed, and now generally the Papists hold the contrarie, that the Pope is aboue Councels.

Let vs see the consent of their writers: *Bellarmine lib. 1. de verbo. cap. 12.* maintaineth against *Lyranus*, *Driedo*, *Genebrard*, and others, that *Iudith* was in *Manasses* time. Against *Alphonsus de Castro*, that heretikes are no members of the Church, *Lib. 3. de Eccles. cap. 4.* Against *Iohannes de turre cremata*, that faith is not necessarie to make one a member of the Church, *Lib. 3. de Eccles. cap. 10.* And euery where the Iesuite taketh great libertie to confute and controll other his fellow Papistes: belike hauing found out some starting holes, that they either knew not, or were ashamed to creepe into, as the Iesuite dooth: see more of their dissentions in opinion, *Tetrasyl. Papist. piller. 4.*

But (saith he) we denie not but that we haue dessentions, but they are not in materiall points, but in such things as appertaine not to faith. I maruaile, he blusheth not thus to say, himselfe knowing the contrarie. Is it not a substantiall point and belonging to faith, to know which bookes are canonicall Scripture, which are not? but in this question they doe much disagree. *Caietanus* the Cardinall saith, that we must acknowledge no Scripture, but that which was either written or

approued

approoued by the Apostles. But *Catharinus* a Papist doth reiect that opinion: *Hugo Cardinalis, Arias Montanus*, doe hold no bookes of the old Testament to be Canonicall, which are written onely in Greeke: the Papists now generally hold the contrarie. *Ex Whitakero, 1. contr. c. quaest. cap.6.* *Bellarmine* saith, that all those opinions, which the Church holdeth, as articles or precepts of faith, were deliuered by the Apostles: and that the Church must not now seeke for new reuelations, but content her selfe with the Apostolike traditions and doctrine, *de Script. lib.4.c.9.* Out of the which words it doth necessarily follow, that the Church is not now to found any new article of faith: but this generally is denied by the Papists: and *Stapleton* an English Papist, is not ashamed to say, that the Church may adde more bookes to the Canonicall Scripture, by her absolute authoritie.

Further, to beleeue that the Virgin *Mary* was without sinne, yea conceiued without originall sinne, is now amongst the Papists receiued for an article of faith: and therefore in Paris none are admitted to be Doctors of Diuinitie, which doe not first confirme this article by their oth. Yet this was a great question betweene the Scotists & Thomists, and a great & hot contention arose about this controuersie, *anno* 1476. betweene the Dominicke Friers, who affirmed that she was conceiued in sinne, and the Franciscanes, that held the contrarie. But these Franciscanes had the vpper hand, and foure of the other order were condemned and burned for it at Berne: And yet for all this our aduersaries will say still, that they varie not in matters of faith. Thus we haue seene what is to be thought of Popish vnitie. Fox Caspar. Peucer. Chro. lib.5.

Now to answer briefly to their false accusation, whereby they charge vs with manifold schismes and dissentions: yea *Bellarmine* is not ashamed to say, that an hundred seuerall sects are sprung vp amongst vs, *cap.10. lib.4. de Eccles.*

1 We say with S. *Paul, Oportet haereses esse*, 1. Cor. 11. there must be heresies and diuisions in the Church. And it is a signe we haue the trueth, when the diuell goeth about by schismes and contentions to hinder the preaching thereof. Wee answere to you, as *Augustine* did to the Pagans: *Non proferant nobis quasi concordiam suam: hostem quippe, quem patimur, illi non patiuntur*: Let them not boast of their concord, and cast in our teeth the dissention of Christians: the enemie assaulteth not them as he doth vs: *Quid illi lucri est, quia litigant, vel damni si non litigant*: The diuell shall get nothing if they should disagree, nor lose any thing by their agreement: for he hath sure hold enough of them alreadie, consenting all in Idolatrie. But amongst Christians he laboureth to hinder the trueth by discord, because he cannot otherwise withdraw them from the true religion. Hearken now (ô ye Papists) if you consent together, it is in euill: so long it pleaseth the diuell well enough: he should destroy his owne kingdome in sowing dissention amongst you, for you fight for him. He vseth to cast fire brands amongst good Christians, to withstand by this meanes the proceeding of the Gospell.

2 It is a great slaunder, that there are so many diuisions amongst vs: an hundred saith the Iesuite, but he shall neuer proue ten. He might haue bethought himselfe of a full hundred of sects amongst his owne darlings the Monks and Friers, as master *Fox* hath truly gathered the number, pag.260. See more *Tetrast. papist. 4. pil.* where you shall finde three hundred diuers opinions and diuisions among Papists. And whereas *Bellarmine* taketh vpon him, to prooue the Protestants guiltie of twentie seuerall heresies, *cap.9.* I haue reserued the confutation thereof to another place in the treatise of the Pillars of Papistrie annexed to this booke: where in the second pillar, par.3. I haue answered the Iesuites obiections of heresie, and repaied them with fortie heresies more, more properly incident to their Church, then his twentie are into ours.

3 Those few schismes and dissentions, which we haue (and yet too many, we must needs confesse) are not about points of faith, and articles of Religion: but concerning some things belonging to discipline and Church gouernment; which matters we deny not, but haue been somewhat too hotly and egarly followed of some amongst vs: but God bee thanked, this contention hath not been pursued by fire or death, as the Franciscanes did persecute the poore Dominickes: nor yet to the pronouncing of each other heretikes, as *Eugenius* your Pope was condemned as an heretike in the Councell of Basil.

Now, that it may appeare what vnitie is in the popish Church, I will giue an instance in their head, I meane the Popes, and that out of their owne Canons.

Whereas then diuers of them haue decreed, not to transgresse the decrees of their predecessors, as *Decr. p.2. caus.25. quaest.1. cap.7. Zozimus: Contra statuta patrum condere, vel mutare aliquid, nec huius quidem sedis potest authoritas*: No not this See hath authoritie to chaunge the decrees of the fathers. And, *qu.2. cap.4. Gregor. Si ea destruerem, quae antecessores, &c. non constructor, sed euersor esse comprobarer*: If I should reuerse, what our predecessors haue decreed, I should not be a builder vp, but a puller downe. And not onely the Canons of Religion, but other Ciuill constitutions of their predecessors ought to be kept: *quaest.25. cap.16. Leo 4. Quod patres siue in sanctis canonib. siue in humanis affixere legibus, &c.* We must not transgresse, whatsoeuer our fathers haue fixed either in the sa-

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cred Canons, or other humane lawes. Yet notwithstanding these constitutions, the Popes themselues haue one dissolued anothers decrees, both in ciuill and religious matters.

Concerning ciuill and outward matters: *Clemens* 5. reuerseth *Bonifacius* 8. his Constitution, as touching taxes and impositions laid vpon the Church, *Clem. lib.* 3. *tit.* 17. *cap.* 1. *Ioannes* 22. *Extrau. tit.* 9. *cap.* 1. reuerseth the constitution of *Clemens* 5. which he made against Iustings and Tournaments. The same *Clemens* abrogateth the constitutions of *Benedict.* 11. against the preaching Friers, *Clem. lib.* 3. *tit.* 7. *cap.* 1. *Benedict.* 11. likewise correcteth the decrees of *Bonifacius* the 8. as touching the immunities of the preaching Friers, *Extrau. comm. lib.* 5. *tit.* 7. *cap.* 1. *Bonifac.* 8. reuoketh whatsoeuer *Celestinus* had decreed, *Extrau. Ioann. tit.* 7. And thus one of them is still euen with another. *Bened.* 11. restoreth the Cardinals, whom *Bonif.* 8. had deposed and condemned. *Extrau. comm. lib.* 5. *tit.* 4. *cap.* 1. *Ioann.* 22. checketh the decrees of *Gregor.* 10. and *Bonifac.* 8. as touching the reseruation of benefices.

The like agreement is found amongst them in matters of religion. *Iohann.* 22. determineth against *Nicbol.* 4. that Christ was no begger, but had a propertie in those things he had, *Extr. Ioan. tit.* 14. *cap.* 4. The same *Ioan.* 22. dissolueth the sect of the Fratricelles confirmed by *Celestinus*, *Extr. Ioann. tit.* 7. The same Pope ratifieth the sect of the Beguines dissolued by *Clem.* 5. *Extrau. commun. lib.* 3. *tit.* 9. *cap.* 1.

If such be the vnitie of their heads, as we haue seene, one of them still opposing himselfe against another, *Iohn* against *Clement*, *Clement* against *Benedict*, *Benedict* against *Boniface*, *Boniface* against *Celestine*, and they all against their predecessors, *Zosimus*, *Gregorie*, *Leo*, &c. what shall we thinke of the rest of the body, if the head be thus dauded? And this is the vnitie of the Popish Church, which they doe so much bragge of.

Lastly, let vs adde the seale of our doctrine: Master *Bradford* saith, that vnitie is no sure note of the Church: for the Idolatrous Israelites might haue pretended this argument for themselues, *Brad.* pag. 1622.

Master *Latimer* martyr saith, that a deforme disagreement is better in the Church, so Christ bee preached, then vniforme ignorance agreeing in Idolatrie, alleaging *Hieromes* example, whose translation of the Bible caused dissention in a Christian congregation: yet *Hieronm* saith, *Sed ego in tali opere non eorum inuidentiam pertimescã, nec scripturæ veritatem pauci bus denegabo.* But neither I (saith he) will feare their enuie in so profitable a worke, nor yet withhold the truth of the Scripture from those which desire it, *Hieron. prolog sup. Canonic epistol. Sic Latimer epist. ad D. Ed. Bayfon. pag.* 1760.

Roger Holland also thus testifieth: As for the vnitie which is in the popish Church, what is it else, but treason, murder, poysoning one another, idolatrie, superstition? What vnitie was there in your Church, when there was three Popes at once? where was your head of vnitie, when you had a woman Pope? *Fox* pag. 2040.

The fifth Note: of the power of working Miracles.

22. Error. THis they affirme both to bee necessarie in the Church, to haue power to worke miracles, for the confirmation of the faith, when there is any extraordinarie change or innouation of religion, and that it is a sufficient note to describe the Church: for it cannot bee (say they) but that, where soeuer this power is found, there should be the true Church.

And hereupon they take occasion to extoll the miracles of their Church: beginning at the Apostles time, and so in euery age they take vpon them to shew, that their Church neuer wanted those that were endued with this power, *Bellarm. cap.* 14.

We answere: First, the gift of miracles doth no more prooue that to be the true Church where they are wrought, then they to be holy men and elected of God, that doe them. The Magicians wrought many straunge things in Egypt, contending a great while with *Moses*: Antichrist shall come working with signes and wonders, 2. Thessal. 2. Therefore this proueth not a Church. The like straunge wonders and miracles are to bee seene among the Turks, amongst whom their religious professors doe many straunge things both aliue and dead; as witnesseth *Capitbus Sapientia strensis de Turcar. morib. c.* 14. The like things to bee done in Dania some 300. yeere since, reporteth *Saxo Grammaticus*: and not long since in Gothia, *Olaus Magnus*. Wherefore miracles make no probation of a Church.

First *Bellarmine* answereth, that these were false miracles, and but forged, and onely to the eye, and in outward appearance, as Antichrist is said to come with lying wonders: or else such things as though they seemed straunge to men, yet were not so in their owne nature, as the fetching down of fire from heauen, &c. which things Sathan can easily performe. We replie, first they are called lying wonders, not that they are done in shew onely, and haue no such thing indeed, but because they are wrought to confirme lies, and discredit the truth. Secondly, your miracles are very like

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to be ſuch, both wrought by the power of the diuell, and ſome of them but iugling feates of couſoners. Thirdly, yet a wicked man may haue power to worke miracles, not in ſhew, but verely and indeede, as to caſt out diuels, and to doe it in the name and power of Chriſt; and yet bee none of Chriſts diſciples, Matth. 7. 22. And it is confeſſed in your owne Decrees, *par. 2. cauſ. 1. quæſt. 1.* that, *Magi Pharaonis faciebant ſimilia Moyſi*, that *Pharao* his Magicians did like things to *Moſes*. And a writer of your owne ſaith; *Miracula Deo & diabolo, Chriſto & Antichriſto communia*: That miracles are common to God and the diuell, to Chriſt and Antichriſt, *Eſpenſæus 2. Timoth. p. 93. c.* The miracles then of Chriſt and Antichriſt, of the true and falſe Prophet differ not herein, that the one are in truth, the other in ſhew; but firſt in reſpect of the power, ſecondly, of the end; for the Saints of God worke by his power, the other by the power of Sathan, whom God doth ſometimes reſtraine, as the Magicians were not able to doe the like, when *Moſes* turned the duſt into lice, Exod. 8. 19. And therefore *Nicodemus* ſaith to Chriſt, Ioh. 3. 1. *No man can do theſe works*, that is, ſuch great workes, *as thou doeſt, vnleſſe God were with him*. Secondly, Chriſt and his Apoſtles by their miracles ſought the glorie of God, and the good of men, in conuerting of their ſoules and healing of their bodies; ſo Sathan worketh not, but onely to deceiue men, and confirme lyes, as *Origen* ſheweth, *lib. 1. cont. Celſum*. And ſuch are moſt of popiſh miracles, deuiſed for the maintenance of Idolatrie and ſuperſtitious worſhip.

Secondly, *Bellarmine* bringeth in this diſtinction, that miracles doe demonſtrate the Church, not *quoad euidentiam & certitudinem rei*, in reſpect of the euidence or certaintie of the things, *ſed quoad euidentiam credibilitatis*, but doe ſhew onely the certaintie of credibilitie: His meaning is, that by miracles we may geſſe by all likelihood, which is the Church, but not certainly know it, *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Eccleſ. cap. 14.*

Anſ. 1. We haue then the Ieſuites owne confeſſion, that the power of miracles is no certaine, but a coniecturall note of the Church: what marke or note then call you that, whereby a thing cannot certainly be diſcerned? 2. We ſay, that many times we cannot ſo much as coniecture of the Church by miracles, which may bee done without the Church, as the miracles which Antichriſt ſhall worke.

Heare alſo your owne authoritie, *Decr. par. 2. cauſ. 1. qu. 1. c. 56. Præter vnitatem, & qui facit miracula nihil eſt: in vnitate erat populus Iſrael & non faciebat miracula; præter vnitatem erant Magi Pharaonis, & faciebant ſimilia Moyſi*: He that worketh miracles without the vnitie of the Church, doth nothing: the Iſraelites were in the vnitie of the Church, and did no miracles; the Magicians of *Pharao* were out of the Church, and yet did like things to *Moſes*: *Ergo*, true miracles ſuch as *Moſes* wrought, may bee done without the Church, and ſo conſequently they prooue not the Church.

Secondly, concerning your miracles we anſwer, that they are either fables, and old wiues tales, and no credit to bee giuen vnto them; or elſe they are one of thoſe two ſorts, whereof *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh: *Remouentur iſta vel mendacia fallacium hominum, vel portenta mendacium ſpirituum*: Away with thoſe miracles, which are either couſoning trickes of deceitfull men, or wonders of lying ſpirits. De vnitat. Eccleſ. cap. 16.

Firſt, Monkiſh fables are not a whit daintie with our Romiſh Catholikes, their Legends are full of them: As that of *Bertinus*, how being in the middeſt of the ſea ſailing into France, hauing forgotten ſomewhat at home, went backe walking vpon the ſea, and came to them againe, hauing not one thread of his garment wet. Many like tales are reported of *Aldelmus* Abbot of Malmeſburie, as how he cauſed an infant at Rome of nine daies old to ſpeake, to cleere *Sergius* the Pope, who was thought to bee his father: how he drew along a great piece of timber, that went to the making of the Church at Malmesburie. Such good ſtuffe alſo they haue of *Iohn* of Beuerlie, of *Egwine* Abbot of Eueſham, who when he had locked his feete in fetters, and caſt the key into the ſea, afterward a fiſh brought the key againe into the ſhip where he was ſayling. Reade Maſter *Fox* pag. 125. All theſe and a thouſand more are but Monkiſh fables and dreames, whatſoeuer the Ieſuite maketh of them. And what elſe is that fabulous diſcourſe of theirs of the liues of the Saints, which they call, *Legenda aurea*, the golden Legend, but a dunghill of lyes? containing ſuch monſtrous fictions, and Monkiſh tales, as the better ſort amongſt them are aſhamed of. Hereof long agoe complained *Petrus Abbot Cluniacenſ. lib. 5. epiſt. 29.* about ſome foure hundred yeere ſince, *Noſti quantum me pigeant falſa in eccleſia dei Cantica &c.* You know how much theſe lying ſongs in the Church doe grieue me, &c. and he maketh mention of one ſonnet or hymne of *Benedict*, containing no leſſe then 24. lyes. *Lindanus* a popiſh writer maketh mention in his 3. booke, *cap. 3. de interpretandis Scripturis*, of an ancient complaint of one *Agobertus* Biſhop of Lions, who ſaid he had corrected the Antiphonarie, *amputatis, quæ ſuperflua, leuia falſa, blaſphema, phantaſtica multa videbantur*, cutting off many things that ſeemed ſuperfluous, light, falſe, blaſphemous, phantaſticall: which Biſhop (ſaith *Lindanus*) if he were now aliue to ſee our Miſſals and Antiphonaries, *Deum immortalem, quos ea pingeret nenias?* Good Lord (ſaith he) how would he call them? And

yet our Papiſts now a daies would make vs beleeue, that all in their Legend is as true as the Goſpell.

In fine libri ſecund. de corrupt. artib.

I will adde hereunto the teſtimonie of *Ludouicus Viues*, of their Legend: *Quam indigna diuis & hominibus ſanctorum hiſtoria, quam noſtis cui aureæ Legendæ appellent, cum ſcripta ſit ab homine ferrei oris, plumbei cordis*: How vnworthie both God and men is the ſtorie of the Saints, which I ſee no reaſon why it ſhould be called the golden Legend, being written by one that had an iron, that is, impudent face, and a leaden and lumpiſh heart. Let any reaſonable man now iudge, what wee may thinke of the miracles of their Saints.

Secondly, beſide that moſt of their miracles are forged: they all tend to an vngodly end, to eſtabliſh their groſſe ſuperſtitions; as to prooue the reall preſence, to terrifie men with Purgatorie fire, to bring in adoration of Saints, and the worſhipping of Images, with ſuch like, as one example I will alleage in ſtead of many. The ſecond Nicen Councell which decreed moſt irreligiouſly, that Images ſhould be worſhipped, bringeth in many moſt vnſauourie tales and fables, to ratifie this their impious deuice: as in the fourth action of that Synode, a narration is brought in, how a certaine Monke was tempted with a ſpirit of vncleannes, who appearing vnto him ſaid; If thou wilt be rid of me, doe not worſhip this Image, which was the picture of the Virgin. Is it not like now, may any man thinke, that the diuell will diſſuade men from Idolatrie? or if there bee any matter of truth in this tale, it may bee applied againſt them, that therefore the diuell was ſent to vexe this Monke, becauſe he was an Idoll worſhipper, and ſo ſoone as he began to forſake his Idolatrie, the vncleane ſpirit alſo did forſake him.

The like fiction in the ſame place is brought in of a certaine image of Chriſt, which being in a certaine Chriſtians houſe, was forgotten of him when he left the houſe, and a Iew ſucceeding in the habitation, hauing inuited other Iewes to dinner, one of them eſpied the Image in dinner while, which the other Iew affirmed he had not ſeene before: then they ranne vpon the Image all at once, and pierced it in the ſide, out of the which iſſued ſuch a ſtreame of blood, that they filled an hydria, that is, a great water-pot with it: and then they tooke counſell, to ſee whether there were any ſuch vertue in the blood, to ſprinkle ſicke folkes therewith, and many recouered thereby. The Metropolitane of the place hearing tell heroof, tooke the blood, and ſent of it in glaſſe veſſels into Aſia, Europe, Africa, requiring them by letters to keepe the firſt day before the Ides of Nouember with as great ſolemnitie yeerely, as they kept the Natiuitie, in remembrance of this miracle.

How many notable lyes are here couched together? Firſt, that the Chriſtian ſhould be ſo careleſſe to leaue ſuch a monument behind him, which he daily worſhipped. Secondly, that the Iew hauing it alwaies in his eye ſhould neuer ſee it, till it was ſpied by his gueſts. Thirdly, that blood ſhould come out of a piece of wood. Fourthly, that ſuch abundance to fill a water-pot of two or three firkins, ſuch as the Iewes vſed for their purification, as wee reade Ioh. 2. ſuch ſtore of blood, as is not thought to haue iſſued out of Chriſts ſide vpon the croſſe. Fiftly, that the Iewes nothing aſtoniſhed at the ſtraungenes thereof, ſhould ſeeke to worke miracles by it. Sixtly, that of this blood ſhould be ſent to all parts of the world: whereas Chriſt gaue no charge to his Apoſtles to gather his blood and ſaue it, that fell from him vpon the croſſe; but onely to drinke his blood ſpiritually in the Sacrament. Seuenthly, that an holy day ſhould bee erected vpon this occaſion, which the Church of Rome it ſelfe, the mother of ſuperſtition, obſerueth not, nor yet (I think) any Church beſide.

Is not here goodly ſtuffe, to proue the adoration of Images by? But leaſt any man ſhould think, that of my ſelfe I charge this Councell with forgerie, I will produce the teſtimonie of a late Pope *Adrian* the 6. who thus writeth in the beginning of the ſixt *Quodlibet: Graci certè in ſua illa Iconomachia ſcriptis admodum incertis & fabuloſis rerum vſerunt, dæmonum ſpectris, & muliebribus ſomnijs parum verecundè abutentes*: The Grecians fighting for Images, doe proue their matter by fabulous and vncertaine writings; abuſing the illuſions of diuels, and womens dreames without all ſhamefaſtnes, *vt legere eſt in ſynodo Nycena 2. act. 4. 5.* as is to bee ſeene (ſaith he) in the ſecond Nycene ſynode, the 4. and 5. action. Thus wee ſee, that both our aduerſaries doe abound with many forged and lying miracles, and the ſame brought in to eſtabliſh ſuperſtitious and damnable doctrines.

The like fabulous tales they haue of S. *Bernard*, who in one day, as *Bellarmine* is not aſhamed to report out of *Gotfridus*, did giue fight to an eleuen blind, did heale tenne maimed perſons, and 18. more that were lame, and all in one day: and (ſaith the Ieſuite) he wrought ſo many miracles beſide, as it is hard to number them, *Bellarm. cap. 14.* Thus if wee will beleeue the Ieſuite, *Bernard* wrought more miracles, then either Chriſt or his Apoſtles: but whether is it more reaſonable to credit *Bellarmine* for this matter, or *Bernard* himſelfe? for he ſaith plainly, that he could worke no miracles, as *Serm. de Benedict. Licet non habeamus noſtra, conſolatio nobis magna eſſe debent patroni noſtri miracula*: Although we haue no miracles of our owne, yet our patrones miracles (he meaneth *Benedict*)

medest) are our comfort. And againe, *Serm. 1. in die ascension. Qui nunc dæmonia eijcit, linguis loquitur, &c.* Who now a daies casteth out diuels, speaketh with tongues, &c. diuels are cast out, when sins are rooted out of the heart, &c. Is not this then hereticall forgerie, to faine so many miracles of a man, that denieth himselfe that he hath any such power?

Thirdly, it is out of doubt, that some of them were well practised with the diuell, and through his helpe could doe much. We will begin with *Dunstane*, who caused a Roode to speake, which was more strange, then that of *Balaams* asse: for the asse had life, though she had no reason; but this image had neither: *Polydor Virgill* thinketh little better of *Dunstane* for this deed doing, but that he was a sorcerer. *Fox* pag. 158.

It is famous in histories, how *Siluester* the second was aduaunced to the Papacie by the Diuell, and gaue himselfe vnto him; and how, hauing some remorse before his death, he confessed the fact before the people, and willed that his bodie should be drawne of wilde horse when he was dead, and there be buried where the horse left it of their owne accord. How much such diabolicall practises are fauoured by the See of Rome, may appeare by this one example, which we will now touch: In Pope *Adrians* daies, not many yeares agoe, there was a most abominable thing practised in Rome, euen vnder the Popes nose, and by his permission and sufferance. The city of Rome being at that time grieuously scourged and punished of God with the pestilence, there was one *Demetrius* a Grecian, who with the good liking of the whole citie, to appease the wrath of their gods, tooke a wilde Bull, whom with magicall inchauntments he made so tame, that he led him with a twine thred, and so sacrificed him: And this being done, the sicknes somewhat slaked. Call ye this the Church of God, that suffereth such heathenish and abominable superstitions to be done in it? Or shall I take these men for Christians, that doe allow the idolatrous and diuellish sacrifices of the heathen?

Ex Iohan. Stella. Platin. Iohan. Balæo.

Ex Paul Iouio tom. 2. lib. 21.

Fourthly, let vs see what pretie fine iugling casts haue been wrought by the Papists to deceiue the people. In King *Henries* daies, there was a monstrous Idoll called the Rood of grace, which was made so with wiers and engines, that one standing within could make euery part of the Idoll to moue, the hands, the eyes, the mouth: if a man brought but a small peece of siluer, it would hang downe the lip; if it were a good peece, then should his iawes goe merilie: This abominable Idoll by the Lord *Cromwels* meanes was broken downe, and the engines and parts thereof shewed at Paules Crosse. Such a like thing was the blood of *Hales*, which they made the people beleeue was some of Christs blood, but in the end it was found to be but the blood of a Drake, and shewed likewise at Paules Crosse, *Fox* pag. 1188. At Caleis in the Sepulchre, it was said, there were three hoasts besprinkled with blood (as it was put in writing vnder Bull and Pardon:) but the place being searched at King *Henries* commaundement, they found three white counters soldred in the stone with the top-bone of a sheepes taile, pag. 1223. A thousand such forged deuises the Papists had, which they are not ashamed to maintaine for strange and holy miracles. By this that hath been shewed, it is euident (I hope) to the indifferent reader, what small cause our aduersaries haue, to boast of their miracles.

3 Now to adde somewhat concerning the miracles of our Church. First, wee truely say, that our doctrine is not new nor strange, and therefore they are not to call for miracles at our hands. The miracles of Christ and his Apostles, are also our miracles, seeing that wee professe the same doctrine, which was confirmed by those miracles. And as *Iohn Baptist* comming before Christ, and teaching the people to beleeue in him that was to come, wrought no miracle, seeing that Christ was to confirme that doctrine, which *Iohn* taught concerning the Messia, with miracles: so wee comming after Christ, and professing the same faith which hee taught, haue lesse neede of miracles, seeing that the doctrine, which wee holde, hath alreadie been auouched by the miracles of Christ and his Apostles. *Bellarmines* best answere is here, that *Iohn* taught nothing against the common and receiued doctrine, neither separated himselfe from the Priests.

Answ. Both these are vntrue: for first, *Iohn* preached remission of sinnes by Christ, and ministred Baptisme, both which were strange vnto the Iewish Church; and againe he liued apart in the wildernes: the Scribes and Pharisees came to him, he went not to them: and he calleth them a generation of vipers; how then did *Iohn* communicate with them.

This notwithstanding, we affirme still, that miracles are not now needfull: will you heare what *Chrisostome* saith: *Iam cum nullus sit infidelis, nulla faciendorum miraculorum nunc est necessitas, igitur, qui signum vel inutile, vel non suo tempore facit, falsus propheta est, &c.* Now seeing there are no Infidels, there is no necessitie of making miracles: and therefore he, which goeth about now to worke a miracle vnprofitable, and out of time, is a false Prophet. By this sentence all Papists are false Prophets, that do so much vrge miracles. But I will further presse them with their own authoritie. *Nycen. synod. 2. act. 4. Tharasius* the president thus said, Wherefore doe not our images now a dayes worke miracles? I answere with the Apostle: *Miracula non credentibus data sunt, &c.* Miracles

Hom. 19. oper. imperfect.

racles are not giuen to thoſe, that beleeue, but to thoſe, which beleeue not. Hearken then you Romaniſts, you are conuinced of vnbeleefe if you ſeeke for miracles. Secondly, yet, the Lord be thanked, we are not deſtitute of miracles, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Modò euocati non aperit oculos miraculo domini, ut cor cæcum aperit oculos ſermone domini*: Now, ſaith he, the blind doth not receiue his bodily ſight by the power of Chriſt, but the blind heart is lightened and illuminate through the Goſpell of Chriſt. Such miracles (the Lord be bleſſed) we can ſhew: ſinners are conuerted, afflicted conſciences are comforted; the ignorant are inſtructed; many are called by the preaching of the Goſpell.

Beſide theſe, which are daily conuerted among vs by the preaching of the Goſpell, the examples of theſe in this place would be remembred, that being enemies to the Goſpell, yet by the mightie working of Gods ſpirit, were miraculouſlie conuerted from Poperie, euen in time of perſecution, and gaue their liues for the teſtimonie of the truth.

George Tankerfield, hauing been a Papiſt all King *Edwards* daies, in Queene *Maries* time, ſeeing the great cruelty practiſed againſt Gods Saints, began to miſlike both the Papiſts opinions and doings, and grew into ſuch a liking of the Goſpell, that he gaue his life for the ſame. See his ſtorie, *Fox* pag. 1690. Maſter *Greene* Martyr, firſt an obſtinate Papiſt, was drawne to a loue and liking of the Goſpell by frequenting *Peter Martyrs* Lectors, and died for the ſame afterwards, *Fox* pag. 1851.

Among the reſt, the example of *Iulius Palmer* is moſt notable, and worthy eternall memorie: who all King *Edwards* daies continued an obſtinate Papiſt, refuſing either to reſort to common Prayer, or to Sermons but by compulſion, and was for Poperie expelled Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, where he was fellow: in Queene *Maries* dayes he was reſtored to his fellowſhip by the viſitors, all this while remaining a very Papiſt: Then by the conſtancie of the Martyrs and bleſſed ſeruants of God in Oxford and elſewhere dying for the truth, he began to ſettle his heart towards the truth, and by diligent reading of Scripture, and faithfull prayer being therein confirmed, he became not onely a confeſſor, but a conſtant witneſſe and Martyr of the Goſpell: See his ſtorie, *Fox* pag. 1934.

The like examples we haue of Miſtreſſe *Lewis*, which of a Papiſt in Queene *Maries* dayes became a Proteſtant: pag. 2012. and the like of *Roger Holland*: pag. 2039. both of them holy Martyrs. What greater myracles can we deſire for confirmation of the Goſpell then theſe, ſhewed in their miraculous conuerſions?

Yet if this will not content our aduerſaries, but they will ſtill crie with open mouth, and ſay, where are your miracles? Behold, to ſtop their wide and clamorous mouth, we will ſhew them alſo ſuch miracles, as they looke for, like to which they haue none. Was not that a miracle, which *Oecolampadius* reporteth to haue been done at the Martyrdome of Maſter *Hugh Spengler*: who being caſt into the water and ſo drowned, preſently all the water was coloured with blood, hee hauing receiued no wound nor hurt in his bodie before: at the which all the people were greatly amazed? Anno 1525.

But what thinke you of that ſtrange ſigne which *George Scherrer* ſhewed at his death, who being beheaded, the body lay a pretie ſpace vpon the bellie till one might haue eaten an egge, and then turned it ſelfe vpon the backe, and croſſed the right hand ouer the left, and the right leg ouer the left: the Magiſtrates ſeeing it, hauing condemned his bodie to be burned before, being moued at the ſight hereof, cauſed it to be buried, *Fox ex Matth. Illyrico.*

It is worth the remembring, that is reported in the French ſtories of *Petrus Borgerius* a bleſſed Martyr: who was caſt into a filthie dungeon, where a theefe had lien the ſpace of eight moneths, being almoſt eaten vp with lice, and in ſuch miſerie, that he curſed his parents that bare him. This man through the teaching and the prayers of the Martyr, felt ſuch comfort in the Goſpell, that he became very patient in his affliction: and after his conuerſion this ſtrange thing was wrought vpon him; that whereas before hee was ſo full of lice, that hee might haue plucked out twelue at once betweene two of his fingers, the next day hee had not one, *Fox ex Ioban. Criſpin*, pag. 607.

Many ſuch other miraculous workes ſhewed in the life and death of the holy Martyrs, we are able to rehearſe: as that of *Zuinglius*, whoſe heart was found whole and vnburned three daies after his bodie was conſumed with fire, *ex Oſwald. Miconio*: the like whereof is conſtantly reported of bleſſed *Cranmer*, that his heart was found vnconſumed in the aſhes, his bodie being burned.

Stephen Brune Martyr at Rutiers in France 1540. could not be conſumed with the fire that was twiſe made about him, with veſſels of oyle powred vpon the faggots, ſo that the hangman in the end was faine to thruſt him thorough with his pike: *ex Ioban. Criſpin.*

Stephen Mangin Martyr burned at Meaux *anno* 1546. hauing his tongue firſt cut out, yet ſo ſpake, that he might be vnderſtood, ſaying, The Lords name be bleſſed, *Ioban. Criſpin lib. 6.*

The like alſo is recorded of two other Martyrs, at Sanſerre, *Iohannes Filleul*, and *Iulianus Lemble*, who

who spake, their tongues being first taken from them, *Fox* pag. 911. *ex Iohan. Crispin.* so did also *Peter Rousseau* Martyr at Bloys, *anno* 1556. *ex Iohan. Crispin.* One *Faninus* an Italian Martyr was burned at Ferrara, *anno* 1550. for the truths sake, whose bodie in the burning gaue an odoriferous fragrant smell of incomparable sweetnesse to all there present, *ex Henric. Pantal. lib. 7.*

But we need not search forraine stories for such miraculous workes: God hath shewed his great power, and set forth his glorie, euen in our English Martyrs: it is credibly testified, that where *Wickliffes* bones were brent sprang vp a well, *Fox* pag. 1044.

Iames Bainham in the middest of the flaming fire, his armes and legges being halfe consumed, spake these words: *O ye Papists, beholde you looke for miracles, and here now you may see a miracle: for in this fire I feele no more paine, then if I were in a bed of downe, but it is to me as sweet as a bed of Roses.* *Fox* p. 1030. What greater miracle can be looked for, then that the cruell rage of the fire should be so strangely slaked and mitigated, that it should become not onely not grieuous, but pleasant to the sufferers? The like mitigation of paine, that constant Martyr M. *Hawkes* gaue a comfortable and chearefull signification of, by thrise clapping of his hands ouer his head burning of a light fire, when euery man thought he had been dead, *Fox* pag. 1592. Many such examples might here be brought in: as of *Robert Samuel* Martyr, whose body is said to haue shined bright like tried siluer in the middest of the fire. pag. 1704. Likewise after the burning of *Iohn Noyes* Martyr, there was found in the ashes one of his feete vnburned, whole with the hose on, vp to the anckle, *Fox* pag. 2022.

Who seeth not now, that if miracles were to be stood vpon, and that thereby we would make proofe of our Church, that herein we might haue great aduantage against our aduersaries? But their common answere is, that all these are fables, which we report of our Martyrs. And why I pray you, doo these things seeme incredible? May not God as well shew his power in these holy Martyrs, as he did in the auncient witnesses of truth, that were persecuted and put to death vnder the heathen Emperors? for Gods armes are not shortened, he is able to doo as great workes now, as he did then: And these his seruants died for the same truth, for the which the ancient Martyrs gaue their liues: Why should it be more vnlikelie, that some of the Martyrs of our Church haue stood at the stake vntouched of the fire, as we haue heard before of *Stephen Brune*, then that *Policarpus* continued in the fire without burning, the fire hauing no power of his bodie, but was in the end thrust through, as *Stephen Brune* also was serued, or that *Cecilia* remained a day and a night in a hot bath without hurt, as if she had been in a cold place?

Why might not the Lord giue vnto *Stephen Maugin* Martyr, and others power to speake, their tongues being cut out, as he did to *Romanus*, who being depriued of his tongue spake these words: *He that speaketh Christ shall neuer want a tongue?* *Fox* pag. 90.

Polycarpus before mentioned, his bodie in the middest of the fire glistered like siluer or golde, pag. 43. Why may we not credit the like report of *Robert Samuel?* There came a most pleasant smell from *Polycarpus* bodie, as it had been of mirrhe, or some pretious balme: may not this as well be true of *Faninus*, whose example we saw before? *Polycarpus* being thrust through with a sword, for he could not burne, there gushed out such aboundance of blood, as that the fire was quenched therewith. May we not as well beleeue, that which is reported of Bishop *Latimer*, whose prayer vnto God was, that he might giue his heart blood for his truth, and so it came to passe, that in the fire, his sides being opened by the violence thereof, the blood issued out abundantly, which was strange to behold. *Fox* p. 1740. But I will be sparing in these reports: for we haue better arguments to proue our Church by, as shall afterward appeare.

Yet, before I leaue this place, because the Iesuite hath such a spite at *Luther*, (hee is a great eye-sore to him) we will in a worde or two declare what strange things were wrought by *Luther*. It is credibly reported of him, that a certaine young man had bound himselfe by obligation to the Diuell, sealed with his blood to giue him his soule, so he might haue his wish and desire satisfied with money: In short time he grew to great wealth: the matter being disclosed with much adoo to *Luther*, he calleth the congregation together, and ioyneth in prayer for this young man: and as they prayed, the obligation was cast in at the window. This credible report of *Luthers* act, may counteruaile the lying tale of rayling *Staphylus*, whom the Iesuite so much crediteth, how that *Luther* attempted to cast a diuell out of a woman, and was in danger to be slaine of the diuell himselfe, *Bellarm. cap.* 16. But why should it seeme strange, that by the prayers of the congregation the diuell should depart? For by two waies are vncleane spirits cast out, one is by the extraordinarie gift and faith of miracles, which though it continued some ages after the Apostles, till the Gospell was vniuersally planted, yet we holde it generally to be ceased now: the other way is ordinarie by fasting and prayer, which our Sauiour prescribeth, Matth. 17. 21. Whereby we doubt not, but euen in these dayes, when it pleaseth God, Sathan is chased from the possession of Christs members. And in this kind *Luther* was singular, who vsed to pray so feruently, that the teares were seene to fall from his eyes in his prayer: And these are the weapons, whereby we fight against Sathan, the word of God and prayer, which are more forcible, then your superstitious crossings,

A notable and strange miracle, credibly reported of Luther. Fox. pag. 864.

conjurations, exorcizings, yea then your holy water, or holy water sprinckle. The experience hereof *Origene* sheweth, that as he was preaching of those words, 1. Sam. 2. of *Anna*, *My heart reioyced in the Lord*, one being present hauing an vncleane spirite cried out: vpon which occasion *Origene* further said thus, *Contrarius spiritus exultationem nostram in domino ferre non potuit:* The aduersarie spirit cannot abide our reioycing in the Lord, &c. These meanes then of the Word and prayer seeing *Luther* had, we may more easilie be perswaded of the truth of the storie.

Hom. in 2. cap. 1. lib. Sam.

And as he was earnest in prayer, so his prayers wanted not effect; for as he himselfe confessed, he had obtained of God, that so long as he liued, the Pope should not preuaile in his countrey. And is not this also a thing to be wondred at, that for all the Pope and Emperour ioyned together, and bent their forces against this sillie poore man; yet the Lord defended him from the Lions teeth, and graunted him to end his daies in peace?

Thus it is apparant and manifest, that the Lord sheweth his miraculous power many times in his Saints, to astonish the wicked: the great miracles which haue been declared in their holy martyrdomes, would fill a large volume. But these arguments we doe not chiefly stand vpon: yet thus much was not amisse by the way to be put in, to requite our aduersaries withall, who doe so greatly magnifie and extoll their Antichristian Church, for their lying and fained miracles.

The sixt Note, of the gift of Prophesying.

23. Error.

THis also our aduersaries holde to be a perpetuall marke, whereby to knowe the Church: for they say that the true Church of God wanteth not those which are endewed with the spirit of prophesie: And so they beare vs in hand, that in euery age there hath flourished some Prophet in their Church: the first, that the Church shall alwaies haue Prophets, they would proue out of Ioel 2. I will power of my spirit vpon all flesh. The second, that they haue had such prophets, they doe infer vpon a few forged examples, of Saint *Bernard*, and Saint *Francis*, a popish saint, and the founder of the superstitious order of the *Franciscans*, and of such others: *Bellarmine cap. 15.*

To the first we answere. 1. The prophesie of *Ioel* was accomplished in the apostles time, Act. 2. as Saint *Peter* expoundeth it, and therefore we neede not looke further for the fulfilling of it. 2. The Church of the Iewes wanted Prophets for the space of foure hundred yeares and more before the comming of Christ: for we reade of no Prophet after *Malachy*: and the Church complaineth of this want, Psalm. 74. vers. 9. that they had Prophets no more: wherefore, the Church of God after the comming of Christ, may better spare this extraordinarie function of prophesying, seeing both Christ is alreadie come, who was the very subiect and matter of all the auncient prophesies; and we haue also most euident prophesies of the Apostles, Rom. 11. concerning the calling of the Iewes, 2. Thes. 2. of Antichrist in the Apocalypse, of the generall estate and condition of the Church to the end of the world: Some of which are alreadie accomplished, some to be fulfilled in their season: In these prophesies, we must rest and content our selues, not looking for new reuelations. 3. There haue been Prophets amongst the heathen, out of the Church of God: they also can bring foorth diuers old prophesies; so that if the issue lay in this point, they might as well contend to be the Church of God. *Astyages* dreamed that he saw a vine growing out of his daughter, that couered all *Asia*: which came to passe in *Cyrus*. *Augustine* reporteth a prophesie of *Hermes Trismegistus*, how that all the images and Idols of the heathen should be broken downe through all *Ægypt*. The *Indians* were foretold of the *Spaniards* comming many a yeare before their arriuall in those places: Their *Zemes*, that is, their deuils, which they worshipped as Gods, told them, that there should come a people with long beardes, fierce and cruell, that at one stroke should strike men off by the middle: And all these things fell out afterwards to that nation accordingly.

Iustin. lib. 1. De ciuit. Dei lib. 8. cap. 26.

Benzo lib. 1. cap. 8.

But they will answere, that these were not true prophesies inspired of God, but vncertaine predictions of the diuell. What will they say then to *Balaam*, that prophesied of Christ? There shall come a starre of *Iacob* (saith he) Num. 24. 17. and in the same place, he saith, he heard the words of God.

The prophesies also of *Sibill* are wonderfull, which many yeares before the comming of Christ, prophesied of his incarnation, and of his passion, with the circumstances thereof, as how he should be crowned with thornes, that they should giue him vineger to drinke, how the vaile of the temple should be rent, and darknes should couer the earth for three houres: and he himselfe should rise the third day: yea she setteth downe the very name of the Messiah, *Iesus Christ*. These prophesies came not of the diuell, for these mysteries, without all doubt, were not knowne to the euill spirits: for they were not fully reuealed to the Angels themselues before the comming of Christ, Ephes. 3. 10. Wherefore we conclude thus, that as the gift of prophesying is no sure signe that they are members of the Church and elected of God, which are endued with it; as Christ saith, Mat. 7. 22.

Aug. cont. Iudæos cap. 16. Tom. 6.

that

that many which had propheſied in his name, in the day of iudgement ſhould be refuſed; and *Balaam* is ſet forth as an example of a falſe prophet and wicked man; *Ep. Iude* 11: So neither is this gift an infallible marke of the Church of God, whereſoeuer it is found. Your owne canons auouch the ſame, *decr. part. 2. cauſ. 1. qu. 1. cap. 79. Prophetauit & Saul malus rex, & tunc prophetauit, cum Dauid ſanctum perſequeretur: Saul* alſo propheſied an euill King, and at that time, when he perſecuted *Dauid*. The gift then of propheſying, as it ſheweth not him to be a member of the Church, that hath it; ſo neither that to be the Church, where it is found.

To the Second part, concerning this miraculous gift which our aduerſaries pretend to haue: we anſwer. 1. They are but fables which they bring: for if all that is reported of S. *Bernard* in his life, of his miracles, and propheſies, were true, neither S. *Paul* nor any of the Apoſtles were to be compared vnto him for number of miracles: ſuch caſting out of diuels out of men, women and children, healing of ſtrange diſeaſes, foretelling of things to come: the Goſpell almoſt hath not ſtranger things of our Sauiour Chriſt. And S. *Hierome*, who was long before *Bernards* time, ſheweth that propheſie was then ceaſed: *Prophetia domini paſſione finita eſt*: All propheſie is ſealed vp in the paſſion of Chriſt, *Tom. 3. ad Marcellam.*

As for S. *Francis*, you may geſſe by this, what ſpirit he was of, that preſcribing to his followers, a certaine ſtrict order of liuing, as to weare no girdle, to goe barefoot, and ſuch like, he called it *regulam euangelicam*, the rule of the Goſpel: behike making himſelfe an other Chriſt, and ſo bringing in another Goſpell: for to all Chriſts diſciples Chriſts Goſpell is ſufficient. 2. But if they haue any propheſies of credit, which they can ſhew, they are ſuch, as are reported of Pope *Siluester* the ſecond, who had warrant from the diuell, that he ſhould not die before he ſung Maſſe in *Ieruſalem*: and ſo it came to paſſe, for hauing ſung Maſſe in a chappell ſo called, he immediatly died. Not much vnlike to this was that of King *Henry* the fourth, who ended his life in a chamber at Weſtminſter called *Ieruſalem*, as he had an old propheſie. *Edward* the fourth alſo was told, that his ſucceſſors name ſhould begin with G. which was the cauſe of *Georges* the Duke of *Clarence* death, Fox pag. 717. his owne brother: but the diuelliſh propheſie notwithſtanding tooke place, for *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* was King after him. In like manner *Valence* the Emperour had a blind propheſie, that one ſhould raigne after him, whoſe name began with *Theod.* which made *Theodoricus* to rebell againſt him: but ſo it came to paſſe in deed, that *Theodoſius* was Emperour after him. Such blinde propheſies we denie not but the popiſh Church hath had many, which as you ſee, doe cauſe murder, ſedition, and bloudſhed: but other good propheſies comming of God, we know them not to haue any.

3 We denie not, but that there haue liued ſome amongſt them in their Church, which in thoſe dayes were counted prophets and prophetiſſes, as *Hildegardis*, anno 1146. likewiſe *Briget*, *Cuſpatine Seuenſis*, whom *Bellarmine* reckoneth vp amongſt others that wrought miracles. chap. 14. But concerning theſe we will anſwere, as the Ieſuite doth for *Sibilla* a prophetiſſe amongſt the heathen: that ſhe propheſied as touching ſuch matters as ſhould fall out to the Church, for a teſtimony of the faith of the Chriſtians: and ſo to be counted herein a prophetiſſe of the Church rather than of the heathen. chap. 15. So we ſay, that if thoſe three aboue named were Prophetiſſes, they were of our Church, and not theirs: for they propheſied of the decay of their Church and raiſing vp of ours. *Hildegardis* firſt propheſied of the beginning of Friers, and of their deſtruction, ſaying, that in the end, when their giftes and rewards ceaſed, they ſhould goe about their houſes Fox pag. 160. like hungrie and madde dogges, drawing in their necks like doues. *Bridget* propheſied of the Church of Rome, that it ſhould be as a bodie condemned of a iudge, to haue the skin ſtaine off, and the fleſh to be cut in peeces: *Catharine de Senis* ſpeaketh of a reformation of the Church, and ſuch a renouation of Paſtors, that the onely remembrance thereof ſaith ſhe, maketh my ſpirit to reioyce in the Lord. All theſe things we ſee now accompliſhed: the ſects of Friers in many places Fox pag. 842. put downe: the Popiſh iuriſdiction caſt out, a notable reformation to be wrought in the Church: our aduerſaries (I thinke) haue not to reioyſe in theſe propheſies; neither haue any great cauſe to challenge them for their Prophets. But I will helpe them a little, and bring to their remembrance a notable Prophetiſſe of theirs in King *Henry* the eights dayes, which was one *Elizabeth barton* a Nun, commonly called the holy maide of Kent, who being inſtructed by the Friers, fayned, as though ſhe had many reuelations: ſhe propheſied, that if the King proceeded in his diuorce, then in queſtion betweene him and Queene *Katharine*, that he ſhould not be King one yeare, no not one moneth: But (God be thanked) he liued almoſt twentie yeares after that, by whom many worthie things were wrought for the good of Chriſts Church. This prophetiſſe was afterward iuſtly met withall, and worthily ſuffered for her demerits, with all her accompliſes: amongſt the which, *Fiſher B.* of Rocheſter was one, who thereupon was impriſoned, and forfayted his goods to the King. If they wil brag of their Prophets, let not the holy maide of Kent be forgot- Fox pag. 155. ten in any wiſe.

4 Now laſtly becauſe they ſhall not outface vs with a vaine brag of prophets: I will ſhew

what propheſies the Goſpell hath been adorned withall. Was not *Iohn Huſſe* a Prophet, who thus ſaid at his death: *centum reuolutis annis deo reſpondebitis*: after an hundred yeres you ſhall giue account of this your doing vnto God? Likewiſe *Hierom* of *Prage*, *poſt centum annos vos omnes cito*: I cite you all to make anſwere after an hundred yeares. Which propheſie of theirs tooke effect accordingly: for both theſe holy men ſuffred martyrdome about anno 1416. and iuſt an hundred yeares after, anno 1516. the Lord raiſed vp *Luther*, who indeed called the Pope and his doctrine to account.

Was not *Sauonarola* a Prophet, that ſaid one ſhould paſſe ouer the *Alpes* like *Cyrus*, who ſhould deſtroy all Italie? and is it not ſo come to paſſe? for neither *Cyrus*, nor whoſoeuer elſe could haue more laide waſt the popiſh Italian Church then the word of God hath done, and the liuely preaching of the Goſpel? *Walter Brute* propheſied that the temporalities ſhould be taken from the clergie for the multitude of their ſinnes: this *Walter* liued in King *Richards* dayes the ſecond. *Bilney* that conſtant Martyr and faithfull ſeruant of God propheſied, that many Preachers ſhould come after him, which ſhould preach the ſame faith that he had taught, and ſhould conuert many from their errors. Fox pag. 500.

We will come vnto neerer times: Did not Maſter *Hooper* prophecie, when taking his leaue of M. *Bullinger* at Zuricke, he ſaid thus vnto him, You ſhall be ſure (ſaith he) to heare from me, from time to time out of England: but the laſt newes of all I ſhall not be able to write, for there where I ſhall take moſt paines, you ſhall heare of me burned to aſhes? And ſo it came to paſſe, for he was burned at Gloceſter, where he was Biſhop, *Fox* pag. 1503.

Maſter *Latimer* would alwaies ſay, that the preaching of the Goſpell would coſt him his life, and he was perſwaded, he ſaid, that *Wincheſter* was kept in the tower for the ſame purpoſe. p. 1740.

Maſter *Rogers* propheſied in Queene *Maries* daies, that the Goſpell ſhould bee reſtored, and that the diſperſed Engliſh flocke ſhould bee brought againe to their former eſtate, pag. 1492. A certaine woman alſo in Exceter that died for the truth, ſpake to the like effect: who entring as it happened into S. *Peters* Church, where ſhe found a cunning Dutchman, making of new noſes to certaine Images, which had been diſfigured in King *Edwards* daies, ſaid vnto him, What a mad man art thou to make them new noſes, which within a few daies ſhall all loſe their heads: as it came indeede to paſſe, pag. 2051.

Roger Holland ſtanding in examination before bloodie *Boner*, thus boldly ſaid vnto him: This I dare be bold in God to ſpeake, which by his ſpirit I am moued to ſay, that God wil ſhorten your hand of crueltie, for after this day in this place, ſhall there not any by him (meaning *Boner*) bee put to death, pag. 2042. And after this day indeede, there was none put to death in Smithfield.

What ſhall I ſpeake of Maſter *Bradford*, who writeth thus in his epiſtle to Cambridge: You know I propheſied truly to you, before the Sweat came, what would come, if you repented not your carnall Goſpelling. I might here alſo inferre the propheticall praiers of the Martyrs: as how Maſter *Latimer* praied that the Goſpell might once againe be reſtored to England, and earneſtly ſued in his praiers for the preſeruation of Ladie *Elizabeth*, now our moſt gratious Queene: the which his praiers, the Lord, whoſe name eternally be bleſſed for it, in mercie to this land graciouſly granted. The like praier Maſter *Philpot* made at the ſtake for the reſtoring of the Goſpell, pag. 1831. col. 1. And, to make ſhort, the fiue laſt Martyrs burned at Canturburie, deſired God in their praiers before their martyrdome, that their blood might be the laſt that ſhould be ſhed: and ſo it was, *Fox* pag. 2053.

I alleage not theſe examples, vnto the which I could adde many beſides, to this end, as though I thought that thoſe propheticall gifts are ordinarie in the Church, or that thoſe holy Martyrs had the calling of Prophets (though it cannot bee denied, but that at ſome times, and in ſome caſes they had the ſpirit of prophecie;) or that hereby we meane to proue our Church: but to anſwere a little vnto our aduerſaries vaine, and vntrue bragges, that it may appeare to all men, with how much better right, wee might chalenge this propheticall gift in the behalfe and name of our Church.

Hitherto wee haue touched ſixe onely of the principall notes of the popiſh Church: the reſt which the Ieſuite addeth to make vp the number of fifteene, are ſuch vagrant and vncertaine notes, that I wonder, the Ieſuite for ſhame, would ſtuffe his booke with them: I will therefore only name them.

Another note therefore of *Bellarmines* Church beſide thoſe ſet downe, is *duratio diuturna, nec vnquam interrupta*, is the the long and laſting continuance of their Church without any interruption: their Church, they ſay, hath endured 1570. yeeres and more alreadie, and is like to continue to the worlds end: but our Church is newly begun, and ſhall ſoone come to an end, *Bellarm. lib. 4. cap. 6.*

Anſw. 1. Duration or continuance is no good argument of the Church: the heathen Idola-

ters

ters could and did ſay as much for their idolatrie: As *Aſclepiades* obiected to *Romulus* (holy Martyr) Thy crucified Chriſt, ſaith he, is but a yeſterdaies God, the Gods of the Gentiles are of great antiquitie. 2. It is not true that their Church hath endured ſo long, they muſt ſtrike off almoſt 600. yeeres from their account; and yet moſt of their errors are nothing ſo old: yet if they could make vp the full number they ſpeake of, they haue not much to bragge of: The kingdome of the Sycionians, as *Auguſtine* witneſſeth, endured 930. yeeres, the Monarchie of the Aſſyrians 1300. yeeres and more; yet were they not for all this the Church of God. 3. The deſcent and pedegree of their Church hath not all this while, they ſay, been interrupted. To this we haue anſwered before, in the third note of ſucceſſion: Our Sauiour Chriſt and his Apoſtles could not ſhew a perpetuall deſcent of their Church not interrupted, yet were they the true Church. 4. Their Church ſhall endure to the end of the world: ſo ſhall Sathans kingdome waxe ſtronger towards the end: There ſhall be a generall decay of faith and charitie, Matth. 24. 12. yea and there ſhall be ſome remnant of Antichriſts kingdome euen at the comming of Chriſt: but to what end Saint *Paul* ſheweth, to bee aboliſhed with the brightnes of his comming, 2. Theſſ. 2. 8. 5. Neither is our Church, as they falſely charge vs, newly ſtart vp: but of our Church were the Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, as wee haue ſhewed: the Church of God may ſometime lie hidden in the world, and ſo hath ours. But they goe further, Our Church, they ſay, ſhall not long continue: So the heathen faced downe the Chriſtians, that their religion ſhould laſt but 365. yeeres: but it proued cleane contrarie; for the Chriſtian faith increaſed ſtill, and Paganiſme within that compaſſe was baniſhed. As for our Church we know it ſhal continue to the worlds end, though with much trouble and perſecution, and euer after ſhall be with Chriſt.

Fox. 89.

Lib. 18. de ciuitat. dei c. 16.

Auguſt. de ciuitat. dei lib. 18. cap. 52.

Another note, which *Bellarmine* maketh the ſixt in number, is, *Conſpiratio in doctrina cum Eccleſia antiqua*: Their conſpiring in doctrine with the ancient Church, *cap.* 9. where he taketh paines to caſt vpon vs twentie ſeuerall hereſies.

Anſw. 1. For the full anſwere of this ſlaunder, I doe referre the reader to the ſecond pillar of Papiſtrie, part. 3. where it is euidently prooued, that the Papiſts (and not the Proteſtants) doe retiiue the old hereſies.

2 It may appeare, by the perpetuall allegation of *Auguſtine* and the decrees of Councels generall and prouinciall, yea and of their owne Canons, throughout this treatiſe in defence of our cauſe, that our doctrine agreeth with antiquitie, and not Papiſtrie.

Notwithſtanding as touching the Ieſuites chalenge of hereſie, where he laieth to our charge twentie ſeuerall hereſies, I haue eaſily remoued them, and requited him with fortie ſeuerall hereſies, all proued to bee in their Church: for the particular anſwere, to that place I referre the reader.

See the 2. pillar of Papiſtrie, part. 3.

But now in generall it ſhall appeare by ſuch deſcriptions of heretikes, as heretofore haue been made, and by them cannot be refuſed, that not we, but they are the heretikes of theſe daies.

And firſt, if they will be tried by the definition of an heretike in the Ciuill law, wee will not refuſe: as *Cod. lib. 1 tit. 4. leg. 1. Gratian* and *Valentinian* thus define an heretike: *Qui patris, filij, & ſpiritus ſancti deitatem ſub pari maieſtate non credunt, hæreticorum infamiam ſuſtinere, &c.* They which doe not beleeue the deitie of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt to bee of equall maieſtie, ſhall ſuſtaine the infamie of heretikes. But we doe ſo beleeue: *Ergo*, are no heretikes. The popiſh Church is rather to be ſuſpected herein, that affirme, that Chriſt is not *ἀυτόθεον*, *God of himſelfe*: now if the Father be God of himſelfe, and the Sonne haue a beginning of his Godhead; then muſt there bee an inequalitie in the Godhead. See more of this afterward, *Contron.* 20. *part.* 2. *queſt.* 1. 1

Likewiſe, *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 8. *leg.* 2. *Gratian. Valentinian. Hæreticus indicatur qui à minimo fidei deuiat articulo*: He is iudged an heretike, that departeth from the leaſt article of the faith. But it is an article of the faith to beleeue, that Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God, and ſhall not come from thence till the day of iudgement: which the Papiſts muſt needes denie, affirming Chriſts bodie to be really and corporally in the Sacrament: and ſo they muſt either make Chriſt to haue two bodies, one in heauen, another in earth; or elſe they muſt hold, that his bodie may bee in two places at once, contrarie to the nature of a bodie. 2

We will not refuſe the triall of an heretike by your owne Canons: *Decret. par.* 2. *cauſ.* 24. *queſt.* 3. *cap.* 28. *Hæreticus eſt, qui alicuius temporalis commodi, & maximè gloriæ, principatuſque ſui gratia falſas ac nouas opiniones gignit*: He is an heretike, that for ſome temporall commoditie, eſpecially for glorie and principalitie ſake, doth deuiſe and follow new and ſtrange opinions. But the Papiſts doe ſeeke the glorie and principalitie of the Papall See, and the commoditie thereof, and thereto hold new opinions, as that it is of neceſſitie to ſaluation to beleeue the Pope to be head of the Church; that the Pope is aboue Councels, and ſuch like: *Ergo*, they are heretikes. And to ſpeake the truth, moſt of the popiſh opinions are ſuch as either tend to aduance the pride of the Biſhop of Rome, as the doctrine of his primacie ouer other Churches, his ſuperioritie ouer Kings, Princes, and ſuch like; or elſe to make their owne purſes fat, as their opinions of their reall preſence, Maſſes propi- 3

tiatorie

ciatorie for the quicke and the dead, purgatorie, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other. And it was well said (though merily) of *Erasmus* to the Duke of Saxonie, who asked his iudgement of *Luther*; that he medled with two dangerous matters, that would not be touched, the Popes Crown, and the Monkes bellie.

4 Further also it followeth thus in your Canons as touching an heretike: *Decret. par. 2. cauſ. 24. quæſt. 3. c. 30. Quæ non ad Propheticas voces, non ad Apoſtolicas literas, non ad Euangelicam authoritatem, ſed ad ſeipſos recurrunt, magiſtri erroris exiſtunt, &c.* They which haue not recourſe to the Prophets, Apoſtles writings, and the Goſpels, are become the maſters of errors. And what this meaneth is expounded by Pope *Vrbane* in the ſame place, *cap. 32. Quia magiſter erroris eſt, non tantum hæreticus, ſed etiam hæreſiarcha dicendus eſt*: Becauſe he is a maſter of error, he is not only an heretike, but an hereſiarch, that is, a maſter of hereſies. But the Papiſts, and not we, leaue the Propheticall, Apoſtolicall, Euangelicall writings, and runne vnto traditions, that is, to themſelues: *Ergo* they, not we, are the heretikes.

5 Likewiſe, *Decr. p. 2. cauſ. 16. quæſt. 7. Gregor. 7.* defineth, that he that ſhould graunt away to lay perſons or others, then to Prieſts, oblations and tithes, *inter maximos hæreticos non minimus habeatur*, let him bee counted not the leaſt among the greateſt heretikes. But the Pope is the man that first alienated the propertie of tithes, and erected impropriations, and ſo maintained them; as it may appeare in King *Henry* the thirds time, when the Biſhops of this land made ſuite to the Pope to haue impropriate benefices reſtored to the firſt vſe; at the contrarie ſuite of the Monkes, the Pope determined that they ſhould ſtand ſtill: *Ergo*, they are the heretikes.

Ex Flor. hiſtor. an. 1261.

6 Againe, your owne Canons allow this ſaying of S. *Hieroms*, deciphering the authors of hereſie, *Decr. p. 2. cauſ. 24. quæſt. 3. cap. 33. Veteres ſcrutans hiſtorias inuenire non poſſum ſcidiſſe eccleſiam, &c. & populos ſeduxiſſe, niſi eos, qui ſacerdotes à Deo poſiti erant*: Looking ouer the ancient ſtories I cannot finde that any did make ſchiſmes in the Church, and ſeduce the people, but the Prieſts, &c. But the Papiſts ſay, that they onely haue the prieſthood, and that they are the true prieſts. If hereſie then and ſchiſme begin among the prieſts, as *Hierome* in his reading obſerued, and the Papiſts take themſelues to be the prieſts of theſe daies; then the Seminarie of hereſie is amongſt them. If it ſhall be anſwered, that *Hierome* ſpeaketh of the times before vnder the law, not ſince: the words following ſhew the contrarie, *Iſti vertuntur in laqueum tortuoſum, in omnibus locis ponentes ſcandalum*: Theſe, ſaith he, meaning the prieſts, are become ſnares, in euery place putting a ſtumbling blocke. He ſpeaketh of the time preſent and then being.

7 Or will they allow of the Maſter of Sentences definition of an heretike, who out of *Hilarie* affirmeth thoſe to be heretikes, *aliter interpretantes ſcripturas, quam doctorum virtus poſtulat; de intelligentia enim hæreſis, non de ſcriptura eſt*, which do interprete the Scripture, otherwiſe then the words are: for hereſie commeth not of the Scripture, but by the falſe vnderſtanding, *lib. 4. diſt. 13. C.* But the Papiſts doe thus interprete Scripture cleane beſide the text: for the probation whereof I referre the reader to the treatiſe annexed, 2. pillar, part. 2. *Ergo*, they are heretikes.

8 Heare alſo how one of your owne champions deſcribeth an heretike and hereſie: Hereſie is a falſe opinion defended with pertinacie cleerely repugning the word of God; *Iohn Wyrime* in his ſermon at S. *Andrewes* in Scotland, at the condenation of M. *George Wiſchart*, *an.* 1546. *For* p. 1268. But many ſuch opinions the Papiſts maintaine contrarie to the Scriptures, as more at large in the place quoted before in the treatiſe annexed I haue ſhewed: *Ergo* they are the heretikes.

Many other deſcriptions of hereſie I could alleage out of the Fathers, but theſe may ſuffice, gathered out of their owne authorities, by the which it is euident that Papiſts, not Proteſtants are heretikes.

The third note omitted, but with *Bellarmine* the eight, is *Sanctitas doctrinæ*, the holineſſe and pureneſſe of their doctrine, *cap. 11.*

Anſw. I thinke theſe men will not bluſh in the end, to make a Saint of the diuell: for what more vnchaſt and vnpure religion can there be, then Poperie is? Call you that an holy religion, that canonized *Thomas Becket* for a Saint, who was a rebell and traitor to his Prince? Is that pure doctrine that calleth the mariage of Miniſters the worſt ſort of fornication? *ſic Rhemiſt.* That alloweth ſwearing and blaſpheming? One *Sampſulius*, for reprouing a man of ſwearing, was ſuſpected to bee a Lutheran, and thereupon examined, condemned, and burned, *For* pag. 904. Is that an holy and perfect religion, which reprobates may attaine vnto? for the popiſh profeſſion requireth no more, then may bee found in reprobates. See a treatiſe of this ſet forth by *W. Perkins.*

Laſtly, let *Roger Holland* ſpeake, firſt a Papiſt, afterwards by Gods mercifull working an holie Martyr: He confeſſing of himſelfe in the hearing of his enemies, that while he was a Papiſt, he was giuen to carding and dicing, to riot, drunkenneſſe, all kinde of wantonneſſe, in hope of auricular confeſſion to the prieſt, and giuing him ſomewhat to doe penance for him, thinking, that hauing ſo done, he was of a cleere ground, and might returne to his old vomit againe. See his ſtorie,

rie, *Fox* pag. 2040. Iudge now what a pure Religion this may be, which is a doctrine of libertie, and patrone of all licentious liuing?

The fourth note omitted, but with *Bellarmine* the ninth, is *Efficacia doctrinæ*, the efficacie and force of their doctrine in conuerting many vnto the faith, *cap.* 12.

Answ. 1. We graunt you that your religion is strong to delude and deceiue, as all superstition is, and as S. *Paul* saith of Antichrists teaching, *Whose comming is by the working of Satban, with all power, &c.* 2. Thess. 2. 9.

2. We are much beholding vnto them, in affording vs so good an argument for our religion, which is very efficacious and forcible. Let the kingdomes of England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Dutchland, Germanie, Polonia, Denmarke, testifie, which sometimes were blinded with poperie; but now (God be thanked) by the preaching of the Gospell haue receiued great light: yea the efficacie of the Gospell appeareth in the conuersion of many obstinate Papists to the profession of the Gospell, euen in time of persecution, and to become constant Martyrs for the same, as hath been before declared in the fifth note of Miracles, 3. anf. by the example of *George Tankerfield, Iulius Palmer*, Mistresse *Lewes, Roger Holland, &c.*

The fifth note omitted, with *Bellarmine* the tenth, is *Sanctitas vitæ*, the holines of life of the authors, and professors of their religion, *cap.* 13.

Answ. Goe to then, let vs see what holy Fathers the patrones of Poperie haue been; we will begin with their Popes: Was not Pope *Ioane* a holy woman, who hauing plaied the whore, fell in trauell in the middest of procession? Was not Pope *Iohn* 13. another, who is said to haue drunke to the diuell, to haue defloured virgins and strangers; he lay with *Stephana* his fathers Concubine, and at the last was slaine in adulterie? *Silnester* the 2. was a Coniurer and a Sorcerer, and couenanted with the diuell for his Popedome: To these we will ioyne *Gregorie* the 7. to make vp a messe, of whom *Benno* writeth, that he raised vp the diuell, and poysoned sixe Popes his predecessors. Many such examples we may finde amongst their pope holy fathers. Luitprand. lib. 6.

To those we may ioyne other of their chiefe pillars. The Cardinall of Crema being sent Legate into England, *Anno* 1129. in a Councel at London inueighing against the mariage of priests, said it was a shamefull thing to rise from the sides of an whore, to make Christs bodie: who the night following, was shamefully taken with a notable whore, *Fox* pag. 1167.

Doctor *Maillard* a great Sorbonist in Paris, was so notoriously practised in the filthie acts of Buggerie and Sodomitrie, that almost all the children in the streetes did know it: *ex Iohan Crispin.*

And to come neerer home: that stout champion of Poperie, and captaine disputer Doctor *Weston*, was he not apprehended in adulterie, and depriued of all his spirituall liuings? Fox pag. 1101.

Neither were those the practises of a few, but such generally was the guise of their Clergie: It was one of the grieuances exhibited by the Nobilitie of Germany in the Councell at Norenberg, that the priests being forbidden to marrie, did goe about day and night to attempt and trie the chastitie of matrones, virgins, wiues, &c. pag. 680. Yea, and it is so shamefull to rehearse what filthie abominations were brought to light at the suppression of the Abbayes here in England, which they practised in corners, as the Apostle saith, It is a shame to speake of the things, which are done by them in secret, Ephes. 5. 12. See Master *Bale* his preface to his booke *de actis Romanorum pontificum*. Wherefore the Iesuite needed not, seeing their nakednesse is laid open to the view of the world, thus to boast of the holinesse of their professors, as to make it a note of their Church, which falleth out cleane contrarie.

The sixt note omitted, with *Bellarmine* the fifteenth, is, saith he, *Confessio aduersariorum*, The confession of their aduersaries. But here he is very weake in his prooues: *Caluinus vocat Bernardum pium scriptorem: Caluin* (saith the Iesuite) calleth *Bernard* a godly writer, *cap.* 16.

Anf. First, I pray you, what hath he got by *Caluins* confession here? May not a man commend something in one, and yet not commend all? *Caluin* commendeth *Bernard* for a godly deuout man, yet he approoueth not his iudgement in all things: godlinesse of life is one thing; pureness and sinceritie of iudgement another. But what if he had simply commended *Bernard*, what is this to them? who though in many things he sauour of superstition, yet in the most points is a witnesse with vs rather then with them, as I could easily shew, if it were either needfull or conuenient in this place.

Secondly, the Iesuite, to proue the confession of his aduersaries, giueth but one poore instance of *Caluines* confession, and such another of *Melanthons*, which make nothing for them. But we can bring forth many confessions of the truth vttered by Papists: some for examples sake I will set downe.

Panormitane, that mightie champion for the Pope, hauing disputed much in the Councell of Basil, for the preeminence of the Pope aboue generall Councels, in the end, the matter going against him, returning to his lodging complained with teares, that he had been compelled by his King,

King, to ſtriue againſt the truth, and to put his ſoule in daunger: *ex Æneæ Sylvio.*

Doctor *Mollius* an Italian Martyr, being before the Cardinals of Rome examined of his doctrine, which he confirmed by Scripture, concerning Iuſtification, Free-will, Purgatorie, at the length (they being not able to conuince him) receiued this anſwere, that it was truth which he affirmed; but it was not meete for this preſent time, becauſe it could not bee taught without detriment of the Apoſtolike See.

Ex Henric. Pantal lib. 19. anno 1543.

Doctor *Baſſinet* openly in an Oration proteſted in a great aſſemblie, that he was diſquieted in conſcience for giuing iudgement againſt thoſe which they called heretikes, becauſe he found moſt part of their opinions agreeable to Scripture, *Fox* pag. 945. col. 2.

The Biſhop of Cauaillon in France, committed the articles of the Merindolians to a certaine Doctor of Diuinitie to bee examined, who after eight daies peruſing of them, gaue his anſwere, that he found them agreeable to Scripture, pag. 949.

But amongſt all other the confeſſion of *Wincheſter* lying vpon his death-bed is worthie to bee remembred: who being put in mind by another B. of Iuſtification only by the blood of Chriſt, anſwered, that it was dangerous to open this gap to the people; yet to him, and ſuch other in his caſe it might be vttered: reported by one that was a great doer about *Wincheſter*, pag. 1788. col. 1.

I will alſo here adioyne the teſtimonie of *Eraſmus*, whom although the Ieſuite will not acknowledge wholly to bee theirs, yet he vouchſafeth to call him *ſemi-Chriſtianum*, a ſemi-Chriſtian, or halfe-Catholike: *lib. 1. de verbo Dei cap. 9.* he thus writeth to the Archbiſhop of Mentz; That many things were condemned in the bookes of *Luther* of Monkes and Diuines for hereticall, which in the bookes of *Bernard* and *Auguſtine* are read for ſound and godly.

We cannot deſire more large and ample confeſſions of our faith, then haue been made by the enemies thereof: theſe examples may ſuffice: wherefore this note better a great deale ſerueth our turne, then it maketh for the Ieſuite.

Of the iudgements of God vpon popiſh perſecutors.

TWo other of the Ieſuites notes remaine, the fourteenth, and fifteenth: The vnhappie end (ſaith he) of the enemies of their Church, and the externall happines and flouriſhing eſtate of the defenders thereof, *cap.* 17. 18.

Anſw. Firſt, more fearefull examples of Gods iudgements we ſhall not finde in any, then haue fallen vpon the perſecutors and butcherly ſlaughtermen of Gods ſeruants for the Goſpels ſake: you ſhall finde a whole treatiſe of this matter, wherein ſuch examples are gathered together, *Fox* p. 2100. Vnto that place I refer the reader, becauſe it were too long to giue particular inſtances of euery thing: yet becauſe the Ieſuite produceth certaine examples of Gods iudgements vpon *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Caluin*, whom he ſhamefully belieth; I will take a little paine, firſt to make anſwere to his ſlaunders, and then to ſhew ſome notable examples of Gods iudgements amongſt them. Firſt, he ſaith, that *Luther*, after he had ſupped merily, and made all his gueſts ſport, died the ſame night; *Zuinglius* was ſlaine in battell; *Oecolampadius* died ſuddenly in the night; *Caluin* was conſumed of lice, and calling vpon the diuell died, *Bellar. cap.* 16.

Anſw. Firſt, in ſome of theſe reports the Ieſuite ſhamefully lieth: for *Luther* died not of a ſurfeit or drunkenneſſe, as they report, but of an old infirmitie and weaknes of ſtomacke, and not in the night, but the next morning at eight or nine a clocke: alſo hee made a moſt comfortable end, with a ſwette praier immediatly before his death, and commending his ſoule heartily into the hands of God; as *Melanthon* reporteth the manner of his death. And *Oecolampadius* died not ſuddenly, but of an old ſickneſſe he had, encreaſed with ſorrow for the death of *Zuinglius*. *Fox* pag. 873. col. 1. And as touching Maſter *Caluin*, *Bellarmine* doth too ſhamefully belie him, who as he liued, ſo died the ſeruant of God, whatſoeuer theſe children of the father of lies ſay to the contrarie: Maſter *Beza*, who hath written the ſtorie of his life and death herein deſerueth more credit, then any of your lying and railing Libellers. The like vnſauourie lie *Bolſecus Bellarmines* author, reporteth of Maſter *Caluin*, how he was confederate with one *Bruleus Oſtuno*, a poore ſtranger at Geneua, that he ſhould faine himſelfe dead, and ſhould bee raiſed vp to life by Maſter *Caluin*, and how the ſaid *Bruleus* ſo diſſembling, when *Caluin* came in, and ſaid his praiers ouer him, was found dead indeede, *Bellarm. cap.* 14. But we doe nothing marueile at the impudent ſpirit of our aduerſaries: for thus alſo they belied *Bucer*, that faithfull learned man, that he ſhould denie at his death that Chriſt the Meſſiah was come: And that all the world may know their impudencie, euen this laſt yeere, they were not aſhamed to blaze abroad in their writings, that *Beza* died a Papiſt conuerted, and that at his motion made at his death, the whole Church of Geneua was reuolted to Papiſtrie: which lying Libell is confuted by Maſter *Beza* himſelfe, and the reſt of the Miniſters of Geneua in a pamphlet publiſhed in this laſt yere 1597.

Secondly, ſome of theſe iudgements, which the Ieſuite rehearſeth, we take to bee none at all, as to be ſlaine in battaile, as *Zuinglius* was; who as a good ſhepheard gaue his life for his flocke, and would

would not leane them fighting in the defence of the Goſpell: he did not goe as a Captaine to wage battaile, as ſome of your Popes, and popiſh Biſhops haue done, but as a paſtor to teach and comfort them, which your owne Canons allow: as it was decreed *Synod. Franciſcan.* That the ſeruants of God, *propter diuinum miniſterium*, for the diuine miniſterie or ſeruice might go to warre. Neither is it to be counted a plague to die by the ſword, or of any other violent death, to him that hath liued well, as S. *Auguſtine* well ſaith: *Nihil timuerit, non poteſt malè mori, qui bonè vixerit*: Feare not, he cannot die ill, that hath liued well. And againe, *Videtur quod mors pia, bona eſt*: Death howſoeuer it commeth to a godly man, is good: *in Pſal.* 148. And further, ſaith he, Doeſt thou thinke it an euill death, to die of ſhipwracke, to be ſlaine by the ſword, torne of wilde beaſts, did not the Martyrs indure the like deaths?

Thirdly, it ſhall euen now appeare, that all theſe iudgements which the Ieſuite hath brought forth, and many more haue iuſtly fallen vpon popiſh perſecutors. And for his fiue fained examples, we are able to giue him tenne times ſo many: but it ſhall not be needfull to rehearſe ſuch a number, yet ſome I will ſet downe.

Now then in the next place, as the Ieſuite hath endeuoured, but to ſmall purpoſe, to ſingle out ſome Proteſtants, as noted with Gods iudgements: ſo I will, ſomewhat to ſatisfie the reader, requite them with the like, not referring him altogether to Maſter *Foxes* treatiſe of this matter. For as *Auguſtine* well ſaith, *Noui quemadmodum ſolent contriſtare lectorem, cum à libro, qui penes ſe manet, ad alium mittitur, quem forte non habet*: I know how it doth trouble the reader, when as he is referred from that booke he hath in his hands, to another which he hath not: and ſo he ſaith, *ſatius eſt offerre habenti, quam differre non habentem*: It is better to offer to him that hath the booke, then to defer him that hath it not, *Auguſt. lib. 2. de Bapti. cap. 1.* I will therefore, for their cauſe that haue not that large volume, ſort out ſome notable examples of Gods iudgements vpon perſecuting Papiſts: and becauſe they may deny them, though they be ſtrange, to be iudgements, I will together with the alleaging of them vſe theſe probations.

Firſt, the likenes of puniſhment in the old perſecuting Pagans, and in the new perſecuting Papiſts. Secondly, the confeſſion of our aduerſaries. Thirdly, the confeſſion of thoſe that were puniſhed and iudged of God. Fourthly, the prediction of the Martyrs, whom they perſecuted. Fifthly, their deſperate ends. Sixtly, the ſame iudgements fell vpon them, which they procured vpon others. Seuenthly, the extraordinarie courſe of Gods iudgements.

First then, if wee ſhall finde perſecuting Papiſts to haue ſuſtained the very ſame puniſhments with the Heathen tyrants, no man can doubt, but that they were iuſtly iudged of God. *Antiochus* a miniſter of crueltie in the fift perſecution vnder *Alexander*, while he was in the execution of torments vpon one *Agapitus* for the Chriſtian faith, ſuddenly fell downe dead from his iudiciall ſeate, crying out, that his bowels within him burned with fire, *Henric. de Erford. lib. 6. cap. 19.* So at the condemnation of *Wolfgangus* a Germane Martyr, the Commendator of S. *Auraeus* of Vienna ſitting for the ſpirituall iudge, ſuddenly fell downe and died: and the Abbot of Clarilocus his aſſiſtant not long after at the cracke of guſnes fell downe and died, *anno* 1525. *Paral.*

Againe, *Claudius* Preſident vnder *Valerian* in the eight perſecution a cruell perſecutor, was vexed of the diuell, and biting his owne tongue into many ſmall pieces died, *Fox* pag. 74. col. 2. In like manner Cardinall *Croſenius* was vexed of the diuell, who was Preſident of the Tridentine Chapter, who ſitting vp late to write letters to the Pope, ſaw in his chamber comming toward him an huge blacke dogge with fierie eyes, and therewith ſtriken with a great feare died: vpon whoſe death the Councell was diſſolued, pag. 2107.

Maximinus that cruell tyrant was ſtriken with a moſt fearefull diſeaſe, conſuming his entrals, whereout iſſued an innumerable multitude of lice, with a moſt filthy ſtinking ſauour, that no man could abide him: his Phiſitions, becauſe they could not cure him, he commaunded to be ſlaine, pag. 82. col. 1. In like ſort was *Maximus* plagued the perſecutor of the innocent Morindolians, whoſe bowels rotted within him being conſumed with wormes: who alſo commaunded his ſurgeon to be apprehended, that gaue him good exhortation; and he miſerably died with extreame ſtinch of the lower parts, with horrible blaſphemies, &c. pag. 913. col. 2. *Tayſord* likewiſe a furious Papiſt, who ſet vp the ſtakes in Smithfield, rotted aboue the ground, ſo that no man could abide him, pag. 1118. col. 1.

Philips the betrayer of innocent *Tyndall* died of lice. *Bale* alſo the Promooter in Queene *Maries* daies, was eaten of lice, pag. 2101. col. 1.

Maxentius that tyrant falling with his horſe from the bridge, which he did lay for *Conſtantine*, was drowned. The like iudgement befell a certaine young gentleman, an horrible blaſphemer, who being admoniſhed of his ſwearing, ſtill multiplying oches, pricked forward his horſe, being vpon the bridge: from the which the horſe ſprung aſide into the water, he crying vpon his backe, Horſe and man and all to the diuell, pag. 2103. In like ſort *Iohn Vander*, a cheefe officer of Antwerpe, and a cruell perſecuter, riding to the citie in his wagon, when he was come to the bridge,

the horse standing still, cried out to the deuil, Ride on in a thousand diuels names: and the horse springing beside, he was cast into the towne ditch, and so drowned. Thus we see, how in all respects as the persecutors of the Primitiue Church were punished, so y enemies of Christs Church in these daies were recompenced. If then strange kindes of death were to be counted iudgements in them, so are they in these.

Secondly, we haue our aduersaries owne confession: for the Iesuite noteth foure iudgements of God, as I haue shewed before, which hee falsely affirmeth to haue fallen vpon those learned Protestants: first, suddennes of death: secondly, to be vexed of the diuell: thirdly, to die blaspheming: fourthly, to die securely and merily after pots and cups, as he slandereth *Luther*. Three of the first I haue before touched, and giuen an instance of themselues, that haue tasted of those iudgements: and for the last, the Iesuite might haue remembred how Pope *Leo* sitting at supper, and very pleasant, was suddenly striken with a feuer, wherof he died, p. 854. And for secure death, *Eckius*, that mightie impugner of *Luther*, might haue been thought vpon, whose last words when he died were these: In case the foure thousand Guilders were readie, the matter were dispatched with the which, as it is thought, he should haue purchased some preferment at Rome.

Thirdly, let vs heare their owne confession that were punished. King *Henry* the 2. of France hauing receiued his deadly wound at Iusting, said, he feared he was striken for falsely imprisoning the poore Christians, pag. 2112. Likewise one *Bastian* Capeaine of the armie, that went against the Protestants of Luserne, and S. *Martin*, threatning that day to doe much against them, and returning wounded, it was said vnto him, Now it is well seene that their religion is better then ours, pag. 967.

Fourthly, the prediction and foretelling of the Martyrs of the iudgements that followed, doe shew that they were sent of God, as Master *Patrike Hamelton* at his death did cite the blacke Frier *Campbel*, that was his accuser, to appeare before the most high God to answere for the innocencie of his death at a certaine day of the next moneth: immediatly before which day the Frier died, pag. 975. col. 2. Likewise, *anno* 1561. at Amboise in France certaine gentlemen being vniustly condemned to death by the Chauncellor *Olhier*, one of them tooke of the blood of his fellowes that were beheaded, and lift his hands to heauen, and said; Lord behold the blood of thy children, thou wilt in time reuenge it: and shortly after the Chauncellor died in great despaire, *Fox* pag. 2112.

Fiftly, the same iudgements ouertooke some of them, which they threatned, and had done to others: which sheweth, that they were striken of God: One *Iohn Martin* of Briquenas in France, threatned he would slit the Ministers nose, who was himselfe assaulted of a wolfe, which bit off his nose, whereof he died mad, pag. 955. Sir *Rafe Ellerker* Knight Marshall at Calice, when *Adam Damlip* was executed, said, he would not goe away before he saw his hart: but he himselfe afterward was taken in a skirmish of the French, his priuie members cut off, and his hart raked out of his bellie, pag. 1229. One *Lansdale* a cruell enemie to the Gospell, that suffered a poore man to die in a ditch by his house, was not long after cast by his horse into a ditch, and so died, *Fox* pag. 2104.

Sixtly, their desperate and fearefull ends doe declare that Gods reuenging hand was amongst them; as *Plankney* and *Hauingus*, both fellowes of New Colledge in Oxford, drowned themselues, and were taken vp, with their Crucifixes hanging about their neckes, pag. 2104. *Clarke*, an open enemie to the Gospell, hanged himselfe in the tower, pag. 1201. col. 1. and diuers of them beside killed themselues: others died in despaire. *Guarlacus* a learned man of Louaine, and a mightie defender of Poperie, vttering most horrible blasphemies in his sicknes, cried out, that his sinnes were greater then could be giuen: and so wretchedly in despaire ended his life, *ex epistol. Claudij Senarclai ad Buter.* In like manner *Iacobus Latomus*, a mightie impugner of *Luther*, in his open Lecture in Louaine fell mad, and so was carried home and shut vp in a close chamber till he died, who had nothing in his mouth, but that he was damned: *ex eadem epistol.* Many such examples might be alleaged to this purpose: but these may suffice to shew, that their desperate madnes of some in killing themselues, or others in dying in despaire without all comfort, doth euidently shew that they were iudged of God.

Seuenthly, it may appeare by the extraordinarie meanes whereby some of them were punished: Doctor *Whittington* Chauncellor, a persecutor in King *Henry* the 7. daies, comming from the burning of a faithful woman, whom he had condemned, was slaine of a Bull, that offered to touch none of the people beside, but comming against him, ranne vpon him, and tossed him vpon his hornes, trailing his guts all along in the streete, pag. 775. *Burton* Bailiffe of Crowland, an earnest defender of the Masse, and an enemy to the Gospel, was poysoned with the excremenes of a crow, which flying ouer his head, as he rode by the way, let them fall vpon his nose and beard, with the stinch whereof he fell into a continuall vomiting, whereof he died, pag. 2100. A Frier of Mounster, as he was in the pulpit inueighing against the doctrine of the Gospell, was smitten with a sud-

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den flaſh of lightning, and ſo died: *ex Pantal. 2. part. &c.* Wherefore as the Ieſuite noteth it to haue been a iudgement of God vpon *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, a fauourer of the Eutychian heretikes, that was ſmitten of lightning: ſo can it not be denied, but in like ſort this was a iudgement vpon this Frier. Thus wee ſee how little the Ieſuite hath gained by making the iudgements of God a note of the Church.

Of the externall happines of the Church, the 15. Note.

NOw concerning externall happineſſe and good ſucceſſe: firſt, it is no certaine note of the Church of God, which oftner is without it, then it doth enioy it: for Chriſts kingdome is not of this world. And as the Lord ſuffered his people to ſoiourne as ſtrangers, and to bee euill entreated foure hundred yeeres, from *Abrahams* time to *Moſes*: ſo is it the condition for the moſt part of the Church of God ſtill; as the Prophet *Ieremie* ſaith, *Dedit dilectam animam ſuam in manus inimicorum eius*: He hath giuen his beloued and deare heart into the hands of the enemies thereof, Ierem. 12. And S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Beneficentiſſima prouidentia omnipotens dei terrenam felicitatem conceſſit & impijs, ne pro magno quereretur à bonis*: Almightie God of his bountifull prouidence, hath graunted earthly felicitie to the wicked, that the godly ſhould not ſo greatly deſire it, *epiſt. 120. ad Honorat. cap. 5.* How then can that bee a note of the Church which is common to the wicked? Nay, one of your owne writers ſaith contrarie, that *Crux eſt eccleſia nota*, the Croſſe is a note of the Church, *Eſpenſ. in 2. Timoth. p. 103. d.* And againe, *Prædixit Chriſtus labores, Pſeudochriſti proſpera*: Chriſt foretold of labour and ſorrow, the falſe Chriſts prophecied of peace and proſperitie, *pag. 100. g.* By this ſentence *Bellarmine* is a falſe prophet, that would haue felicitie and proſperitie a note of his Church.

Secondly, as the Ieſuite ſheweth in the examples of *Iuſtinian* the elder, and *Heraclius* the Emperour, that they proſpered in their warres till they fell to be maintainers of hereſie, then all things went backward, *cap. 18.* the like examples we can produce of the euill ſucceſſe and vnhappie end of thoſe who reuolted from the Goſpell to Papiſtrie, whom God bleſſed in all their enterpriſes before: This was the King of Nauarre his caſe, father to the now French King; who after he had ſuſtained a while the cauſe of the Goſpell, was content at the length to alter his profeſſion, and ioyne with the Duke of Guize, and was ſtriken with a pellet at the ſiege of Roane, whereof he died, much repenting his reuolt. It had been happie if the ſonne in the ſame caſe had remembred his fathers fall. The like experience of Gods wrath vpon reuolters, others of meaner place haue felt: as *Henrie Smith* ſometime a profeſſor of the Goſpell, afterward at Louaine peruerted to Poperie, comming home hanged himſelfe, with his *Agnus dei* about his necke. One *Williams* a ſtudent of the inner Temple, firſt a Goſpeller, then a Papiſt, fell ſtark mad, and ſo continued, *Fox p. 2107.* *Arnoldus Bomelius* a young ſtudent of the Vniuerſitie of Louaine proſpered well, ſo long as he fauoured the Goſpell: afterward being peruerted by *Tyleman* Maſter of the Popes Colledge, fell into deſpaire, and killed himſelfe with his dagger: whoſe ſtorie Maſter *Fox* hath at large, pag. 1106. Thus it doth appeare how vnhappely it fareth with popiſh reuolters, contrarie to the Ieſuites obſeruation: therefore they cannot bragge of their outward felicitie.

Thirdly, neither of late can our aduerſaries, I thinke, boaſt of ſuch good ſucceſſe of their kingdome: for ſince the reuiuing of the Goſpell in the world, the Popes Crowne and dignitie hath been much impaired, and many Princes haue withdrawne their collers and ſhoulders from vnder his yoke. And as for England (God enlarge our hearts to bee thankfull therefore) there was neuer ſeene the like continuance of peace, and abundance of temporall bleſſings, as the Goſpell hath brought with it hitherto. And I am perſwaded, were it not for our ſinnes, wee ſhould enioy many yeeres ſtill, as I truſt in God wee ſhall, if wee will humble our ſelues before God by true repentance.

Thus farre of the Ieſuites fifteene notes, whereby the popiſh Church is deciphered. Now it followeth, that we declare the infallible and moſt certaine notes of the true Church.

Of the true and infallible Notes of the Church of Chriſt.

THe outward tokens whereby the true viſible Church is diſcerned, are not many in number, as our aduerſaries doe reckon vp many: the Ieſuite no leſſe than 15. ſupplying belike in number, that which they want in waight. Neither in this place doe wee ſpeake of the vniuerſall Catholike inuiſible Church, which is beleeued and not ſeene, being an article of our faith: but of particular viſible Churches, which are diſcerned and knowne by theſe two eſſentiall markes, the true preaching of the word, and right vſe of the Sacraments: Some alſo doe adde a third, namely, Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, *Beza confeſſ. de Eccleſ. art. 7. Hooper* vpon the Creede, *articul. 72.* But this partly is comprehended in the two former: for there cannot bee hearing and preaching of the

word, and the frequenting of the Sacraments, vnlesse there bee an exercise of Church discipline: partly also wee say that it is not so essentiall a note, as the other are: for the absence of the other make a nullitie of the Church. If the word or Sacraments in substance be corrupted, the Church also is defaced: but if there bee not an exact forme of discipline, it doth not straigheway cease to be a Church. Wherefore we conclude, that the true preaching of the word, and right vse of the Sacraments, are the only necessarie and essentiall notes of the Church: where these two are rightly vsed according to Gods word, there is a right Church, as here in England, God bee blessed: where they are falsely and impurely handled, there is a false and corrupt Church, as among the Papists: where they are not at all in vse, there is no Church, as amongst the Turkes, Iewes, and Infidels. First we will examine our aduersaries arguments, and then bring forth our owne.

The Papists.

Arg. 1. *Bellarmine* thus argueth: The true notes of the Church ought to bee proper and particular, not common and generall, as these are: for euery sect of heretikes doe chalenge to themselues the right preaching of the word, and vsage of the Sacraments: *Ergo*, they are no true notes, *Bellarm. lib 4. de Eccles. cap.* 2.

We answere: First, it skilleth not how many doe lay clayme to those notes: the word of God it selfe is a manifest iudge where pure doctrine is taught, and the Sacraments rightly kept according to the institution. It is no matter, howsoeuer Papists and other heretikes doe make their brags, the Scriptures themselues can soone decide this question. And S. *Hierome* saith well to this purpose: *Nec sibi blandiantur, quod videantur de scripturarum capitulis affirmare, quod dicunt:* Neither let them flatter themselues, because they proue their assertions out of Scripture: For so the diuel also alleaged Scripture: *Sed Scriptura non in legendo consistunt, sed intelligendo:* But the Scriptures consist not in the reading but vnderstanding, &c. *Cont. Luciferian.* So then although heretikes by the letter of Scripture may take vpon them to proue their Church, yet by the true sense thereof they shall neuer. Secondly, nay rather this argument may be turned vpon the Iesuites head: for it is therefore the more like, that these should be the true notes of the Church, because euery heresie doth labour to proue their Church thereby: for if it were not the right coyne, they would not goe about to counterfeit it. Thirdly, I maruell they are not ashamed to obiect, that our notes are common, seeing theirs are most common: for not onely assemblies of heretikes, but euen the heathen and Idolatrous Gentiles might as well proue themselues to be the Church, by those popish notes, of vniuersalitie, for Idolatrie had ouerspread the whole world; of vnitie, they all consented to persecute the Church of Christ; of antiquitie, for the worship of Idols continued aboue two thousand yeares; of succession, for the monarchie of the Assyrians endured 1300. yeares, their kings all this while one succeeding another. They had also Prophets, and such as wrought miracles. Our aduersaries may be now ashamed to cast vs in the teeth, that our notes are common, when as theirs doe well agree to the Synagogues of Sathan, and assemblies of Infidels.

Argum. 2. Saith he, the note or the marke must be better knowne and more notorious, then the thing marked or notified by it: so are not these; for we know not which is the word of God, nor what bookes are Canonicall, and to be taken for Scripture, but by the Church, *Bellarm. ibid.*

We answere: the Iesuite still beggeth that which is in question: a foule fault in a professed disputer: for haue we not largely proued before *1. contr. quæst.* 4. that the Church dependeth vpon the authoritie of the Scripture, and not contrariwise, and that there is no more certaine and euident and vndoubted thing in the whole world, vpon the which a man may be bold to build and ground his faith, then vpon the Scriptures? This sure is a childish and ridiculous argument, to take that as graunted, which is most of all in controuersie. Secondly, he committeth the same fault himselfe, chap. 14. where he maketh the power of miracles a note of the Church, and yet confesseth, *Ex Ecclesia miracula demonstrari:* That true miracles are demonstrated by the Church: why then may not the word of God as well shew the Church, although in some sense the Church shew the word? Thirdly, the Iesuite confesseth, *cap.* 2. that where the Scripture is receiued, and the Church doubted of, there the Scripture declareth the Church: which is our very case in these dayes: for seeing our aduersaries and we are agreed concerning the most of the Canonicall Scriptures, but differ about the Church, in the Iesuites iudgement in this case we must demonstrate the Church by the Scriptures. Fourthly, the Iesuite mistaketh the matter: for we doe not thus reason, where the Scriptures are acknowledged for the word, there is the Church; for the Iewes receiue the old Testament, the diuell knoweth it is the word of God, which is contained in the Scriptures; but they are neither of the Church: but where the word is faithfully preached, professed, receiued, and beleeued, there is the Church.

Argum. 3. The true notes (saith he) are inseparable from the Church: it is neuer without them. But many true Churches haue wanted these: The Church of the Corinthians was a true Church, and yet they beleeued not the resurrection, chap. 15. The Galathians were a true Church, and yet they held that *Moses* law was to be obserued together with the Gospell. And the Corinthi-

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ans likewiſe did not ſincerely obſerue the Sacraments, 1. Corinth. 11: And as many true Churches haue wanted theſe notes, ſo falſe Churches may haue them: for there may be true doctrine among ſchiſmatikes, ſuch as the Donatiſts were: for ſchiſmatikes may hold all poynts of ſound doctrine, who faile in charitie rather then in faith: *Ergo*, theſe are no true ſignes, *Bellarm. ibid.*

We anſwere: firſt, this argument may with better right be returned vpon their owne head: for many true Churches haue wanted thoſe markes: Chriſt and his Apoſtles had neither ſucceſſion from *Aaron*, nor vniuerſalitie, and yet they made the true Church. The Church of the Iewes after *Malachies* time had no Prophets, nor myracles, for the ſpace of 400. yeares before Chriſt, and yet were they the true Church, and ſo of the reſt of your notes, the Church of Chriſt hath many times wanted them. Secondly, it was not the whole Church of Corinthus that doubted of the reſurrection, but certaine falſe Apoſtles that laboured to ſeduce others, 1. Cor. 15. 34. Some of you (ſaith the Apoſtle) haue not the knowledge of God: he ſaith, not all. So likewiſe amongſt the Galathians there were falſe teachers, that ſtoode for the law of *Moſes*: Galath. 5. 9. A little leauen doth marre the whole lumpe. It was not therefore a publike doctrine in the Church, but ſecretly taught by falſe Apoſtles. Thirdly, there may be ſome error in the Church, but being not fundamentall, ſuch an one as deſtroieth faith, it doth not diſſolue the Church: as there was ſome abuſe amongſt the Corinthians in receiuing the Sacrament: but the forme and inſtitution and ſubſtance of the Sacrament was kept. Nay, yet to graunt a little more: though the error be dangerous, and of great waight and moment, and ſuch an one, as being ſtiffely maintained, would deſtroy the faith and Church too: yet if they haue fallen into it rather of ignorance, then any other cauſe, and doe not continue in it, but doe ſubmit themſelues to be reformed by the word, it ceaſeth not for all that to be a Church. So the Corinthians referred themſelues wholy and their opinions to the iudgement and determination of the Apoſtle.

To the ſecond part of the argument, that pure doctrine may be found in an impure Church.

We anſwere: firſt, the example which the Ieſuite alleageth of the Donatiſts, is nothing to his purpoſe: for the Donatiſts did not onely offend in their ſchiſme, but they held alſo ſchiſmaticall and vntrue opinions, as that the Sacraments were polluted by the Miniſters, that Baptiſme giuen by heretikes, ought to bee iterated: that the Church in the earth conſiſteth onely of the good without any mixture of euill men: that the Church was periſhed from the whole world, and remained onely amongſt them: theſe were the opinions of the Donatiſts: they had not therefore pure doctrine. *Auguſtine* doubteth not to ſay vnto a chiefe Donatiſt: *Schiſmaticus es ſacrilega diſceſſione, hæreticus ſacrilego dogmate*: Thou art a ſchiſmatike, for thy ſacrilegious departure from the Church, and an heretike for thy ſacrilegious opinions, *Cont. Gaudent. lib.* 3. Wherefore the Ieſuite was much ouerſeene in alleaging this example. Secondly, there are no ſchiſmatikes, which doe ſeparate themſelues from the Church, but they doe diſſent in ſome opinion, and ſo as well fayle in faith as in charitie: for what elſe ſhould moue them, to be deuided from the Church, but diuerſitie and difference of doctrine? So *Auguſtine* anſwereth *Creſconius*, who made this difference of hereſie and ſchiſme: *Hæreſis*, ſaith the Donatiſt, *eſt diuerſa ſequentium ſecta, ſchiſma eadem ſequentium ſeparatio*: An hereſie is a ſect of thoſe that follow other opinions, a ſchiſme is a ſeparation of thoſe which are of one opinion. No, ſaith *Auguſtine*, *Nulla ſciſſio, vel ſchiſma eſt niſi diuerſum ſequantur*: There is no ſchiſme, vnleſſe they follow diuers opinions: And that ſaying of S. *Hierome* is allowed in your owne decrees, *Nullum ſchiſma, non aliquam ſibi confingit hæreſim*: There is no ſchiſme, which doth not inuent ſome new hereſie: *decr. par. 2. cauſ. 24. qu. 3. c. 26.* For although a ſchiſmatike ſhould be of the ſame iudgement in all other things, yet herein hee fayleth in ſound doctrine, in that he thinketh it lawfull, to deuide himſelfe from the Church: yet the Ieſuite ſhall neuer be able to ſhew me ſuch a ſchiſmatike, which did not beſide his ſeparation, holde ſome doctrine contrarie to the Catholike truth. Cont. Creſ. con. cap. 9.

Wherefore we conclude, that whereſoeuer true and ſound doctrine is taught wholy and in euery part, for the matter, though not for the manner, there is the Church: as S. *Paul* ſaith, *So Chriſt be preached, whether vnder pretence or ſincerely, I therein reioyce*, Philip. 1. 18.

The Proteſtants.

1 FOr the ſufficiencie of theſe notes, we would deſire no better arguments then thoſe which our aduerſaries alleaged againſt vs: for firſt our notes are proper onely to the Church, and cannot be found in any place, where the Church of God is not. Secondly, they are moſt notorious markes, and a man by the Scriptures may more eaſily know, what true doctrine is, and which are the right ſacraments, then which is the true Church. Thirdly, theſe markes cannot be abſent from the Church, but doe alwayes accompanie it, and it is no longer a true Church, then it hath thoſe markes.

Argum. 2. We are able out of the Scriptures to proue theſe markes, which may ſtand in ſtead of many reaſons. Ioh. 10. *My ſheepe heare my voyce*: Epheſ. 5. *Cleanſing it by the waſhing of water through the word*: *Ergo*, the Word and Sacraments are true notes of the Church.

Bellarmine answereth to the first place, that the hearing of the word, is not a visible note of the Church, but a signe vnto euery man, whereby he may know his election. We reply againe: Looke which way a man is knowne to be a member of the Church, by the same way the Church also it selfe is discerned: if the hearing of the word doe make one a sheepe of Christ, then doth it also shew which is the flocke and folde of Christ: As I know my hand or foote to be a part of my bodie, because it hath life and motion of the bodie; euen so the bodie is discerned from a carcase, because it moueth and liueth.

To the second place he answereth, verie simply: that the Apostle there sheweth not, which is the Church, but what good Christ hath wrought for his Church. We reply againe: But the Church is best knowen by the benefits that Christ hath bestowed vpon it, amongst the which the Word and the Sacraments are not the least: *Ergo*, by these the Church is knowen, and in that place by the Apostle described: And let the reader iudge, whether that place of the Apostle, where there is direct mention made of the word and sacraments, be not fitly applied to our purpose, concerning the description of the Church.

Arg. 3. Looke how Christ is knowen, so is his Church: but Christ is knowen only by the Scriptures; as hee himselfe saith, Iohn 5. Search the Scriptures, for they doe testifie of me: *Ergo*, the true Church is to be knowen by the Scriptures: The word of God therefore is an infallible note of the Church, *argum. Bradford. epist. ad Cantabrigiens.* This argument also vseth *D. Ridley* Martyr, alleadging a place out of *Chrisostome* to this sense: In times past there were many wayes to knowe the Church of Christ by, as by good life, chastitie, miracles, &c. but nowe these things are common to heretikes: and therefore the true Church is now to be knowen, *tantummodo per scripturas*, onely by the Scriptures: *Hom. 49. in Mat. in oper. imperf.*

S. *Augustine* also saith, *In scripturis didicimus Christum, in scripturis didicimus ecclesiam, epist. 166.* In the Scripture we doe learne Christ, in the Scripture let vs likewise learne the Church. His argument is the same that here we haue vsed. Looke how Christ is knowen, so is his Church: but Christ is onely knowen by his word: *Ergo*, so is his Church.

Now let vs adde the seale and stampe, which the holy Martyrs haue signed this doctrine with in their blood. *Richard Fewrus* Martyr, who suffered at Lions for the truth *anno* 1554. saith, that the Church of God is onely to be knowen by the word of God, and the right institution of the Sacraments. *Fox* page 912. *Fredericke Dannile* Martyr at Paris, being asked whether these two were the notes of the Church, answered, *That doe I beleeue, and therein will I liue and die*, *Fox* pag. 922. col. 2. See the confession also of *Thomas Benet* Martyr. pag. 1039. Of *George Marsh* Martyr 1565. col. 2. Of *Bartlet Green* Martyr, The true markes of Christs Church, saith he, is the true preaching of his word, and ministery of the Sacraments, pag. 1852. All these with many others aduentured their liues, dying in the faith of that Church, which was knowen by those two infallible notes. Let the Papists bring fourth any that durst doe the like for their vniuersalitie, antiquitie, and the like.

Last of all, for the truth and certaintie of these two notes of the Church, namely, the word and Sacraments, we haue the determination of the Papists themselues assembled in Councel. *Interrelig. Cæsare. cap.* 10. *Sunt Ecclesiæ veræ notæ, doctrina sana & sacramentorum vsus, quibus à Iudaeorum & Ethnicorum cœtibus ecclesia distinguitur, quorum vtrique & sana doctrina, & sacramentis noui testamenti carent:* The true notes of the Church are sound doctrine, and the right vse of the Sacraments, by the which the Church is distinguished from the Iewish and heathenish assemblies, which neither haue sound doctrine, nor the Sacraments of the new Testament.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, OF THE authoritie of the Church.

THe Papists affirme, that the authoritie of the Church consisteth in these fiue points. First, in authorising the Scriptures, and defining which are Canonicall. Secondly, in giuing the sense of the Scripture. Thirdly, in determining matters besides Scripture. Fourthly, in making lawes and constitutions for the Church. Fiftly, in exercising of discipline.

Concerning the two last, we doe not greatly stand with them. We acknowledge the Church hath authoritie to make decrees and constitutions, but so, as the Apostles did: *Visum est nobis & spiritui sancto.* It seemed good to vs and the holy Ghost: the Church must be directed by the wisdome of the spirite speaking in the Scriptures.

We also acknowledge the holesome power of the Church in exercising of holy discipline: but it must bee done in the name and power of Christ, 1. Cor. 5. 4. not according to the will of men.

Concerning the two first: we haue alreadie shewed, that neither the Church doth giue authoritie to the word of God, but doth take her authoritie from them: for the Scriptures are of sufficient

ent credit of themselues, *1.contron.quæst.4.* neither that the sense of Scripture dependeth vpon the interpretation of the Scripture, but that the word expoundeth it selfe, *1.contron.quæst.6.*

There remaineth therefore onely one point to be discussed of the authoritie of the Church: namely, in deciding of matters beside the scriptures: which are of two sortes, either necessarie appertaining to faith, or indifferent concerning ceremonies: of both these in their order.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE CHVRCH hath authoritie in matters of faith beside the Scriptures.

The Papists.

WE ought to take our faith and all necessarie things of saluation at the hands of our superiours, *Rhemist. Act.10.sect.8.* In points not decided by scripture we must aske counsail of the Church, *Præfat sect.25.* The Church is the onely pillar and stay to leane vnto in all doubts of doctrine, without the which there can be no certaintie nor securitie: we must therefore beleeue it and trust it in all things, *annot.1.Timoth.cap.3.sect.9.* Yea it hath authoritie, say they, to make new articles of faith: as in the Councel of *Constance* it was decreed to be necessarie to saluation, to beleeue the Pope to be head of the Church. In the Councell of *Basile* it was made an article of the faith, to beleeue that the Councell was aboue the Pope; and therefore Pope *Eugenius* in not obeying the Councell was adiudged to be an heretike. 1. Error. Rhemist.1. Tim.3.9.

Argum.1. Vpon these words in the Gospell, Ioh.15.27. the spirit shall testifie of me, and you shall beare witnes also: they conclude thus: *Ergo*, the testimonie of the truth ioyntly consisteth in the holy Ghost and Prelates of the Church, *Rhemist.Ioh.15.sect.8.*

We answere: the witnes of the spirit, and of the Apostles, is all one witnes: for the spirit first testifieth the truth to the Apostles inwardly, and the Apostles inspired by the spirit did witnes it outwardly: so the Pastors of the Church witnessing with the spirit, which is not now inspired by reuelation, but onely found in the Scriptures, are to be heard: but if the spirit testifie one thing in the word, and they testifie another, there we must leaue them.

Argum.2. The Church erreth not: *Ergo*, we must heare her in all things, *Rhemist.1.Timoth.3. sect.9.* We answere: first, the Church may erre, if she follow not the Scriptures; proued before, *2.contron.quæst.2.* Secondly, so long as the Church heareth Christs voice, we are likewise to heare hers: and so long as she is preserued from error, she will not swarue from Christs precepts, neither impose any thing vpon her children, without the warrant of her spouse.

Argum.3. Thou canst proue nothing by Scripture, it is dead, it must haue a liuely expositor: *Ergo*, the Scripture ought not to be iudge in matters of faith, but the Church, *Winchest.* pag. 1486. *Answere.* The Scripture is aliue and not dead, as you say. *respons.Roger.Mart.ibid.*

Obiect. All heretikes haue alleadged Scriptures, therefore we must haue a liuely expositor for them, *Worcest.ibid. Answere.* Yea, it is true all heretikes haue alleadged Scripture, but they were confuted by Scripture, and by no other expositor, *respons.Rog.Mar.ibid.*

Obiect. The letter killeth, but the spirit giueth life: *Ergo*, the Scriptures which are the letter cannot iudge, *sic Bonner* pag.1807. *Answere.* Saint *Paul* meaneth not, that the word of God in it selfe killeth, which is the word of life, but that the word is vnprofitable, and killeth him that is voide of the spirit of God: and therefore the Apostle saith, *that the Gospell was to some the sauour of life to life, and to some the sauour of death to death. Respons.Philpot.Mart.ibid.*

Obiect. The word cannot be iudge of the word: *Ergo*, there must be another iudge beside. *Argum.Stori* pag.1805. *Answere.* Our Sauiour Christ saith, *Verbum, quod locutus sum, iudicabit in nouissimo die*, The word that I haue spoken, shall iudge at the last day: If the word shall iudge at the last day, much more it ought to iudge our doings now, *Respons.Philpot.Mart.ibid.*

The Protestants.

THat the Church hath no such power to ordaine articles of faith, or impose matters to be beleeued necessarie to saluation not contayned, or prescribed in the holy scriptures: we proue it thus, and we are sure, that the true Church of Christ will neuer challenge any such prerogatiue.

Argum.1. All truths and verities in the Scriptures are not so necessarie to saluation, that the ignorance thereof should bring perill of damnation: *Ergo*, much lesse are any verities out of Scripture of any such necessitie; the first is manifest: for to know the iust chronologie of time or space of yeares, from the beginning of the world to Christ, is a veritie in Scripture, yet not necessarie: so to beleeue that *Marie* continued a virgine euer after the birth of our Lord, was thought by *Basile* to be no necessarie point to saluation, if we did holde her to haue been a virgin afore: and many such other points there are in Scriptures which a man may be ignorant of without perill of saluation: *Ergo*, much more may we be ignorant of vnwritten verities, or rather popish fables. For it is not like that the Scriptures doe *abundari in superfluis*, abound in superfluous

things, that be not necessarie to saluation, *& deficere in necessarijs*, and be wanting in necessarie.

Argum.2. The Church hath no more authoritie then the Apostles, nor yet in all things so much: but they had no power to make articles of faith: for S. *Paul* deliuereth that which he had receiued concerning the Sacrament, he durst not adde vnto it, as the Papists haue been bold to doe since, 1. Cor. 11. Vpon which place S. *Ambrose* thus writeth: *Indignum dicit domino, qui aliter mysterium celebrat, quam ab eo traditum est: non enim potest deuotus esse, qui aliter præsumit, quam datum est ab autore*: The Apostle saith, he is vnworthie of the Lord, which doth celebrate the mysterie otherwise then it was by him deliuered: for he hath no true deuotion, which presumeth to doe otherwise, then the author prescribed: *Ergo*, the Church may explaine and open articles of faith out of the Scriptures, but not make new. Heare of this matter also a writer, whom you will not refuse: *Vincentius Lirinensis* vpon these words, 1. Timoth. 6. 20. O *Timothie*, Keepe that which is committed vnto thee: *Intelligatur te exponente illustrius, quod antè obscurius credebatur: eadem tamen, quæ didicisti, doce, vt cùm dicas noua, non dicas noua:* Let that be vnderstoode more cleerely by thy exposition, which was obscurely beleeued before: yet teach none other things then thou hast learned, that though you speake them after a new manner, yet vtter no new things. If *Timothie* then was to bring in no new things, but onely to explaine the olde, how much lesse the Pastors of the Church now.

Fox. pag. 677. *Argum.3.* We proue it by the confession of our aduersaries. The fathers of *Basile*, that concluded, it was an article of the Christian faith to beleeue the superioritie of the Councell, did gather it out of the saying of Christ, *die ecclesiæ*, and therefore enforced it as an article. Whereby we gather, that they held, that the Church could establish no article of faith without Scripture. *Bellarmine* likewise saith, that the Church is not now gouerned by new reuelations, but we ought to be contented with those decrees, which we haue receiued from the Apostles: *Ergo*, as Doctor *Whitakers* doth strongly conclude, the Church cannot coyne new articles of faith.

Contr. de Scrip. quæst. 6. cap. 4.

Argum.4. If the Scriptures doe teach all necessarie poynts both concerning faith and manners, then hath the Church no authoritie to establish other articles of faith beside: but the first is true: for the Apostle saith, that the Scriptures *are able to make a man perfect to euery good worke*: but where perfection is, there is nothing wanting, 2. Timoth. 3. 17. *Ergo*, the Church hath no such power: see more of this, *contron. 1. quæst. 7. part. 2.*

Lastly, we haue before proued at large out of the word of God, that the Scriptures containe all things necessarie to saluation: and therefore all articles of faith must be deriued from thence,

Epistol. 49. quæst. 2. 1. *contron. quæst. 7.* And so we conclude with *Augustine*: *Lingua sonos, quibus inter se homines sua sensa communicent, pacto quodam societatis sibi instituere possunt: Quibus autem sacris diuinitati congruerent, voluntatem Dei sequuti sunt, qui rectè sapuerunt: Quæ omnino nunquam defuit ad salutem iustitiæ pietatique hominum*: Men, saith he, may deuise among themselues what language they will vse to expresse their minde: but how to serue God, wise men euer followed the will and commaundement of God, which neuer hath fayled men in all necessarie matters concerning righteousnes and godlines. By this Fathers sentence, the Scriptures which containe the will of God, containe all necessarie things. *Ergo*, we neede not seeke elsewhere.

This truth is sealed by the confession and glorious witnesse of the holy Martyrs, that the holy Scriptures being written by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, are the very true word of God, and therefore to be heard accordingly, as the Iudge in all controuersies and matters of religion: this was the confession of the holy Martyrs set forth *anno* 1554 subscribed by *Iohn Hooper*, *Iohn Rogers*, *Rowland Taylour*, *Iohn Philpot*, *Iohn Bradford*, *Laurence Saunders*, and others, *Fox* pag. 1471.

Lastly, we haue the authoritie of their owne Councels, *Concil. Basilien. epistol. synodal.* Pope *Vrbane* is alleaged thus writing: *Sciendum est quia inde Romanus pontifex nouas leges condere potest, vnde Euangelista nequaquam aliquid dixerunt, &c.* Know this, that the Bishop of Rome hath onely authoritie in this case to make new lawes, where the Euangelists and Scriptures are silent: But the Scriptures are not silent in any poynt concerning faith and manners. See the Councell of *Cauilon. can. 67.* cited before *contron. 1. quæst. 7. part. 2. argum. 3. Ergo*, neither the Church or Pope hath authoritie herein to make new lawes. And lastly I will produce one of your owne Popes testimonies, *Iohn. 22. extrau. tit. 14. c. 5. versus finem. Articuli fidei in symbolis continentur, &c. articuli fidei habent per scripturam probari*: The articles of faith are conteined in the symboles or Creedes. Againe, the articles of faith must be proued by Scripture. *Ergo*, the Church can make no new article of the faith: but is bound to receiue those contained in the Creede, and proued out of the Scriptures. Likewise *Concil. Ferrariæ. sess. 9. Bessarion* thus saith, *Sciatis addendi symbolo facultatem, non solùm Romanæ, verùm vniuersali Ecclesiæ, generalique synodo interdictam esse*: Know yee that to adde to the Creede, not onely the Romane, but the vniuersall Church and generall Synode hath no authoritie.

AN

AN APPENDIX OR MEMBER OF THIS PART of the queſtion, whether we are to beleeue in the Church.

The Papiſts.

WE ought to beleeue and truſt the Church in all things: yea to beleeue in the Church, 25. Error.
Rhemiſt. 1. Tim. 3. fol. 9. the Scripture alſo vſeth this ſpeech, to beleeue in men. *annot. in 10. Rom. 1. fol. 41.*

Argum. 1. Exod. 14. 31. they beleeued in God and *Moſes. Ergo.* We anſwere. Your owne vulgar text hath it, *crediderunt Deo & Moſi ſeruo eius*: they beleeued God and his ſeruant *Moſes*: that is, hauing ſeene the great power of God in the deſtruction of the Egyptians in the red ſea, according to the word of *Moſes*, they gaue credite vnto *Moſes*, which ſpake vnto them from God.

Argum. 2. Philem verſ. 5. *Hearing of thy loue and faith which thou haſt toward the Lord Ieſus and vnto all the Saints.* See, ſay they, here is faith toward the Saints.

We anſwere: there is no man, that is not peruerſly diſpoſed, but may eaſily diſtinguiſh the Apoſtles words; to attribute faith to Ieſus Chriſt, and loue to the Saints: which may appeare by the altering of the prepoſition, as they themſelues reade in their owne tranſlation, loue and faith in Ieſus Chriſt, and toward the Saints: ſo it muſt needes be thus vnderſtood, faith in Chriſt, and loue toward the Saints: this therefore is but a ſophiſticall cauill.

The Proteſtants.

THis word, *Credo*, beleeue, is taken three wayes: for there is *credere deo*, to beleeue God, that is, to truſt him in all things, *credere Deum*, to beleeue God to be, *credere in Deum*, to beleeue in God, as our creator, Lord, and redeemer. So we doe *credere eccleſiam*, we beleeue there is one holy Catholike Church: *credere eccleſia*, we doe alſo beleeue and giue credence to the Church, following the word of God: But we doe not in any wiſe *credere in eccleſiam*, beleeue in the Church.

Argum. 1. We muſt not beleeue or put any confidence in a creature: the Church is but a creature: *Ergo* for to beleeue in God, is onely proper to the Godhead: and therefore, Ioh. 14. 1. where Chriſt ſaith, ye beleeue in God, beleeue alſo in me: we doe neceſſarily out of theſe words inferre, that Chriſt is God, becauſe we are commanded to beleeue in him.

Argum. 2. Faith is of things that are abſent and not ſeene: but the Church is preſent alwayes vpon earth, and alwayes viſible, as our aduerſaries holde: how then can it be in obiect of our faith? We cannot beleeue in that which is viſible and ſeene, for it is againſt the nature of faith.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Sciendum eſt quòd eccleſiam credere, non tamen in eccleſiam credere debemus, quia eccleſia non eſt Deus ſed domus Dei: de tempore ſer.* 131. We muſt know, that we are to beleeue there is a Church, not in the Church, for the Church is not God, but onely the houſe of God. Your owne decrees alſo doe approue that ſaying of S. *Auguſtine, Hom. 3. ad Neophytos, decr. par. 3. diſt. 4 c. 73. Non quomodo in Deum credimus, ſic in Eccleſiam ſanctam catholicam, qua propterea ſancta & catholica eſt, quia certè credit in Deum: Non ergo diximus vt in Eccleſiam quaſi in Deum credereris, ſed vt in Eccleſia ſancta conuerſantes in Deum credereris, &c.* As we beleeue in God, ſo we doe not beleeue in the Church; which is therefore holy, becauſe it beleeueth aright in God: therefore we ſaid not, you muſt beleeue in the Church as in God, but that hauing your converſation in the Church, you ſhould beleeue in God. From whence we reaſon thus: that which beleeueth vpon an other is not to be beleeued vpon; but the Church beleeueth vpon God: *Ergo* the reaſon of the propoſition is this, becauſe faith and beleefe is the laſt refuge of a Chriſtian; but beyond our beleefe in the Church there ſhould be another beleefe in God. And againe, there is but one and the ſelfe ſame obiect of faith: but now ſhould there be diuers, God the obiect of the Churches faith, and the Church the obiect of our faith.

For the confeſſion of this truth, that we ought to truſt onely in God, and not in men, and that we are bound no further to beleeue the decrees of the Church, then they are agreeable to the Scriptures: two conſtant Martyrs, *H. Voes*, and *Iohn Eſch*, gaue their liues at *Bruxelles, an.* 1523. *Fox* pag. 874.

THE SECOND PART OF THE QVESTION, concerning the ceremonies of the Church.

The Papiſts.

THey doe hold that the Church of God may vſe and bleſſe diuers elements and creatures for 26. Error.
the ſeruice of God: as holy water to driue away diuels: the hallowing of ſalt, waxe, fire, palmes, aſhes, oyle, creame, milke, honey, *Rhemiſt. 1. Tim. 4. fol. 122. & 123.* Yea that the Church may

borrow

borrow rites and ceremonies of the Iewes: *ibid fol.*18. Yea by the creatures thus blessed, or rather coniured, they say, remission of sinnes is obtayned *fol.*14.

*Argum.*1. Remission of sinnes was annexed to the oyle wherewith the sicke were annointed, Iam.5. *Ergo*, remission of sinnes may be applyed by the like consecrated elements, *Rhemist.*1.*Tim.*4. *fol.*14.

We answere: First, it followeth not because the creature of oyle was vsed in the miraculous gift of healing and by the appointment of Christ, which ceremonie also was no longer to continue than that miraculous gift endured: it followeth not that other elements may be vsed so now without any such warrant, and there being not the like occasion, seeing all such miraculous gifts are now ceased. Secondly, it was not the oyle whereby their sinnes were forgiuen them, neither was it applyed to that end, it was onely a pledge vnto them of their bodily health: but the prayer of faith shall saue the sicke, saith the Apostle, vers.15. for God hath promised to heare the faithfull prayers of his children both for themselues and others.

*Argum.*2. S. *Paul* vsed imposition of hands, which was a ceremonie of the law vsed in consecrating of Priests: *Ergo*, it is lawfull to borrow ceremonies of the Iewes.

We answere: It followeth not, because Christ and the Apostles by the spirit of God retained some decent actions vsed in the law, therefore now the Church at her libertie may take of the Iewish ceremonies: this is great presumption to thinke it is lawfull for the Church to doe whatsoeuer Christ and his Apostles did, *Fulk.*1.*Tim.*4. *fol.*18.

*Argum.*3. They would warrant their superstitious ceremonies by S. *Pauls* example, how napkins and partlets went from his bodie, and they receiued health thereby: and the woman that came behinde Christ, and touched the hemme of his vesture, was healed of her disease, by that ceremonie, *argum. Feckenami.*

Answ. Concerning the first example, the text saith, God wrought no small miracles by the hand of *Paul*, Act.19.12. It was God therefore that wrought, not these ceremonies. And for the other, Christ saith, vertue is gon out of me: it was not then his vesture that healed the woman, but the vertue: and therefore our Sauiour himselfe saith, go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole, *respons. Thom. Hankes. Mart.* pag.1588.

The Protestants.

ALthough there be great moderation to be vsed in the ceremonies of the Church, and there is also some limitation for them: yet hath the Church greater libertie in the rites and ceremonies, which are appoynted for order and comelines sake, then in the doctrine of faith and religion. The doctrine of saluation is alwayes the same and cannot be changed, and toucheth the conscience: but rites and ceremonies are externall and commaunded for orders sake: and neither are they vniuersall, the same in euery Church, nor perpetuall, but are changed according to times, and as there is occasion. Againe, the precepts of Christianitie are either directly expressed, or necessarie concluded out of the Scriptures: but externall rites and ceremonies are not particularly declared in the word: there are onely certaine generall rules set downe, according to the which all ceremonies brought into the Church, are to be examined: As for the Sacraments of the Church, they cannot be altered, hauing a perpetuall commaundement from Christ: Therefore the Church cannot appoint, what, how many ceremonies soeuer she shall thinke good, but according to these foure rules and conditions, which follow here in order.

1 All things ought to be done to the glorie of God, euen in ciuill actions, much more in things appertaining to the seruice of God, 1.Cor.10.31. Our aduersaries offend against this rule, applying and annexing remission of sinnes to their owne inuentions and superstitious ceremonies, as vnto penance and extreme vnction, which they also make Sacraments: for this is greatly derogatorie to Christs institution, who hath onely appoynted the hearing of his word, and vse of the Sacraments, for the begetting and increasing of faith, and by this faith onely is the death of Christ applyed vnto vs for the remission of sinnes.

2 All things ought to be done orderly and decently, 1.Cor.14.40. Wherefore all ridiculous, light and vnprofitable ceremonies are to bee abolished: such our aduersaries haue many, as knocking, kneeling, creeping to the Crosse, lighting candles at noone day, turning ouer of beades, and many phantasticall gestures they haue in their Idolatrous Masse, as turning, returning, looking to the East, to the West: crossing, lifting, quaffing, and shewing the emptie cup, with many such toyes.

3 All things ought to be done without offence, 1.Cor.10.32. But to whom, that hath but a little feeling of religion, is not the abominable sacrifice of the Masse offensiue? what good conscience doth it not grieue, that the Priest should create his maker, as they say? should offer vp the body of Christ in sacrifice, and be an intercessor as it were for his mediator, desiring God to accept the sacrifice of his sonnes body? as also to make it a propitiatorie sacrifice for the quicke and the

dead?

dead? But of these matters we shall haue fitter occasion to entreate afterward, when we come to the seuerall controuersies.

4 All things ought to be done to edifying, 1. Cor. 14. vers. 12. But the popish ceremonies are so farre from edifying, that by reason of their infinite rabble and number, they are a clogge vnto Christians, and more burdensome, then were the obseruations of the Iewes: They haue hallowed fire, water, bread, ashes, oyle, wax, flowers, branches, clay, spittle, salt, incense, palme, chalices, paxes, pixes, altars, corporals, superaltars, altarcloches, rings, swords, and an infinite company besides: doe these tende (thinke you) to the edification of the minde? Nay, they doe cleane destroy and extinguish all spirituall and internall motions, drawing the heart from the spirituall worship of God, to externall beggerly and ragged relickes and ceremonies, *Falc. 1. Tumib. 4. sect. 2. Beza. lib. confess. de eccles. artic. 18. 19. 20.*

Let vs see the consent of antiquitie concerning ceremonies: *Modus colendi deum per externos ritus, & ceremonias legis, quia hæc fuerunt umbra Christi & mysteriorum eius, ideo aduentante veritate Euangelica euanuerunt, & illicita facta sunt:* The manner of worshipping God by externall rites and ceremonies of the law, because they were a shadowe of Christ, and of his mysteries, are now by the comming of the Euangelicall truth abolished and made vnlawfull. Glos. ordin. de 4. Concil. primitiuæ eccles.

But such Iewish ceremonies many yet are retayned in the Popish Church, *Coloniens. part. 3. cap. 16. Quicquid in huiusmodi rebus ad abusum & superstitionem spectat, & quo populus à Deo ad colendum in externis rebus fiducia abduci possit prohibemus:* Whatsoeuer in ceremonies tendeth to abuse and superstition, and may withdraw the people from God to trust in externall things, we forbid. But that such Iewish ceremonies are not to be retayned in the Church, neither that it is lawfull after the example of the Iewes to institute the like ceremonies in Christs Church; heare further the testimonie of one of your owne Popes: *Innocent. 3. decr. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 47. c. 1. Postquam umbra legis euanuit, & illuxit veritas Euangelij, si mulieres post prolem emissam alium gratiæ Ecclesiam intrare voluerunt, eis Ecclesiarum non denegandus est ingressus:* After that the shadow of the law is vanished, and the truth of the Gospell hath appeared, if women after their deliuerance will enter the Church to giue thankes, it must not be denied vnto them. But by the law, women could not, but after a certaine time enter into the temple: wherefore as in this ceremonie *Moses* law bindeth not, so neither in the rest. And to this purpose may be applied that rule in the Ciuill law: *Cod. lib. 7. tit. 6. leg. 1. Institian. Absurdum est ipsa origine res sublata, eius imaginem relinqui:* It is an absurd thing, the originall being remoued, for the image or shadow to be retained: But the ceremoniall law of the Iewes is remoued, and therefore there ought not so much, as a shadow thereof to remaine. Vnto these we will adioyne the reasons, and iudgement of the holy Martyrs concerning Popish ceremonies. These orders of the Church are most pure, which doe come most nigh the example of the Primitiue Church: so doe not the orders of the Popish Church, but are furthest off from it: *Ergo*, they are vnpure, *argum. Laurent. Saund. Marti. 1494.*

Bonner answered, that the proposition was false: for the Church was then in her infancie, and could not abide that perfection, which afterward was to be furnished with ceremonies. *Saunders* replieth, that ceremonies were inuented at the first, for the rude infancie and weake infirmitie of man; and therfore it was a token of greater perfection in the primitiue Church, that it had few ceremonies; and of the rudenes of the papisticall Church, because it had so many ceremonies, partly blasphemous, partly vnsauorie and vnprofitable, *ibid.* And it is to coo absurd, to thinke the state of any Church more pure, then the Primitiue vnder the Apostles: as *Gregor. Nazianzen. ad Gregor. Nyssen. orat. 3. Sanctorum patrum constitutiones, qui procuderes fuere Christo agnoscamus:* Let vs receiue the constitutions of the Fathers, as they come nearer to Christ. So then as the waters nearest the fountaines are clearest, so the times next to Christ purest.

Iohn Fortune Martyr alleadged this place of Scripture against popish ceremonies: *All things that are not planted by my heauenly father shall be plucked vp by the roots*, Mat. 15. So saith our Sauiour, but such are popish ceremonies: *Ergo. Obiect.* Nay they are good and godly, necessarie to be vsed. *Answere.* But S. *Paul* calleth them weake and beggerly, and saith, they are bewitched, that seeke to be in bondage vnto them, Galath. 4. 9. *Fox. pag. 1918.*

Lastly, in this cause *Rich. Gibson* gaue his life, who refused to come to procession, to beare taper or candle, or to receiue ashes, or to beare palme, to receiue the pax at Masse, or holy water, or holy bread, or to obserue the ceremonies and vsages of the popish Church, *Fox. p. 2033. col. 1. artic. obiect. 7.*

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER THE Church of Rome be the true Church.

THis question hath two parts. First, whether the Romane Church be the Catholike Church or not. Secondly, whether the Church of Rome be a true visible Church.

THE

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE ROMANE Church be the Catholike Church.

The Papists.

27. Error. BEllarmine defining the Church, maketh this one part of the definition to be subiect vnto the Bishop of Romes iurisdiction, *lib.3 de eccles. cap.2.* And therefore they conclude, that they are out of the Church and no better then heretikes, that doe not acknowledge the Pope to be their chiefe Pastor, *Canis. de precept. eccles. cap.9.* So they make the Romane faith, and Catholike, to be all one: *Rhemist. annot. in 1. Rom. sect.5.*

Their reasons are none other, then we haue seene before, taken from vniuersalitie, antiquitie, vnitie, vnto the which we haue alreadie answered, *quest.3.* of this controuersie, Not. 1. 2. 3.

The Protestants.

WHile the Church of Rome continued in the doctrine of the Apostles, it was a notable and famous visible Church, and a principall part and member of the vniuersall Catholike: but now since it is degenerate and fallen away from the Apostolike faith, from being the house of God, to be a Synagogue for Antichrist, we take it not to be so much as a true visible Church. But neuer was it to be counted the Catholike Church, as though all other Churches were parts and members of it: but it selfe onely was a part as others, and Catholike too, while it continued in the right faith: but not Catholike as hauing iurisdiction ouer the rest, and all [illegible] ceiue this name of her.

Argum.1. The vniuersall Catholike Church it so called, because it containeth the whole number of the elect and first borne of God, Heb. 12. 23. Whereof many are now Saints in Heauen, many liuing in the earth, many yet vnborne. But all these were not, neither are of the Romane faith: the holy men departed knew not of these superstitious and prodigious visages, which now doe raigne in the Church of Rome, nay many of them neuer heard in their life so much, as of the name of Rome: *Ergo.*

Argum.2. It is called Catholike, and vniuersall, because they that are to be saued, must belong vnto this company, and be of this Church, for without the Church there is no saluation: for Christ onely gaue himselfe for his Church to sanctifie it and cleanse it, Ephes. 5. 25. But all that die out of the faith of the Romane Church, doe not perish. Nay verily, we doubt not to say, but that all which depart this life in the communion thereof without repentance, are barred from saluation, and die out of grace. You say, that who is out of your Church is damned; and we thinke verily on the other side, that if we depart from the true Church, whereon we are grafted in Gods word, we should stand in the state of damnation, *see Philpot. Mart. p.* 1800. We are in the right faith: neither will we be our owne iudges, the Scriptures shall iudge vs: *Euery spirit that confesseth, that Iesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God,* 1. Iohn 4. 2. We beleeue aright in both the natures and all the offices of Christ: which you doe not; which doe greatly defare his prophetical office, in not reuerencing his word, but making it imperfect: his kingdome, in appointing him a Vicar and Vicegerent vpon earth, as though he of himselfe were not sufficient to gouerne: his Priesthood, in setting vp another sacrifice: *Ergo*, your spirit is not of God.

Argum.3. The Catholike Church is so called, because it imbraceth the whole and onely doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, Ephes. 2. 20. But the Romane Church receiueth many things contrarie to Scripture, and addeth many things vnto it, as it shall appeare throughout this whole discourse. *Ergo.*

The Catholike Church hath the name, because it is dispersed ouer the whole earth, Act. 1. ver. 8. But so was neuer the Romane faith, which is now professed, as we haue shewed before, *Quest.3. de Eccles. Not.2. Ergo.* And this may further appeare out of S. *Augustine* thus writing to S. *Hieronie, epist.*19. If we count it an euill thing to fast Saturday, we shall condemne the Romane Church, &c. but if we count it euill, *non ieiunare Sabbato*, not to fast Saturday, we shall condemne so many Churches of the East, *& maiorem orbis Christiani partem*, and the greater part of the Christian world: *Ergo*, the greater part of the Church did not receiue the ceremonies of the Romane Church, and so consequently, it cannot be the Catholike Church.

We will adde the testimonie of the holy Martyrs: Master *Philpot* reasoneth thus, the world being deuided into three parts, Asia, Europa, Africa; two parts thereof, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, did neuer consent vnto the Church of Rome: yea and most part of Europa doth not allow the Church of Rome; as Germanie, Denmarke, Poland, a great part of England and Zeland: *Ergo*, neither your faith nor your Church is vniuersall or Catholike, *Fox* pag. 1804.

He alleageth also a saying out of *Augustine, Æstimamus fidem Catholicam à rebus præteritis, præsentibus & futuris:* We iudge the Catholike faith of that which hath been, is, and shall be: If then you bee able to proue that your faith and Church hath been from the beginning taught,

taught, is, and shall be, then may you count your selues Catholike, otherwise not.

Iulius Palmer Martyr, vsed this reason: The Church of Rome is not vniuersall, but a particular Church [illegible]: Ergo it is not the Catholike Church, see pag. 1939. col. 1.

For this truth also with others, George Marsh gaue his life, for saying that the Church of Rome is not the true Catholike Church, see pag. [illegible].

See also for this point your owne Canonists, *Basilien. Council. epistol. Synod.* [illegible] *in qua Romana* [illegible]*?* We graunt, that the Romish See is the principall among others; but while you commend a part, forget not the whole. It is vnreason, that while you aduance one Church, the vniuersall Church, in the which the Romane is comprehended, should be preiudiced.

Againe in the appendix of the same Councell, *Romana Ecclesia non est vniuersalis, sed de vniuersali*: The Romane Church is not the vniuersall Church, but of the vniuersall Church: and *Concil. Ferrar. sess. 9.* [illegible] *Ecclesia vniuersali Ecclesia est inferior*, &c. The Romane Church is inferior to the vniuersall Church. By these authorities it appeareth, that the Romane Church is one, the vniuersall and Catholike another.

See also to this purpose the lawes Imperiall: *Cod. lib. 1. tit.* [illegible], &c. The holy Church of this religious citie (meaning Constantinople, where *Acacius* was then Patriarke, as appeareth in the beginning of the law) the mother of our faith, and of all right beleeuing Christians, we doe decree to haue this honour to haue the first place before all other. Here thou must haue the Constantinopolitane Church the mother of the orthodoxall faith euery where professed: and so by this law the Church of Rome also shall be a daughter of that Church, and therefore not the mother of vniuersall Church it selfe.

THE SECOND PART: THE CHVRCH OF Rome is not a true visible Church.

The Papists.

THeir arguments are as we haue heard, *quest. 3.* of the notes of the Church, grounded vpon their succession, miracles, gift of prophesying: answered sufficiently afore, *Nota 5. 6.* We neede not, nor must not for breuities sake repeat the same things againe. 28. Error.

The Protestants.

WE deny vtterly that they are a true visible Church of Christ, but an Antichristian Church, and an assembly of heretikes, and enemies to the Gospell of Iesus Christ.

1. That cannot be a true Church where the word of God is not truly preached, nor the Sacraments rightly administred according to Christs institution: So are they not in the Popes Church. For the word is not sincerely taught, but they haue added many inuentions of their owne, and doe preach contrarie Doctrines to the Scripture. The Sacraments also they haue not kept, for first they haue augmented the number: they haue made fiue more; of confirmation, orders, penance, Matrimonie, extreme vnction: beside, the Sacraments of Christ they haue corrupted. In Baptisme, beside water, they vse spittle, salte, oyle, Chrisme, contrarie to the institution: and they lay such a necessitie vpon this Sacrament, that all which die without it, say they, are damned. In the Lords Supper, they haue turned the Sacrament to a sacrifice, made an Idoll of bread, changed the Communion into priuate Masses, taken the cup from the lay people, and many other abominations are committed by them. *Ergo*, neither hauing the word, nor Sacraments, according to the institution, they are no true Church.

The proposition or first part of this argument, as S. *Paul* Galath. 1. 8. He that preacheth otherwise, then the Apostles taught, is accursed: yea that Church that so teacheth is accursed: whether it adde to Christs doctrine, or detract or take away from it. And S. *Ambrose* of taking away from Christs institution thus saith: *Negat Christum, qui non omnia, quae Christi sunt, confitetur*: He denieth Christ, which doth not confesse and acknowledge all that Christ taught, *lib. 6. in Luc.* And for adding to the Scripture he thus testifieth, writing vpon those words of our Sauiour, *Be not the seruants of men*, 1. Cor. 7. *Serui hominum illi sunt, qui hominum vel se subijciunt superstitionibus*: They are the seruants of men, that submit themselues to humane superstitions. If they be the seruants of men, they are not the seruants of Christ: so S. *Paul* concludeth Galath. 1. 10. Thus the proposition is strengthened. But the Popish Church doth adde vnto the Scriptures, as is euident in the Sacraments, wherein they vse many rites beside Christs institution: it doth also detract, as in denying mariage to Ministers, and the cuppe to the Laytie, both which the Scripture alloweth: *Ergo*, it is not the true Church.

*Argum.*2. They which are enemies to the true Church, and doe persecute the members thereof, are no true visible Church: they cannot be of that Church which they persecute, as *Bellarmine* saith of *Paul*: how could he be of that Church which he with all his force oppressed? *de Eccles. lib.*3. *cap.*7. But they persecute the Saints of God, and are most cruell towards them, as their consciences beare them record. *Ergo.* So saith S. *August. Est mundus qui persequitur, de quo Christus, Si odit vos mundus, me prius odio habuit: est & mundus quem persequitur; Deus erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi: mundus damnatus, quicquid praeter ecclesiam, mundus reconciliatus ecclesia.* There is a world that persecuteth, of the which Christ speaketh, If the world hate you, it hated me first: There is an other world which it persecuteth, of the which the Apostle speaketh, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himselfe, 2. Cor. 5. the reconciled world is the Church, the damned world beside the Church: *Ergo*, by S. *Augustines* sentence the persecuting Church, such as is the Church of Rome, is not the true Church.

Espens. in 2. Tim. p. 103. And yet more plainly S. *Chrisostome*, as he is cited by one of your owne writers, *Hom.* 19. *oper. imperfect. Numquid ouis lupum persequitur, non potius lupus ouem, &c.* Doth the sheepe persecute the woolfe, and not rather the woolfe the sheep? the sheep eateth herbes, the woolfe deuoureth flesh: he therefore whom thou seest to feede vpon the herbes of Scripture, is a sheepe: *quem in sanguine persecutionis gaudentem, lupus*: whom to delight in bloodie persecution, he is a woolfe. But who are they which magnifie the Scriptures, and onely feede of them, as sufficient to saluation? they are not the Papists, who ground their faith vpon vnwritten traditions, but Protestants: They are then the sheepe: and they are knowne to bee the most bloodie persecutors of these daies: then they are the wolues, and therefore not the Church.

*Argum.*3. The habitation of Antichrist cannot be the Church of Christ; so is theirs: the Pope himselfe is Antichrist, for who else but hee sitteth in the Temple, being an enemie to Christ? 2. Thess. 2. Where haue you a citie in the world built vpon seuen hils but Rome? Apocal. 17. 9. But of this matter we shall of purpose intreate afterward: *Ergo*, they are not a true visible Church. And that Rome is the seate of Antichrist, it appeareth by their owne confession, who by Babylon vnderstand Rome, *Rhemist. annot. in* 1. *Pet.* 5. 13. and so likewise Apocal. 17. vers. 5. But Babylon is the seate of Antichrist, and Rome is Babylon: *Ergo.* They haue here commonly two euasions: first, it was called Babylon in respect of the persecuting Emperours, *Rhemist.* Secondly, because that before the end of the world Antichrist shall haue his seate there, *sic Bellarm.* But S. *Hierome* in his time doubted not to call Rome Babylon, when as both the Heathen persecutions were ceased, neither yet their Antichrist, whom they say shall come, reuealed: as thus he writeth, *Fugite de medio Babylonis, &c. cecidit Babylon, & facta est habitatio daemonum*: Flie out of the middest of Babylon, let euery man saue his owne soule: for Babylon is fallen and become an habitation for diuels.

Ad Eustoch. & Marcell. He exhorteth them to leaue Rome, which here he calleth Babylon.

And that the Pope is Antichrist, see one of their Popes authoritie, *Decr. p.* 3. *dist.* 3. *c.* 12. *Gregor.* They that forbid any worke to bee done vpon the Saturday, are the preachers of Antichrist, who when he commeth shall commaund vpon the Saturday, as well as the Lords day, to cease from all worke. But this doth the Pope, forbid labour vpon the weeke daies, making them festiuall and holy daies, and necessarily to be kept: *Ergo.*

Lastly, for this doctrine, that the Church of Rome, as it now standeth, is not the true Church of Christ, many holy Martyrs haue giuen their liues: *Thomas Man* Martyr, *anno* 815. for holding that the popish Church was not the true Church, *articul. obiect.* 9. *Fox* pag. 815. *Richard Feuris* Martyr at Lyons, *anno* 1554. for saying it was not the true Church, because it was gouerned by the traditions of men, and not the word of God, pag. 912. col. 1.

Thomas Benet Martyr at Exceter affirmed, that the Papists appertained to the vniuersall Church, but as dead members: for you say and preach, that the Popes word is equall with Gods word, pag. 1039. col. 1.

Master *Saunders* Martyr, that the Romish religion is rauening, and wooluish, as it appeareth, saith he, in three points: First, it robbeth God of his due and only honour. Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of conscience in obscuring or rather burying Christ, and his office of saluation. Thirdly, it spoyleth God of his true worship and seruice in spirit and truth, &c. *Saunder. epist. ad Episcop. Wintoniens. pag.* 1495.

See also the confession of *Thomas Osmund, William Bamford, Nicholas Chamberlaine* Martyrs: That the Church of Rome was no true member of the Catholike Church of Christ, because the faith and religion thereof was not agreeable to Gods word, pag. 1602. artic. 3. obiect.

Master *Robert Glouer* Martyr, by these arguments prooueth the Church of Rome not to bee the Church of Christ: First, Christs Church acknowledgeth Christ Iesus onely to be their head: the Church of Rome setteth vp the man of sinne for their head. Secondly, Christs Church heareth his voyce, and is ruled by his word, neither adding to, nor taking ought from it: the Church of Rome addeth to Gods word, and runneth a whoring after their owne inuentions. Thirdly, the

true Church labourith to refist the lufts and defires of the world, the flesh and the diuell: those for the moſt part giue themſelues to all voluptuouſneſſe, ſecretly committing ſuch things, which as Saint *Paul* ſaith, it is a ſhame to ſpeake of. Fourthly, the Church of Chriſt is perſecuted: the Church of Rome doth perſecute, murder, and ſlay the ſeruants of God: *Ergo*, it is not the true Church: *plura apud Fox. pag. 1171. col. 2.*

THAT THE CHVRCH OF THE PROteſtants is a true viſible Church.

The Papiſts.

THe argumentes, which our aduerſaries vſe againſt vs to prooue vs to bee no Church, drawne from antiquitie, vniuerſalitie, ſucceſſion, the power of Miracles, prophecying, and ſuch like, I haue anſwered at large before in their ſeuerall places, that I ſhall not needs to repeate them againe. But generally the ſumme of our anſwere is this, that, whereas their argument may be thus framed: That Church which hath neither antiquitie, vniuerſalitie, vnitie, ſucceſſion, &c. is no true Church: but ſuch is the Church of the Proteſtants: *Ergo*. To this argument we haue thus anſwered: firſt, denying the propoſition, and ſhewing, that neither that alwaies is a Church where theſe notes are found; and that there may be a Church where they are wanting. Secondly, wee alſo infringe the aſſumption: for moſt of theſe notes I haue declared to bee more agreeable to our Church, and rather to be found amongſt vs, then with them. But who deſireth to ſee our anſwere more fully, I referre him to the ſeuerall places before, wherein theſe things are handled.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Churches of the Proteſtants, and namely the Church of England, are true viſible Churches, and notable members of the Catholike Church, beſide the argumentes drawne from the preaching of the word, and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, which alwaies proouе a Church; wee will produce other reaſons, and ſuch as may perſwade our aduerſaries themſelues.

Argum. 1. That Church which ſendeth forth Martyrs, as Chriſts faithfull ſouldiours, is the true Church: but the Church of the Proteſtants hath brought forth many Martyrs: *Ergo*. The propoſition, I thinke, is not doubted of: for out of the Church there are no Martyrs: as S. *Cyprian* ſaith, *Qui occiſi, &c.* They which are ſtabbed out of the Church, doe not winne a crowne of their faith, but a reward of their follie, *lib. 3. epiſt. 11.* Againe, the Martyrs of Chriſt are vndoubtedly ſaued, their ſoules are vnder the Altar, which is Chriſt, *Apocal. 6. 9.* And as *Origen* applieth that place of the Prophet Eſay. 63. 1. To them the Angels doe thus ſay and welcome them into heauen: *Quis eſt iſte qui aſcendit ex Boſra?* Who is this that aſcendeth from Bozra? this is, from the bloodie field: but there can be no ſaluation out of the Church. And further, the ſame *Origen* thus reaſoneth out of the words of our Sauiour, *I haue a baptiſme to be baptiſed with*, Luke 12. 50. meaning his paſſion: *Chriſtus profitetur ſanguinis baptiſma verum*: Chriſt (ſaith he) calleth the ſhedding of his blood, baptiſme. But there is no kinde of true baptiſme and acceptable to God, but within the Church: *Ergo*, true martyrdome, which is a kinde of baptiſme, is onely to bee found in the Church. But the propoſition needes no long proofe: I come to ſhew the aſſumption, that thoſe Saints, which out of our Church haue died for the Goſpell, were true and vnfained Martyrs. Hom. 7. in Iudic.

The ancient writers doe giue vs foure rules whereby to know and diſcerne the Martyrs of the Church: the firſt is S. *Cyprians* rule, by their ſingular patience: *Sunt qui verbis &c.* There are ſome which by certaine artificiall meanes doe ſtupefie their bodies that they feele not the torments; there bee alſo ſome impotent and outragious affections, which take away the ſenſe of the bodie, &c. *ſubplantatum eſt &c.* but we finde not that quiet and meeke kinde of death, but onely in the Martyrs of Chriſt. But ſuch examples of patient death in the bleſſed Martyrs of our Church we haue many: and their patience appeareth both by their owne teſtifiable words and teſtimonies, by their courageous and conſtant behauiour, as alſo by the confeſſion of their enimies. First for their owne confeſſions: one *Nicholas*, or *Francis Thirſton*, one of them, which ſuffered for the Goſpell at Mechlin, *anno* 1573. when he felt the fire, ſaid thus; What a ſmall paine is this to bee compared to the life to come? Foxe pag. 1981. col. 2. *Anne Andebert* Martyr at Orleance ſuffering vpon a Saturday, *anno* 1549. thus diuerſe times ſaid: I was firſt maried vpon a Saturday, and vpon a Saturday I ſhall be maried againe to Chriſt. Foxe pag. 1981. col. 2. Notable is the teſtimonie of that reuerend and godly Biſhop and Martyr B. *Farrar*, who thus ſaid to one Maſter *Richard Iones*, who ſeemed to lamente the painfulnes of his death, that if he ſaw him once to ſtirre in the paines of his burning, he ſhould then giue no credit to his doctrine: and as he ſaid, ſo being aſſiſted by Gods ſpirit he performed the ſame. But amongſt all others muſt glorious is the teſtimonie of that Bleſſed Martyr, who hauing his armes and legges

De duplici Martyrio.

halfe consumed in the fire, alas cried out: Behold ô ye Papists, you looke for miracles, and here now may you see a miracle: for in this fire I feele no more paine, then if I were in a bed of downe, but it is to me as sweete as a bed of Roses, pag. 1030. col. 2.

Now for their constant and courageous behauiour, it was such as became the valiant souldiours of Christ, void of all feare and doubtfulnes. Fiue constant Martyrs burned at Lyons, *anno* 1553. when the fire was readie to be put vnto them, they made this petition, that each might embrace and kisse the other, as being no whit afraid of death, pag. 906. Sixe Martyrs being burned together at Colchester, *an.* 1557. clapped their hands for ioy in the middest of the fire, that thousands of people at the hearing thereof cried out and shouted, pag. 2009. *Thomas Hawkes* blessed Martyr, in the middest of the fire lifted vp his hands ouer his head burning as a torch, with flaming fire, and clapped them thrice in token of great ioy, pag. 1593. Master *Iohn Hooper* Bishop and Martyr behaued himselfe in his bitter death, the fire being thrice remoued, like a most meeke lambe of Christ, knocking still vpon his breast till his arme fell off, pag. 1512. Such examples a great number might bee alleaged, of their constant and quiet behauiour: but these may suffice.

Their constancie also may appeare by the confession of their aduersaries. First, *William Husse* Martyr at Roane, *anno* 1544. so thereafully carried himselfe in his death, that whereas some maliciously said he had a diuell, they were of others reproued, who said, that if he had a diuell he should haue fallen into despaire, pag. 900. A poore Martyr which suffered at Paris, *anno* 1549. being examined of his faith before the King *Henry* the 2. did so boldly answer for himself, that the King mused much thereat: And whereas the Cardinals and Bishops told the King, that the Lutherans did but carrie smoke in their mouthes, which if they were put to the fire, would vanish away; the King himselfe thereupon purposed to be present to see the execution, where the poore Martyr in his cruell and painfull death was so courageous, that the beholding thereof did more astonish the King, then all the other before, pag. 963. Likewise that reuerend Archbishop and holy Martyr D. *Thomas Cranmer* did so manfully and valiantly endure the fire, not once mouing or stirring in the middest of the flames, that one Frier *Iohn* being ignorant of the constancie of Martyrs, said to the Lord *Williams*, he died in despaire: who smiling onely so rebuked the Friers follie, pag. 1887. But enough hath been said concerning the probation of this matter, namely the patience of the Martyrs, no whit inferiour to the constancie of the ancient Martyrs in the Primitiue Church. And thus much of the first rule to know a Martyr by.

The second and third rules are *Bu words*, who thus writeth: *Ille mori pretiosa est, quam commendat vita, &c.* That death is precious which a good life commendeth: but that is more precious, which a good cause commendeth, *Ser. parui.* 24.

Secondly, true Martyrs then are to be iudged by their holy life & innocent conuersation: for as it is in the Psalm 116. *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints*, or holy ones. They the that haue liued an vngodly and vncleane life, vnlesse they be conuerted and change their wayes, are no fit witnesses of Gods truth: But such the Lord appointeth for the witnesse of his truth, that are of vnspotted life and of a godly conuersation. The popish Church hath canonized for Martyrs, some that were rebels and disobedient to their Prince, as *Thomas Becket*, and S. *Hugh*: some that were Sorcerers and Magicians, as *Hildebrand* their Pope, and S. *Dunstane*: some haue been taken for Saints, amongst whom there were slaine in their drunkennes, as it may be seene, *Decr. Greg. lib.* 3. *tit.* 45. *cap.* 1. But our Church can shew another kind of Martyrs, men of excellent vertuous life: as Master *Bradford* holy Martyr, a notable example of chast and continent life; Bishop *Cranmer* of innocencie, Bishop *Hooper* of hospitalitie; Master *Lorimer* of painfull and diligent preaching; *Tyndall* of continuall and feruent praier. See their seuerall stories, and I thinke they cannot name one of the Martyrs of the Gospell of an infamous life, after they came to the knowledge of the Gospell; and so as a true Martyr described, Apocal. 14. 5. *In their mouthes was no guile, &c.*

Thirdly: but this note of an innocent life is not sufficient of it selfe, vnlesse it be ioyned with the other, namely the goodnes of the cause; which no doubt our Martyrs had, and I shew it thus: First, it is a good cause to die in defence of the true worship of God, against the false adoration or worship of Idols: but such is the cause of the Martyrs of the Gospel in these daies: *Ergo.* The proposition is proued by a particular induction of the ancient Martyrs both before the law, vnder the law, and since the law, which haue been persecuted for this cause: as before the law *Abel* persecuted *Caine*, because of his gods, Genes. 31. 30. And *Iacob* putteth away all the strange gods in his familie, Genes. 35. 2. In the time of the law vnder the Iudges *Gedeon* should haue bin slaine, for destroying the Altar of *Baal*, Iudg. 6. 30. Vnder the Monarchie of the Chaldeans the three children were put into the fierie fornace, because they would not bow downe to the image of gold, Dan. 3. Since the time of Christ vnder the Romane Emperours many thousand Christians were put to death, because they refused to worship the Idols of the Heathen.

Now then, that our Martyrs haue died in the same cause, which is the second part of the argu-

ment it may bee thus proued. Firſt, our aduerſaries themſelues cannot denie, but that they haue put many Proteſtants to death for refuſing to worſhip their images of gold, as the ſtorie of the Martyrs is full of ſuch examples. But here is their euaſion, that their images are not like the Heathen Idols, nor the worſhip of their images Idolatrie. *Contra.* That they are the only knowne Idolaters of this time, firſt it is cleere by the Scripture, Apocal. 9. 20. for there the Apoſtle and Prophet ſpeaketh of the worſhipping of Idols of gold and ſiluer, after the opening of the 7. ſeale, and the blowing of the ſixt trumpet, which muſt be by courſe of that prophecie long after the Idoll worſhip of the Heathen: ſo that the popiſh Church muſt needes thereby bee ſignified, there being no knowne nation beſide in theſe parts of the world, that worſhippeth Images. Secondly, the Iewes themſelues doe ſay, that Chriſtians worſhip Images contrarie to the law of God: as a Iew obiected to Maiſter *George Wiſehart* as they ſailed together vpon the Rhene, *Fox* pag. 1269. col. 2. Wherefore it is manifeſt, that our Martyrs hauing ſtriued by death againſt the idolatrie of theſe times, haue died in the ſame cauſe, for the which the ancient Martyrs gaue their liues againſt the idolatrie of the Heathen.

Secondly, it is a good cauſe to die for the faith of Chriſt, and they are the faithfull Martyrs which hope onely to bee iuſtified by his death: Apocal. 7. 14. Theſe are they which haue waſhed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lambe. But in this faith haue our Martyrs died, hoping onely to finde life by faith in Chriſts blood: whereas the Papiſts ſeeke to make their robes white in the blood and merits of Saints. And againe, whereas the Apoſtle ſpeaking of the laſt times of perſecution, ſaith, *Here is the patience of the Saints, here are they that keepe the commandements of God, and the faith of Ieſus*; There haue none elſe in all the world been perſecuted for the faith of Chriſt in theſe latter times, but the Proteſtants onely: the Papiſts perſecute, they are not perſecuted: and where they ſuffer, it is not for religion or the faith of Ieſus, but for treaſon, and wilfull tranſgreſſion of the Princes lawes. Thus then it is euident that our Martyrs are they in this place prophecied of, and dying in ſo good a cauſe, muſt needes be the faithfull witneſſes of God.

A fourth rule to diſcerne true Martyrs in their death, is by thoſe miraculous and ſtrange works of God declared in their martyrdome, though wee doe not alleage this either as a neceſſarie or vniuerſall note. So S. *Ambroſe* extolleth the martyrdome of S. *Paul*: *De Pauli cruore vnda lactis*, &c. Out of *Pauls* necke being beheaded ſtreamed milke rather than blood: And no marueile if the nouriſher of the Churches abounded with milke, who ſaith (writing to the Corinthians) *I gaue you milke to drinke*, &c. So *Policarpus* could not bee conſumed with fire; *Ramnus* ſpake, his tongue being cut out; *Cecilia* remained a day and a night in an hot bath, not being hurt. The like miracles are credibly reported to haue been ſhewed in the death of the Martyrs of the Goſpell. *Stephen Brune* could not be conſumed with the fire being twice renued, and though oyle were powred into it; but the hangman was conſtrained to thruſt him thorough. *Stephen Mangin* Martyr ſpake, his tongue being cut out. The like alſo is recorded of *Gabriel Berandeus*, put to death for the Goſpell at Troyes, *anno* 1550. pag. 904. See more of ſuch examples before in the 1. controuerſie, 3. queſtion, in the fift note of Miracles: but we ſtand not ſo much vpon this point. Wherefore ſhortly to conclude this argument, where true Martyrs are, there is the Church: the Proteſtants Church hath true and faithfull Martyrs, as I haue ſhewed, by their ſingular patience, holie life, their honeſt and good cauſe, and by the wonderfull workes ſhewed in their death: *Ergo*, we are the true Church of Chriſt. Sermo. 68.

Secondly, we reaſon thus: That Church which hath been from time to time perſecuted in the world, is the Church of God: that which hath alwaies perſecuted and been filled with the blood of the Saints, is the malignant Church. But our Church for theſe foure or fiue hundred yeers hath been alwaies perſecuted, and they haue been the perſecutors. *Ergo*.

For the probation of the aſſumption or ſecond part of the argument, we neede not much labour: for all the world knoweth how the popiſh Church continually hath perſecuted the Proteſtants, and eſpecially within theſe 50. or 60. yeeres ſince the reuiuing of the Goſpell: in which time they haue ſpilled the blood of not ſo few as an hundred thouſand of Gods Saints, if an account bee taken thereof. For in Fraunce onely in that bloodie maſſaker in the yeere 1572. there were put to the ſword in one moneth 30. thouſand Proteſtants, *Fox* pag. 1155. And the Pope at Rome hearing tell thereof, he with his Cardinals cauſed a ſolemne proceſſion to bee made, with ſinging of *Te Deum*, and proclaimed a yeere of Iubilee. We haue alſo for this point the confeſſion of the Rhemiſts: That Proteſtants (whom they call heretikes, as *Paul* of the perſecuting Iewes was counted an heretike, Act. 24. 14.) are put to death at Rome, and that they allow of their puniſhment in other countries, *Rhemiſt annot. in Apocal. 17. fol. 82.*

Now for the truth of the firſt part of the argument, that it is the lot of the Church of God to be perſecuted in this world, the Apoſtle thus witneſſeth, Gal. 4. 29. *As then he that was borne after the fleſh perſecuted him that was borne after the ſpirit, ſo it is now.* And further, that it is a propper badge

of the maligniant Church to sucke the blood of the Saints: wee reade in the Reuelation 17.6. *I saw the woman drunke with the blood of the Saints, &c.* In which place by the bloodthirstie whore of Babylon is signified the persecuting Antichrist at Rome: which is so plaine a text to conuince the aduersarie, that they cannot possibly auoyd it, though they haue found out diuers shifts and euasions, and especially three, but all to little purpose. I will set them downe in order.

First, by this whore the Rhemists would vnderstand the whole corps of all the persecutors that haue been from the beginning of the world to the end, *Apocal. 17. sect. 6. Contra.* But this cannot be so. First, chap. 17. vers. 1. the Angell saith to *Iohn, I will shew thee the damnation of the great whore:* speaking of the time to come, not of the time past. Secondly, vers. 6. *She is drunken with the blood of the Martyrs of Iesus:* which must of necessitie be vnderstood of the persecution since the manifestation of Iesus to the world. Thirdly, vers. 18. *The whore is the great citie, that raigneth ouer the kingdomes of the earth:* It is a certaine citie or regiment, therefore not an vncertaine and indefinite bodie or companie.

Secondly, by the whore of Babylon the Rhemists vnderstand, the terrene state of the persecuting Emperours, not the Church or ecclesiasticall state there, *annot. 17. Apocal. sect. 4. Contra.* First, the beast, whereon the whore sitteth, signifying that great citie, which bare rule ouer the kingdomes, was and is not, chap. 17. 8. that is, the imperiall state was remoued, when the Popes succeeded; yet in them was reuiued the imperiall tyrannie. And hereunto agreeth that prophecie, chap. 13. 11. *Another beast commeth out of the earth, which did all that the first beast could doe, and healed his deadly wound, and gaue life and spirit to the image of the beast*, vers. 15. This is the beast that was, and is not, namely the beastly tyrannie of the persecuting Emperours reuiued by the cruell Popes: wherefore the whore cannot signifie the terrene state of the Emperours, for this beast was and is not. Secondly, S. *Hierome* also thus expoundeth, saying to Rome, *Maledictionem, &c.* Thou maist by repentance escape that curse threatned thee by our Sauiour in the Apocalypse, *lib. 2. aduers. Iouinian.* But when S. *Hierome* thus did write, the heathenish persecution was ceased: wherefore by Babylon the imperiall state is not signified.

Thirdly, the Rhemists by the beast, that was, and is not, doe insinuate Antichrist, who is not yet come (say they) in our daies, neither shall come as long as the Empire of Rome standeth, *ibid.*

Contra. 1. By the same reason wee conclude that Antichrist is alreadie come, because that which letted, or hindered the reuealing of Antichrist, as the Apostles saith, 2. Thess. 2. 6, 7. namely the Romane Empire, is taken away: for nothing now remaineth of the imperiall soueraignetie, but onely an image thereof: first, the large dominion of the Empire is lost; he beareth little sway that is Emperour, but in his owne seignorie, that he hath beside the title of the Empire. Secondly, the seate of the Empire is chaunged, which was at Rome, but now is no certaine place. Thirdly, then the Empire went by descent and succession, now by election. Fourthly, they were called the Romane Emperours, now the Emperours of Germanie. Fiftly, then Rome and Italie were subiect to the Emperour, now he hath nothing to doe there: so that the Romane Empire is long since deceased and dissolued; and vpon the dissolution thereof Antichrist was to be reuealed. 2. Whereas Antichrist by their owne confession must be the seuenth Regiment, fiue were then past in S. *Iohns* time, the Regiment of Ægypt, Canaan, Babylon, the Persians, Greekes, the sixt was the Romane Empire: (though these sixe Regiments are better referred to the sixe formes of gouernment among the Romanes; the Kings, Consuls, Decemuiri, Tribuni militum, Dictators, Emperors) then the sixt, which is the Romane Empire, being abolished (for now there is no Emperour, but a King of the Romanes, and that but a bare title neither, the Emperour is of Germanie) the seuenth which is Antichrist must needes succeede: wherefore Antichrist is alreadie come. 3. S. *Hierome* thus did write in his daies, calling Rome Sodome, *epist. ad Eustoch.* And againe, *Dum in Babylone versarer, & purpurata meretricis ossym colonus, &c.* While I was in Babylon, meaning Rome, and was an inhabiter of the skarlet whore, &c. *præfat. ad Pammachium.* He neither vnderstandeth this prophecie of the time past, nor suspendeth it for the time to come, but euen in those daies sheweth how it began to bee accomplished, the Heathen persecution being then ceased. So then it is cleere, that Rome was not onely, neither shall be onely, but euen now is and hath been a great while that skarlet whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of the Saints: and what Saints blood haue they sucked, but of the Protestants? And thus much for our second argument.

Argum. Thirdly, the holy Apostle saith, *Euery spirit that confesseth that Iesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God*, 1. Iohn 4. 2. But the Church of the Protestants so confesseth: *Ergo*, it is of God.

Obiect. The Rhemists in their Annotations vpon this place say, that this was a note onely for those times: for there are many which confesse that Christ is come in the flesh, and yet are heretikes.

Contra. First, the contrarie appeareth, for that the Apostle in the first verse giueth a caueat to trie euery spirit, and afterward setteth downe this rule whereby to trie them: this rule then is generall

nerall for euery ſpirit. Secondly, by this rule Antichriſt is to be tried, both he that was then come, and he that ſhould come, verſ. 3. *Ergo*, it was a rule alſo for afterward. Thirdly, this rule is the ſame with that confeſſion of *Peter*, *Thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing Lord*, Matth. 16. 18. Vpon which rocke Chriſt ſaith he would build his Church: *Ergo*, this confeſſion being the foundation of the Church, is a touchſtone for all ages. Fourthly, I will oppoſe againſt them a Synode of their owne, that maketh this rule generall for all ages: *Synod. Colonien. ſ. 6. c. 15. Fidelis diſpenſator &c.* He is a faithfull diſpenſer, as *Iohn* witneſſeth, whoſe onely ſcope Chriſt is, and whoſe ſpirit confeſſeth that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, and as S. *Paul* doth interprete, Tit. 2. that the grace of God our Sauiour hath appeared to all men, to teach vs to denie vngodly luſts, &c. in the which words the Apoſtle doth comprehend two natures in Chriſt; of the Word, in teaching vs the will of his father; of the fleſh, in being offered for vs. Fiftly, though ſome heretikes may in word confeſſe Chriſt to bee come, yet if they detract from any of his offices, as the Papiſts doe from his Prieſthood, in making other mediators, and ſatisfactions, in that they denie that, for the which Chriſt came, they denie Chriſt. Wherefore we conclude, that ſeeing we hold the confeſſion of *Peter*, vpon the which the Church is builded, and acknowledge that Chriſt for his natures God and man, for his offices our only King, Prophet, Prieſt, and Mediatour is come in the fleſh; our ſpirit is of God, and our Church the true Church of Chriſt.

Arg. 4. Fourthly, we reaſon thus; that Church, which maintaineth no hereſie contrarie to the Scriptures, is the true church of Chriſt: but ſuch are ỹ reformed Churches of the Proteſtants. *Ergo.* The propoſition cannot be denied, the aſſumption or ſecond part is thus prooued: They which beleeue the law and the Prophets, and all things contained in the Scriptures, cannot maintaine any hereſie: ſo doth S. *Paul* cleere himſelfe from the accuſation of hereſie, Act. 24. 14. But the reformed Churches beleeue all written in the Scriptures, ſubmitting themſelues to the iudgement of the word for the triall of their faith and doctrine: *Ergo*, our Church cannot bee iuſtly charged with hereſie. Beſide, I haue ſhewed before, by the ſeuerall definitions of hereſie, that it can in no ſenſe bee laid to our charge in the queſtion of the notes of the Church in this controuerſie. And againe in the other treatiſe of the pillars of Papiſtrie it is prooued at large, that the Churches of the Proteſtants hold no one opinion, in the purer ages of the Church condemned for hereſie. And though *Bellarmine* doth charge vs with twentie hereſies, he ſhall neuer be able to proue one: but into their ſinke of ſuperſtition, fortie ſeuerall hereticall ſtinking puddles doe runne downe, as in the ſame place more at large may bee ſeene. So then Proteſtants are no heretikes, nor yet their Church hereticall, and conſequently a true Church.

Argum. 5. Fiftly, where the true foundation is laid, which is Ieſus Chriſt only, there is the houſe of God. But our Churches lay no other foundation beſide Ieſus Chriſt: *Ergo.* The propoſition is the Apoſtles, 1. Cor. 3. 11. *Other foundation can no man lay, then that which is laide, Ieſus Chriſt.* And Epheſ. 2. 20. *The Church is thus deſcribed to bee built vpon the foundation of the Prophets, and Apoſtles, Ieſus Chriſt being the chiefe corner ſtone.*

The aſſumption alſo is manifeſt: for that we receiue onely the Scriptures, no vnwritten traditions: we acknowledge no Mediatour, but Chriſt; no ſatisfaction for ſinne, but his blood, and in all things make him the onely foundation of our building: whereas our aduerſaries doe ioyne as fellow with Chriſt the Virgin *Mary*, as the Ieſuite in the end of all his bookes moſt blaſphemouſly doth aſcribe the honour and praiſe of his labours to Chriſt, and the bleſſed Virgin. So beſide faith onely they haue brought in merits, ſatisfactions, works of ſupererogation, and ſuch like: and they doe not condemne any doctrine of the Proteſtants more then faith onely, which in effect is to denie Chriſt onely, the obiect of faith, to be the foundation. Wherefore they laying another fountion are not the Church: and the Proteſtants by the ſame reaſon are the Church, being builded onely by faith vpon Ieſus Chriſt the onely foundation.

Thus farre then I haue by moſt euident arguments ſhewed, that the reformed Churches of the Proteſtants are the true Churches of Chriſt: firſt, for that they haue ſent forth the conſtant Martyrs as faithfull witneſſes of Chriſt. Secondly, becauſe they haue been alwaies perſecuted and kept vnder by the malignant Synagogue. Thirdly, they haue the true confeſſion of Ieſus Chriſt to be come in the fleſh, which proceedeth from the ſpirit of God. Fourthly, they can ſhew no hereſie condemned in the purer ages of the Church for hereſie, to bee maintained by our Church. Fiftly, they are founded vpon the true foundation Ieſus Chriſt, and therefore are the right buildings and true Churches of Chriſt. Many other reaſons might be alleaged, and may hereafter at better leiſure, for the demonſtration of our Church: but I will content my ſelfe with theſe for this time, and ſo proceede vnto the reſt.

THE THIRD GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING COVNCELS.

A Councell is nothing else but an assembly and gathering together of the people of God, about the affaires and businesse of the Church: and they are of two sorts, either vniuersall in the name of the whole Church; or particular, which are either Nationall, when the learned of a whole Realme are called together; or Prouinciall, when as the Churches of one Prouince doe assemble into one place to consult of Religion.

There may be two especiall occasions of Councels: the one for resisting and rooting out of heresies, as the Apostles and elders met together, Act. 15. against those which would haue imposed the Iewish ceremonies vpon the beleeuing Gentiles. So the Councell of Nice was celebrated the yeare of the Lord 327. to confound the heresie of *Arrius*, who denied Christ, as he was God, to be equall to his Father. In the Councell of Constantinople, *anno*. 383. or thereabout, the heresie of *Macedonius* was condemned, which denied the holy Ghost to be God: In the Ephesine Councell the first, *Nestorius* heresie was ouerthrowne, which affirmed Christ to haue two persons, *anno* 434. The Councell of Chalcedon was collected, *anno* 454. about the heresie of *Eutiches*, which held that there was in Christ but one nature after his incarnation; so confounding his humanitie and diuinitie together.

The other cause of the calling of Councels, is, to prouide and establish holsome Lawes, decrees and constitutions, for the gouernment of the Church: so the Apostles called the brethren together, Act. 6. to take order for the poore. And in the Councell of Nice an vniforme order was established for the celebration of Easter, which before had much troubled the Church.

Ex admonit. legator. sessi. Concil. Trident.

Vnto these two causes of assembling Councels, which are *Extirpatio hæresis & reformatio morum*, the rooting out of heresies, and the reformation of manners, may also be added a third, and that is, *pax externa Ecclesia*, the externall peace of the Church, namely in compounding of controuersies, and in working reconciliation betweene some principall members of the Church: As in the generall Councell of Ephesus, the matter was agreed betweene *Zenon* Bishop of Cyprus, and the Patriarch of Antioch, who chalenged a prerogatiue ouer that Iland, that the Bishops of Cyprus should chuse their owne Metropolitane: In the Councell of Chalcedon, *actione* 11. 12. the strife betweene *Bassianus* and *Stephanus* for the Bishopricke of Ephesus was taken vp: *Concil. Basiliens.* An order of agreement was set betweene the French King, and the Duke of Burgundie.

Ex Appendice Concil.

Concil. Florentin. great labour made for the vniting of the Latine and Greeke Church, &c.

The questions betweene vs and the Papists concerning councels, are these. First, whether generall Councels be absolutely necessarie. Secondly, by whom they ought to be called. Thirdly, of what persons they ought to consist. Fourthly, who should bee the president of the Councell. Fiftly, concerning the authoritie of them. Sixtly, whether they may erre or not. Seuenthly, whether they are aboue the Pope. Eightly, of the conditions to be obserued in generall Councels: of these in order.

THE FIRST QVESTION CONCERNING the necessitie of Councels.

The assertion of the Papists.

29. Error.

THey seeme in words to affirme, that generall Councels are not absolutely necessarie: for the Primitiue Church was without any Councell for the space of 300. yeares and more: yet they hold that some Councels, either generall or particular, are of necessitie to be had, *Bellarmin. de concil. lib. 1. cap. 11.* And yet this is to be maruelled at, that they should so much stand for Councels, seeing they might vse a farre more compendious way, in referring all to the determination of the Pope, whom they boldly, but very fondly affirme, that he cannot erre.

Although they seeme not to lay a necessitie vpon generall Councels, yet in truth they doe contrarie: for they allow no Councels at all, without the Popes consent and authoritie; neither thinke it lawfull for any Nation or Prouince, to make within themselues any innouation or change

change of religion. So in the aſſembly at Zuricke, *anno* 1523. For the reformation of Religion, *Fabor* tooke exception againſt that meeting, affirming that it was no conuenient place, nor the time for the diſcuſſing of ſuch matter, but rather the cognition and tractation thereof belonged to a generall Councell. *Sleid. lib.* 3.

And further they hold, that what hath been decreed in a Councell, cannot be diſſolued but by the like Councell, as if the Councell of Trent were to be diſanulled, it muſt be done by the like Synod. *Bellarmine de counc. lib.* 3. *cap.* 21. Which Councell they affirme to haue been generall; and therefore another generall Councell muſt by their opinion neceſſarily be expected, before it can be reuoked.

The confeſſion of the Proteſtants.

WE doe holde that generall Councels are an holeſome meanes for the repreſſing and reformeing, both of errors in Religion, and corruption in manners: and that true generall Councels ought to be much deſired, and conueniently expected: that is, ſuch a Councell, where euery man franke and free may vtter his minde without feare: an holy Councell, where euery man may goe about to ſet vp godlines, not to oppreſſe the truth. Such a Councell King *Henrie* the eight of worthie memorie in his proteſtation for the Church of England, for not commming to the Councell of the Pope, truely affirmeth, that he deſired, and craued nothing ſo of God: but becauſe there is no hope of any ſuch Councell, ſeeing the Pope would be the chiefe doer in it; and it is too vnreaſonable, that the ſame man ſhould be both a partie, and Iudge: we doubt not, but that it is lawfull by the word of God, for euery Prince, Duke, Lord, within his owne ſeignorie, without any further delay, or expectation, by the aduice and counſaile of the learned and godly of the land, according to Gods law, to reforme their Church.

Firſt, becauſe all delay in matters of the Church are dangerous, and inconueniences are at the firſt hand to be met withall, as we ſee, Act. 6. and Act. 15. immediatly, when any queſtion did ariſe, the Apoſtles aſſembled togither. In the Councell of *Baſil*, where it was decreed, that the Pope was ſubiect to the Councels, *Panormitane* a ſtiffe champion on the Popes ſide, would haue the decree ſtaied till the returne of the Princes Embaſſadors: But *Arilatenſis* that worthy Cardinall ſtepped vp, and ſhewed what danger there might be in a ſmall delay, by the example of *Hannibal*, who deferring his going but one day to Rome, was driuen cleane out of Italie, hauing been very like to haue taken the citie, if he had vſed the opportunitie. But without all controuerſie, matters of faith ought not to be delayed: which could not be auoided, if a generall Councell ſhould alwayes be waited for.

Secondly, a Prince hath the like authoritie in his dominion, as the houſholder hath in his houſe. But euery man ought to reforme his houſe, without any further delay, aduiſement or conſultation, as *Ioſua* ſaith, I and my houſe will ſerue the Lord, 24. verſ. 15. Wherefore the Prince may and ought to performe the like in his countrey.

To this purpoſe is that place fitlie applied in the ſecond pſalme: *Eruditimini qui iudicatis terram*: get you learning ye that are Iudges of the earth: to what end? that they may be able to vnderſtand the diſeaſes of the ſicke Church, and to ſeeke redreſſe for the ſame within their owne Realmes. *ſic Henric. Rex, in proteſt. at.*

Laſtly, we finde by experience, that the Lord hath bleſſed ſuch reformations, which haue been made by Princes in their owne territories: as that in *Zuricke anno* 1523. at *Berne*, 1528. and the moſt happie reformation of our Church of England begun by King *Henrie* the eight, encreaſed by that moſt vertuous Prince King *Edward* the ſixt, and proſperouſly continued and eſtabliſhed by our gracious Soueraigne Queene *Elizabeth*.

I will adde the teſtimonie of *Auguſtine*, who anſwering to the Pelagians, which obiected that they were condemned by certaine ſingle Biſhops in their owne dioceſſe, without a Synod, he ſaith thus, *Ac ſi congregatione ſynodi opus eſſet, vt ſparſa per vicies damnarentur, quaſi nulla haereſis aliquando, niſi ſynodi congregatione damnata ſit, &c. cont. 2. Epiſt. Pelag. lib.* 4. *cap.* 12. As though, ſaith he, a Synod or Councell were alwayes neceſſarie to condemne a knowne hereſie. Nay, we finde that more hereſies without compariſon, haue been in the ſame places condemned, where they firſt ſprang, without any ſuch neceſſitie, more ſo, then otherwiſe.

The ſame alſo hath been the iudgement of the holy Martyrs, that in reforming of religion, generall Councels are not alway to be expected. So ſaith *Richard Fourne* Martyr, in his examination, ſpeaking of the Church of *Geneua*, that albeit the Pope and the Miniſters of the Church of Rome were not called to the inſtitution of the foreſaid Church of *Geneua*, yet it followeth not, that there was no lawfull order obſerued, in eſtabliſhing that Church, *ex Iohan. Crespin. lib.*

Thus alſo Biſhop *Ridley* that godly and learned Martyr: We doe not reade that Chriſt in any place hath laid ſo great a burthen vpon the members of his ſpouſe, that he hath commanded them

to

to goe to the vniuersall Church: Christ sendeth them to the Scriptures. But that all men should meete together out of all parts of the world, to define the articles of our faith, I neither finde it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God. *Responsio Rat. Ladouici. 6. Mar. Anton.*

See also the custome of antiquitie. *Concil. Agrippinens. sub Iulio.* 1 *Valerianus* a Bishop thus speaketh, *Etsi nobis omnibus conspirantibus, & Agrippinensi concilio, sufficeret & 5. Episcopos Ebionis in blasphemiam prouocare;* Although all we fellow elders had not met here in this Councell, it had been sufficient, if fiue Bishops had pronounced *Euphrates* a blasphemous heretike, for denying Christ to be God.

Concil. Aquileiens. Palladius an *Arrian* heretike refusing to answere, saying he expected a generall Councell: *Ambrose* being present, maketh answere thus. *Ibi multitudine opus non esse, vbi veritas non laboraret in plurib. si locata esset in paucis:* There needed no multitude to be assembled, where the truth remained with a fewe. There is no such necessitie therefore of generall Councels.

Lastly, I will vrge against them a testimonie of one of their Popes, *decret. part.* 2. *cauf.* 24. *qu.* 1. *cap.* 2. *Gelasius: Sabellius* was condemned by a Synode, neither was it necessarie afterward for the condemnation of his followers, seuerally to celebrate or solemnize Synodes. Wherefore Synodes are not in euery case necessarie now: we may insist and rest vpon the decrees of the auncient Synodes agreeable to Gods word.

THE SECOND QVESTION, BY WHOSE AVthoritie Councels ought to be called.

The Papists.

30. Error. THey doe generally hold, that generall Councels ought onely to be called and appointed by the Popes authoritie, or his assignment: their goodly reasons are these.

Argum. 1. Councels ought to *be congregate in the name of Christ*, that is, by him that hath authoritie from Christ so to congregate them: Matth. 18. *Bellarm. lib.* 1 *de Concil. cap.* 12. *Answere.* See here is a goodly exposition, to assemble in the name of Christ, is to assemble by the authoritie of the Pope: so belike where Christ saith, wheresoeuer two or three are gathered togither in my name, &c. Christ will not be present with them, vnlesse we send vp to Rome for licence, that two or three may come together.

Then are Councels assembled in Christs name, when they suffer themselues and their actions to be gouerned by the spirit of God speaking in the Scripture. *Bellarm.* But who shall be iudge, whether Councels are ruled by the word of God, for both Papists and Protestants alleage Scripture for their decrees in Councels: wherefore this point is yet left vncertaine, vnlesse we doe refer this matter, of calling and iudging of Councels to the Pope, that hath receiued that authority from Christ. *Answere.* 1. The Scriptures themselues shall be iudges, whose decrees are agreeable to Scripture: they neede not any superiour iudge. And whatsoeuer our aduersaries say for their decrees, it is certaine, the most of them are not grounded vpon Scripture: nay it is their doctrine, that the Scriptures containe not all things necessarie concerning faith and manners: this one opinion sheweth, how well the rest of their decrees agree with Scripture. 2. We denie, that the Pope hath receiued any such authoritie from Christ, as shall afterwards appeare: I maruell then that the Iesuite will still presse vs with that point, that is in question betweene vs.

Argum. 2. Generall Councels should be appointed by them, that haue generall authoritie to command men to come to the Councell: but this authoritie ouer the whole Church neuer any Emperour had, in such ample manner, as the Pope hath: *Ergo. Answere.* first, it is a great vntruth, that the Popes spirituall iurisdiction which he falsely challengeth, was at any time greater than the Emperours dominion; for *Constantine* ruled ouer both the West and East Churches: but the Churches of Greece were neuer, nor are not to this day subiect to the sees of Rome. For Pope *Eugenius* would haue dissolued the Councell of *Basile* vnder this pretence, because the Greekes, which should come vnto the Councell for the vniting of their Church, would not passe the *Alpes*: but this vniting neuer went forward, *an.* 1432. Againe, if the commandement of one Emperour or Potentate be not large enough to appoint a generall Councell, as in these dayes it is not, it may be done by the consent and agreement of Princes.

Argum. 3. Prouinciall Councels are assigned and summoned by Metropolitanes in their prouinces, and Nationall by Primates or Patriarches, therefore Generall Councels must also be summoned by the Pope; for as the Metropolitane is to his prouince, the Bishop to his Diocesse: so is the Pope to the vniuersall Church. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. 1. It followeth not, that the Pope may doe that in the vniuersall Church, which is lawfull for the Metropolitane in his prouince, or a Bishop in his diocesse: As it is no good consequent, there

there may be a Monarch ouer one or two kingdomes: *Ergo*, also ouer al the world: for why should there be one Ecclesiasticall Prince rather ouer the vniuersall Church, then one ciuill Magistrate ouer all the world?

2 We denie that it belongeth to Metropolitanes or Primates in their Prouinces to appoint prouinciall Councels, for establishing Ecclesiasticall lawes: but that is appertaineth of right to the Princes and Dukes in their seigniories. Neither is the Conuocation of the Clergie in England summoned without the Princes authoritie; neither any decree made to stand in force without the royall assent. As for the Synodes, leetes, visitations and such like of Metropolitanes, Bishops, Archdeacons in their seuerall iurisdictions, they are for another end; not to enact new Ecclesiasticall Lawes, but to see to the execution onely of them, which are alreadie enacted.

The Protestants.

WE hold it an absurd and ridiculous assertion, that generall Councels should be ruled at the Popes becke, but that this authoritie is due, and hath been of old vnto Christian Princes and Magistrates, and the Pope in so doing doth but vsurpe vpon their right.

Argum. 1. That the Pope hath not absolute authoritie, to call, remoue, dissolue, or establish Councels, it is proued out of Scripture: for *Act.* 6. 2. the twelue Apostles, and not *Peter* onely, whose successor the Pope doth falsely challenge to be, called the multitude together about the election of Deacons.

Argum. 2. The Councels in times past were summoned by the Emperors, which our aduersaries themselues cannot denie, as the Nicen first, by *Constantine* the great: *Constantinopolitane* 1. by *Theodosius* the elder. *Ephesin.* 1. by *Theodosius* the younger: *Chalcedonens.* by *Martianus*. But, say our aduersaries, these Councels were not appointed without the consent of the Bishops of Rome. I maruell they are not ashamed so to say: for when *Theodosius* called the Councell of *Chalcedon*, *Leo* then Bishop of Rome, neither liked the time, for hee would haue had it deferred; nor the place, being desirous to haue it in Italie; yet hee was content to obey the Emperors commandement, and sent his Agents to the Councell, there to appeare for him: *Epist.* 31. 34. *ad Martianum*: This was alleaged by *Tunstal* and *Stokesley* two archpapists in their epistle to Cardinall *Poole*.

It seemeth therefore to be a meere forgerie, that *Gelasius* writeth *Epistol. ad episcop. Dardaniæ, Authoritate vt synodus Chalcedonens. fieret, sola decreuit apostolica sedes*: The Apostolike See by it sole authoritie decreed, that the councell should be holden at Chalcedon: for first *Leo* misliked the time; *Episcopali synodo* [illegible] *tempus indictum*, *Epistol.* 13: The Emperour hath set too short a time for the Councell. Secondly, he would haue had the Councell remoued into Italie: *Omnes sacerdotes cum lachrymis* [illegible] *vestræ supplicant, vt generalem synodum iubeatis intra Italiam celebrari, Epistol. ad imperatorem* 3. All the Cleargie with teares doth beseech your clemencie, that you would commaund a generall Synode to be kept in Italie: To the same effect he writeth to *Theodosius, epistol.* 31. and to *Pulcheria Augusta, epistol.* 34. For all this sute, the Emperour would not condescend to haue the Councell in Italie: but whereas he had summoned it to be kept at Nice, he from thence remoueth it to Chalcedon, whither also he sendeth for *Leo* himselfe to come, who excuseth himselfe for not comming, by reason of other great lets, yet sendeth his Legats in his place, *epistol. Leon.* 13. It appeareth then, that *Leo* at this time wanted of his will, and was ouerruled by the Emperor, as it was good reason, to whom the soueraigne right of summoning Councels did onely appertaine.

Bellarmine graunteth, that these auncient Councels were congregate by the Emperors, yet the right was in the Pope still: hee rendreth two reasons why the Emperors authoritie was then requisite: first because, although it belongeth to the Pope to call Councels, yet hee cannot gather the assemblies in any Citie or conuenient place, without the leaue and consent of the Lord of the soile: as if now a Councell should be appointed by the Pope, and some place assigned for it, in Germanie, France, or Spaine, the consent of the Lord of the citie must first be required.

Answere. First, the matter is then come to this issue: the Pope cannot call a Councell, without the leaue of the ciuill Magistrate, but may be by him letted from his purpose: but the Prince may call his subiects together, and aske the Pope no leaue; neither is the Pope able to resist his proceedings: I pray you which of these hath the best right, and the most Soueraigne power to congregate these great assemblies?

Secondly, if the Pope hath receiued authoritie from Christ, as you say, to proclaime and summon generall Councels: what reason is there that Christ should waite vpon earthly gouernours, and take their leaue, to haue his ordinance take place? Nay if Christ had entitled the Pope with any such matter, he would both haue giuen him power sufficient, and all helpes and meanes requisite, to effect and accomplish his holy, soueraigne, and puissant commission.

Bellarmines second reason, why the Emperors authoritie is not now so needfull, as it was then; because in those daies they were Lords of the world, and the Pope did subiect himselfe to the Emperor,

peror, in temporall matters: But now the Pope is a temporall Prince in his owne Signiorie, as any [illegible] of the rest are.

Answere. 1. Yea, but vnlesse the Pope were a temporall Prince ouer all the Christian world, as the Emperors were, the Iesuite hath answered nothing: if he be a Prince in his owne Territorie, let him meddle with his owne subiects, to call them together at his pleasure; but what is this to a generall Councell? Secondly, doe ye not confesse, that the Pope was then a subiect to the Emperor, but so he is not now: that then he was no temporall Prince, as now he is? Why then what iugling is this? If it be S. *Peters* patrimonie which now the Pope hath, why had not they it which had right vnto it? And why should the *Popes* now challenge that which their predecessors, seeing they would be as they would, that by a perpetuall succession, euen from S. *Peter*, they fetch the Iurisdiction of Popes both spirituall and temporall?

Argum. 3. It is a good reason which was alleaged in the Councell of *Basile*, that if the Pope onely should call Councels, there should be no meanes left to reforme a wicked and vicious Pope. Who would thinke (say they) that the Bishop of Rome would congregate a Councell for his owne correction, or deposition?

Argum. 4. The Pope hath no more authoritie, nor, by their leaue, nothing like as *Peter* had: but he challenged not this dignitie among the Apostles, to summon Councels. We reade of foure onely Councels of the Apostles, say the Fathers of Basile (for this also is their argument) the first was for the choosing of *Matthias*, Act. 1. congregate at the commandement of Christ, who inioyned them not to depart from Ierusalem. The second, Act. 6. congregate by the twelue, not *Peter* onely, for the election of Deacons. The third, which was holden about the taking away of Circumcision, and other ceremonies of the law, was gathered together by a generall inspiration, Act. 15. 6. The fourth, wherein certaine things contained in the law are permitted, seemeth to be gathered by *Iames*, Act. 21. 18. Vpon these reasons the Councell thus concludeth: That if the Pope would resist, and haue no Councell congregate, yet if the greater part of the Church doe iudge it necessarie to haue a Councell, the Councell may be congregate, whether the Pope will or not. *Ex Aenea Syluio.* Fox pag. 676.

5 *Augustine* saith: *Catholicos Episcopos & partis Donati iussu imperatoris disputando inter se contulisse. Breuicul. collation. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. That the Catholike Bishops and the Donatists, did meet together to dispute at the commaundement of the Emperour. There were in this Councell, which was at Carthage, of the Catholike Bishops 286. and of the Donatists 279.

Lastly, we haue the determination of two Popish Councels against them: *Concil. Constant. sess.* 4. it was decreed, that the going away of the Pope should be no let or stay, but the Councell might proceed. So Pope *Eugenius* would haue dissolued the Councell of Basile, but the Councell cited him to appeare by himselfe or his Legates, vnder a great penaltie.

By this it appeareth, that the Pope hath no right to call, continue, or dissolue generall Councels.

We haue also their owne decrees against them, *decr. part.* 1. *dist.* 15. *cap.* 1. The Nicene Councell was peracted vnder *Constantinus*, the second generall at Constantinople was assembled vnder *Theodosius* the elder, &c. That is by their authoritie: 17. *dist.* 16. *cap.* 6. The sixt Synode *Constantinus* the Emperour congregated.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF WHAT PERSONS the Councell ought to consist.

The Papists.

31. Error.

WHereas there are foure sorts of men vsually present at Councels, the princes and Magistrates, Bishops and inferiour Ministers and Priests, and other lay people: of all these Bishops (they say) onely must haue a deciding or determining voice: Priests and other learned may dispute and haue a consultatiue voice: Princes are there to defend the Councell, and see order kept; other of the Laitie may be there as officers and Ministers, as Scribes and Notaries: but the suffrages and voices must onely be giuen by Bishops. *Eckius loc. de concil. Bellarm. de concil. lib.* 1. *cap.* 15. Let vs see some of their reasons.

First, to teach and to feed is proper for the Pastors onely, and to establish and decree in Councell, is nothing else but to feed and teach: *Ergo*, Pastors onely must rule in Councell: which none are but Bishops: *Soli Episcopi pastores sunt* (saith the Iesuite) *neque laici neque Ecclesiastici quicunque*: Onely Bishops are pastors, and none other of the Clergie besides: And to them only, he saith, that is to be applied, Act. 20. Take heede to your selues, and the flocke, ouer the which God hath made you ouerseers.

I answere. First, what an absurd saying is this and void of sense, that the Bishop is the onely pastor of his Diocesse, and that euery Minister is not pastor in his owne parish? Nay, if the Iesuite would

would ſpeake truth, he ſhall finde that popiſh Biſhops are neither paſtors nor Doctors, for the moſt of them neither feede nor teach; and they bee not aſhamed to profeſſe it. *Anno* 1540. or thereabout, *Thomas Forret* Martyr, being found fault withall by the Biſhop of Dunkelden in Scotland, becauſe he preached ſo oft, exhorted the Biſhop againe, and wiſhed that he did preach. The Biſhop anſwered: Nay, nay, let that be, wee are not ordained to preach. And in further talke the blind blockiſh Biſhop bewraied his owne ignorance, I thanke God (ſaith he) that I neuer knew what the old and new Teſtament was. Thereupon roſe a common prouerbe in Scotland, you are like the Biſhop of Dunkelden, that knew neither the old nor new law. *Foe Martyrol. pag.* 1266.

With this blind ſaying of the popiſh Biſhop, our countriemen of Rhemes alſo doe agree, which doubt not to ſay, that many which haue no gift to preach, yet for their wiſedome and gouernment, are not vnmeete to be paſtors and Biſhops, *Annot. in* 1. *Tim.* 5. *fol.* 13.

2. I anſwere, the Ieſuit bewraieth his ignorance, in making no difference betweene *communia*, and *propria politia eccleſia*, the common and ſpeciall policie and office of the Church: for there are proper offices and duties, ſome of paſtors, ſome of gouernours, ſome of other miniſters: but this office to bee performed in generall Councels, is not proper to paſtors, but common to the whole Church: whereupon we denie, that it is *Proprium paſtorum munus, ſuffragia ferre in Conciliis*: It is not the proper dutie of paſtors, to giue voyces and make decrees in Councels.

3. By the Ieſuites argument, the fathers of Baſil do conclude cleane contrary out of that place, Ephe. 4. That becauſe Chriſt inſtituted not onely Apoſtles and Prophets, but paſtors and teachers for the worke of the Miniſterie, who doubteth (ſay they) but that the gouernance alſo of the Church is committed vnto others together with the Apoſtles? And hence they inferre, becauſe the worke of the Miniſterie is laid vpon the reſt of the Clergie, that therefore they ought not to be excluded from Councels.

4. That place, Act. 20. vrged by the Ieſuite, is otherwiſe expounded by S. *Hierom*: *Ad vnius eccleſiæ ſacerdotes ita Paulus loquitur, &c.* *Paul* thus ſpeaketh to the Miniſters of one Church, calling them all Biſhops: whom before, verſ. 17. he calleth Presbyters or Prieſts: And from this place he concludeth, that in the Apoſtles time there was no difference betweene a Biſhop and a Prieſt: *Hierom. Euagrio.*

Argum. 2. Secondly, *Panormitanus* in the Councell of Baſil thus reaſoneth for Biſhops: That they were the pillars and keyes of heauen, and therefore had onely deciding voyces. Vnto him anſwered at that time the wiſe and couragious Cardinall *Arelatenſis*, ſhewing *Auguſtines* iudgement vpon thoſe words (I will giue thee the keyes of heauen) that the iudiciall power was giuen not only to *Peter*, but alſo to the other Apoſtles, and to the whole Church, the Biſhops, the prieſts. Whereupon he inferreth, that if the prieſts haue a iudiciall power in the Church, they alſo ought to haue a determining voyce in Councels.

Thirdly, *Ludouicus* the Prothonotarie in the ſame Councell thus argued: Albeit (ſaith he) Chriſt choſe twelue Apoſtles and 70. Diſciples, notwithſtanding in the ſetting forth of the Creede, only the Apoſtles were preſent; thereby giuing example, that matters of faith did pertaine onely to the Apoſtles, and ſo conſequently to Biſhops. To him *Arelatenſis* made this anſwere: Firſt, it followed not, becauſe the Apoſtles onely are named, that they therefore onely were preſent at the ſetting forth of the Creede: for wee ſee that Princes beare the name and commendation of many actions, which are done notwithſtanding by their helpers. Secondly, *Ludouicus* cannot be ignorant (ſaith he) that there bee ſome articles in the Creede, which were not put to by the Apoſtles, but afterward by generall Councels: as that part, wherein mention is made of the holy Ghoſt, which the Councell of Lyons did adde. Thus much out of the Councell of Baſil.

The Proteſtants confeſſion.

OVr opinion grounded vpon truth and Scripture is this: that, not onely Biſhops, but all other paſtors admitted to the Councell, and the learned and diſcreet amongſt the lay men, ought to haue concluding voyces in Councell: and that rather the diſcuſſing and conſulting of matters pertaineth to the learned Diuines, the deciding to all, then contrariwiſe.

Firſt, that inferiour paſtors are to be ioyned with Biſhops and Prelates, it was amply prooued in the Councell of Baſil, of the which I haue ſo often made mention, as noble *Arelatenſis* reaſoneth thus: The dignitie of the fathers is not to be reſpected but the truth: neither will I preferre a lye of any Biſhop, be he neuer ſo rich, before a veritie or a truth of a poore prieſt. This is his firſt reaſon, that the truth ought to be receiued at any mans mouth be he neuer ſo ſimple: and therefore Prieſts as well as Biſhops are to be admitted to the Councell.

Argum. 2. He declareth the ancient practiſe of the Church: In the Councell of Nice, where there were aſſembled 322. Biſhops, *Athanaſius* being then onely a Prieſt, withſtood the Arrians, and infringed their arguments. In the Synode of Chalcedon, there were preſent ſixe hundred prieſts, which name is common both to Biſhops and prieſts. When *Paul* Biſhop of Antioch preached

ched that Christ was a man of common nature: the Councell assembled against him at Antioch, where the said *Paul* was condemned: neither was there any man, which did more confound the said *Paul*, then one *Malchion* priest of Antioch, which taught Rhetorike there.

Concerning the second part, that lay men also with priests ought to be admitted: first we haue testimonie out of the word of God for it. Tit. 3. 13. *For this cause Zenas the lawyer is ioyned as fellow in commission with Apollos.* But we haue a more euident place, Act. 15. 22. *It seemed good to the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church.* Here we see that not onely the Elders but the whole multitude, were admitted into consultation with the Apostles. To this place our aduersaries doe thus answere: *Ludouicus* the Prothonotary, first thus rashly and fondly gaue his verdict in the Councell of Basil, that there was no argument to bee gathered of the Acts of the Apostles, whose examples were more to be marueiled at, then to be followed. But to this *Arelatensis* replied, that he would stay himselfe most vpon the Apostles doings: for what (saith he) is more comely for vs to follow, then the doctrine and customes of the Primitiue Church? And *Æneas Siluius* reporteth (who writeth of the acts of that Councell) that all men impugned this saying of *Ludouicus*, that the Apostles were not to be followed, as a blasphemie.

Wherefore the Iesuite hath found out another answere; he saith that none but the Apostles gaue sentence, the rest onely gaue consent, and inward liking and approbation. This cauill *Arelatensis* met withall long before the Iesuite was borne, in the forenamed Councell. Neither this word, saith he, *It seemed good*, signifieth in this place consultation, but decision, and determination. And so it doth indeed, for seeing there is one word applied to them all *Visum est placuit*, it seemed good to the Apostles, Elders, and the whole multitude, why should it not be taken in the one and selfesame sense, and after the same manner vnderstood of them all?

Argum. 2. Seeing the Councell doth represent the whole Church, there ought to bee present and to giue sentence of all sorts and callings of men: and the rather, because the matter of faith and religion is a common cause, and as well appertaineth to lay men as to Bishops, it behoueth them also to bee present. And further, it were more reasonable that Princes and temporall Magistrates should binde their subiects to their lawes, without their consent, then that ecclesiasticall persons should lay yokes vpon Christians against their wils, for ciuill matters are more indifferent and left to our choice, then spirituall are: Yet wee see there are no lawes enacted in our Realme but by the high court of Parliament, where alwaies some are appointed for the commons, euen the whole neather house, without whose consent no act can passe. So it were very reasonable, that no law should be laid vpon the Church, without the generall content thereof.

Thirdly, *Augustines* iudgement wee heard before alleaged by *Arelatensis*, that seeing the iudiciall power of the keyes is committed to the whole Church, to Bishops, to Priests, they all ought to be entertained in generall Councels.

Lastly, that not onely Bishops, but other also of the Clergie haue determining voyces in Councell, we haue the consent of antiquitie. In the Councell of Antioch assembled against *Samosatenus*, the whole Synod writeth thus: *Episcopi, presbyteri, & diaconi dilectissimis fratribus in domino salutem.* The Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to our beloued brethren in the Lord, greeting. And in their epistle they write thus: *Necessarium est visum, hunc resistentem Deo, neque acquiescentem veræ fidei abyssi &c.* It seemed necessarie to vs, that this fellow, enemie to God, and not obedient to the truth, to be cut off. They all both Elders and Deacons gaue consent to his condemnation.

Aquisgranense. sub Ludouico Cœtus venerabilium præsulum, & sanctis ordinis religiosorum sacerdotum Synodaliter congregatus: The assemblie of the reuerend Prelates, and of the next order, of the deuout priests, being councellike assembled together, &c.

Chalcedonense action. 1. *Orientales Clerici vna cum Episcopis clamarunt, Flauianus in proprio loco quare non sedet?* The Clergie of the East parts together with the Bishops cried out, why doth not *Flauianus* sit in his proper place? This *Flauianus* Patriarch of Constantinople, was disgraced in the hereticall Councell, *Ephesina.* 2. and thrust downe to the fift place: And therefore in this Catholike Councell, the Clergie thus cried out: then the Egyptians together with *Dioscorus* the Eutychian heretike, cried againe, *Imperator Episcopos vocauit, synodus Episcoporum est, superflui quare clamant?* The Emperour hath called the Bishops together, the Synode consisteth of Bishops, these fellowes are superfluous. Those heretikes were the first that tooke exception against the voyce of simple priests in Councell, calling them superfluous.

So likewise in the Romane Councell vnder Pope *Hilarie*, in the last canon, where it was propounded, that no Bishop should appoint his successor, but that he should be elected, *Ab vniuersis Episcopis & presbyteris acclamatum est:* An acclamation was made by all the Bishops and priests: *ex citation. Effesina* 1. *Tomo* 1. *p.* 371. *c.*

And least it should be said, that the priests did not sit as Iudges, but onely to aduise and discusse matters, I will answere them out of their owne Decrees; *Decret. p.* 1. *dist.* 23. *c.* 1. In the Laterane Councell vnder *Nicholaus* 2. this report is made, *Considentibus reuerendiss. Episcopis, Abbatibus, presbyteris,*

lyterie &c. While the reuerend Bishops, Abbots, and Priests did sit, &c. *Nicholaus* began then, &c. they all therefore did sit as Iudges. And yet more euidently *dist. 95. c. 6. Presbyteri ab initio negotiorum iudices esse mandati sunt, & interesse sacerdotum concilio:* Priests in the beginning were appointed to bee the iudges of the affaires of the Church, and to be present in Councels, &c. Marke this, they must be present as iudges.

As touching also the presence of graue and wise men of the Laitie in Councels, wee haue the practise and examples of former times; In the Chalcedon Councell, there were present 7. noble Earles, appointed as Iudges, *Anatolius, Palladius, Taciamus, Vincomalus,* with the rest, and 10. noble Senators, *Florentius, Nauius, Protogenes,* with others.

Tolet. 6. cap. 3. Consonam cum rege, corde & ore promulgamus sententiam, simul etiam cum summorum optimatum, & illustrium virorum consensu sancimus, &c. We decree our sentence, in heart and voyce according with our Prince, and together with the consent of his Nobles, wedoe enact, &c. Here the Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill state decree in Councell together.

We haue also a most cleere testimonie euen of a Pope himselfe: *Nichol. 1. epistol. ad Michaelem imperatorem. Vbinam legis imperatores antecessores vestros in synodalibus conuentibus interfuisse, nisi forsitan in quibus de fide tractatum est, quæ vniuersalis est, quæ omnium communis est, quæ non solum ad Clericos, verum ad laicos & ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos?* Where, I pray you, doe you reade, that the Emperours your predecessors were present in Synodes, but where they entreated of faith, which is common to all, and doth not only concerne the Clergie, but lay-men also, and generally all Christians? *Ergo,* of matters of faith lay men may together with spirituall persons consult in Councels.

Bellarmine answereth, that Pope *Nicholas* is so to bee vnderstood, that the Emperour may bee present not as a Iudge, but only as one to defend the faith by good lawes, and where need is with the sword.

Contra. But the Emperour *Martian* saith otherwise in his oration in the Chalcedon Councell: *Nos ad confirmandam fidem, non ad ostendendam virtutem, &c.* We by the example of *Constantine* thinke good to be present in the Synod, to confirme the faith, not to shew our power. But the Iesuite saith, to shew his power, and vse his sword.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, WHO OVGHT TO be the President and chiefe moderator in Councels.

The Papists.

With one whole consent they all agree and hold, that the Pope onely ought to haue the chiefe place in Councels, either himselfe in his owne person, or else his Legates and deputies for him, they reason thus: 32. Error.

1 The Pope is the chiefe pastor of the vniuersall Church: for vnto *Peter* only it was said, *Pasce oues meas,* Feede my sheepe, and he is called and saluted in Councels by the name of father: and all other both Princes and Bishops are sheepe in respect of him. *Bellar. cap. 19.*

We answere: first, in the Iesuites argument, there is *petitio principij,* a foule fault in a good Logician, though it bee none in a Sophister, still to begge that which is in question: for yet he hath not prooued that the Pope is the vniuersall pastor. Secondly, that place, *Feede my sheepe,* prooueth it not: *Augustine* saith, *Redditur negationi trina trina confessio, ne minus amori lingua seruiat, quàm timori: In Iohan. tract. 123.* He recompenceth a threefold deniall, with a threefold confession, least that his tongue should bee lesse seruiceable to loue, then it was to feare. So then, by this fathers iudgement, it was no priuiledge to *Peter* to be thrice admonished, but he is thereby put in minde of his thrice deniall of Christ. Againe, I marueile the Iesuite can so soone forget himselfe: for in the 15. chapter afore, he prooued by these words (*Feede my sheepe*) that Bishops onely were pastors; and he can now turne the words to serue onely for the Pope. Thirdly, what great matter is it for the Pope to be called father, seeing he is not ignorant that all Bishops assembled in Councell and other learned, are called by that name? Nay, it is no rare matter for other Bishops to bee saluted by the name of Pope: as *Prosper* writing to *Augustine,* twice in one epistle calleth him, *beatissimum Papam,* most blessed Pope, *Tom. 7. 4.* Princes and Bishops to the Pope are sheepe, saith the Iesuite. First, for Bishops, though he had a iurisdiction ouer all, which will sticke in his teeth to proue, yet shall they be no more his sheepe, then priests are to Bishops, and Bishops to their Metropolitanes, who cannot be said to be their sheepe, though they haue some preeminence ouer them: for *Augustines* rule must stand; *Nemo se nostrum Episcopum Episcoporum constituit. de Baptis. 2. 2.* No man is a Bishop of Bishops, nor shepheard of shepheards. Secondly, for Princes he hath nothing to doe with any but those in his owne Bishopricke: and as they are his sheepe one way, as they are taught of him; so he and his Cardinals are the Magistrates sheepe another way, and in respect of the ciuill gouernment he is their shepheard: And both he and they, Prince and Priest are sheep-

fellowes, vnder Iesus Christ the chiefe shepheard: as *Augustine* saith, *Tanquam vobis pastores sumus, sed sub illo pastore vobiscum oues sumus. in Psal.* 126. We are shepheards to you, but both you and I are sheepe vnder that great shepheard.

Argum. 2. *Peter* was President in the Councell of the Apostles, Act. 15. *Ergo*, the Pope ought to be now, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, S. *Iames* seemeth rather to haue been President there, then S. *Peter*. and to haue determined the matter in question: first, because S. *Iames* speaketh last, S. *Peter* first: and the last place is commonly giuen to the moderator or determiner. Secondly, S. *Iames*, when he had spoken, concludeth thus: vers. 19. wherefore my sentence is, &c. he determineth and giueth sentence: whereas Saint *Peter* saith not so, my sentence is, as a moderator, but rather as a perswader and counsellor: Now therefore, why tempt ye God? &c. vers. 10. Thirdly, it is confessed by our aduersaries, that S. *Iames* was Bishop at Ierusalem, and therefore was most like to bee the chiefe, if any were, in his owne iurisdiction.

But we affirme neither of these, to haue had any such preeminence aboue the other, to bee the President and chiefe Iudge, or to haue an ouerruling voyce: but that the matter was decided by an vniforme consent of them all, being directed by the holy Ghost: *It seemed good to the holy Ghost and vs*, vers. 28.

Secondly, though *Peter* had been President then, it followeth not that the Pope should be now: for we denie the Pope to bee *Peters* successor, either in his Apostolike doctrine, or Apostolike office: as shall appeare when we come to that place.

Argum. 3. *Bellarmine* taketh vpon him to prooue, that the Pope was President by his Legates in the eight generall Councels, and maketh a particular induction of them all.

Answ. But this argument rather maketh for vs, as it followeth *argum.* 3. that because the Pope was not President in any of the eight generall Councels, therefore the Presidentship belongeth not vnto him: for in some of them, the Pope was not present neither personally, nor by his Legates, as in the first of Constantinople, where *Nectarius* was President: in some the Pope was resiant in the citie, but not present in the Councel, as *Vigilius* was in Constantinople, what time the fift generall Councell was there held: in some of them the Popes Legates were present, but they had not the chiefe or Presidents place, as in the fourth generall Councell. But see more hereof afterward, *argum.* 3.

The Protestants.

WE doe truly affirme, that the soueraigne Maiestie of the Emperour and chiefe Magistrate, or his Legate, if he either be present himselfe, or send, ought to be President of the Councell: or else in their absence, one to bee chosen and elected by the Councell for that function, as Cardinall *Arelatensis* was chosen in the Councell of Basil by the fathers to be moderator.

Argum. 1. First, that it belongeth to the Prince, to haue this prerogatiue, it is hence prooued, because he is the chiefe iudge in all matters and causes, both Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall: And it appeareth by the ancient practise of the godly Kings in Israel and Iuda; *Dauid* gathered a Councell together, when he brought the Arke to Ierusalem, 1. Chron. 15. 3. where he was the chiefe doer, and director; for he appointed the Leuites their courses, and set foorth a certaine fourme of thanksgiuing to be vsed, 1. Chron. 16. 4, 7. *Hezekiah* assembled a Councell, 2. Chron. 30. 2. where it was decreed, that the Passeouer should be solemnely kept: & the posts were sent forth with the Kings writ or commission. In *Iosiah* his raigne there was a great assembly at Ierusalem, of the Princes, the people, priests, and Leuites, and all from the greatest to the smallest: where the King himselfe was president and chiefe agent, reading the law before the people, 2. Chron. 34. 30, 31.

Bellarmine answereth. 1. These are extraordinarie examples: *Dauid* and *Salomon* did deale in Ecclesiasticall matters, not as Kings, but as Prophets.

Anf. That *Dauid* and *Salomon* were Prophets we graunt, as by their Propheticall writings may appeare: But for the rest of the godly Kings of Iuda, how is it likely that they were Prophets, seeing neither by word or writing they deliuered any prophecies? Againe, the care of religion was neither in *Dauid*, or the rest extraordinarie or propheticall: for how can that bee extraordinarie, which was vsuall and commonly practised of all the religious Kings? And further, it was not the Prophets, but the Kings office to commaund their subiects to assemble together, as *Hezekiah* and *Iosiah* did: for if it belonged to the Prophets, not to the Kings to assemble Councels, then *Nathan*, not *Dauid*; *Isaia*, not *Hezekiah*; *Ieremias* the Prophet, not *Iosias* should haue called those holy assemblies, which were summoned by these Kings. Lastly, not onely these godly Kings of Iudah tooke this vpon them, but euen the King of Niniue with the consent of his Nobles did call a fast, Ionas 3. 7. So properly is it incident to the Emperiall Crowne to take care of religion.

Bellarmine. 2. We see that some of the Kings were punished, for medling with the priestly affaires: for this cause *Vzziah* was striken with leprosie, 2. Chron. 26. by this it appeareth, that it was extraordinarie in Kings to handle matters ecclesiasticall, *Bellar. ibid. cap.* 20.

Anf.

Anſ Vzziah would haue offered incenſe vpon the Alear, which was only lawfull for the prieſt, and therefore was worthily puniſhed. Neither doe wee ſay that the Prince ought to deale with preaching of the word, adminiſtring of the Sacraments, giuing of orders, or ſuch like duties, which are properly incident to the paſtors office: But concerning theſe duties, of ſummoning Councels, and enacting eccleſiaſticall lawes, and the commaunding of all Eſtates and perſons euen in religious matters, wee affirme that the right and power hereof, is meerely ciuill, and belongeth properly to the ciuill gouernour.

Argum.2. Secondly, we finde that the Emperours themſelues haue been preſent at Councels: as in the Nicene, *Conſtantine* the great was preſent: in the Councell of Chalcedon, *Martianus*: in the Conſtantinopolitane 3. *Conſtantius* the Emperour: in the Conſtantinopolitane 4. *Baſilius* the Emperour was preſent. Is it to be thought that theſe noble Emperours, were at the Councels as inferiours or vnderlings? or had they not the chiefe places? then ſure they were Preſidents: for in the Councell the chiefe place belongeth to the Preſident. They might appoint a ſpeaker or prolocutor for them, as in the Parliament houſe, though the Prince bee preſent, yet the Lord Chauncellor ſpeaketh: but the chiefe power and Soueraignnie in the Councell, was in the Emperours.

Bellarmine here anſwereth by a diſtinction: *Imperator non præſidebat concilio proprie vt iudex præſidebat ſaltem quo ad locum materialem*: The Emperour was not preſident in Councels properly as Iudge, but onely as chiefe in the place. And a little after he ſaith: *Non tam ex loco, quam ſubſcriptione colligenda eſt præſidentia*: The Preſidentſhip is not ſo much by the place to be knowne, as by the ſubſcription: *de Concil. lib.1. cap.19.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Ieſuites diſtinction is nothing worth: for hath not alwaies the Iudge in place of iudgement the chiefeſt roome? for ſeeing the preſident or Iudge in Councels, hath the ſupreame and chiefe authoritie, and to the higheſt perſon of right belongeth the higheſt place; how can it otherwiſe be, but that to whom the chiefeſt place in Synods was aſſigned, the preſidentſhip alſo of right appertained.

Secondly, that the Emperors and in their abſence their Legates, were preſidents in Councels, not onely in reſpect of the higheſt place, but as Iudges properly: we are able to iuſtifie it by the auncient actes and monumentes of antiquitie. *Concil. Epheſin. epiſtol. ad Theodoſium, rogamus clementiam tuam, vt per literas tuas pietatis ratum eſſe iubeas, conſirmeſque concilij decretum*: The Councell writeth thus to the Emperour: We beſeech your clemencie that by your godly letters you would ratifie and confirme the Decree of the Councell.

Martianus the Emperour in his oration to the fourth generall Councel of Chalcedon ſpeaketh thus: *Nos ad confirmandam fidem, non ad oſtendendam virtutem exemplo Conſtantini adeſſe ſynodo cognouimus*: we not to ſhew our power, but to confirme the faith, haue thought good, by *Conſtantines* example, to be preſent in the Synode. To whom now (I pray you) did it belong to confirme and ratifie the actes of Councels, but to the Iudge and preſident? but this did the Emperours. *Ergo.*

In the Chalcedon Councell, *action.1.* thus we finde *Reſidentibus magnificis & glorioſiſſimis iudicibus in medio, &c.* The moſt glorious and magnificent Iudges ſitting in the midſt, and on the left hand the reuerend Biſhops, *Paſchaſinus* and *Lucentius*, *Leo* the Biſhop of Romes deputies, and *Anatolius* Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople: and on the right hand, *Dioſcorus* Patriarch of Alexandria, &c. We ſee then, that the Noble men, ſupplying the Emperours place, were Iudges and preſidents in this Councell, not ſo much becauſe of their ſeate, as for their authoritie: for whereas *Paſchaſinus* and *Lucentius* tooke exception againſt *Dioſcorus*, ſaying, *Non ſedeat in Concilio, ſed audiendus intromittatur*: Let him not ſit in the Councell as iudge, but come in to be heard and iudged, yet the noble Iudges permitted it not.

3 That the Emperours were preſidents, they or their deputies in their name: we proue it not onely by their place in Councels, but by their ſubſcription. Alſo *Concil. ſub Sylueſtr. cap.20. Conſtantinus*, with his mother *Helena* ſubſcribed. *Toletan.3. Recaredus* the King, togither with *Baddo* the Queene ſubſcribed to the decrees of the Councell. *Concil.6. general. Conſtantinop. action.18. Conſtantinus* the Emperour ſubſcribed thus; *Subſcripſi piiſſimi & Chriſto dilecti Conſtantini imperatoris*: the ſubſcription of the moſt deuout and beloued of Chriſt *Conſtantinus* the Emperour. *Iuſtinianus* the ſecond ſubſcribed to the decrees of the ſixt general Synode aſſembled in Trullo. Wherefore if the Emperours had the chiefe place in generall Councels, and the greateſt authoritie, and by their royall conſent, and ſubſcription confirmed the actes and decrees of Councels, why ſhould it be doubted that they were chiefe preſidents in Councels, and ought of right ſo to be.

Argum.3. As we haue ſhewed that Emperours or their deputies were preſidents in generall Councels; ſo with as eaſie labour can we make it plaine, that the Popes and Biſhops of Rome, were not in their owne perſons, or by their Legates, preſidents in any of the eight generall Councels.

In the first generall Councel Nicene, *Eustathius* of Antioch was president: so witnesseth *Felix* Bishop of Rome, *epistol. ad Zenonem imperatorem*.

Wherefore *Bellarmine* in saying, that *Vitus* and *Vincentius* the Bishop of Romes Legates, were the presidents, doth oppose himselfe against the testimonie of the Bishop of Rome himselfe, and giueth him the lie. Their owne decrees also thus testifie, *decr. part. 1. dist. 15. c. 3. Gelasius*, That the Nicene Synode was celebrate, *Mediante Constantino: Constantinus* the Emperor being the mediator, or moderator: and *Eustathius* was his speaker or prolocutor.

Constantinopol. 1. The second generall Councell was celebrated vnder *Nestorius*, Patriarch of Constantinople, *sic patres Chalcedon. synod. actione 16.*

Here *Bellarmine* confesseth that neither the Pope, nor his Legates were present, but that *Nestorius* was president: *Ergo*, by his owne confession the Pope was not President in this Councell: And whereas he saith the Emperor was not President, it is contrarie to their owne decrees, *decr. part. 1. dist. 15. c. 3. Gelasius*, who affirmeth that the second generall Synode was held at Constantinople: *Mediante Theodosio seniore: Theodosius* the elder being mediator.

Ephesina synodo sanctæ memoriæ Cyrillus præsidit: Cyrillus of blessed memorie was President in the Ephesine, the third generall Councell, *sic Leo epistol. 45.*

Bellarmine saith that *Cyrillus* was the Popes Legate in this Councell. *Answere. 1. Leo* before cited maketh mention of no such thing. 2. The Pope did vse to send Legates of his owne, and not to nominate Bishops of the Greeke Church. 3. *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 8. l. 8. Valentinian, Martian* this testifie of this Synode, *Cui beatæ memoriæ Cyrillus præfuit*: Where *Cyrillus* of happie memorie was President. The same witnesseth *Gelasius, decr. part. 1. dist. 15. c. 3.* In the Ephesine Synode, *Nestorius* with the consent of *Celestinus* was condemned, *Mediante Cyrillo, &c. Cyrillus* being the mediator or President. And againe, *dist. 16. c. 10.* The Fathers in this Councell did conclude twelue articles against so many heresies of *Nestorius, auctore Cyrillo, Cyrill* being the author.

Gelasius, decret. de Apocryphis, affirmeth the Councell of Chalcedon, which was the fourth generall to be celebrated, *Mediante Martiano Augusto, & Anatolio Constantinopolitano*: By the mediation or Presidentship of *Martianus* the Emperor, and *Anatolius* Patriarch of Constantinople. Yet notwithstanding this authoritie of *Gelasius, Bellarmine* still auoucheth that the Popes Legates had the Presidentship in this Councell. *Contra. 1.* The Synode saith, *Residentibus magnificis iudicibus &c.* The most magnificent Iudges sitting, &c. there were seuen noble men by the Emperor appoynted as Iudges: but who else is iudge but the President? 2. These seuen Iudges sit in the middest by the altar, the Patriarch of Constantinople and Alexandria on their right hand; *Paschasinus* and *Lucentius*, the Bishop of Romes Legates, on the left hand: wherefore by their place it seemeth they were not Presidents. 3. They would haue *Dioscorus* excluded out of the Councell, but the Iudges would not permit it. 4. *Decr. part. 1. dist. 16. c. 10. Anatolius* is said to be author of the 27. Canons made against *Eutyches*; wherefore he rather was the President then the other. See also to this purpose the second Nicene Councell, *actione 1.* where *Tharasius* President of that Councell saith, *Anatolius quarta synodi principem fuisse*: That *Anatolius* was the Prince or President of the fourth Synode: *Ergo* the Popes Legates were not.

Constantinopol. 2. The fift generall Councell was kept, *Præsidente sanctissimo & beatissimo domino nostro patriarcha Menna*: Our most holy and blessed Lord *Mennas* Patriarch of Constantinople being President: *act. 1. 2. 3. & 4.* Yet *Bellarmine* is not ashamed to say, that not *Mennas*, but *Eutychius* his successor was President in the fift generall Councell; whereas in euery action of this Councell, which are but foure in all, there is mention onely made as before, of the Presidentship of *Mennas*.

But what hath *Bellarmine* gained, if *Eutychius*, and not *Menna* was President? What maketh this for the Popes Presidentship? And if it be so, that *Vigilius* the Bishop of Rome was at that time present at Constantinople, as the Iesuite thinketh, why came he not to the Synode to chalenge his Presidentship, but that he feared to be thrust downe into the second place, as *Illyricus* truely coniectureth, and is without cause chalenged by the Iesuite of a lye, seeing he himselfe confesseth as much in the beginning of the 19. chapter, alleaging this as a reason, why the Popes refused personally to be present, in the Greeke Synodes, because the Emperor or his Legates would sit in the Presidents place?

Constantinopol. 3. The sixt generall Councell, *actione 1. Præsidente piissimo imperatore Constantino*, The most deuout Emperor *Constantinus* being President.

Yet notwithstanding the words of the Councell stand thus, *Bellarmine* saith, that the Legates of *Agatho* the Bishop of Rome had the Presidentship: whereas beside the direct testimonie of the Councell, as we haue heard, which maketh the Emperor *Constantinus* President, the Legates of the Bishop of Rome sate vpon the left hand of the Emperor, and on the right *George* Archbishop of Constantinople, and *Macarius* of Antioch, as the chiefer men.

Nicen. 2. The seuenth generall Councell, *Tharasius* Patriarch of Constantinople, was President and author of the decrees.

This

This is notwithstanding denied by *Bellarmine*, that *Theophilus* was President: and yet the words of the Synode are these: *We thinke it very meete and conuenient, that the most holy and high pastor and rector President of the imperiall Citie of Constantinople, new Rome, in the beginning to propound, what matters shall be handled, and as it were to open a doore to the rest: but whose office was it else, but the Presidents to propound the questions, and to moderate the disputations?* Though we need not to contend for this Synode, which was most erronious, grosse and idolatrous, and not worthie to be counted amongst the eight generall Councels, and in deed it is none of them.

Constantinopol. 4. The eight generall Councell, *Basilius* the Emperor was present, and President, for he concludeth the Councell thus, *Præfulamus unicuique qui in nostro cœtu habet aliquid, in medium exhibeat*: We giue licence to all, that haue any doubt, to bring it forth. He was then the President; whatsoeuer the Iesuite can obiect to the contrarie.

In these eight generall Councels the Pope of Rome was not himselfe personally present: what will you say now to a generall Councell, where the Pope was present in person, and yet not president.

In the Councell of Florence, *Palæologus* Emperour of Constantinople, and *Iosephus* Patriarch there, also *Eugenius* the fourth Bishop of Rome were personally present, with the whole state Ecclesiasticall both of the Greeke and Latine Church: yet was not *Eugenius* president, as may appeare by these arguments.

1 At their first meeting there was great contention about their seates in the Councel, the Pope would haue placed the Greekes with their Emperour on the left hand, the Latine Clergie on the right, and himselfe to sit in the vpper end in the midst betweene them both: but the Emperour would not suffer that, saying, that that place was meeter for him then for the Pope: Hereupon the Pope relented, and was contented to sit on the right side ouer against the Emperour: but if he had been president, that place in the midst of right had belonged vnto him.

2 The Grecians craued leaue of their Emperour, and Patriarch, when they began to speake, as *Bessarion* doth *sess.* 1. and *Marcus* Bishop of Ephesus *sess.* 3. and *sess.* 23. *Iohannes Monachus* saith thus to *Marcus*, *Non ego, sed Imperator, tibi legem imponere potest*, Not I, but the Emperour is to appoint you the law of disputing: But this onely belongeth to the president and moderator. 3. *Sess.* 10. *Imperator iussit vt iterum sessio haberetur*, The Emperour commanded another session to be kept: *Ergo*, he was president, and not the Pope.

Argum. 4. Lastly, not to heape vp many reasons in so plaine a cause; I will alleadge one example most manifest out of *Augustine* who writeth, that in that great Councel at Carthage where the matter was discussed betweene the Catholikes and the Donatists, there being present more then 500. Bishops of both sides, *Marcellinus* was appointed to be moderator of that disputation: who diuers times putteth in his sentence in the disputation, and last of all, bidding both parts to goe aside, he writeth the sentence definitiue, and concludeth against the Donatists, approuing the actes of the Catholike Bishops. *hæc Aug. breuicul. collation.*

THE FIFT QVESTION, WHETHER Councels may erre or not.

The Papists.

THey are not all agreed, what to determine of this matter: some affirme that Generall Councels can in no wise erre, although the consent of the Pope be wanting: thus the Fathers in Basile concluded, Who is it, say they, that will preferre a sinfull man before an vndefiled Church? But *Bellarmine* more the Popes friend then so, holdeth, that euen generall Councels may erre, vnlesse they follow the instructions and directions of the Pope: Yea that it is not sufficient for the Pope to call a Councell, and send his Legate thither, but he must write continually for aduertisement from his master before any thing be concluded: and therefore they doubt not to say, that the Councell of *Basile* erred, though it had the consent of the Popes Legate in defining, that the Councell is aboue the Pope, because he had no such direction from the Pope, *Bellarmine de concil. lib. 2. cap. 11.* 33. Error.

Nay the Iesuite goeth further, that particular Councels being approued by the pope cannot erre, *cap. 5.* So they holde that the holy fathers of the croell Inquisition cannot erre: Yea *Panormitane* was not ashamed to say openly in the Councell of *Basile*, that he would preferre the iudgment of the Cardinals of Rome before all the world. This then is the Iesuites opinion, that no Councels by the Pope confirmed can erre: and that a particular Councell hauing his allowance, is to be preferred before a generall without. Let vs see some of their reasons.

1 They abuse certaine places of Scripture for their purpose: as that Act. 15. It seemed good to vs, and the holy Ghost: I am with you to the end of the world: He that heareth you, heareth me.

Bellarmine cap.2. Rhemist. in Act.15.8,10. so then thus they argue, Councels are neuer without the spirit of God: therefore they cannot erre. A silly argument, as though the spirit of God were at their commandement, or were tyed to places or persons: They must first performe the condition before they can challenge the promise: that is, to follow the rule of Gods word, and obediently to submitte themselues thereunto; then will God vouchsafe to be present. The Gospell saith, that wheresoeuer two or three are gathered together in my name, I will be present euen in the midst of them: Here promise is made, not to thousands or hundreds, but to two or three; and therefore by this place an assembly of few persons may as well be exempted from error, as Councels: But there is a condition, *In nomine meo*, in my name, and then followeth, *in medio eorum*, in the midst of them: When they are not met in the Lords name, they cannot looke for the presence of Christ. I pray you where was the holy Ghost present in that Councell at Rome vnder Ioh. 23. when there appeared a great Owle, which stared and outfaced the Pope, who blushing at the matter, and fuming, rose vp and departed? At the sight of which Owle they whispered one in anothers eare, that the spirit appeared in the likenes of an Owle: and after that in another session the same Owle appeared, and could not be driuen away, vntill by throwing bats and cudgels at her, she fell downe dead before them, as *Nicbol. Clemang.* In the beginning of the Councel of Constance after the accustomed hymne sung, *Veni sancte spiritus*, a bill was set vp with these words, *alijs rebus occupati, nunc adesse non possumus.* We are now otherwise occupied, we cannot be present with you. We see now how sure the Papists are of the holy Ghost in their popish Councels.

Argum.2. Act.15.28. It seemed good to vs and the holy Ghost: As the Apostles might say, that their decrees were the decrees of the holy Ghost: so all other Councels are sure to haue the assistance of the spirit: *Ergo*, they cannot erre, *Bellarm. lib.2. cap.2.*

Answere. First, if the Councels which are now held in the Church, are as sure not to erre as the Apostolicall Councels, by the same reason euery particular pastor of the Church may haue as good a priuiledge, to be exempted from error, as the Apostles themselues had: for their Councels which erred not, consisted of particular members likewise not erring. But there is not the like reason of the Apostles, and their Councels then, as there is of ours nowe: for the Apostles, whose preachings, decrees, and writings, are now, and were then to be rules of our faith, for this cause receiued the spirit of God, whereby they were assured to be led into all truth, Ioh.16.13. But Councels now are not to set rules of our faith, neither are their decrees to be taken for Scripture: therefore there is not the like reason of the assistance of the spirit nowe in such measure, as they had then.

Answ.2. Yet we graunt that the spirit of God is present still in Councels assembled in Christs name, to direct them in all things necessarie: so that they be content to be ruled by the Scriptures, as we see the Apostles grounded their decrees vpon Scripture, Act.15.16. For thus the Apostles concluded, that seeing God foretold by his Prophets, that the Gentiles should be called as well as the Iewes, that they were not therefore to be clogged with Iewish ceremonies, seeing they were ordayned to be a people holy vnto God, as well as the Iewes: But if the Pastors of the Church refuse to heare the voice of God in the Scriptures, they are very like to be deceiued, yea, are sure to misse the line of truth.

Argum.3. The Church cannot erre: for the Apostle calleth it the pillar of truth, 1. Timoth.3. but a generall Councell representeth the whole Church: *Ergo*, it cannot erre. *Bellarm. lib.2. de Concil. c.2.*

Answ. First, concerning the assumption or second part of this argument, we graunt, that a generall Councell lawfully assembled in some sort representeth the vniuersall Church, but is not the vniuersall Church: but fewe Councels are so generall, as the which some of euery nationall Church are present, which thing ought to be in an vniuersall Councell. And againe, a generall Councell may erre, when as notwithstanding some particular members of the Church hold the truth: as in that generall assemblie of 400. of *Baals* priests in *Achabs* time, they all being in error, the Prophet *Micaiah* only was in the right.

Secondly, concerning the proposition, first wee denie that the Church is absolutely freed from error, neither doth it follow, it is the pillar, therefore cannot erre; for *Peter* erred, and yet was a pillar, Galath.2. Secondly, the Church is called a pillar, and ground of truth, not absolutely or substantially, as though the truth should be measured by the Church, but onely demonstratiuely, because it professeth the truth, and as a golden candlesticke holdeth out the light in the world, which is not elsewhere to be found but in the Church: and it is the pillar of the truth, as it is the house of God, suffering it selfe to be ruled and guided by the word of God.

The Protestants.

WE doubt not to say, that Councels haue erred, and may erre, presuming any thing besides the warrant of Gods word, and that neither vniuersall or particular Councels are priuiledged, much lesse any one man, as not the Pope, not to erre in matters of faith, otherwise, then

following

following the truth of the Scriptures, for in ſo doing, they are ſure not to be deceiued.

Argum.1. We haue examples in the Scripture of Councels that erred, as that aſſemblie in *Achabs* daies of 400. Prophets, who were all deceiued. The Ieſuite thus anſwereth, that it was an aſſemblie of Prophets, not of Prieſts: as though Prieſts were more priuiledged from error, than Prophets. And the Ieſuite, if he be well remembred, whereas we alleaged the examples of *Dauid*, *Hezekiah*, *Ioſias*, that aſſembled Councels, he gaue vs this anſwer, that they did it as Prophets, and not as Kings: wherefore by his owne confeſſion it belongeth to Prophets as well as to prieſts to aſſemble, and be aſſembled in Councel. Secondly (ſaith he) theſe were falſe prophets, not Prophets of the Lord. We graunt ſo, and this withall, that whereſoeuer the Lords prophets and paſtors, and miniſters aſſemble, that there they will heare the Lords voyce: which the Pope in his Councels doth not. But he ſtill ſuppoſeth, that the Pope and his miniſters are Chriſts diſciples: which is an vnreaſonable ſuppoſition, ſeeing we hold him to be Antichriſt, and that the Ieſuite knoweth. Thirdly, this Councell was called by the authoritie of the King, not of the high prieſt, and therefore might erre. *Anſ.* Firſt, the holy Councels ſummoned by *Dauid*, 1. Chron. 15. 3. by *Hezekiah*, 2. Chron. 30. by *Ioſias*, 2. Chron. 34. though they were by the authoritie of the King, not the high prieſt collected, were notwithſtanding godly and lawfull Councels. Secondly, neither was it the authoritie of the high prieſt, that could priuiledge Councels from error, ſeeing they themſelues erred, as *Urijah* the high prieſt vnder that vngodly King of Iuda *Ahaz* was a moſt groſſe idolater, 2. King. 16. 11. Wherefore the Ieſuite hath here anſwered nothing.

Argum.2. Such a Councell alſo was that of the Iewes, Ioh. 9. where all they were excommunicate that confeſſed Chriſt, and Mark. 14. Chriſt himſelfe was by the Councell condemned: It cannot be denied, but that this Councell erred. Let vs heare the papiſts goodly anſweres: ſome ſay that the Councell erred in a matter of fact, *de facto, non de iure*, not in a caſe of righe, as whether Chriſt ſhould be put to death; As though in condemning him, they denied not that he was the Meſſiah. Other that they erred in their owne opinion, not in the ſentence giuen, for Chriſt indeed was guiltie of death, ſay they, becauſe he did beare our ſinnes: the Ieſuite findeth not much fault with this anſwere, and yet it is an open blaſphemie, as is that alſo of the Papiſts, that the Iewes had ſinned mortally, if they had not put Chriſt to death. Some of them ſay, the Councell erred not in that which was done, but in the manner of iudgement becauſe it was tumultuous and diſorderly, and done by ſuborning of falſe witneſſes: and this ſaith the Ieſuite, is *probabilis reſponſio*, a probable anſwere, ſaith he, being moſt impious and blaſphemous. And their Maſter of Sentences determineth otherwiſe: *Occidere Chriſtum fuit malo animo & peccatum*: To kill Chriſt was an euill and ſinfull action, *lib. 1 diſt. 48. b.* But he dare not reſt in this anſwere, but findeth out a fourth of his owne, that the chiefe prieſts and Councels of the Iewes could not erre before the comming of Chriſt, but after hee was come, they might. A blind popiſh anſwere: for doth not Chriſt euery where impugne the traditions and decrees of the Elders, as Mark. 7. which our Sauiour ſhould not haue done belike, ſeeing the Elders before his comming could not erre: or will they ſay, that thoſe traditions were right and good before, and afterward erronious? I know not elſe what they ſhould ſay.

Diſtinct. 15. Item in Margin.

Popiſh blaſphemie.

Againe, I oppoſe againſt the Ieſuite the determination of their owne Maſter: who ſaith, *In Chriſti morte terminata eſſe Legalia omnia*: That all the Legals were determined and tooke their end in the death of Chriſt; and ſo long Circumciſion (ſaith he) was in force, *lib. 4. Sentent. diſt. 3. k.* But the law and prieſthood ceaſed together: *Ergo*, till Chriſts death the prieſts ſhould bee priuiledged not to erre, if they had any ſuch priuiledge at all.

Argum.3. We ſee by experience that many Councels haue erred: we let paſſe thoſe which the Ieſuite himſelfe confeſſeth to haue erred, as the third Councell of *Antioch*, where *Athanaſius* was condemned, and the Arrian hereſie approued: the Councell of *Arimine*, where the ſame hereſie was furthered: the ſecond Epheſine approuing *Eutiches* hereſie: theſe Councels, though they were generall, the Papiſts confeſſe to haue erred, and they haue a tricke to ſhifte it off, but a ſillie one God knoweth. They were not approued by the Pope, ſay they: As though all veritie and knowledge in the whole earth were locked vp in the Popes breaſt.

In the Councell of *Nicoſaren* confirmed by *Leo* the fourth *can. 7.* ſecond mariage is forbidden: that the Prieſt ſhould neither giue conſent to ſecond mariage, nor be preſent at the mariage feaſt, but rather inioyne penance for ſecond mariage.

Bellarmine anſwereth, *Non prohiberi matrimonium, ſed ſolemnitatem ſecundi matrimonij*, that not ſecond mariage, but the ſolemnity of ſecond mariage is forbidden; for the celebritie of mariage was once onely accuſtomed to be done in the Church (ſaith he) when as virgins were coupled in matrimonie.

Contra.1. The Canon ſpeaketh not of any ſolemnitie in the Church, but of the feaſt at home, *Preſbyterum conuiuio ſecundarum nuptiarum intereſſe non debere*. That the Prieſt or miniſter muſt not be preſent at the ſecond mariage feaſt. Secondly, the Canon ſaith, *Quis eſt preſbyter, qui propter conuiuium*

minium illis ei festiat nuptijs: He is a prieſt of no worth, that for the feaſt ſake will giue his conſent to ſecond ma[illegible]ge. And againe, *Præcipitur ſecundis nuptijs pœnitentiam tribuere:* He is commanded to inioyne pe[illegible]nce for ſecond mariage: not for the ſolemnitie of ſecond mariage, but for the mariage it ſelfe. It is plaine therefore, that this canon forbiddeth ſecond mariage it ſelfe. Thirdly, neither is it true which the Ieſuite ſaith, that all ſolemnitie in the Church was cut off in ſecond mariage: It was decreed indeed, *Concil. Lateran. part. 9. cap. 2. In ſecundis nuptijs non debet benedictio iterari:* The matrimoniall or mariage bleſſing muſt not bee iterate in ſecond mariage, becauſe it was once giuen before: yet both firſt and ſecond mariage was to bee ſolemnized in the Church, *Synod. Colonenſ. part. 7. cap. 43. Coniunctio coniugum in facie eccleſiæ peragenda:* The ioyning together of couples is to bee done in the face of the Church. He ſaith not in the firſt or ſecond mariage, but indefinitely of all.

Toletan. 1. can. 17. Is qui non habet vxorem, & pro vxore concubinam habet à communione non repellatur: He that hath not a wife, but in ſtead of his wife a concubine, is not for this cauſe to bee repelled the communion: a manifeſt error. This Councell was confirmed by *Leo*, as it may appeare canon 21. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that a concubine is here taken for a wife, *Dotata ſine dote, & externa ſolennitate*, maried without a dowrie, and any outward ſolemnitie, as *Agar* is ſaid to be *Abrahams* concubine, yet ſhe was indeed his wife: and *Keturah* likewiſe.

Contra. 1. A wife is one thing, a concubine another, *Sicut aliud libera, aliud ancilla*, as a free woman is one thing, a bond woman another: ſo ſaith *Leo* the approuer of the foreſaid Councell, as he is alleaged, *Synod. Triburienſ. cap. 38.* And further he ſaith, that if a man giue his daughter to one in mariage that hath a concubine, *Non ita accipiendũ eſt, quaſi eam coniugato dederit*, It is not ſo to be taken, as if he had giuen her to one maried alreadie: *Niſi fortè illa mulier ingenua ſit facta, & dotata legitimè, & in publicis nuptijs honeſtata videatur:* Except the woman bee made free and haue her dowrie, and be receiued in mariage publikely ſolemnized. Therefore ſhe that is neither endued with dowrie, nor ſolemnely maried, is no wife, but a concubine, which cleane ouerthroweth *Bellarmines* anſwere.

2. Whereas *Bellarmine* telleth vs, that in the Ciuill law a wife maried without ſolemnitie, is called a concubine, his law here deceiueth him: for whether he will be tried for this point by the Ciuill law or Canon, they make both againſt him. As *Cod. lib. 5. tit. 16. leg. 2. Antonin.* forbiddeth that a ſouldiour ſhould make a gift to his *focaria*, or *concubina*, his concubine or houſemaid: which there is taken for one that is kept without mariage. Likewiſe, *titul. 26. l. 1. Conſtantin.* It is lawfull for no man to keepe a concubine, *conſtante matrimonio*, as long as he is married. In the ſame ſenſe is a concubine taken in the Canon law: *Decret. p. 1. diſt. 34. c. 6. Etſi non habetis vxores, &c.* Though you haue no wiues, yet is it not lawfull for you to haue concubines. Thus then a concubine is one, and a wife another.

3. That *Agar* was not *Abrahams* wife, but his concubine, it appeareth thus: Firſt, ſhe was not made free, but remained a bond-woman ſtill, Gen. 16. and 21. Secondly, ſhe had no dowrie, nor her ſonne any inheritance with *Iſaac*, Gen. 21. 10. Thirdly, if ſhe had been *Abrahams* wife, he ſhould haue done euill in diſmiſſing of her, and ſending her away. Fourthly, the Scripture onely calleth *Sara Abrahams* wife, Gen. 16. 3. the other a bond-woman, euen after ſhe had a childe by *Abraham*, Gen. 21. 13. ſhe is alſo called the maide of *Sarai*, and *Sarai* her dame or miſtreſſe, Geneſ. 16. 6, 9. *Sara* alſo giueth *Agar* to *Abraham*, and ſaith, *It may be I ſhall receiue a childe by her*, Geneſ. 16. 2. the bond-womans childe is by right her dames and miſtreſſes according to the law, Exodus 21. 4. All this prooueth that *Agar* was a concubine onely, not wife to *Abraham* in any reſpect.

As for *Keturah*, it cannot bee denied, but that ſometime the Scripture calleth her *Abrahams* wife, Geneſ. 25. 1. ſometime his concubine, 1. Chron. 1. 32. yet in a diuers reſpect: for ſhe was his concubine, as ſome thinke, while *Sara* liued, and his wife afterward: and the Iewes doe hold that *Keturah* and *Agar*, are all one woman. To which opinion *Hierome* ſeemeth to incline, being moued thereunto by two places of Scripture: the firſt, 1. Chron. 5. 19. where beſide the Agarens, are named *Ietbur* and *Naphiſh*, as enemies to Iſrael, which were the ſonnes of *Iſmael*, Geneſ. 25. 15. The other is, Pſal. 83. 6. where the Iſmaelites and Agarens are named as two diuers nations: but *Agar* had no more ſonnes but *Iſmael*, ſo that the Iſmaelites and Agarens muſt bee all one, vnleſſe the ſonnes of *Keturah* bee vnderſtood for Agarens, which is moſt like. But how could *Keturah* her ſonnes be named Agarens, if ſhe alſo were not *Agar*? But leauing this as a coniecture of hiſtorie, whether *Keturah* were the ſame that *Agar*, or not, it is verely to bee thought that ſhe was both a concubine and a wife, the firſt while *Sara* liued, the ſecond after her death. So whatſoeuer the Ieſuite hath ſaid, or can ſay, the Toletan Councell decreed an error.

Hieron. trad. in Geneſ. 25. & 1. Paralip. cap. 1.

In the 6. generall Synode, *Can.* 2. the Councell vnder *Cyprian* which concluded that heretikes ſhould be rebaptized, is approued. *Can.* 72. The mariages betweene Catholikes and heretikes are iudged to be voyd, *huiuſmodi nuptias*, ſaith the Canon, *irritas exiſtimari*, a manifeſt error, and contrarie

trarie to S. *Paul*, 1. Cor. 7. 15. *Can.* 12. speaking of the Canons of the Apostles, *Can.* 6. which permitteth Ministers to dwell with their wiues, which by them is forbidden in this place, they say thus, *Statum ecclesiasticum in pulchriorem ordinem prouehi voluerunt*: Being desirous to reduce the ecclesiasticall state to a more beautifull and perfect order, then it was in the Apostles time. As though any Church since was purer, then the primitiue vnder the gouernment of the Apostles. *Can.* 67. *Damnamus eos qui cuiuscunque animalis sanguinem aliquo arte coquunt, & sic comedunt*: We condemne those that by skill of Cookerie doe dresse the blood of any beast to be eaten. But Saint *Paul* saith, euery creature of God is good, and not to be refused, &c. 1. Tim. 4. 4. These and diuers such erros were concluded in this generall Councell: consented and subscribed vnto by *Iustinian* the Emperour, the Bishop of Rome, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and by 200. Bishops beside and more, as may bee seene *Can.* 102. And approoued in the 7. generall Councell, *actione* 4. where *Tharasius* the President speaketh thus of the Canons of the sixt Councell, *Scandalum est dubitare an sint sexta synodi*: It is scandalous, or offensiue to doubt, whether they bee the right Canons of the sixt Synod. And *Adrian* Bishop of Rome thus writeth to the same *Tharasius*, as he is alleaged in the Decrees: I receiue the sixt Synod with all the Canons thereof, *Dist.* 19. 1 *dist.* 16 *c.* 3.

Concil. Carthaginens. 3. *can.* 47. The Apocryphall bookes of *Tobie*, *Iudith*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Sapientia*, the *Maccabees*, are made Canonicall, contrarie to the Laodicen Councell, *cap. vltim.* where all these bookes are reiected out of the sacred Canon. Therefore the Councell of Carthage erred.

Bellarmine answereth, first that the Councell of Carthage is of more authoritie then the Laodicen, because it is the latter, and for that it is ratified by *Leo* 4. *dist.* 20. *c.* 1. and so is not the other.

Contra. 1. The Councels the more ancient they are and neerer the Apostles times, ought to bee so much the more had in authoritie, and not the new to bee preferred before the old: I marueile that the Iesuite, which so much vrgeth antiquitie, would haue vttered such a speech. 2. And againe, the same *Leo* the 4. in the same place confirmeth the Laodicen Councell: and likewise *Felix* 4. *Decret.* 2. citeth the 26. and 59. Canons of this Synod; and it is confirmed in the sixt generall Councell, *Can.* 1. and so is not the Councell of Carthage: as it is also alleaged in the Decrees, *dist.* 16. *c.* 7. Wherefore the Laodicen is to bee preferred, and the Iesuite hath said nothing.

In the second Councell of Nice, *act.* 5. it was concluded, that Angels and the soules of men haue bodies of their owne, and are circumscriptible *& imitabiles picturæ*, and may bee described by picture, and that the Angels *multoties in propria corpora visi*, haue often been seene in their owne bodies. *Actione* 1. It was decreed, *Hanc esse veritatem vt in sanctis ecclesijs venerandæ imagines colantur*: That in holy Churches the images of Saints should be worshipped. Yet in the Eliberin Councell it was long before determined in this wise, *Can.* 36. *Placuit, picturas in ecclesia esse non debere*: It seemeth good to vs, that there should bee no pictures at all, or images in the Church. And to this Councell subscribed *Osius* Bishop of Corduba in Spaine, who had been present before in the first Nicene Councell, and subscribed for the Bishop of Rome: this appeareth therefore to be a manifest error, which was decreed concerning the adoring of Images. And to make the error more foule, being blasphemous enough in it selfe, *actione* 4. one *Iohannes Monachus* steppeth vp, and saith, *Imago maior est quam oratio*. An Image is more worth then prayer: whereas prayer is instituted of God, an Image is the deuice of man. And in the same place, the same superstitious and idolatrous Monke saith, that it were better for a man to breake his oth, *& iurare non peierare*, and to be forsworne, then to keepe his oth, *in destructionem imaginum*, for the pulling downe of Images. And yet for all this *Bellarmine* will not yeeld that this Councell erred.

In the Councell of Rome vnder Pope *Stephan* the 7. all the acts of *Formosus* his predecessor were reuoked. And in the Councell of Rauenna vnder *Iohn* 9. Pope, *Formosus* acts were established, and *Stephans* decrees abrogate.

Bellarmine here answereth, that Pope *Stephen* erred onely in a matter of fact, being falsely informed, that *Formosus* was not the lawfull Pope. *Contra.* But to reuerse all the acts and decrees made by the Pope, sheweth an error in iudgement also in one of them, either in him that first enacted them, or in him that after reuersed them: As the putting of Christ to death, though it were a matter of fact, yet proceeded from a corrupt, blind, and reprobate iudgement. By this shift the Iesuite also may excuse the high priests from error, that put Christ to death.

Lastly, in the Councell of Constance, they are excommunicate, that receiue the Sacrament in both kindes: the Councell of Basil on the contrarie side, permitteth and giueth leaue to the Bohemians to vse both kindes. One of these Councels must needes erre, and both of them were confirmed by the Popes: the Councell of Constance by *Martin* the 5. the Councell of Basil by *Felix* 5. By this induction of many particulars we inferre and conclude, that Councels euen approued by the Pope, may and haue erred.

4. Lastly, *Augustines* opinion is this, that prouinciall Councels ought to giue place to generall: *Et ipsa plenaria priora posterioribus emendari*: And the former generall Councels must bee amended

mended by the latter. The Rhemists haue found out this shift, that in matters indifferent, which are to be chaunged, according to time and place, Councels may be altered, *Act.15.sect.8.* But to that it is answered, that the word *emendare* signifieth not onely a chaunge, but a correcting of that which is amisse. And that clause of *Augustines* must be put in, why Councels must be amended: *Si à veritate deuiatum sit*, If they swarue from the truth: *de Baptismo lib.2.cap.3.* Wherefore we conclude, that Councels may erre.

Againe, that saying of *Augustine* is confirmed in your owne Decrees: *Ego solis eis scriptorum, &c.* I haue learned, onely to those writers which are called Canonicall, to attribute this honour, that I beleeue none of them to haue erred in writing, &c. *Decr.p.3. dist.10.c.5.* If the holy writers onely are priuiledged from error, then all other that are not Canonicall may erre, and so Councels among the rest.

Lastly, let vs put to the seale of this doctrine, the testimonie of the holy Martyrs witnessed by their bloud: M. *Rogers* Martyr, alleageth the authority of a learned lawyer of the Church of Rome, namely, *Panormitanus*, which saith that vnto a simple lay man, that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credite to be giuen, then to a whole Councel gathered togither: vnto which sentence, the said blessed Martyr giueth his consent, *Fox.pag.1487.*

Extra. de Appel. cap. significasti.

Bishop *Farrar* Martyr, was condemned for this article amongst other, because he would not subscribe, that generall Councels neuer did nor can erre, *Fox.pag.1554.col.2.ar.4.*

Bishop *Ridley* also holy Martyr, confesseth that Councels gathered together of such guides, and pastors, as doe walke after the guiding of Gods word, haue a promise to be guided of the spirit into all truth, and not otherwise. *Fox.pag.1720.*

THE SIXT QVESTION, CONCERNING THE AVthoritie of generall Councels, whether they may absolutely determine without Scripture, and necessarily binde all men to the obedience of their Canons.

The Papists.

34. Error. IN words they would seeme to magnifie the Scripture aboue Councels: for they say, that the authoritie of the Scripture dependeth not in himselfe, of Church, Pope, or Councels; but in respect of vs: the word of God, is the word of God, say they, though there be no determination of the Church: but we doe not know it so to be, but because the Church hath so defined: *Bellarmin. lib.2.de verb. cap.12.* Here is a goodly glosse, but nothing to the purpose: for in that they say the Church hath absolute authoritie to declare and pronounce which is the word, (which indeede it hath not without testimonie and warrant of the word it selfe) by this meanes it commeth about, that much is taken for the word of God which is not: and so the Church doth not onely declare the word, but maketh that the word which is not.

First, beside the Apocrypha, which they make part of the word, as we haue shewed afore, they hold that their traditions are also the word of God, *Bellarmine cap.12.* Secondly, *Gratian* is so bold to affirme that the decretall Epistles of the Popes are to be counted amongst the Canonicall Scriptures, *dist.19. can. in canonicis*, and that the Canons of Councels are of the same authoritie, *dist.20.can.decretales.* And *Greg.1.epist.24.* saith, he doth reuerence the foure generall Councels, as the foure Euangelists. Thirdly, they shamefully affirme, that whatsoeuer the Pastors and priests doe teach in the vnitie of the Church, is the word of God, *Rhemens.1.Thes.2.ver.12.*

First then they conclude, that Councels are not bound to determine according to the Scriptures, but as iudges may determine of their owne authoritie. Secondly, that all men are bound of necessitie to receiue the decrees of Councels, without any further tryall or examination. They reason thus out of Scripture.

Bellar.lib.1.de concil.cap.18. *Argum.1.* Deut.17.12. He that harkeneth not vnto the priest, that man shall die. But marke I pray you, what goeth before, vers.11. according to the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the iudgement which they shall tell thee, shalt thou doe: See then, here is no absolute iudiciall power giuen to the priest but according to the law of God.

Thus answered Master *Latimer* Martyr, to the like obiection made by Bishop *White*: If any controuersie did arise, they were indeed referred to the Priests who were to iudge, not as they would themselues, but *secundum legem Dei*, according to the law of God, *Fox.pag.1762.*

Argum.2. The example of the Apostles Act.15. is as fondely alleadged, where it was decreed (saith the Iesuite) that the Gentiles should not be burthened with ceremonies, which, saith he, was not determined by the Scriptures but by the absolute suffrages of the Apostles. Againe, their decrees were absolutely imposed vpon the Churches, without any further examination of the Disciples: *Ergo*, we are now also absolutely bound to obey all decrees of Councels, *Bellarmin. de concil.1.18.*

We

We anſwere: firſt, it is falſe, that this matter was determined without Scripture: for *Iames* alleageth Scripture: and *Peter* thus reaſoneth, We beleeue through the grace of God to be ſaued alwell as they, verſ. 11. therefore what need this yoke of ceremonies? Secondly, Though there had been no Scripture, who ſeeth not that the ſpirit of God ſo ruled the Apoſtles, that their writings and holy actions ſhould ſerue for ſcripture vnto the ages following? Thirdly, the Diſciples needed not to examine their decrees, knowing that they were gouerned by the ſpirit, as they themſelues write: It ſeemed good to vs and the holy Ghoſt: yet we ſee the brethren of *Berea* ſearched the Scripture for the truth of thoſe things, which the Apoſtles preached, Act. 17. 11. When they can proue ſuch a plenarie power and fulnes of the ſpirit in their Paſtors and Councels, as was in the Apoſtles, we will alſo beleeue them.

Argum. 3. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, if he refuſe to heare the Church, let him be vnto thee as an heathen man and publicane: *Ergo* the Church is abſolutely to be obeyed in all things, *Bellar. lib. 2. de concil. cap. 18.*

Anſwere firſt, our Sauiour in this place ſpeaketh not of the Canons and decrees of the Church concerning faith: but onely preſcribeth the forme of Church diſcipline, for reformation of manners and correction of ſinne: *If thy brother treſpaſſe againſt thee, &c.* verſ. 15. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith no more then this, that Chriſtians ought to obey the ſentence of the Church in cenſuring of ſinne: but it followeth not that we ought to receiue newe articles of faith impoſed by the Church beſide Scripture. Secondly, Chriſt ſpeaketh not of euery Church abſolutely, but of a Church guided and ruled by his word, and aſſembled in his name, verſ. 20. for otherwiſe by the Iewiſh collection, our Sauiour Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſhould haue been as Publicanes, becauſe they obeyed not the Scribes and Phariſies, amongſt whom they cannot denie, but that the Church was at that time.

The Proteſtants.

WE do firmly beleeue that neither the Church nor Councels haue any ſuch abſolute power to determine without the holy Scriptures, either beſide or againſt them, or to bind other men to obey ſuch decrees: Neither that the true Church of God dare, or will arrogate ſuch power vnto it ſelfe: But that Councels are ordained for the diſcuſſing and deciding of doubtfull matters, according to the Scriptures and word written.

Argum. 1. If the Apoſtles preachings might be examined according to Scripture, much more the actes of all other Biſhops and paſtors. But that was lawfull in the Diſciples of *Berea*, Act. 17. 11. which are commended for it: therefore called noble courageous Chriſtians, becauſe of their forwardnes, and diligence in ſearching out of the truth. *Ergo.*

Argum. 2. All things neceſſarie to ſaluation to be beleeued, are articles of our faith: but all ſuch articles muſt de grounded vpon the word of God: therefore nothing can be impoſed as neceſſarie to ſaluation without the word of God. Wherefore it is a blaſphemous ſaying of the Papiſts, that the Church may make new articles of faith, *Rhemiſt. annot. in 1. Tim. 3. fol. 9.* And *Eckius* maintained the ſame point againſt *Luther*, in the diſputation at Lipſia, and brought forth a new article of faith, agreed of in the Councell of Conſtance, that it is *de neceſſitate ſalutis*, of the neceſſitie of ſaluation, to beleeue that the Pope is the head of the Church. The fathers of Baſil more modeſt then ſo, concluding that it was an article of faith to beleeue that Councels are aboue the Pope, doe vſe this reaſon: Thoſe things (ſay they) which we allege for the ſuperiorite of generall Councels, are gathered out of the ſayings of our Sauiour Chriſt. *Ergo*, wee are all bound to obey them. Therefore we conclude, that the word of God onely written is the rule of faith, and of all things neceſſarie to be beleeued: Rom. 10. 17. *Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word.* Councels are to explane and declare articles of faith, not to eſtabliſh new. Martyrol. Fox pag. 848. Martyrol. Fox pag. 677.

Argum. 3. S. *Paul* ſaith, *but if an Angell ſhould preach otherwiſe then the Apoſtles had preached*, (the ſumme of whoſe preaching is now onely to be found in their holy writings) *let him be accurſed*, Galath. 1. 8. 9. But an Angell preaching beſide Scripture, is to bee heard as ſoone, may ſooner then a Councell aſſembled of men decreeing any thing beſide the word of God. *Ergo*, neither is ſuch a Councell to be receiued, but rather to be iudged accurſed.

This was the faith alſo of the holy Martyrs, for the which they nothing doubted to giue their liues, becauſe the Scriptures contained all things neceſſarie to ſaluation: neither would they receiue any decree of Church, Pope, or Councell, not agreeable to the ſame.

First, Maſter *Bradford* ſaith, In teſtimonie of this faith I giue my life, *Eccles. hiſt. Bradford. pag. 1626.*

Maſter *Biſhop* holy Martyr, to *Stories* demaund, who ſaid vnto him, When as the Iudge in Weſtminſter hall giueth ſentence, doth the word giue ſentence or the Iudge? maketh this anſwer, Ciuill matters be ſubiect to ciuill men, and they haue authoritie to iudge of them: but the word of God is not ſubiect to mans iudgement, but ought to iudge all the thoughts, wiſedome, and doings of man, Fox pag. 1860.

Master *Hooker* Martyr, when *Bruen* had thus said to him: Ah sir, you will haue no more then Scripture teacheth, but euen as Christ hath left it there. He thus answered: He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not beleeue him, pag. 1587. Thus wee see our doctrine hath been laid to the touchstone, and tried in the fire: and neither the workmen were ashamed, nor yet their worke burned. Wherefore it remaineth sound and sure, against the contentious brabling, and sophisticall cauils of all the Papists in the world.

Lastly, we will heare *Augustine* speake, *Nec tu debes Arrianensis, neque ego Nicenum tanquam praiudicatorum proferre concilium, scripturarum authoritatibus &c.* Neither must I alleage the Nicen Councell, nor you the Arriane, I am neither bound to the one, nor you to the other, let the matter be tried by Scripture, *cont. Maxim. Arrianum lib. 3. cap. 14.* By this fathers sentence therefore, no man is bound of necessitie to be tied to Councels, but the Scripture onely is absolutely to bee beleeued.

Wee haue also for this matter the euident testimonie of antiquitie; *Constantinus* the great thus spake in the Councell of Nice: *Euangelici sunt libri & Apostolici antiquorumque Prophetarum sanctiones, qui nos erudiunt, quid de sacra lege sapiamus: expellentes igitur bellicum certamen, ex verbis diuinitus inspiratis solutionem quæstionum omnium capiamus;* There are the bookes of the Gospels, of the Apostles, and Prophets, which doe teach vs, what to hold in religion: therefore expelling all hostile and bitter contention, let vs seeke the solution of these questions out of Scripture.

Florentin. concil. sess. 3. Andreas Colossens. thus speaketh in the name of the Latin Church: *Diuino Euangelio superiorum abstinuit locum & dignitatem, in primis nobis est imitandum:* We must relie especially vpon the holy Gospell, as hauing the chiefe place and dignitie: Councels then must determine according to the Scripture, neither are we bound otherwise to giue care vnto them.

The Ciuill law thus saith, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 4 leg. 3. Martian. Iuxta Apostolicas expositiones, &c.* Those things which concerning the faith were decreed in the Councell of Chalcedon by our commaundement, were defined according to the expositions of the Apostles, &c. *Et tit. 8 leg. 4 Valentin.* speaking of the Chalcedon Councell he saith: *Nihil adimens sacrosancto symbolo, nec adijciens:* Adding nothing to the sacred Creede, nor taking from it. Councels then must determine according to Scripture, and cannot adde new articles of faith.

So likewise their owne decrees testifie: *Decr. 9. part. 24 quæst. 1. cap. 21. Non afferamus statera dolosa, &c.* Let vs not bring deceitfull waights, to waigh as we thinke good our selues, saying, this is beame, this light: but let vs bring the waights and balance out of the Scriptures, &c. And their owne Master of Sentences thus saith: *Ne vltra præfinita limina dei sermo de sacra fidei certa egrediatur, non ergo aliquid addendum:* That of God beyond Gods owne warrant, wee should not speake: the forme of faith is certaine, and nothing to be added to it, *lib. 1. dist. 33.*

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, WHETHER Councels be aboue the Pope or not.

The Papists.

35. Error.

THis is a matter yet not fully determined amongst the Papists: neither are they all of one opinion. In the Councell of Constance and Basil, it was fully concluded, that the Councell is aboue the Pope. *Gerson* of Paris, that was also present in the Councell of Constance, and a great doer against *Iohn Hus*, stiffly maintaineth the authoritie of Councels aboue the Pope. Other Papists more fauourable to their new god Amight, say, that the Pope is by right aboue the Councell, but he may (if he will) submit himself to the Councell. But now commeth in the stout Iesuite, and saith with the rest of the Schoolemen, that the Pope hath such a soueraignitie aboue the Councell, that he cannot be subiect to their sentence, though he would, *Bellarm. de concil. lib. 2. 14.* Yet he is in a mammering with himself: for saith he, *in perenni schismate*, When there is a schisme, and it is not knowne who is the true Pope; in such a case the Councell is aboue the Pope. Let vs examine some of his best reasons.

Argum. 1. Now commeth in a great blasphemie. All the names, saith the Iesuite, that are giuen to Christ in the Scriptures, as head of the Church, are ascribed to the Pope, as he is called *fidelis dispensator*, Luk. 12. a faithfull steward in the Lords house: *Pastor gregis*, Ioh. 10. the shepheard of the flocke: *Caput corporis ecclesiæ*, Ephes. 4. the head of his bodie the Church: *Vir seu sponsus*, Ephes. 5. the husband or spouse of the Church: All these titles (saith he) are due to the Pope: *Ergo*, he is aboue the Church, and so consequently aboue generall Councels, *Bellar. de concil. lib. 2. 17.*

O Lord, what great blasphemie is here, to appropriate the titles of Christ, to a mortall man! But goe to *Bellarmine*, and the rest of that packe, fill vp the measure of iniquitie of your forefathers: say with Pope *Bonifacius*, that the people of the world are the parts of his bodie: with *Cornelius* the Bishop in the Councel of Trent, the Pope being the light come into the world, and men loued darknes rather then light: with Pope *Calixtus* in the Councell of Rhemes, who, when he

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saw the Councell would not consent to excommunicate the Emperour, impiously cried out that they had forsaken him, as Christ was left of his Disciples: with *Innocentius* the third, that all things in heauen and earth, and vnder the earth doe bowe the knee vnto him: with *Otho*, no Pope but a Cardinall, that sitting amongst his Bishops, blasphemously applied to himselfe the vision of *Ezechiel*, chap. 1. resembling the Bishops to the foure faced beasts, himselfe vnto God that appeared to the Prophet in the midst. Euen thus with the like spirit of blasphemie, doe the Iesuites crie out, that the Pope is the chiefe shepheard, steward, husband, and head of the Church vpon earth.

But wee will leaue to charge them so deepely with blasphemie, which notwithstanding they cannot auoide: let vs heare what the fathers of Basil say to this point. *Bellarmine* saith, the Pope is the husband; but they reason cleane contrarie: the Church (say they) is the spouse of Christ: the Pope, make the best of him you can, is but a Vicar: but no man doth so ordaine a Vicar, that he maketh his spouse subiect vnto him, but that the spouse is alwaies thought to bee of more authoritie then the Vicar, forsomuch as she is one bodie with her husband, but the Vicar is not so: thus haue they to the full answered the Iesuite, *ex Ænea Sylvio*. Better arguments they haue none for the Popes prerogatiue, then we haue seene.

Argum.2. The Pope by his sole authoritie may congregate a generall Councell: *Ergo*, he is aboue a generall Councell.

Answ. First, to this answereth the Councell of Basil, *Epist. ad Synodal.* after this manner: by denying of the argument: *Ante Concilij congregationem Concilium non est, sed vt primum congregatum est, statim potestas vniuersalis ecclesiæ, quæ est immediatè à Christo, in ipsum transfunditur & fit ipsum Concilium supra Papam*: Before the gathering together of the Councell, it is as yet no Councell: but as soone as it is congregate, the power and authoritie of the vniuersall Church is transfused into it, and so the Councell becommeth aboue the Pope: therefore it followeth not, that because the Pope doth call it before it be a Councell, that he is aboue it, when it is called.

Secondly, we answere, as wee haue shewed in the question before, that this authoritie of summoning Councels belongeth not to the Pope.

Other arguments vsed by our aduersaries are answered to the full, by *Iohannes* Patriarch of Antioch, *opusculo Basil. Concil. annexo*: As first the Church receiueth the iurisdiction of the keyes from the Pope: *Ergo*, it is inferiour. Secondly, Christ said to *Peter*, *Feede my sheepe*, the pastor is aboue the sheepe. Thirdly, the Pope is the head of the Church: *Ergo non licitum est membra ab obedientia capitis recedere*: Therefore it is not lawfull for the members to depart from the obedience of the head.

Ans. The Patriarch answereth thus: to the first, *Petrus recepit claues sub nomine & signo ecclesiæ*: *Peter* receiued the keyes not in his owne name, but in the name and signification of the Church. The Church then receiueth them not from *Peter*, but he receiued them for the Church.

To the second, Christ in saying to *Peter*, *Feede my sheepe*, gaue him power *super singularia membra*, ouer some particular members, not ouer the vniuersall Church.

To the third he frameth this answere: first, he denieth the Pope to bee head of the vniuersall Church. Secondly, and yet he saith, *Si caput in humano corpore efficitur languidum, &c.* If the head in the bodie be weake and distempered, it is lawfull for the parts, *illud ligare & cauterizare*, to binde and cauterize it, least the sicknes of the head should affect the whole bodie. And againe, he putteth this case: *Si Papa esset furiosus & discurreret cum gladio, &c.* If the Pope were mad, and should runne vp and downe with a drawne sword, killing whom he met, it were lawfull for his subiects to take him, and binde him: *Si hoc liceret pro salutatione corporis, &c.* If this bee lawfull to be done by priuate men, for the health of the bodie, much more may a generall Councell representing the vniuersall Church doe it, for the health of the soule. Who list to see shall finde diuers other popish arguments there answered: *opuscul. Iohan. Patriarch. Antiochen.*

The Protestants.

THat the Pope is by right, and ought to bee subiect to generall Councels, and that they haue authoritie to iudge, examine, suspend, punish and depose him, if there be just cause, it is proued thus: This matter was pithily disputed vpon by the fathers of Basil, some of whose reasons, it shall be sufficient here to follow.

1. They proue this conclusion out of Scripture. First, whereas *Panormitane* had said, that the Pope was Lord of the Church: vnto him *Segouius* answered, that it was the most honourable title of the Bishop of Rome, to be called the seruant of the seruants of God: and *Peter*, saith he, forbiddeth pastors to behaue themselues as Lords ouer the Clergie, 1 Pet. 5. And if Christ the sonne of God, came not to be ministred vnto, but to minister and serue, how then can his Vicar haue any dominion? So was *Panormitane* answered.

Againe, the Diuines thus argued: Christ saith to *Peter*, *Dic ecclesiæ*, *Peter* is sent to the Church or Councell: *Ergo*, the veritie doth remit the Bishop of Rome to the Councell. But to this the

Iesuite saith, that *Peter* was not yet entred into his office to bee chiefe Bishop, but was as a priuate person. So then belike, this rule of our Sauiour Christ, *dic ecclesiæ*, tell it to the Church, did but binde *Peter*, till Christ were ascended, and he receiued his Vicardome.

This cauillous answere the fathers of Basil wisely foresaw, and preuented it: for they shew how *Peter* was subiect to Councels euen after the ascension: as Act. 11. *Peter* is rebuked (say they) by the congregation, because he went to *Cornelius*, an heathen man: as if it had not been lawfull for him to attempt any great matter without the knowledge of the congregation. But that seemeth to make more for the purpose, Galath. 2. where *Paul* rebuked *Peter* to his face, because contrarie to the decree of the Councell of the Apostles, he did *cogere gentes Iudaizare*, he would constraine the Gentiles to doe like the Iewes: *Ergo*, *Peter* was subiect vnto the Councell, *ex Æneæ Sylvii*.

Other reasons many were alleaged by the fathers of Basil. First, the Bishop of Burgen: As in euery well ordered kingdome, the whole realme should bee of more authoritie then the King; so the Church ought to be of more authoritie then the Pope, though he were prince thereof.

Argum. 2. The Diuines brought these arguments: The Church is the mother of the faithfull, and so of the Pope, if he be a faithfull man: the Pope is then the Churches sonne, as both *Anacletus* and *Calixtus* Bishops of Rome confessed: *Ergo*, how much the sonne is inferiour to his mother, so much is the Church superiour to the Pope. Secondly, the Pope is inferiour to Angels, he is not greater then *Iohn Baptist*, of whom it is said, that the least in the kingdome of God is greater than he: but the Angels doe reuerently accord vnto the doctrine of the Church, Ephes. 3. 10. *Ergo*, the Pope is bound to doe the same, who is lesse then the Angels. These fathers thought none so absurd to denie the Pope to be inferiour to Angels, and therefore labour not to proue it. Yet *Antoninus* an old Papist saith, *Non minor honor datur Papæ quam Angelis*: There is no lesse honour due to the Pope, then to the Angels. Nay another saith (I thinke it be Pope *Paschalis*) *Datur Episcopis, quod ne Angelis, vt Christi corpus crearent*: It is graunted to Bishops, which is not giuen to the Angels, to create the bodie of Christ. But the fathers of Basil thought not these men worthie the answere; no more doe wee, and so let them passe. Thirdly, the Pope (say they) being the Vicar of the Church (for he is more truly so called then the Vicar of Christ) he may bee deposed of the Church: for a Lord may put out his Vicar at his pleasure: *Ergo*, the Pope is vnder Councels.

Argum. 3. If the Councels might not ouerrule the Pope, there were no remedie left to resist a wicked Pope: Shall we suffer all things, say they, to ronne into ruine and decay with him? for it is not like, that he would congregate a Councell against himselfe. To this the Iesuite answereth: that there is no remedie left, but to pray to God in such a case; who will either confound, or conuert such a Pope. Here is goodly diuinitie: we know that Antichrist shall at length be destroyed at the comming of Christ; but if he should be let alone in the meane while, and not bee brideled, he might doe much hurt, as he hath done too much alreadie. Yet the Iesuite confesseth, that a wicked Pope may be resisted by force and armes: and why not, I pray you, as well by peaceable meanes? these sayings are contrarie, *Bellarm. cap.* 19.

So then, this is popish diuinitie, that be the Pope neuer so wicked, doe he neuer so much harme, he is not to be controlled of any mortall man. Such doltish schoole poynts, maintained especially by begging Friers, the fathers of Basil complained of: As that they should say, that no man ought to iudge the high and principall seate; that it cannot bee iudged, either by Emperour, Clergie, King, or people. Other affirme that the Lord hath reserued to himselfe the deposition of the chiefe Bishop. Others, yet more mad, are not ashamed to affirme, that the Bishop of Rome, though he carrie soules in neuer so great number to hell, yet is he not subiect to any correction, or rebuke. For all these strange and blasphemous posicions, the fathers concluded, as ye haue heard, that the Pope ought to obey generall Councels.

Decret. p. 1. dist. 40. cap. 6.

Lastly, I will adioyne the iudgement of *Augustine*, who writing in his 162. epistle concerning the Donatists, whose cause was heard and determined by the Emperours appointment at Rome before *Miltiades* then Bishop there, and other Bishops assistants: and yet for all this the Donatists would not be quiet: Thus he saith, *Putemus, illos iudices, qui Romæ iudicauerunt, non bonos iudices fuisse: Restabat adhuc plenarium Concilium, &c.* Put case (saith he) that the Bishop of Rome and the rest, iudged corruptly: there remained yet another remedie: A generall Councell might haue bin called, where the iudges and the cause might further haue bin tried and examined, and their iudgement, if there were cause, reuersed. Whereby it appeareth, say the fathers of Basil, that not onely the sentence of the Pope alone, but also the Pope with his Bishops ioyned with him, might be made frustrate by a Councell. Here the Iesuite paltereth and saith, that a matter determined by the Pope in a particular Councell, may bee called againe in question by the Pope in a generall Councell. First, what neede that, seeing that a particular Councell hauing the Popes authoritie, as the Iesuite confesseth, cannot erre? Againe, *Augustine* saith, *Vbi cum ipsis iudicibus causa posset agitari*: In the which generall Councell, the cause together with the iudges, of the which *Miltiades* was one, may be tried and examined: so that the Pope himselfe might bee adiudged by the Coun-

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cell, and not the cause onely. Vpon the premisses wee truly and iustly conclude, that the Pope is, and of right ought to be subiect to generall Councels.

This also was the iudgement of the holy Martyrs: Bishop *Cranmer* appealed from the Pope to the next generall Councell: the tenor of whose appeale you may finde, *Fox* pag. 1882. Master *Latimer* also being vniustly condemned by Bishop *White*, the Popes Commissioner, appealed from his sentence to the next generall Councell which should bee congregate in Christs name. And with this appellation the Bishop seemed to bee content, contrarie to the opinion of the Iesuite, who maketh the Pope supreame Iudge of generall Councels, and superiour vnto them, *Fox* pag. 1767.

Let vs see the consent of antiquitie. In the fixt generall Councell, *Constantinopol. actione. 3. Honorius* Bishop of Rome was condemned, because he was a Monothelite, affirming one will onely to be in Christ, and so consequently but one nature. *Sergio & Honorio anathema, Pyrrho & Paulo anathema*: We hold *Sergius* and *Honorius*, *Pyrrhus* and *Paulus* accursed: those three were Patriarchs in Constantinople and held the same error: the Councell iudged and condemned *Honorius*: *Ergo*, it was greater in authoritie.

Marcellinus also was condemned in the Sinuessane Councell, for offering incense to Idols. *Bellarmine* answereth first, that in the case of infidelitie such as this was, the Councell may discusse the Popes case. *Ergo*, by his owne confession in some case the Councell is aboue the Pope.

Secondly saith he: *Marcellinus* first condemned himselfe, and after that he was iudged of the Councell.

Contra. But the matter appeareth to bee farre otherwise. 1. *Marcellinus* appeared foure times before the Councell: the first time he laid the blame vpon the Priests and Deacons that did forsake him: the second time he asketh one of the witnesses vpon what day he saw him offring incense, and so would haue denied the fact: thirdly, he extenuateth the fault, that he did not offer sacrifice, but onely burnt the incense in the fire. 2. There were 72. witnesses produced against him, to conuince him. 3. One *Quirinus* a Bishop seeing *Marcellinus* so stiffe in his owne defence, rose vp in the Councell and said thus; *Non recedam de synodo*, I will not depart from the Synode, till thy heart be manifested, &c. and so *Marcellinus* at the last fell flat to the earth, and confessed his sinne, and was condemned of the whole Councell, where were present 300. Bishops, and 30. Priests. Wherefore the Iesuite may be ashamed to goe against so euident a storie.

Sixtus the third was accused of one *Bassus*: whereupon the Emperour *Valentinian* assembled a Councell, wherein he was cleered and purged: *Decr. part. 2. cauſ. 2. quæſt. 5. c. 18.*

Symmachus in a Romane Synode, *dignitate ſua expoliatus*, was depriued of his dignitie: *Decret. par. 2. cauſ. 2. quæſt. 7. c. 41. in gloſſa.*

Likewise the Church of Rome did anathematize *Dioscorus* Pope after his death: *cauſ. 24. qu. 3. cap. 6.* Wherefore by these particulars it appeareth, that Councels haue been of an higher authoritie then the Popes: we can vrge also their owne authorities against them.

Constant. Concil. sess. 4. it was thus decreed, *Synodus in spiritu ſancto congregata generalē Concilium faciens potestatem à Christo immediatè habet, cui quilibet cuiuscunque status, etiamſi papalis existit obedire tenetur*: A Synode congregate in the holy Ghost making a generall Councell, hath power immediatly from Christ, to the which euery man, of what state soeuer, although he be the Pope, is subiect to obey. And *sess. 45.* Pope *Martin* ratified and confirmed whatsoeuer was decreed in this Councell, *in materijs fidei*, in matters of faith: And that this was *veritas fidei catholicæ*, a veritie of the Catholike faith, to hold generall Councels to be aboue the Pope, it was concluded, *Basilien. Concil. Sess. 33.* The practise also of these two Councels was according to their decrees: for in the Councell of Constance, three factious Popes were deposed: *Iohn. 23. Gregorie 12.* and *Benedict. 13.* and *Martinus* the 5. chosen Pope. In the Councell of Basil *Eugenius* the 4. deposed, and *Felix 5.* elected.

Lastly, *Aegidius Viterbiensis*, in his oration or sermon before the Lateran Councell, in the hearing of Pope *Iulius* the 2. said thus: *Siqui fuerit in ſumma pontificatus per ſe inſtructus parum prouidere auſi ſunt, ſynodi auctoritate manere, & veteri conſueuerunt: Nam ſi ſynodorum res geſtas repetamus, nihil illis potentius, nihil maius, nihil omnino intelligemus*: If any haue been so bolde, as to be light by the Pope, being but weake of himselfe, yet they feared and stood in awe of a Councell: for if we will but call to mind the acts of Synodes, we shall vnderstand that there is nothing of greater power, strength, or defence then they. Here is a large confession, vttered euen in the hearing of the Pope, without checke or controlement, that Councels are of greater authoritie then the Pope. And it is agreeable also to their owne Canons: *Decret. p. 2. cauſ. 2. quæſt. 7. c. 35.* If *Peter* were corrected by *Paul*, &c. how much more easily that which is confirmed by the whole Church, *Vnius Epiſcopi authoritas, &c.* ought to be preferred before one Bishops authoritie. And *cauſ. 15. quæſt. 1. c. 1. Gelaſius*, euery Christian ought not to bee ignorant, that what the vniuersall Church in Synode hath assented vnto, *nullam magis eiusqui ſedem aperire*, no See ought more readily to execute, then the

first. So that by this Canon, euen the first See is bound to keepe the decrees of the vniuersall Church.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF THE CONDITIONS and qualitie of generall Councels.

The Papists.

THeir vnreasonable and vnequall conditions, are these and such like, as follow.

1 That the Pope onely should haue authoritie to summon, call, prorroge, dissolue and confirme Councels, and he onely to be the iudge, President and moderator in Councels, or some at his appointment.

2 They will haue none to giue voices but Bishops, and such as are bound by oath of allegeance to the Pope.

3 That the Councell is not bound to determine according to Scripture, but to follow their traditions, and former decrees of Councels.

4 That no Councell is in force without the Popes assent, yea the Pope himselfe (say they) by his sole authoritie may abrogate and disanull the Canons and decrees of Councels.

These and such other conditions the Papists require in their Councels: So they will be sure, that nothing shall be concluded against them: And how vnreasonable these conditions are, I haue shewed seuerally in the particular questions belonging to this matter.

The Protestants.

OVr conditions, which we would haue obserued and kept, in generall Councels, are these, most iust and reasonable:

1 That the Pope, which is a party, should be no iudge: for it is vnreasonable, that the same man should be both a party and a iudge: and therefore he ought not to meddle with calling and appointing Councels, with ruling, or moderating them, seeing it is like, he would worke for his owne aduantage.

Bellarmine answereth, that this rule, that the same ought not to be a partie and a iudge, may holde in priuate and inferiour iudges, but not in the chiefe iudge, *Bellarm. lib. 2. cap. 21.*

Contra. If it be iust that no man should be iudge in his owne cause, the same rule of iustice ought to bind both the inferior and superior iudges: so *Athanasius* tooke exception against the Patriarch of Antioch, by whom he was deposed, because he was his enemie, and a partie; and his exception was admitted in the Chalcedon Councell, *decr. p. 2. c. 3. qu. 5. c. 15.*

Also Pope *Nicholas* the 1. *Epist. ad Michaelem Imperator.* bringeth in a saying of *Gelasius* sometime Bishop of Rome: *Quero, iudicium, quod pretendunt, vbinam possit agitari? an apud ipsos, vt iidem sint & testes & iudices? sed tali iudicio, nec humanæ commisti possunt negotia:* I aske, that course of iudgement, which they pretend, where should it be handled? would they haue it among themselues, to be both witnesses and iudges? Which is not to be admitted, no not in humane affaires: *Ergo*, the Pope, by the testimonie of a Pope himselfe, ought not to be both accuser and iudge. Yea both the Ciuill and Canon law doe refuse him as an incompetent iudge, that is a partie in the cause: as *Cod. lib. 2. tit. Rubr. 6. Valentin.* That no man in the same cause, should be an aduocate and a iudge; *lib. 3. tit. 5. l. 1. Gratian. Nemo in sua causa iudicet*, That no man should be iudge in his owne cause. So likewise their owne Canons; *decr. part. 2. caus. 4. qu. 4. c. 1. Fabianus:* That no man should presume to be both an accuser and a iudge: And *c. 2. Damasus*; The same parties must not be both accusers and iudges. Yea and that the Pope himselfe whom they make the supreame iudge ought to obserue this rule, a president we haue in the Chalcedon Councell, where, when as *Paschasinus* and *Lucentius* the Bishop of Romes Legates would haue *Dioscorus* excluded out of the Councell, the iudges said thus to *Lucentius, Si iudicis obtines personam, non vt accusator debes persequi:* If you take vpon you the person of the iudge, you cannot prosecute the matter as an accuser. Wherefore we iustlie take exception against such Councels, where the Pope taketh vpon him to be iudge, seeing he ought not to be a iudge in his owne cause.

2 That such a time and place be appointed, as when and where the Churches of Christendome may most safely and conueniently meete together: not at such a time as *Pope* the third called a Councell, when all Princes in Christendome were occupied in great affaires: nor such a place, as he then appointed at Mantua in Italie, whither Princes could not come without perill of iourney and danger of life, being penned in by the Popes garrisons. Thus Pope, or Bishop *Leo*, (for then there were no Popes) writ to *Martianus* the Emperour, to haue the Councell remoued from Calchis to Italie, but he preuailed not. So Pope *Eugenius* would haue dissolued the Councell at Basile, and brought it vnder his owne nose: but was withstood by the Councell.

Concerning the quietnes and freenes of the place to be chosen for the Councell, the Synode of Basile thus writeth to the Bohemians, that whereas they had complained in times past, that they could

could not haue *liberam audientiam*, a free and safe hearing, *iam cessabit*, say they, *omnis querela occasio*, now all occasion of complaint shall cease. *Ecce iam locus & facultas plena audientiæ præbetur:* Beholde we offer vnto you both freedome of place, and libertie of hearing.

Here *Bellarmine* maketh this answere, that whereas *Cyprian* hath this Canon, *lib. 1. epist. 3.* That controuersies should there be tried, where they arise: that this is to be vnderstoode of the particular suites of men, not of matters of faith, which may be in any place determined, as he sheweth by diuers presidents.

Contra. That such a place, not for iudgement of matters of fact onely, but in deciding of points of faith ought to be chosen, to the which all parties may safely, and without danger resort, both the Ciuill law and your Canons doe warrant: as first, *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 14. l. 1. Conflatum: Personæ miserabiles &c.* Miserable and poore persons must not be drawne out of their prouince. And *lib. 7. titul. 62. l. 26. Gratian. Itineris longinquitas &c.* The length of the iourney doth hinder appeales to be made a farre off: So also the decrees consent hereunto, *p. 2. cauf. 3. qu. 6. c. 13. Anochens. Peregrina iudicia submouenda:* That iudgements in a strange countrie must not be admitted, *decret. Greg. lib. 1. tit. 3. cap. 28. Innocent. 3.* That no man should be called aboue two daies iourney from home, no not by the Apostolike letters, because of expenses, and wearines of iourney: these two causes being rendered both by the Ciuil law and Canon, why no man ought to be summoned a farre off, may very well stand, and be obserued in congregating and calling of Councels.

3 We would haue it a free Councell, where euery man might fully vtter his minde, and that there should be a safe conduct graunted to all to come and goe: which the Pope, for all his faire promises is vnwilling to doe, as it was flatly denied to *Herome* of Prage in the Councell of Constance, to whom it was answered, that he should haue safe conduct to come, but none to goe. Neither if they should giue a safe conduct, were they to be trusted, for it cannot be forgotten, to their perpetuall infamie, that they brake the Emperour *Sigismunds* safe conduct graunted to *Iohn Husse* in the Councell of Constance, saying, that faith was not to be kept with heretikes.

Concerning this poynt also, the libertie of speech in Councels: *Constantinus* the Emperor thus writeth, *epistol. ad Nicen. 2. Damus vnicuique libertatem, vt sine omni formidine ea eloquatur, quæ secum animo deliberauerit, quo veritas magis manifestetur, & intrepidus loqui audiatur.* We giue vnto euery man liberty, to vtter without feare, what he hath deliberated in his minde, and to be heard without dread, that the truth may better appeare.

Bellarmine here answereth, that it is reasonable a safe conduct should be graunted, as was offered of late at the Councell of Trent.

Contra. In deed such a safe conduct, as was offered to *Iohn Husse* by the Councell of Constance, as I haue said, which they might breake at their pleasure: but that such a place ought to be chosen indifferently, where euery man might goe and come safely, one of your owne Popes thought it reasonable, thus writing in defence of the King of Sicile, cited and summoned by the Emperor: *Clementin. lib. 1. tit. 11. c. 1. Non quod omnes debeant ad iudicem exercitu feroci stipatum &c.* What should he come to a iudge being garded with a fierce armie? Or to a populous place and of great power which was bent against him? Now if the Pope would call a Councell in Rome or in Italie, or in any other place, where he is receiued, may we not vse the same defence, which Pope *Clemens* did for the King of Sicilie?

4 That the matter should not be left wholy to Bishops and Prelates, but that the learned of the Clergie and Laitie besides, should giue voices, seeing the cause of religion is common and concerneth all. But most of all, that nothing be caried with violence or popularitie, against the Scriptures, but euery matter determined according to the truth thereof.

See for this matter the testimonie of Pope *Nicholas* the first, cited before question 3 of this controuersie. *Fides vniuersalis est, omnium communis est, quæ non saltem ad Clericos, sed Laicos spectant, &c.* That faith is vniuersall, and a thing common to all, and appertaineth not onely to the Clergie, but to Laymen, and generally to all Christians.

Bellarmine here answereth, that it is against the forme of all Councels, that any but Bishops should haue deciding voices in Councels.

Contra. The Iesuite if he would speake his conscience, knoweth the contrarie: for first in that Councell held by the Apostles, whose authoritie was greater, then of Bishops, Act. 15. the question is determined by the whole consent of the Apostles and Presbyters or elders: as vers. 6. *The Apostles and Elders came together to looke to this matter:* and vers. 22. *It seemed good to the Apostles and Elders &c.*

So in the Chalcedon Councell there were assembled 630. Fathers, not all Bishops, but many of them Priests, as in the first action, the Ægyptian heretikes tooke exception against the Priests, calling them superfluous: and *Martianus* alloweth the acts of this Councell, *tam sua à sacerdotibus*, which were done by Priests assembled at Chalcedon, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 2. leg. 3.*

And S. *Hierome* saith, whose sentence is approued, *decret. p. 1. cauf. 16. qu. 1. c. 7.* That as the Ro-

mans had their Senate, without whose Councell they did nothing: *Ita & nos habemus senatum nostrum, scilicet Presbyterium.* So the Church also hath their Senate, the companie of Presbyters: Wherefore if Priests be as Senators in Councels, there is no question, but they ought to haue determining voices.

5 It is a most reasonable condition, that all things in Councels should be decided by the Scriptures. *Bellarmine* answereth no, because according to the law of *Martian*, nothing ought to be called in question, which hath been concluded in Councell, as this hath been determined in the seuenth generall Synode, that traditions not written ought to be receiued, *Bellarm. lib. 1. c. 21. resp. ad 4. rationem.*

Contra. First, the law of *Martian* speaketh of articles of faith once concluded, which ought not afterward to be doubted of, and of such conclusions, as are made *iuxta Apostolicas institutiones*: according to the institutions of the Apostles: *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 4. leg. 3.* But this decree of the seuenth Synode is neither an article of faith, nor yet agreeable to the Apostles institutions. Secondly, as for the seuenth Synode, we with the Greekes reiect it as an idolatrous Synode, and afterward repealed with the actes thereof in the Councell of Frankford, vnder *Charles*: yea one of their owne Popes, *Adrian* the sixt thus writeth of this Synode, *Parum verecundè abutentes, &c.* They doe without all shame abuse old wiues fables and dreames, &c. Thirdly, that it is agreeable to the ancient practise of Councels, to haue all things decided by Scripture: see before question 6. of this controuersie.

Adrian quodlibet. 6.

Such a Councell we refuse not, nay we much desire, which is the true generall Councell: that is not generall, where all men cannot speake; no freedome nor libertie graunted for men to vtter the truth, where all things are partially handled, and are swayed by one mans authoritie. Wherefore the Rhemists slander vs in saying we raile vpon generall Councels, *annot. in Act. 15. 10.* and that we refuse them, 2. Galath. 2. Whether we or they are enemies to true, generall, free, holy, indifferent Councels, let all men iudge.

THE FOVRTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING THE BISHOP OF ROME, COMMONLY CALLED THE POPE.

THis great and waighty Controuersie containeth tenne seuerall questions.

1 Whether the regiment of the Church be Monarchicall.

2 Whether *Peter* were the prince of the Apostles, and by our Sauiour Christ made head of the Church.

3 Whether *Peter* were at Rome and dyed Bishop there.

4 Whether the Bishop of Rome be the true successor of *Peter*.

5 Concerning the primacie of the Bishop of Rome: sixe parts of the question. First, whether he haue authoritie ouer other Bishops. Secondly, whether appeales are to be made to Rome. Thirdly, whether the Pope be subiect to the iudgement of any. Fourthly, whether he may be deposed. Fiftly, what primacie he hath ouer other Churches. Sixtly, of his titles and names.

6 Whether the Bishop of Rome may erre, and likewise whether the Church of Rome be subiect to error.

7 Of the spirituall iurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome: two parts. First, whether hee can make lawes to binde the conscience. Secondly, whether other Bishops doe receiue their iurisdiction from him.

8 Of the Popes temporall iurisdiction: two parts. First, whether he haue authoritie about Kings and Princes. Secondly, whether he be a temporall Prince.

9 Of the prerogatiues of the Pope.

10 Concerning Antichrist: nine parts. First, whether Antichrist shall be some one singular man. Secondly, of the time of his comming. Thirdly, of his name. Fourthly, of his nation and kinred. Fiftly, where his place and seate shall be. Sixtly, of his doctrine and manners. Seuenthly,

of

of his miracles. Eightly, of his kingdome and warres. Ninthly, whether the Pope be the very Antichrist: of these in their order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER THE Regiment of the Church be Monarchicall.

WE are not ignorant that the Philosophers made three formes and states of gouernment in the common wealth: the Monarchicall, when as the principall and soueraigne power rested in one, as in the King, Queene or Emperour: as Rome sometime was ruled by Kings, and many yeares after by Emperours. Secondly, the Aristocraticall, when the common wealth was gouerned by an assembly and Senate of Nobles, as the Romanes had a long time their Consuls and Senators. Thirdly, the Democraticall, which is the popular state, when the people and multitude bare the greatest sway: as sometime in Rome also, in their plebiscita, the officers for the people had the chiefe authoritie. Now of all these in common wealth matters, the first kind is the best and safest, the Monarchicall or princely gouernment. The question now is, whether the same forme ought to be retayned in Church gouernment: and in this question certaine things are to be obserued. First, that we haue not to deale in this place with that part of Ecclesiasticall regiment, wherein the Prince hath interest, as in ordaining Ecclesiasticall Lawes, and seeing to the execution thereof: but the question is onely of that regiment Ecclesiasticall, which is proper to the gouernors of the Church, which consisteth in the ministerie of the word and Sacraments, in ordaining and electing of Church-ministers, in the dispensing of the keyes of the Church, in the Ecclesiasticall censures and discipline, and such like: whether in the Church there ought to be one chiefe Bishop, from whom all other receiue this power in these matters. Secondly, the question is not of the spirituall gouernment of Christ, who is the chiefe Monarch and King of his Church, but of the outward and externall regiment vpon earth. Thirdly, we speake not of the state of any particular Church, either Nationall, prouinciall, or synodall, but of the generall state of the Church: whether ouer all Churches there ought to be one chiefe Bishop. These things premised, we come now to the question.

The Papists.

THat there ought to be one chiefe Monarch and high Bishop ouer all the Church, in all Ecclesiasticall matters, for the deciding of controuersies, preseruing the vnitie of the Church, from whom all other Ecclesiasticall Ministers doe receiue their power and authoritie, they thus would proue: 636. Error.

Argum. 1. The militant Church is in all things answerable and correspondent to the triumphant companie in Heauen: as Heb. 8. 5. *Moses* was bid to make all things according to the patterne shewed in the Mount. But in heauen there is beside God himselfe, a Monarch and chiefe commander of the Angels, euen *Michael* the Archangel, Reuelat. 12. 7. *Michael* and his Angels fought. *Ergo*, it ought to be so vpon earth, *Bellarmine lib.* 1. *de Rom. pontif. cap.* 9.

We answere: First, the Church vpon earth, neither is, nor can be altogether like to the heauenly congregation: for there is no temple, Reuel. 21. 22. There shall enter no vncleane thing: and many such like differences there are: We are bid to follow them in holynes and obedience, so farre we must imitate the Angels, as in the Lords prayer 3. *Petit.* As for imitation and conformitie in other things, we haue no such commandement: we are promised hereafter to be like them, but that is not yet. Neither doth that place proue any such thing, Heb. 8. For how followeth it, *Moses* was shewed a paterne to make the Tabernacle by: *Ergo*, the Church hath a paterne of her gouernement from heauen? When they can shew any such paterne reuealed in the word, (for their dreames and phantasies we will not beleeue) for the Church, as *Moses* had for the Tabernacle, then they shall say somewhat.

2 It is a vaine curiositie so to descant of the Angels, as to appoint them a Captaine and commaunder, and to make nine orders or bands of them, as our *Rhemists* doe, 1. *Ephes. ver.* 21. These are but their dreames, they haue not a word in Scripture for it. And concerning *Michael*, they are much deceiued, for in that place Apocal. 12. 7. Christ is called *Michael*: *Michael* and his Angels fought against the Dragon. And who, I pray you, is the chiefe Captaine of the Church against the diuell and his host but Christ? And so is it expounded vers. 10. Now is saluation in heauen, and the strength and kingdome of our God, and the power of his Christ: Here he is called Christ, who before is *Michael*. In other places also, *Michael* is vnderstoode to be Christ, as Dan. 10. 21. there is none that holdeth with me but *Michael* your Prince; here *Michael* is the Prince of the Church, and not of the Angels. And that *Michael* is not the Prince of the Angels, as our aduersaries meane, taking *Michael* for an Angell, it is proued out of the 13. verse. *Michael* one of the chiefe Princes: the Angels are all called Princes, and not one to be Prince aboue them.

Likewise the nature and signification of the word *Michael* agreeth hereunto: for it is compounded

ded of three [illegible], as much as to say, one that is equall vnto God: which name in that sense cannot be giuen vnto any creature.

Further, Epistle Iud. 9. there is mention made of *Michael* the Archangel, who stroue against the Diuel, and said, The *Lord rebuke thee Sathan*: where the Apostle alludeth to that place of Zachar. 3. 2. where the very same words are found, but there the Prophet calleth him *Iehouah*, that spake those words, and here the Apostle calleth him *Michael*: So that in this place it must needes be vnderstood of Christ.

But to conclude, we denie not, but that *Michael* may be the name of some glorious Angell: but out of these places it cannot be prooued. And againe, it will not stand with them, but that there may be degrees of excellencie among the Angels, as there shall be amongst the Saints: but that any one hath any such soueraigntie and commaunding authoritie ouer the rest, it is a curious and presumptuous [illegible].

Argum. The Church of the old Testament was a figure of the Church vnder the New: but they had a high Priest aboue the rest: [illegible] there ought to be now, *Bellarm. ibid.*

We answere: first, we graunt the high Priest was a figure, but neither of *Peter* nor Pope, but onely of Christ: for in two things did the high Priest resemble Christ, in offering of sacrifice (so hath Christ offered vp himselfe, Heb. 7. 27.) and in entering into the sanctuarie to make attonement for the people: so Christ is entred into the heauens, to appeare in sight for vs before God, as the Apostle saith, Heb. 9. 24. In neither of these the high Priest could be a type either of *Peter* or Pope. Yea, saith *Bellarmine*, *Aaron* was a figure, not of Christ onely, but of *Peter*, and his successors, cap. 9. [illegible] 3. [illegible]. First, then belike *Peter* and his successors are priests after the order of *Aaron*: how then are your priests after *Melchisedechs* order, as some of you haue blasphemously affirmed? they cannot be both after the order of *Aaron*, and of *Melchisedech* to. Secondly, the Apostle thus reasoneth, Hebr. 7. 12. *When there is a change of the priesthood, there must bee a change of the law*: and so consequently, where the law is changed, the priesthood must be likewise: how then can the priesthood of *Aaron* be a patterne of the priesthood vnder the Gospell, the law being changed?

2. Neither doth it follow, because there was an high priest in one countrey, therefore there ought to be one ouer the Churches in all countries: as the Iesuite frameth an other argument by a comparison: because a Bishop is ouer his diocesse, a Metropolitane ouer his prouince, there may be as well a Pope ouer the whole Church. For by the same reason, because a Lord may be chiefe in his seignorie, a Duke in his prouince, a Prince in his kingdome, therefore there ought to be an Emperour ouer all the world: or as M. *Caluine* saith, because one field is committed to one Husbandman to dresse and to till, therefore the whole world may: which were a thing impossible.

Bellarmine answereth: first, it followeth rather strongly on the contrarie, that if one particular Church hath neede to haue one chiefe priest to keepe it in vnitie, much greater neede hath the whole Church to haue one principall, because the whole Church is in greater daunger of schisme and diuision, then one particular.

Contra. First, the Iesuite had said something, if one man were as well able to prouide for the peace of the whole Church, as for the vnitie of one: but now he is not. But the best way to auoide schisme, is for euery countrie to be gouerned in it selfe: as in the Ciuill state, one Monarch is better able to keepe one kingdome from rebellion, then many kingdomes: And this is the reason why the great Monarches were dissolued, for that their prouinces rebelled, and withdrew their obedience from them. Secondly, there is also one head of the vniuersall Church, that doth preserue it in vnitie, Iesus Christ, and therefore we neede none other: as the Apostle saith, Ephes. 4. 15. *Let vs follow the truth in loue, and grow vp vnto him which is the head, that is Christ.*

Bellarmine secondly thus answereth Master *Caluins* similitude: that one husbandman is not by himselfe sufficient, yet by his seruants may occupie many large fields: and so the Pope by his ministers may be pastor of the whole Church.

Contra. Yet the similitude holdeth still: for as it were inconuenient, that all tillage in the world, nay in one countrie, should bee occupied vnder the title and interest of one man; for by this meanes corne might be engrossed, prices raised, the common-wealth hindered: so was it as hurtfull for the Church to be vnder the command of one that forestalled all causes, and sought aduantage to himselfe, &c.

The Greatest Papists. [illegible]

THat there ought not to be any one chiefe Bishop, Pope or prelate, to exercise iurisdiction ouer the whole Church, we doe thus make it good.

Iuel. answ. to the Apol. pag. 657. *Argum.* 1. We acknowledge no head of the Church but Christ, neither doth the Scripture attribute this title of Maiestie ouer the whole Church, but onely to Christ. If the Pope or any els be the head, the Church is his bodie, which *Bellarmine* is ashamed to graunt yet. Pope *Athanasius*

sus doubted not to call *populos mundi, partes corporis sui*, the people of the world, the parts of his bodie.

Againe, if he be the head, he must doe the duety of an head, which is, to knit and ioyne the parts together, and to giue effectuall power to euery part. Ephes. 4. 16. where the Apostle alludeth to the gouernment of mans body: in the which the parts receiue a double benefite from the head, the knitting and ioyning together by sinewes, which come from the head; and sense and mocion also giuen to euery part from the head: but it were blasphemie to thinke this of the Pope, that he giueth any influence to the Church. If they answere, he is but a ministeriall head, Christ is the principall. We say againe, that although these things are principally wrought by the principall head, yet they must be done instrumentally, or ministerially by the Ministeriall head: or else it is but a rotten head: such an one as the Woolfe found in a carpers shop (as you know the fable is) a goodly head, saith he, but without witte or braine. If Christ performe all the duety of the head himselfe, then is there no other head: if the Pope doe somewhat that belongeth to the head, tell vs, what is it? If he will be an head and doe nothing, surely he must needes be a braineless and witlesse head.

Argum. 2. It is a dangerous and impossible thing to haue the charge of all Churches committed to one man: God alone is sufficient to beare that burthen. Saint *Paul* saith, who is sufficient for these things? No pastor or minister, that is but set ouer one flocke or parish, is sufficient to preach the word: much lesse is any one man sufficient to gouerne the whole Church.

Bellarmine answereth: first, S. *Paul* saith of himselfe, that he had the care of all Churches, 2. Cor. 11. 28. We replie againe, first, then belike S. *Paul* was vniuersall pastor and not *Peter*. Secondly, we must consider that the Apostles were sent to all the world: their calling was not limited; when they had planted the Gospell in one place, they did take care also for other places: but now there is no such Apostolicall calling. Thirdly, *Paul* did not beare this burthen alone, but the Apostles and Euangelists were his coadiutors and fellow-helpers.

Secondly, saith he, why may not the care of the whole Church be committed to one man, as well as the gouernement almost of the whole world was appointed by God to *Nabuchodonozer, Cyrus, Augustus*; seeing the gouerment of the Church is easier then the ciuill and politike regiment?

We replie. First, we neuer read of any that had dominion ouer the whole world, as the Pope challengeth to haue ouer the whole Church, which is dispersed throughout the world. Secondly, these great and large Monarches are said to haue been giuen of God, Dan. 2. 37. Not that this large dominion and vsurpation ouer other Countreyes so much pleased God; (for the people of God the Israelites in their most flourishing estate neuer had such soueraignty ouer other countries; but by voluntarie subiection, as in *Salomons* dayes, 1. King. 4. 21. the Kings round about brought presents vnto him:) but because the Lord turned and vsed this their large and mighty dominion to the good of his Church: for *Cyrus* was a defender of the Church, against all that bare euill will thereat: and the large Empire of the Romans serued very commodiously for the propagation of the Gospell. Thirdly, the Iesuite sheweth his skill, when he saith, that the regiment of the Church is easier then the gouernement of the Commonwealth. Whereas there is no greater and waighier burthen vpon earth, then is the charge of soules. It seemeth the Pope taketh his ease, finding the care of the Church to be so easie and pleasant a thing: indeede as he vseth it, it is no great matter; for he preacheth not, but giueth himselfe to ease and idlenesse and all princely pleasures. But England hath found by experience, and so did that worthy and famous Prince King *Henry* the eighe, that there was neuer matter so hardly compassed, as was the reformation of the Church, and the suppression of idolatrie and superstition in this land. S. *Chrysostome* better knew the waightie charge of a Bishop, then any of the Popes that preach not, or then the Iesuite seemeth to vnderstand: he writeth cleane contrary, *Esse difficilius Episcopum agere, quam regem:* That it was an harder matter to be a Bishop, then a King, &c. And againe; The whole world hath but one Emperour, *Vnius vrbis Episcopus, &c.* A Bishop is but ouer one citie, but his care is so much the greater, as a tempestuous sea exceedeth a smal riuer troubled with the winde, *Hom. 86. ad Acta.* This godly father sheweth the vanitie of the Iesuites argument, that an example from the Ciuill state is not to be taken for Ecclesiasticall gouernment. And how impossible it is for one man to manage all the busines of the Church, one of your owne Popes thus complainingly writeth: *Bernar. de Consid. ad Eugen. lib. 3. circa. med. Multis arduis, quasi torrens properantibus negotijs, &c.* We are ouercharged with multitude of busines, as a brooke that runneth downe with many waters, &c. Wherefore *Augustine* thus saith, *Nemo nostrum se Episcopum Episcoporum constituit, aut quasi vrbanico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit. de Baptis. 2. 2.* None of vs doth count himselfe a Bishop ouer other Bishops, or taketh vpon him after a commanding maner, as tyrants vse, to enforce his fellowes to obey. *Ergo*, by his iudgement all Bishops are of like and equall authoritie.

Argum.

Argum. 3. The Apostle describing the Hierarchie of the Church, saith, that *Christ hath giuen some to be Apostles, some Prophets, &c.* he saith not, he hath ordained one chiefe Bishop. And againe, *one bodie, one spirit, one baptisme, one faith*: he saith not, one Pope, &c. Ephes. 4.4.11.

Bellarmine answereth. 1. That the chiefe gouernment of the Church was committed to all the Apostles while they liued: but after the death of the Apostles, the Apostolike authoritie remained in *Peters* successor onely, and so the Pope is signified in the Apostles, *resp. ad argum.* 2.

Contra. First, why should not the rest of the Apostles haue power as well as *Peter*, to leaue their authoritie to their successors, as S. *Paul* saith, 1. Cor. 9.5. *Haue wee not power, &c. as well as Cephas to leade a sister a wife, &c.* As he had power equall to *Peter* in this particular, so in the rest also. Secondly, if *Peter* left the gouernment Apostolicall to his successor, what doe you thinke of S. *Iohn*, the suruiuor of the Apostles, had he also resigned his Apostleship to *Peters* successor, for he liued after *Peter*? Thirdly, there were other Sees alwaies as well counted Apostolicall, as Rome: *Syricius epistol. 4. can. 1. Extra conscientiam sedis Apostolicae, &c.* That no man should take vpon him to ordaine a Bishop, without the knowledge of the Apostolike See: meaning the Primate or Metropolitane. By your Popes testimonie, euery Primate is Apostolicall.

Bellarm. 2. The Pope is comprehended in these words; one bodie, one spirit: for as the bodie is knit in one obedience to the head, so the Church to the Pope.

Contra. First, by this reason the Church shall bee the Popes bodie, which the Iesuite denied before. Secondly, he hath vttered a great blasphemie: for that which the Apostle attributeth onely to Christ, *by whom all the body being coupled, &c.* Ephes. 4.16. he giueth to the Pope.

We may adioyne vnto this that hath been alleadged, certaine reasons out of Bishop *Longlands* Sermon, which he preached before the King: who although in his time he were a great persecutor of the flocke of Christ, yet herein he held the truth: That there can be no other head or Monarch of the vniuersall Church, but Christ: thus he sheweth it: Christ only is the great Prophet: so the Angell declared vnto *Marie, Magnus vocabitur*, he shall be called great, Luk. 1. And againe, *Propheta magnus surrexit inter nos*, a great Prophet is risen amongst vs, Luk. 7. Sinne maketh a man small and little; vertue and holynesse maketh him great. No man was euer without sinne but Christ: *Ergo*, he only was the great Prophet. The Pope nor yet any mortall man, cannot forgiue sinne, as this Bishop doth; nor iustifie as he doth: neither enter into *Sancta Sanctorum* with his owne blood, as hee did: therefore no mortall man can bee this great Bishop. *Hac ille, Fox. pag.* 1100.

Let vs see what antiquitie saith, *Tharasius* patriarch of Constantinople president of the seuenth generall Councell, thus writeth, *Epistol. ad Adrianum Papam. Nos accipientes venerandos viros legatos vestros ad ipsam Metropolim venimus: & omnibus nobis sedentibus, eligere nobis caput, nempe ipsum Christum, visum est.* We togither with your reuerend Legates came to the Metropolis or chiefe Citie of Nice, and sitting all togither, it seemed good to chuse vs an head, euen Christ. He acknowledgeth no head of the vniuersall Church but Christ.

Lastly, in defence of this article *Iohn Husse* gaue his life: *Non est scintilla apparentiae, quod oporteat esse vnum caput in spiritualibus regens Ecclesiam*: There is no apparance or likelyhood of truth, that there ought to be one head in spirituall things to gouerne the Church. *Christus sine talibus capitibus monstrosis, per suos veraces Discipulos sparsos per orbem terrarum, melius suam ecclesiam regulauit*: Christ without such monstrous heads did better gouerne his Church by his true Disciples dispersed ouer the world: *Articul. 27 obiect. Constantiens. Concil.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, WHETHER PETER were the chiefe, and Prince of the Apostles, and assigned by Christ to be head of the Church.

The Papists.

37. Error. This our aduersaries doe stiffely maintaine, that he was not onely head of the Church, but of the Apostles also, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de pontif. cap.* 11. And the Rhemists doubt not to call him the chiefe and Prince of the Apostles, 1. Cor. 9. vers. 5.

Argum. 1. We will omitte many of their waightie arguments, as out of these and such like places: I haue prayed for thee *Peter*, that thy faith should not fayle: Cast foorth thy net into the deepe, I will make thee a Fisher of men: *Peter* payed toll for Christ and himselfe: *Peter* drew the net to the land full of great fish: *Peter* onely drew out his sworde in the defence of Christ. *Ergo, Peter* was the Prince of the Apostles and head of the Church. *ex concil. Basiliens. Fox. pag.* 673.

Such other goodly arguments our Rhemists doe make; *Peter* did excommunicate *Anania* and *Sapphira*; he healed the sicke by his shadow: *Ergo*, he was the head of the Church, *Annot. Acts sect.* 5.8. Againe, *Peters* person was guarded with foure quaternions of Souldiours, *Act.* 12.4.

the Church prayed for him, *Ibid. fol.* 4. *Paul* nameth him *Cephas*, 1. Cor. 9. 5. *Ergo*, he was chiefe of the Apoſtles. Are not here goodly arguments thinke you? To theſe reaſons I neede make no other anſwer, then that which our learned countrie man doth in his Annotacions. You muſt, ſaith he, bring better arguments, or elſe children will laugh you to ſcorne, *Fulk, Annot. Act.* 5. *fol.* 5. Let vs ſee therefore if they haue any better.

Argum. 2. They take that to be a maine inuincible place for them, Matth. 16. 18. Thou art *Peter*, and vpon this rocke will I builde my Church: *Ergo*, the Church is built vpon *Peter*.

To make this argument the more ſtrong, they ſet vnder it diuers props: Firſt, why did Chriſt giue *Peter* this name more then to any other of the Apoſtles, to call him *Peter*, of *Petra* a Rocke, but to ſhew that he was appoynted to be the foundation of the Church? *Bellarmine cap.* 17. We anſwere, Chriſt hereby ſignified, that *Peter* ſhould be a principall pillar of his Church, as the reſt of the Apoſtles, Epheſ. 2. 20. He changed alſo the names of ſome other Apoſtles, as *Iames* and *Iohn* were called *Boanerges*, the ſonnes of thunder, Mark. 3. Therefore this was no ſuch preeminence to *Peter*: neither is it true that *Peter* was almoſt called by no other name, for he is often in the Goſpell after this called by his old name *Simon*, Mat. 16. 17. and 17. 25. *Fulk. Annot. in Ioh.* 1. *fol.* 7. Secondly, againe (ſaith *Bellarmine*) the text is *ædificabo*, I will build my Church: but if Chriſt be here taken for the rocke, his Church was built alreadie, for many beleeued in him. But *Peter* was not made the foundation of his Church, till afterward after his reſurrection, and therefore he ſaith, I will build.

We anſwere. Firſt, it is a corrupt gloſſe, to ſay the Church of Chriſt was not builded, till after the reſurrection: for ſeeing that many beleeued before in Chriſt, and made a Church, either they muſt graunt, that the Church was without a foundation, or elſe, that the foundation was changed from Chriſt to *Peter*. Secondly, it is taken therefore for the enlarging and increaſing of the Church of God. It followeth not, becauſe Chriſt ſaith, I will build, and his Church was begun to be built alreadie, that therefore another kinde of building muſt be excogitate: no more then, becauſe Chriſt gaue his ſpirit to the Apoſtles, Matth. 10. 1. and againe, Ioh. 20. 22. and yet biddeth them ſtay at Ieruſalem till they ſhould receiue the holy Ghoſt, Acts 1. 4. that therefore they ſhould looke for another holy Ghoſt, or as though they had not receiued the holy Ghoſt before. But as the ſending of the holy Ghoſt, is meant, for the increaſe and more plentifull meaſure thereof, ſo is the building of the Church here taken for the increaſe of the building.

We yet further anſwere with *Auguſtine*: *Super hanc petram, quam confeſſus es, ædificabo eccleſiam*: Vpon this rocke, which thou haſt confeſſed, will I build my Church: So that in this place is meant not *Peter* to be the rocke, but either Chriſt, whom he confeſſed, or his faith, whereby he confeſſed him; which commeth all to one effect. There is no great difference, whether we ſay, the Church is builded vpon Chriſt, or faith is the foundation of the Church, for faith is an apprehenſion of Chriſt: but of the perſon of *Peter* it can no more be vnderſtood then of the reſt of the Apoſtles, who in ſome ſenſe are called the foundation of the Church, namely in reſpect of their holy Apoſtolike doctrine, vpon the which the Church is built, Epheſ. 2. 20. Tract. vlt. in Iohann.

Bellarmine and the Ieſuites denie not, but here is relation alſo to the faith of *Peter*, but faith conſidered in his perſon. We anſwere: if they meane *Peters* particular faith, which was a proper adiunct to himſelfe, the vniuerſall Church cannot be built vpon that faith, ſeeing when *Peter* dyed, his faith alſo, as a proper accident to his perſon, ceaſed: if they vnderſtand that generall faith, whereby *Peter* in the name of all the reſt made this confeſſion, then they all are as well made pillars and foundations of the Church, as he, becauſe it was their generall confeſſion, *Fulk. annot. in 16. Matth. fol.* 8.

Let vs nowe ſee howe the holy Martyrs haue vnderſtood this place, *Thou art Peter, &c.* Firſt, *Iohn Huſſe* thus interpreteth this place: that Chriſt in ſaying, vpon this rocke, &c. did not purpoſe to build the Church vpon *Peter*, but vpon himſelfe, who is the true Rocke: for as much as Ieſus Chriſt is the onely head and foundation of euery Church, and not *Peter*, *Fox.* pag. 610. *reſp. ad articul.* 9.

Sir *Iohn Borthwike* Knight, condemned for the truth in Scotland, *anno* 1540. thus declareth his minde: as *Abraham* tooke his name of the multitude, which ſhould come of his ſeed, ſo *Peter* was named of the rocke; but *Abraham* was not the multitude it ſelfe, no more was *Peter* the rocke: for the Church ſhould be ſtayed vpon a weake foundation if *Peter* were the ground thereof, who being amazed and ouercome with the words of a little wench, did ſo conſtantly deny Chriſt, *Fox.* pag. 1260.

Biſhop *Ridley* Martyr, agreeth in the ſame expoſition: Chriſt ſaid vnto *Peter*, vpon this rocke of thy confeſſion I will build my Church: for this beleefe that Chriſt is the ſonne of God, is the foundation of Chriſtianitie, and the foundation of the Church: Chriſts Church is not built theſe vpon the frailtie of man, but vpon the ſtable, and infallible word of God, *Fox.* p. 1758.

See the conſent alſo of antiquitie: *Fabianus* B. of Rome, *Epiſtol.* 3. *In eccleſia ſupra petram ſtatur,*

dum confessionis solidit as humiliter tenetur: In the Church, we then stand vpon the rocke, while we hould the sound confession of faith with humilitie.

Fabianus epistol. ad Zenonem imperator. vpon these words: *Tu es Petrus*, thus writeth: *Super ista confessionis edificabo ecclesiam meam*: I will build my Church vpon this confession, and the gates of hell, &c.

Concil. Basilens. oration. ad Bohemos in appendice. Super hanc petram, scilicet fidei, edificabo ecclesiam: I will build my Church vpon this rocke (that is to say) of faith. Thus we see, that those auncient Bishops of Rome, and former Councels haue expounded this text, no otherwise, then we doe now.

S. *Ambrose* is a notable witnesse in this case: *Petrus primatum confessionis accepit, non honoris, &c.* *Peter* receiued the primacie of Confession, not of honour, the primacie of faith not of order, he answered before the other, nay for the other Apostles: *de incarnat. cap.* 4. And againe, *cap.* 5. *Fides est Ecclesiæ fundamentum*, Faith is the foundation of the Church: for it was not spoken of *Peters* flesh, but of his faith, that the gates of hell should not preuaile against him, &c.

And *Origen* hath an excellent place to this purpose: *Tract.* 1 *in Matth. Petra est quisquis, &c.* Euery Disciple of Christ, that drinketh of the spirituall rocke, is this *Peter* or rocke: for if we think that the Church is built vpon *Peter* alone, what shall we say of *Iohn* the sonne of thunder, and of the rest of the Apostles? shall we dare to say, that the gates of hell shall not preuaile against *Rome* onely? &c. Thus these Fathers expound this place, not of *Peters* person, but of his faith.

Argum. 3. Another place, which our aduersaries mightily vrge, are those words which follow vers. 19. I will giue vnto thee the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen; whatsoeuer thou shalt binde in earth, shall be bound in Heauen: *Ergo*, *Peter* had especiall iurisdicton giuen him more then any of the rest, *Bellarm. cap.* 12.

We answere. First, as *Peter* confessed in the name of all the rest, so this power is giuen him not onely for the rest (as the Rhemists falsely charge vs, that we make *Peter* a proctor for others) but togither with the rest. *Peters* person must be excluded: for immediatly after he deserued for a certaine slip of his person to be called Sathan: it were an vnfit match, the same person at the same time to be honoured with the glorious title of the rocke of Christ, and to sustaine so great a rebuke as to be called Sathan. Secondly, here is no more promised to *Peter* then vnto all the rest of the Apostles, Matth. 18. 18. They likewise haue authoritie giuen them to binde and loose; and it is performed to them all alike, Ioh. 20. 23.

2. By the keyes here cannot be vnderstoode that large iurisdiction which the Papists dreame of, as not onely the authoritie and chaire of doctrine, iudgement, knowledge, discretion betweene true and false doctrine, all which we graunt togither with *Peter* to haue been giuen to all the Apostles besides: But, say they, hereby is signified the height of gouernement, the power of making lawes, of calling Councels and confirming them, of ordayning Bishops and Pastors, finally to dispense the goods of the Church spirituall and temporall: All this is added without ground, neither had either *Peter* or any of the Apostles this ample authoritie, no nor the Bishops of Rome for many hundred yeeres after Christ. For this plenarie power of the keyes, when they signifie a soueraigne and chiefe, and surpassing power, are so onely giuen vnto Christ, and to no mortal creature: He is said to haue the key of *Dauid*, who openeth and no man shutteth; who shutteth, and no man openeth; *Apocalyp.* 3. 7. *Fulk. Annot.* 16. *Matth. sect.* 13.

Lastly, I will oppose the iudgement of the Fathers of Basile, who alleage out of *Augustine*, that *Petar* receiued the keyes for the whole Church, and out of *Ambrose*, that when Christ said to *Peter*, *pasce oues*, the blessed Apostle tooke not charge of them alone, saith he, but togither with vs, and we togither with him, *Fax.* pag. 675.

It shall not be amisse also to adioyne the opinion of the holy Martyrs, concerning the true sense of this place: I will giue vnto thee the keyes, &c.

First, *Thomas Benet* Martyr, he saith, that as well to the rest, as to *Peter*: for *Peter* had no more authoritie giuen him then the other Apostles: or else the Churches planted in euery kingdome by their preaching, are no Churches. S. *Paul* also saith, vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Ephes. 2. 20. that is, indifferently vpon them all, *Fox.* pag. 1039.

Sir *Iohn Borthwike* confessor of the truth in Scotland, and condemned for the same; he alleageth out of *Augustine*, that *Peter*, when he receiued the keyes, did figurate the whole Church: for as *Peter*, all being demaunded, answered for them all, thou art Christ; so he receiued this power for them all, and in the name of the rest, *Fox.* pag. 1260. so answereth also Master *Lambert* Martyr, alleaging to that purpose the authorime of *Cyprian*: *resp. ad artic.* 23. pag. 1119.

Master *Philpot* Martyr saith, that *Peter* receiued the keyes in the name of the rest: citing a place out of *Augustine* to that ende: *Si hoc Petro solum dictum est, non habet Ecclesia; si autem Ecclesia habet, quando olaues accepit, totam Ecclesiam designauit*: If it were said onely to *Peter*, then the Church hath not this power: but if the whole Church haue this power, namely to binde and loose;

then *Peter*, when he receiued the keyes, represented the whole Church. 10. *tract. in Iohann. Philpot.* pag. 1804.

For the meaning of this text also, let vs consult with antiquitie: *Concil. Aquisgranens. cap. 9. ex Isidor. Cæteri Apostoli cum Petro pari consortium honoris & potestatis acceperunt*: the rest of the Apostles togither with *Peter* receiued the like fellowship of dignitie and authoritie.

Synod. Colmiens. sub Adulpo: Medium 6. cap. 1. vpon these words, *Tibi dabo claues &c.* do comment thus: *quam promissionem non ad vnum Petrum pertinere sed in omnes apostolos transmissam alio loco dicit Christus vbi insufflat, Amen dico vobis, &c.* Matth. 18. 18. Christ in saying to *Peter*, I will giue thee the keyes, &c. did not make that promise onely to *Peter*, but that it belongeth also to the rest of the Apostles, Christ doth shew, Matth. 18. *Verilie I say vnto you, whatsoeuer you binde in earth, shall be bound in Heauen, &c.* Thus also S. *Hierome* expoundeth this place, *lib. 1. aduers. Iouinian.* But thou wilt say, *Super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia, &c.* The Church is founded vpon *Peter*: yet in another place, the same thing is done to all the Apostles, and all receiued the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen: *Et ex æquo super eos*, and equally vpon them all the strength of the Church is established. So *Origene* also long before him interpreteth: *tract. 1. in Matth. An verò soli Petro, &c.* Are the keyes of the kingdome giuen onely to *Peter*, and none of the blessed beside shall receiue them? &c. Wherefore if this be common to the rest, how not the other sayings also, &c.

Argum. 4. Other arguments they alleage for the primacie and preeminence of *Peter*, as Matth. 10. He is named in the first place, *Bellarmine cap. 18.* We answere, this myght be, because *Peter* was the most auncient in yeares, or one of the first that was called: and so S. *Hierome* saith, asking the question why *Peter* was preferred before *Iohn*, *Ætati delatum est, quia senior erat*: His age was preferred because he was the elder. But howsoeuer it was, it is no great matter: for this order is not alway kept, as Galath. 2. *Paul* nameth *Iames* first; *Iames, Cephas, Iohn*, saith he, vers. 9. the Iesuites best shift is here to denie the text, saying; it should be read, *Cephas, Iames, Iohn*: vnlesse *Iames* be named first, because he was Bishop of Ierusalem: Marke I pray you: *Ergo*, at Ierusalem *Peter* was not before *Iames*, but next vnto him: therefore not prince of the Apostles. *Bellarm. c. 18.* Lib. 1. aduers. Iouinian.

But for a more full answere as touching this obiection of the first naming of *Peter*: first I deny, that he is alwaies named first, as in the place alleaged: And againe it is euident, that the Scripture doth not perpetually obserue the same order in such rehearsals, as Apocal. 20. 19. The twelue Apostles are compared to twelue precious stones, whereof the Iasper is the first, but Exod. 28. 20. where the twelue precious stones are named, which should be set in *Aarons* breastplate, the Iasper stone is the last: If the Iasper for the dignitie thereof doe signifie *Peter* in the Apocalypse, how is it placed last in Exodus? So then we may heere say with *Origene* who thus writeth of the order of the twelue Patriarches, *Sciendum est, quod in singulis locis, &c.* It is to be marked, that euery where, where the Scripture maketh mention of the Patriarches, there is great diuersitie in the order: there is one order obserued in their [1] natiuitie, another in their [2] going downe into Ægypt; another when they are [3] blessed of *Iacob*; another when they are [4] numbred to doe any thing in the wildernes; another, when the land of [5] Canaan was deuided: after the same maner when the twelue Apostles are named, they are not alway set downe in the same order. *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that *Peter* euery where is named first, though the rest be not set downe alwaies in one order, *cap. 18. Contrà.* So *Ruben* is the first named of all the Patriarches in those fiue seuerall places noted by *Origene*. He is first borne, first entereth into Ægypt, first blessed, first numbred, first deuided: yet *Ruben* for all this was not the chiefe among the Patriarches: neither by this reason shall *Peter* be the greatest among the Apostles. Hom. 17. in Genes.

[1] Genes. 29. [2] Genes. 46. [3] Genes. 49. [4] Numb. 1. [5] Iosu.

Againe, say they, *Peter* standeth vp in the election of *Matthias*, Acts 1. preacheth the first Sermon, Acts 2. Acts 15. *Peter* speaketh first. We answere to the first: We denie not a primacie of order to haue been in *Peter*: but it followeth not, that he which speaketh first, or giueth the first voyce, should be the head and commaunder of the rest. To the second, we also graunt that *Peter* in zeale, promptenes and forwardnes, was not behinde any of the Apostles, but euen with the first: for in him was that saying of Christ verified vpon the woman: She loued much, because much was forgiuen her, Luk. 7. so was it with *Peter*, to whom Christ forgaue much, and therefore he loued much. To the third we answete, that by the Iesuites owne confession, *Iames*, who was (as they say) Bishop of Ierusalem, had the primacie there: how then can they now giue it to *Peter*? That *Iames* was the Bishop of the Apostles at Ierusalem, it is affirmed also by *Steuen Gardiner* in his booke *de vera obedientia*, by the testimonie of *Eusebius*; and by Bishop *Stokesly* and Bishop *Tonstal*, out of *Clementus Alexandrinus*, who thus writeth: *Petrum, Iacobum, Iohannem, post assumptionem Saluatoris, quamuis ab ipso fuerint omnibus præpolati, tamen nullo sibi vendicarunt gloriæ, sed Iacobum apostolorum episcopum statuunt*: Peter, *Iames* and *Iohn*, after Christs ascension into Heauen, although they were by him preferred almost before all others, yet they challenged not that glorie to themselues, but decreed *Iames* to be the chiefe of the Apostles: *Epistol. ad Reginald. Pol. Fox*, pag. 1066.

There is another place, beside these already alleaged, which our aduersaries commonly obiect for the primacie of *Peter*: for that Christ should say vnto him thrise, *pasce oues meas*, feede my sheepe, that is, rule and gouerne them.

To this answereth, first *Walter Brute* an ancient confessor of the truth: that Christ said vnto him thrise, *feede my sheepe*: because he preached chiefely vnto three Churches, and instructed them in the faith: namely, the Iewes, Grecians, and Romanes.

Doctor *Tonstal* out of *Cyrillus* thus alleageth: that because *Peter* had thrise denyed Christ, whereby he thought, he had lost his Apostleship, Christ by thrise asking if he loued him, restored him to his office againe. pag. 1062. So in your decrees. *p.2.c.6.q.1.c.10.* *Peter* because he denied Christ thrise doth also confesse him thrise.

Againe, S. *Iohn Borthwike* Knight condemned for the truth, saith, that to feede the flock of Christ signifieth not to beare rule or dominion ouer them: for in the same words he exhorteth all other pastors to feede their flocke, 1. epist. 5. Whereby it appeareth, that either our Sauiour Christ gaue no such authoritie to *Peter* more than to others, or that *Peter* did equally communicate that right to others. p. 1261. *respons. ad articul.* 1. see the answere also of Master *Bradford* to the same effect, *epist. ad Domin. Vanam*, p. 1647.

The Protestants.

That *Peter* had no such iurisdiction ouer the Apostles, as to be called the head and Prince of them: but that to them all indifferently were the keyes committed, and did all faithfully execute their Apostleship without any subiection of each to other, but ioyned the right hands of fellowship togither: we thus confirme it out of the holy Scripture, and necessarie arguments deriued out of the same.

Argum. 1. Ephes. 2.20. Apocalyp. 21.14. The Church is said to be built vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles. *Ergo*, no primacie of power amongst the Apostles, they all founded the Church.

Bellarm. cap. 11. *Bellarmine* confesseth that in respect of their doctrine, there was no difference betweene *Peter* and the rest, for they all were first planters of Churches, they all preached the Gospell by reuelation: But in respect of gouernment, they were not equall: they had chiefe authoritie committed to them as Apostles and Embassadors of Christ: But *Peter*, as ordinary pastor.

We answere: First, by his owne confession the Apostles had chiefe authoritie as Apostles, but there was no higher authoritie or power then of the Apostleship. But as they were Apostles they were equall (saith the Iesuite:) *Ergo*, there could be no superioritie; for the calling of the Apostles was the highest in the Church. See also your owne decrees, where that sentence of S. *Cypriane* is allowed, *decr. part. 2. caus. 24. qu. 1. c. 18.* *Hoc erant vtique caeteri Apostoli, &c.* The rest of the Apostles were the same that *Peter* was, hauing the like fellowship of honour and power.

Argum. 2. To preach the Gospell, and to haue iurisdiction of gouernment, doe both belong to the power of the keyes: but the keyes were equally committed to all: *Ergo*, they had all equall power both to preach and to gouerne. That they all had the power of the keyes equally granted vnto them, we haue prooued before out of Matth. 18.18.

Bellarmine himselfe confesseth, that *Iames* was Bishop and ordinarie pastor at Ierusalem, and saith with *Anselme* and *Thomas Aquinas*, that therefore he is named first by Saint *Paul*, Gal. 2. *Bellarmine cap.* 19. Therefore at Ierusalem *Peter* was to giue primacie to the ordinarie pastor there.

If they answere, that Rome was then the chiefe citie, and therefore *Peter* being Bishop of Rome was to haue the preeminence. To this we reply: that Ierusalem was rather to be preferred in respect of place, which was chosen by the Lord himselfe, to be the chiefe citie of his Church: but Rome through the tyranny and vsurpation of the Romans ouer other countries was aduanced to that dignitie, not by the election of God.

But *Bellarmine* answereth, that *Peter* was Bishop of the whole Church, and so of Ierusalem too. We answere, he now saith lesse for *Peter*, then if he called him, as he was, the Apostle of the whole world: for it was more to be an Apostle than a Bishop. Diuers were called in the Apostles times, *episcopi*, ouerseers, or Bishops, that were not Apostles, as the pastors of Ephesus, Acts 20.28. Wherefore now he hath said iust nothing: in seeking to aduance *Peter*, he hath disgraced him, in pulling him downe from his high Apostleship, to the chaire of a Bishop. See also your owne decrees, *part. 2. caus. 24. qu. 1. c. 4. in gloss. Vnde omnibus Discipulis &c.* Seeing that Christ gaue to all his Disciples the like power of binding, and loosing, &c. Yea your owne master alloweth that saying of S. *Hierome*: *Habent omnes iudiciariam potestatem alij, &c.* The other Apostles had the same iudiciarie power, *lib. 4. dist. 19. c.*

Argum. 3. *Peter* had no superioritie ouer *Paul*, for they ioyned right hands of fellowship: and this allotment was made betweene them, that *Paul* should be the Apostle of the Gentiles, and *Peter* of the circumcision, Galath. 2.9. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine answereth. First, they were ioyned as fellow-laborers in the preaching of the Gospel: but *Peter* might for all this be greater in the office and power of gouerning. We answere: yea, but the text saith, that *Paul* only was not appointed to preach to the Gentiles, but he had the chiefe Apostleship. Now to the Apostleship belongeth, not onely the function of preaching, but the whole vse of the keyes, and power of iurisdiction. *Ergo* in all respects S. *Paul* ouer the Gentiles had the chiefe Apostleship.

But least any man say, that this was a humane compact amongst themselues, and *Paul* had his lot at *Peters* assignement: the text sheweth, that the Lord himselfe had made this distribution. For when they saw, saith S. *Paul*, that the Gospell ouer the vncircumcision was committed to me, vers.7. So then the Apostles did but confirme by their consent, that distribution, which they sawe the Lord himselfe had appointed.

Further saith the Iesuite, the diuision was not so made, but that it was lawfull for *Peter* also to preach to the Gentiles. We answere, we grant it; and for *Paul* to preach to the Iewes; yet that distinction remained still, that *Peter* was chiefe of the circumcision, *Paul* of the vncircumcision.

Againe saith he: but *Peter* had the more excellent lot, for Christ himselfe first preached to the Iewes. We answere, wee deny not but that he had the first lot in order; for to the Iewes was the Gospell first offered: but *Paul* had the larger and more glorious lot: the Church of the Iewes now decaying, and the Gentiles beginning to be planted in their roome. But howsoeuer it was, it cannot bee denied, but that *Paul* was chiefe towards the Gentiles: And therefore the Church of Rome might with better right haue deriued their authoritie from S. *Paul*, then from *Peter*: both of them they cannot make patrons of their See: seeing by their owne rules the Pope cannot be successor to them both.

Heare also how notablie to our purpose S. *Ambrose* expoundeth this place, writing vpon this verse, Galath.2.9. *Petrum solum nominat, &c.* He nameth onely *Peter*, and compareth him with himselfe; because he had receiued the primacie to found the Church, and himselfe was likewise elected to haue the primacie in founding the Churches of the Gentiles: yet so that both *Peter* might preach to the Gentiles, and *Paul* to the Iewes, if there were cause: for both of them is found to haue done both: and yet it is knowne that full authoritie was giuen to *Peter* in preaching to the Iewes, and full authoritie to *Paul* in preaching to the Gentiles.

Further, out of the same place, Galath.2.11. another thing commeth to be obserued: that *Peter* was rebuked of *Paul*, and in such sort, that it appeareth there was no great inequalitie between them: for he doth it to his face openly, before all men, and at Antioch, in *Peters* owne Bishoprick, as they say: Can it be now thought that *Paul* was any thing inferiour to *Peter*?

Bellarmine and the Iesuites answere, that the Pope may bee rebuked of an inferiour, and ought to take it patiently, if it be done in zeale and loue. Cap.15.

Anf. First, we doe not simply thus conclude, because *Paul* reprehended *Peter*, therefore he was not his superiour, but because of the manner, as we shewed: it was done in such sort, so plainly, so openly, without any submission or crauing of pardon, that there can appeare no inequalitie at all betweene them. Secondly, although they seeme here to graunt, that the Pope may bee rebuked, yet is it otherwise in their Canon law, which saith, that though the Pope doe leade innumerable soules to hell, no mortal man may presume to reproue his faults, *par.1. dist.4.c.Si Papa. Fulk. annot. in Galath.2. fol.8.* And howsoeuer the Iesuite counteth this a light argument, both *Hierome* and *Ambrose* doe enforce it, and your owne decrees allow it, *par.2. caus.2. quæst.7.c.35. Hierome* saith: *Paul* doth reprehend *Peter*, because he knew himselfe not to be vnequall. And in the glosse Saint *Ambrose* is thus alleaged: Which of them durst resist *Peter*, to whom the Lord gaue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, *nisi alius talis*, but such an other that knew himselfe, by the confidence of his election, not to be vnequall.

This place in the second to the Galathians is much vrged by some of the Papists themselues against *Peters* supremacie: for S. *Paul* saying, that as the Apostleship of the Circumcision was committed to *Peter*, so the Apostleship of the Gentiles was giuen to him: hereby sheweth, that he knew no primacie of *Peter* ouer the Apostles, or the whole world, but only among the Iewes. This also manifestly appeareth, for that *Peter*, being sent for by *Cornelius* a Gentile, durst not goe to him without a speciall vision from God, Act.10. thereby declaring, that he had no such primacie giuen him ouer the Gentiles: *Hec Tonstall. in Concion. p.1062.*

Master *Lambert* Martyr groundeth diuers arguments out of this chapter 2. to the Galathians, that *Peter* was not superiour to S. *Paul*: first, they ioyned with him the right hand of fellowship: *Ergo*, he was their equall and fellow. Secondly, *Iames* is named before *Peter*, which S. *Paul* would not haue done, who loued order, if there had been any such preeminence in *Peter*. Thirdly, Saint *Paul* reproued Saint *Peter* to his face, which he would not haue done, except he had knowne himselfe equall to *Peter*. And as *Peter* was here reproued by his fellow Apostle, so was he blamed generally of them of the Circumcision, who contended against him, Act.11.2. And yet *Peter* did

not alleage any preeminence or authoritie, or charge them with disobedience, for rebuking him: *Lambert* pag. 1120.

Master *Tindal* holy Martyr goeth further, and sheweth, that if there were any oddes or inequalitie at all, Saint *Paul* rather was of higher authoritie, then Saint *Peter*; because he laboured and preached more than the rest, 1 Corinth. 15. 10. and suffered more for the testimonie of Christ, 2. Cor. 11. 23.

Master *Bradford* holy Martyr disproueth the supremacie of *Peter* ouer the Apostles by this argument: The Apostles at Ierusalem sent *Peter* and *Iohn* to Samaria, to confirme them in the Gospell, Act. 8. 14. *Ergo*, he was not their chiefe or head: for it had been an vnmannerly part for the members, to send their head in Embassage: *Brad. in epistol. ad Domin. Vanam. p. 1647.*

Iohannes Patriarch of Antioch, *opuscul. in appendice Concil. Basilien.* enforceth the same argument: *Apostoli miserunt ad Samaritanos Petrum & Iohannem; at maior est qui mittit, minor, qui mittitur*: The Apostles sent *Peter* and *Iohn* to the Samaritanes: but he that sendeth is the greater, he that is sent the lesse. *Ergo.* It may bee obiected, *Petrus missus est consilio, non authoritate*: *Peter* was sent by their counsaile and aduice, not commaundement or authoritie: he answereth, that not *Peter* alone was sent, but *Iohn* also. So then, as *Iohn* was sent, in like manner was *Peter*: the one had no greater preeminence then the other in this Embassage.

Argum. 4. Lastly, what reason was there, why Christ should giue the supremacie to *Peter* ouer the rest? Christ was no acceptor of persons: if he had been, *Iohn* should haue been preferred, whom he loued most. If deserts bee weighed, I thinke *Peter* deserued no more then the rest of his fellowes: Nay I thinke the wisedome of the spirit, foreseeing the questions that should afterward arise in the Church about *Peter*, hath so disposed, that this Apostles infirmities both in number more and weight greater then any of the rest, should be euidently set forth in Scripture. We will briefly runne them ouer, not to derogate from the blessed memorie of so excellent an Apostle; but a little to stay and bridle the preposterous zeale of our aduersaries, who doe ascribe more vnto him, then euer he would haue challenged to himselfe.

To let passe the smaller slips and scapes of this Apostle, as his rashnesse in aduenturing beyond his strength, to walke vpon the sea, Matth. 14. Secondly, his vnaduised speech in the mountaine, Matth. 17. *Let vs make three Tabernacles.* Thirdly, his ignorance, Matth. 19. in saying to Christ, *how often shall I forgiue my brother? till seuen times?* Fourthly, his impatiencie, as in drawing out his sword and cutting off *Malchus* eare. Fiftly, his timorousnesse in flying from Christ at his apprehension. Sixtly, his curiositie, Iohn. 21. in asking concerning *Iohn*, *What shall this man doe?* To let passe these as common infirmities: there are foure great faults which *Peter* fell into, much amplified, and stood vpon by the fathers.

1 He dehorted our Sauiour from his passion with these words, *Master, fauour thy selfe*, Mat. 16. and was therefore called Sathan, an aduersarie to the death of Christ, and so to the redemption of man. *Augustine* chargeth him with great forgetfulnes, hauing made so notable a confession of Christ before, and noteth him for some sparkes of distrust and infidelitie: *Ille Petrus, qui iam eum confessus fuerat filium Dei, timuit, ne sicut filius hominis moreretur, in Psal.* 138. The same *Peter* (saith he) which a little before had confessed him to be the Sonne of God, feared least he should die and perish as a man.

2 In promising rashly not to denie Christ, yea vnto death, whereas Christ had foretolde him of his fall before, *Augustine* noteth great presumption: *Petrus ex egregio presumptore creber negator effectus, Epist.* 120. *cap.* 14. *Peter* of a great presumer, is become a desperate denier. And hereof thus your owne decrees, *par.* 2. *caus.* 6. *quæst.* 1. *cap.* 10. *Petrus lapsus est, &c. Peter* did fall, because he presumed of himselfe, saying, *Though other bee offended in thee, yet not I.* But *Origen* goeth further, *Non solum inconsiderati, sed pene etiam impij, &c. Peter* said not onely vnaduisedly, but almost impiously, *Though all men be offended, &c.* Tract. 25. in Math.

3 The third great sinne was committed by *Peter*, in denying of Christ, and that thrice, yea with an oth, at the instance of a maiden, and in a very short while, before the cocke crew twice, Mark. 14. 72. The Iesuite answereth, that this was no hinderance to *Peters* primacie, but a furtherance and a confirmation of it. But whether it were a let to his primacie or not, let all men iudge, seeing it had been sufficient to haue hindered his saluation, and destroyed his faith, without the great mercie of God.

Let vs heare *Augustines* iudgement of *Peters* fall. Some man may excuse *Peter*, and say, that he did nothing, but as Christ forewarned him. What then (saith he) if *Peter* therefore did not amisse, because his fall was foretold by Christ: *Recte etiam fecit Iudas, qui tradidit dominum, quia & hoc prædixerat dominus?* Then *Iudas* did well too (saith he) in betraying of Christ, for this also Christ shewed afore? But some againe may say: he denied not Christ, for he said he knew not the man: *Quasi vero* (saith he) *qui hominem Christum negat, non Christum neget*: As though he that denieth the man Christ, doth not flatly denie Christ. Christ also taketh away all doubts (saith he) when Expos. in Psal. 140. Tract. in Iohann. 66.

he thus said to *Peter*, *The cocke shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice*: he saith not, till thou hast denied the man, but me. Againe, *Ipse potius redarguit defensores suos*: *Peter* himselfe doth confute his maintainers and defenders: *Agnouit planè peccatum suum infirmitas Petri*: *Peters* owne conscience gaue him that he had sinned, for he went out and wept bitterly. But if by this meanes his primacie was confirmed, he had occasion to reioyce, and not to weepe. Yea he wept bitterly, his sinne was very great: how then dare one of your sect say with a blasphemous mouth, *Petrus non fidem Christi, sed Christum salua fide negauit*: *Peter* denied not the faith of Christ, but his faith remaining safe and sound, he denied Christ? The ancient writers durst not so extenuate *Peters* fall, no nor *Peter* himselfe, that wept full sore, as these men presume to doe. For first *Origen* thus amplifieth *Peters* fall, *Non ad modicum derelictus, &c.* *Peter* was not a little forsaken, to denie once, but he was abundantly forsaken, to denie thrice: first he denied him before all; and againe he denied him not simply, but with an oth: thirdly, not onely with an oth, but with a speciall denotation, I know not the man: *Tract.* 35. *in Matth.* Copus. vide Iuel. pag. 665. defens. Apolog.

S. *Ambrose* goeth further, *Hexamer. lib.* 5. *c.* 24. *Peter* before the cocke crew falleth; yea the third time he falleth, that you may know that it was not a slip only of his speech, but that he was troubled in minde.

S. *Hierome* also thus writeth: *de Vincul. Petri ad Eustoch.* What shall I doe, I haue denied my Lord and master? neither, as some thinke, haue I onely denied the man: I haue denied him to whom I said, thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God: I haue denied him whom I saw walking vpon the waters; whom I heard with his call raising vp the dead; whom I saw with *Moses* and *Elias*, *&c.*

And your owne decrees: *Decret. part.* 2. *caus.* 13. *quæst.* 3. *cap.* 85. The Lord said not to *Peter*, thou shalt denie thee to my disciple, but thou shalt denie me: wherefore he denied him, when he denied himselfe to bee his disciple: and what did he else but denie himselfe to bee a Christian? Such then and of this nature and qualitie was the fall and deniall of *Peter*, howsoeuer our aduersaries goe about to seeke colours and defence for it.

4 The last fault noted in *Peter* was that, for the which he is reproued of *Paul*, Galath. 2. Tush (saith *Bellarmine*) it was a very small and light offence. Yea, was it so small a fault to constraine the Gentiles to doe like the Iewes? for this was the point, as S. *Paul* writeth, Galath. 2. 14. And *Augustine* saith, *Petrus non obiurgatus à Paulo fuit, quòd seruabat consuetudinem Iudæorum, in qua natus & educatus fuit, sed quòd eam gentibus imponere volebat*: *Exposit. ad Galat.* *Peter* was not rebuked of *Paul*, because he kept the custome of the Iewes, wherein he was brought vp, but because he would lay it vpon the Gentiles. Was this *leuissimum peccatum*, a small transgression? Saint *Paul* should greatly haue been to blame, for rebuking *Peter* openly, and so plainly for so small an offence, and should haue done against his owne rule, Galath. 6. 1. But *Peter* did it of a good minde (saith *Bellarmine*.) Yea did? then he was worthie to bee excused, not worthie of blame, as S. *Paul* writeth. He might also doe it ignorantly and vnwittingly (saith he.) How can that be, seeing he was one that made the decree, Act. 15. That no yoke should be layd vpon the Gentiles, other then there expressed; and now contrarie to that decree, he constraineth the Gentiles, *Iudaizare*, to play the Iewes. These things doe not hang together. Bellar. cap. 18.

The Rhemists say, that it was not an error in doctrine or iudgement here reproued in *Peter*, but a default onely in conuersation: *annot. Galat.* 2. *vers.* 11. *sect.* 9.

Contra. 1. One of your owne Bishops *Gelasius*, *tom. de Anathemat. Vinculo*, is of a contrarie opinion, *Sanctus Petrus primus, &c.* Holy *Peter*, the first of the Apostles, thinking that the grace of the new testament should be so preached, that he depart not from the institutions of the old law, did something dissemblingly, &c. and therefore his fellow Apostle doth worthily rebuke him. It was then an error in *Peters* thought and iudgement.

S. *Ambrose in* 2. *ad Galat.* If *Peter* had dissembled onely, it had been no error, &c. But this was the cause of the reprehension: *Peter* did not onely separate himselfe from those with whom he had liued Gentile like, but he compelled them to play the Iewes also; so that the Gentiles were ignorant which was the truest way. And your owne glosse saith, *Decr. p.* 2. *caus.* 2. *quæst.* 7. *c.* 39. *Par est à fide exorbitare, &c.* It is all one to goe aside from the faith, and by example or word to turne others from the faith: *Ergo*, this in *Peter* was an error in faith.

I will now conclude out of *Augustine*, as he alleageth out of *Cyprian*: *Nec Petrus, cum secum Paulus de circumcisione disceptaret, postmodum vendicauit sibi aliquid insolenter, vt diceret se primatum tenere*: *de Baptis.* 2. 2. Howsoeuer it was, *Peter*, when *Paul* reasoned thus with him, did not stand vpon his pantofles, and chalenge any primacie to himselfe. But it is very like, if there had been any such primacie in *Peter* of power and iurisdiction, (a primacie of order we grant, as *Cyprian* in that place calleth *Peter*, *primus*, the first) that this sharpe reprehension of *Paul* should either haue bin spared, or else not done in that vehement manner.

It shall not be out of the way in this place, to see the iudgement of certaine Papists of great ac-

count in their time, contrary to the opinion now receiued in the Popes Church.

Thus the Bishop of Winchester reasoneth in his booke *de vera obedientia*: The scholler ought not to be aboue the master: how could then *Peter* take that vpon him to bee chiefe, which Christ his master did so constantly refuse?

That *Peter* was *primus*, that is, first and chiefe in number of them which confessed Christ, it can not be denied: for first he confessed, first he taught the Iewes: first he stood in defence of the veritie, and was the first prolocutor among them. A primacie of order wee graunt, but not a primacie of rule and dominion: he was first in order, but it followeth not therefore that he was the chiefe in dignitie: As it is no good reason, Paris is nominate the first of all Vniuersities: *Ergo*, they are subiect to it.

Bishop *Tonstal* also in a certaine sermon, vseth these and such like arguments against the supremacie of *Peter*. *Peters* person (saith he) could not bee the rocke of the Church: for then wee should put another foundation of the Church, than Christ; which were contrarie to Saint *Paul*: *No man may put any other foundation, then that which is put alreadie, which is Christ Iesus*, 1. Cor. 3.

So saith he, in the one and twentie chapter of the Apocalypse, the new citie and heauenly Ierusalem, is described by the holy Ghost, not with one foundation of *Peter*, but with twelue foundations after the number of the Apostles, *plur. Fox. p.* 1062.

THE THIRD QVESTION, CONCERNING *Peter* his being at Rome.

THis question hath two parts: first, whether *Peter* were at all at Rome or not. Secondly, whether he were Bishop of Rome.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER PETER were at Rome.

38. Error. OVr aduersaries would seeme to proue it by these and such like arguments.

Argum. 1. Out of that place of S. *Peter* 1. 5. 13. *The Church that is at Babylon salateth you*: Babylon here (say they) is taken for Rome, from whence *Peter* wrote his Epistle, *Bellar. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. *de pontif. Rhemens. argum. in.* 1. *Epist. Petri.*

We answere: First, it is a fillie argument for them hereby to proue *Peters* being at Rome: for thus much they haue gained by it, that Rome is Babylon, and so the seate of Antichrist, Reuel. 18. Secondly, there were two Babylons, one in Syria, the other in Ægypt, from either of which Saint *Peter* might date his epistle: and it is most like that he would keepe the common and knowne name of the place, that it might bee out of doubt what Church he meant. As for the name of Babylon, to bee ascribed to Rome, though it were so mystically, yet was it not so called: for why might not *Paul* as well haue written his epistle to the Romanes vnder that name, the Church of Babylon, as *Peter* wrote from thence?

Argum. 2. Againe, they alleage that storie, how *Peter* ouercame *Simon Magus* at Rome, when he would haue taken his flight into the ayre, hauing made himselfe wings, and by the prayer of *Peter* was brought downe againe and brake his legges, and so dyed: whereupon *Nero* being offended with *Peter*, would haue apprehended him; who being counsailed by the Church, would haue fled from Rome: but meeting Christ at one of the gates, and saying vnto him, Whither goest thou Lord? And he answered, I come againe to be crucified. *Peter* vpon those words returned backe againe, and was crucified for the testimonie of Iesus, *Bellarm. cap.* 2. 3.

We answere: First, wee denie not that *Peter* was at Rome, but shew onely the insufficiencie of their arguments: and againe, we moue such doubts, as by them are yet vnanswered, as afterward shall bee shewed. Secondly, concerning this storie of the victorie ouer *Simon Magus*, they that doubt of *Peters* being at Rome, may also doubt of this, neither of them being necessarie to bee beleeued as articles of faith, but probable and coniecturall, as matters of storie. For some part of
Epistol. 80. the storie is denied by *Augustine*, as how *Peter* fasted vpon the Saturday, the combat betweene him and *Simon Magus*, following vpon the Lords day after: and thereupon rose the custome of the Saturday fast among the Romanes: *Est quidem* (saith he) *hac opinio plurimorum, quamuis eam perhibeant esse falsam plerique Romani*: This is (saith he) a probable opinion of many, (concerning *Peters* fast) yet the Romanes themselues thinke it to be false.

3 That concerning Christs apparition to *Peter*, seemeth to bee most vnlike of all, and sauoureth somewhat of the popish Legends. Like vnto this are the tales of S. *Christopher*, how he carried Christ, and how S. *Gregorie* had him for one of his guests at his table of hospitalitie: Such visions and apparitions of Christ are contrarie to the Scriptures, which say, that the heauens must containe him till his comming againe. *Bellarmine* answereth: first, by this meanes, wee doe *compedes*

Christo

Christo ligent, wee fetter Christ in heauen. We answere, belike then heauen is a prison, with the Iesuite: God send all that are his such a prison at the length. Againe, Christ is no otherwise concluded and shut vp in heauen, then as it pleaseth himselfe, and as he hath appointed so to be.

2 He obiecteth: that Christ appeared neere vnto the earth to *Paul*. We answere: First, there is no such thing proued out of the text, but rather the contrarie, that the voyce was heard from heauen, not neere the earth, but aboue, Act. 22. 6. Secondly, *Paul* heard a voyce only, he saw no man, neither he nor the companie with him, Act. 9. 7. 8. but onely a great light they saw shining from heauen, Act. 22. 6. 9. Therefore out of this place they cannot proue any such apparition of Christ neere vnto the earth.

Your owne decrees also here are against you: *Decr. p. 3. dist. 2. cap. 44. Corpus domini in quo resurrexit vno loco esse oportet*: The bodie of our Lord, wherein he rose, must bee in one place. And againe, *Donec seculum finiatur sursum est dominus*: As long as the world endureth, our Lord is aboue, that is, in the heauen. *Ergo*, not beneath in the earth.

Argum. 3. *Peter* died at Rome, his sepulchre is to bee seene there to this day: *Ergo*, he was at Rome, *Bellarm. cap.* 3.

We answere: First, it followeth not, if *Peter* were buried at Rome, that therefore he died there: for the translation of the bones and bodies of Martyrs is no vnusuall thing in your Church: As it followeth not, because *Iohn Baptists* head, as you say, is to bee seene at S. *Siluesters* at Rome, that therefore he died there; so neither doth it follow of S. *Peter*.

2 Againe, how shall wee beleeue you that it is S. *Peters* sepulchre, which is shewed at Rome, seeing you haue made so many mockeries alreadie, making the world beleeue, that *Peters* bodie is sometime in one place, sometime in another? Halfe his bodie (you say) is at S. *Peters* in Rome, halfe at S. *Pauls*, his head at S. *Iohn Laterans*, his neather iaw with the beard at Poictiers in France, many of his bones at Triers, at Geneua part of his braine. You see that wee may as well doubt whether *Peters* bodie bee at Rome, as in any of these places. And such as you see are our aduersaries arguments for *Peters* being at Rome.

The Protestants.

COncerning *Peters* being at Rome: first, we doe not vtterly denie it, but onely affirme that he could not come thither so soone, as in the second yeere of *Claudius*, and sit there so long, namely, fiue and twentie yeeres, as they hold. Secondly, it may bee graunted that he was there, as a matter of storie, not an article of faith. Thirdly, wee haue certaine doubts and arguments, about some circumstances of his being there, which our aduersaries are not able to answere.

Argum. 1. There is great disagreeing amongst the writers, concerning the time of *Peters* comming to Rome: *Orosius* saith, he came thither in the beginning of *Claudius* raigne: *Hieron* saith, the second yeere of his raigne: other say, the fourth yeere: other, the thirteenth yeere: *Damasus* would haue him come thither in *Nero* his raigne. This diuision of writers sheweth that the matter may be iustly doubted of, *Fulk. in Rom. 16. fol. 4.*

Bellarmine and the Iesuites answere: No more doe all agree concerning the time when the world was created, nor for the storie of Christs life, in what time euery thing was done when he suffered, and such like: yet it followeth not, that those things were not true, because there is some diuersitie about the time, *Rhemist. 1. Pet. 5. 13.*

We replie: First, most of these things concerning the chronologie of Scripture, though it be not necessarie to saluation, yet by diligent search may bee found in Scripture. Secondly, if they can shew any Scripture for *Peters* being at Rome, as we haue for the other stories, we will beleeue it, though the time perfectly be not knowne. But seeing the Scripture maketh no mention at all of his being there, and the time is vncertaine, we may worthilie doubt of it, much lesse are bound necessarily to beleeue it.

Argum. 2. The storie of *Peters* comming to Rome in the second yeere of *Claudius*, his abiding at Rome fiue and twentie yeeres, his death and martyrdome in the 14. yeere of *Nero*, and the 39. yeere after Christs ascension: we proue out of the Scriptures to be false. For *Peter* was at Ierusalem and in those quarters round about till 18. yeeres after Christ: for *Paul* saw him three yeeres after his calling, and againe 14. yeeres after that, Galat. 2. there is 17. yeeres, and one yeere was past before *Pauls* conuersion: in all 18. yeeres: adde vnto these the 25. yeeres of *Peters* being at Rome, that maketh 45. yeeres: and so *Peter* should suffer in *Vespasians* raigne, and not in the time of *Nero*.

Bellarmine and the Iesuites answere: that *Peter* was at Rome seuen yeeres before the Councell held at Ierusalem, Act. 15. which was in the 18. yeere after Christ: and that being expelled the citie by *Claudius*, with the rest of the Iewes, he returned to Ierusalem, and there spake with *Paul*, and after that went to Rome againe, and there ended his life.

This answere we shew to be very insufficient. First, Act. 15. 2. it appeareth that there was, as it were, a standing and set Councell of the Apostles at Ierusalem, of the which *Peter* was one: for the

Church

Church thought good to send vnto the Apostles and Elders, which were at Ierusalem. Secondly, till the time when this Councell was held, it seemeth that *Peter* had laboured onely or especially amongst the Iewes, of whom there were then but few at Rome: *For* (saith the Apostle) *he that was mightie in Peter to the Apostleship ouer the circumcision, was also mightie in me*, Galath. 2. 8. Therefore *Peter* was not knowne so haue laboured vntill this time but in the circumcision. Thirdly, afterward it is most like, he went to Antioch then to Rome: for after this, *Paul* rebuked *Peter* at Antioch, Gal. 2. Fourthly, these are but bare coniectures of our aduersares, and craftie euasions without Scripture: but seeing we appose them out of Scripture, it is great reason they should likewise answere vs out of Scripture.

Lastly, it is but *Bellarmines* coniecture, & a very fable that *Peter* went from Rome to Ierusalem to speak with *Paul*, like to that tale, which *Christianus Massæus* hath, *Chronicor. lib.* 8. of one *Trophimus* conuerted by *Mary Magdalene*, who going to Rome to see *Peter*, as he sailed, his wife being great with childe died in trauell, and was buried with her childe in a rocke: whom S. *Peter* caried to Ierusalem, and shewed him the holy places, and after two yeeres returning to Rome, found his childe playing at his mothers breast, who being raised as it were out of sleepe, told her husband, how that *Mary Magdalene* had shewed her the same holy places, which she had seene. I marueile the Iesuite did not ground his conceite of *Peters* going to Ierusalem from Rome vpon this fable: which of the better sort amongst them is reiected, as *Espens. in* 2. *Tim. c.* 4. *p.* 183. *a.*

Argum. 3. We haue diuers other obiections also out of the Scriptures: as first, that if *Peter* were at Rome, it is not like that *Paul* would leaue him out in his salutation in the end of his epistle, Rom. 16. sent to the brethren. Our aduersaries answere but very simply, that at that time, when S. *Paul* wrote his epistle, either *Peter* was not at Rome, or else *Paul* might write some especiall letters to him by himselfe, and this epistle enclosed in them: such goodly coniectures they haue. But I pray you what needed S. *Paul* to haue written vnto the Romanes, if S. *Peter* so faithfull and vigilant a pastor, were continually amongst them?

S. *Ambrose* hereof thus writeth in his Commentaries vpon the 16. to the Romanes, *Ad confirmationem Romanorum, &c.* For the confirmation of the Romanes, all these, whom he saluteth, are vnderstoode to haue been there: but it would haue made more for their confirmation, if *Peter* had been saluted amongst them, if he had been there. Againe, *Aristobulus ille congregator, &c.* This *Aristobulus*, whom the Apostle maketh mention of, is vnderstoode to haue been a gatherer together of the brethren: but *Peter* was a more principall congregator of them: therefore it is like the Apostle would haue remembred him, as well as *Aristobulus*.

Other places also of Scripture wee haue: as Philip. 2. 20. speaking of *Timothie* he saith, *I haue none like minded to him that will faithfully care for your matters*, Coloss. 4. 11. *These onely are my workefellowes*, 2. Timoth. 4. 11. *onely Luke is with me*: *Ergo*, *Peter* all this while was not at Rome, for *Paul* would not haue left him out of the number of his fellow-helpers: at the least he would not haue commended *Timothie*, though he were a worthie young man, before him. That which *Bellarmine* answereth, is iust nothing: that S. *Paul* speaketh in those places onely of his domesticall helpers, which did minister vnto him: when S. *Paul* speaketh plainly of his fellow labourers; *These only are my workefellowes in the kingdome of God*, Coloss. 4. 11.

Another argument doth arise out of S. *Pauls* words, 2. Timoth. 4. 16. *At my first answering no man assisted me*: *Ergo*, it is like that *Peter* was not then at Rome, for he would not haue forsaken *Paul*. *Bellarmine* answereth, that he speaketh onely of such fauourers as he had in *Cæsars* court, that they would not make suite for him to the Emperour. But this is a weake solution. First, it appeareth by that which followeth, that they left him without helpe in his open Apologie or defence: they did not assist me (saith he) but the Lord assisted me: that is, gaue me strength to defend my cause: So that the word, assisting, must be taken in the same sense before, that they failed him in that, wherein God assisted him, that is, in speaking boldly in the defence of the truth. Secondly, it is proued by the diuers successe that he had at his first and second answering: at the first all left him, but at the second many were emboldened through his bonds: What to doe? More frankly to speake the word, Philipp. 1. 14. *Ergo*, at the first they forsooke him, because they were afraide to speake the word.

I will for the sense of this place be tried by your owne interpreters: as *Espens.* thus writeth, No man assisted me, that is, as an helper both to defend me before the Prince, and so helpe the Christian cause. And againe he complaineth, that he was forsaken of those which might haue helped him: as there was a great number at that time at Rome of Christians conuerted from among the Iewes, that might haue helped him. And againe, it was occasion of great heauines to the Apostle, to be oppugned of strangers and not propugned by his domesticals, but to bee bereft of all comfort, yea betrayed: *in* 2. *Timoth. cap.* 4. *pag.* 180. So then the Apostle speaketh not of the domesticals of *Cæsars* familie, but the domesticals of the same faith; neither of not suing for him in Court, but the forsaking of the defence of the faith.

These

These arguments, which we haue here opposed, are much vrged by Master *Bradford* holy Martyr, against *Peters* being at Rome: As because, while *Paul* was prisoner at Rome, there is no mention made, that *Peter* all that while visited him, who at that time, they say, was at Rome. Againe, S. *Paul* in his epistle to the Romanes saluteth many meaner persons, then *Peter* was: and therefore it is not like that *Peter* was then at Rome; for he among the rest should not haue been omitted, but especially remembred. These and other such places are vrged by that holy Martyr: *epistol. ad Dom. Vanum pag.* 1648.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER PETER were Bishop of Rome.

OVr aduersaries would gladly bring it about that *Peter* was Bishop of Rome, there enthronised, and sate in the Bishoplike chaire many yeeres, and after left it to his successors. 39. Error.

1 The Romane faith was first planted by *Peter*, for he first preached to the Gentiles, Act. 15.7. *Ergo*, he was the first Bishop.

Ans. First, that *Peter* first preached to the Gentiles, it is contrary to the story of the Acts: for *Paul* was conuerted before *Peter* saw the vision from heauen, Act. 10. before which time *Peter* made a great question, whether it were lawfull to preach to the Gentiles. But *Paul* immediatly after his conuersion preached to the Gentiles, Galath. 2. therefore before *Peter*. Neither is there any thing to the contrarie, Act. 15.7. the Gentiles beleeued by S. *Peters* mouth, as he saith, but not first. Secondly, that *Peter* first preached not at Rome, it is thus gathered: because it is not like that the Christian faith being spread farre abroad, could be kept from Rome the space of 12. yeeres: for so long it was by their account, before *Peter* came to Rome. Againe, there were diuers that dwelled at Rome, which heard the Apostles speake diuers tongues, Act. 2. being strangers then and sojourners at Ierusalem: and Rom. 16.7. he maketh mention of *Andronicus* and *Iunia*, which were in Christ before him. By these it is most like that the Christian faith was first sowed at Rome. Thirdly, it is more like that *Paul* preached at Rome before *Peter*: for when he came to Rome, he called the Iewes together, who said vnto him, that they had heard nothing concerning him by letters, or from the brethren out of Iudea, Act. 28.22. But if *Peter* had been there, *Paul* no doubt should haue bin knowne at the least by name. The Iewes also say vnto him, We will heare of thee what thou thinkest: and some of them were perswaded by *Paul*, some beleeued not. It seemeth by this place that ỹ Iewes in Rome had not heard of the Gospell before. But if *Peter* had bin amongst them, who had an especiall charge of the circumcision, he would haue had the greatest care of the Iewes to win them to Christ. Fourthly, though *Peter* had first preached to the Romanes, it would not follow that therefore he was Bishop there: for *Paul* first founded the Church of Ephesus, yet they say *Iohn* was first Bishop there: wherefore they should gaine nothing by this argument, if it were true, but that *Peter* was the first preacher, and conuerter of the Romanes to the faith. Saint *Ambrose* saith, *Quia Paulus magister, &c.* Because *Paul* was appointed the master of the Gentiles, it became him to take care, to teach there where Christ had not been preached: *in* 15. *ad Rom. Ergo*, S. *Paul* preached first to the Romanes.

The Protestants.

IF we take the name of Bishop generally for that office which hath the publike cure and charge of soules: in that sense we deny not but *Peter* and the rest of the Apostles may be called *Episcopi*, Bishops, as Christ is called the shepheard and Bishop of our soules, 1. Pet. 2.25. But taking it strictly for a Bishop of this or that place, which is called *Episcopus intitulatus*, a Bishop intituled, we denie that either *Peter* or *Paul* were Bishops, *Fox* pag. 15.

Argum. 1. *Paul* was *Apostolus Gentium*, the Apostle of the Gentiles, and *Peter* of the circumcision: therefore it is more like that *Paul* was chiefe pastor of the Romanes, because they were of the Gentiles, and part of his charge: and vnlesse they can prooue that *Paul* resigned ouer his lot vnto *Peter*, that he also should be the chiefe Apostle of the Gentiles, as he was of the Iewes; *Peter* should haue intruded himselfe into *Pauls* charge, not in preaching to the Gentiles, (for both *Paul* might preach to the Iewes, and *Peter* to the Gentiles) but in taking vpon him to bee the chiefe Apostle of the Gentiles, which was giuen before to S. *Paul*.

Argum. 2. The Rhemists themselues graunt, that the Church of Rome was founded both by *Peter* and *Paul*: *Annot. in* 2. *Galat. sect.* 6. Bishop *Tunstal* a strong champion of theirs, but varying from them in this opinion, shewed in a letter of his to Cardinall *Poole*, how in times past, both *Peter* and *Paul* were counted patrones of the Church of Rome, and *principes Apostolorum*, the chiefe of the Apostles. *Eusebius* saith, that *Clemens* was the third Bishop after *Peter* and *Paul*: *Alexander* succeeded in the fift place after *Peter* and *Paul*.

Cornelius Bishop of Rome, *epistol.* 1. thus writeth: *Romanam Ecclesiam beatissimi Petrus & Paulus suo Martyrio coronarunt*: The blessed Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, did crowne the Romane Church by their

their Martyrdome. *Gelaſius* alſo, *Decret. de ſcripturis. Petro data eſt ſocietas beatiſſimi Pauli, & poſter ſanctam Romanam Eccleſiam Deo conſecrarunt:* Vnto *Peter* bleſſed *Paul* was ioyned in ſocietie, and they together did conſecrate vnto God the Romane Church. If therefore the Biſhops of Rome challenge any preeminence of authoritie from *Peter*, they may doe it as well from *Paul*: for they both founded that Church, preached there, and both there ſuffered, *Fox* pag. 1066.

Argum. 3. No Apoſtles were Biſhops: for they were diuers offices, Ephe. 4. 11. he gaue ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome to be Paſtors and Doctors: *Ergo*, they were diuers offices, and the ſame were not Apoſtles and Paſtors or Biſhops, for both are all one. The offices were much different: Apoſtles were immediatly called of God, Biſhops and Paſtors were ordained by the Apoſtles: the Apoſtles calling was generall ouer the whole world, the Paſtors were obliged to their dioces and pariſhes and particular Churches: the office of the Apoſtles was extraordinarie, and but for a time; the calling of Paſtors was to endure euer in the Church. Wherefore it can in no wiſe bee, that the Apoſtles were Biſhops of any certaine places. *Irenæus* ſaith, that *Fundata Eccleſia beati Apoſtoli Lino officium Epiſcopatus iniunxerunt:* The Church of Rome once founded, the holy Apoſtles laid the charge of the Biſhopricke vpon *Linus*. Whereby it appeareth, that they onely retained their Apoſtleſhip inioyned them of Chriſt, *Tunſtal. ex Fox p.* 1066. It had therefore been contrarie to the commandement of Chriſt, who ſaid, *Ite in vniuerſum mundum*, Go into all the world: if they ſhould haue left their calling, and bound themſelues to any peculiar Church: *Ergo*, we conclude, that neither *Peter* nor *Paul* were Biſhops of Rome.

Eſpenſ. in 1. c. 1 ad Timoth. One of their owne writers hereunto beareth witneſſe, and ſheweth out of S. *Chriſoſtome* a treble difference betweene an Apoſtle and a Biſhop: *Hic ſcitbeet Epiſcopus per homines vocatur, &c.* A Biſhop is called by men, is ſet ouer a certaine place, he is not alway certaine that he hath the ſpirit, &c. *Hom. 19. in Matth.* But an Apoſtle is immediatly called of God, Galat. 1. 1. he is ſent to preach, not to any one place, but to all Churches, as 1. Timoth. 2. 7. S. *Paul* ſaith, he was ordained an Apoſtle, that is, a teacher of the Gentiles. Thirdly, he is ſure he hath the ſpirit, not to erre: as in the ſame place, *I ſpeake the truth in Chriſt, I lye not.* And 1. Cor. 7. 40. *I thinke that I haue the ſpirit of God.* Wherefore it is euident, that the Apoſtles were no Biſhops properly ſo called: yet wee deny not, in a larger ſignification and vſe of the word, but that many which were but Biſhops were called Apoſtles: as *Theodoret* witneſſeth, They which are now called Biſhops, were in times paſt named Apoſtles: ſo *Epaphroditus* was the Apoſtle of the Philippians, *Titus* of the Cretenſians, &c. *Sed precedente tempore, &c.* But afterward the name of Apoſtleſhip was left to thoſe which were the true Apoſtles, &c. Therefore taking the name of an Apoſtle properly, and ſo likewiſe of a Biſhop; we muſt of neceſſitie vnderſtand two diſtinct offices, not coincident, or compatible together: otherwiſe, as I haue ſhewed concerning the name of an Apoſtle, ſo the name of a Biſhop was diuerſly taken: for in one ſenſe Chriſt onely is called our Biſhop, 1. Pet. 2. 23. As *Origen* alſo noteth, *Proprie Epiſcopus Dominus Ieſus*, Our Lord Chriſt is properly our Biſhop. So the Apoſtles in a larger vſe of this name may bee called Biſhops: but as it is taken commonly for the ruler or ouerſeer of ſome particular Church, it can no way agree to the Apoſtles.

Tract. 24. in Matth.

Fox. p. 910. Let vs ſee the iudgement of the holy Martyrs: *Iulianus Leuiſe* Martyr at Sanſerre in France, *anno* 1554. denieth that *Peter* was euer Pope or Biſhop of Rome.

Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr ſaith, It doth no more follow, *Peter* dyed at Rome, or *Peters* chaire was at Rome: *Ergo*, he was Biſhop there, and the ſeate of the primacie muſt needes therefore be at Rome; then this followeth, *Moſes* and *Aaron* firſt exerciſed their offices vnto their death in the wilderneſſe: *Ergo*, the wilderneſſe was the place of their prieſthood: or therefore the principalleſt place of the Iewiſh Church ſhould be in the wilderneſſe, *Epiſt. ad Dom. Vanam.* 1647.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, WHETHER THE Biſhop of Rome be the true ſucceſſor of S. *Peter*.

The Papiſts.

40. Error. THey doe generally hold, that the Biſhops of Rome being lineally deſcended by ſucceſſion from *Peter*, haue the ſame primacie, Apoſtolike authoritie, and iuriſdiction ouer the whole Church, which *Peter* had, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de pont. c.* 12.

They are very barren and ſcant of arguments in this place to maintaine and vphold this ſucceſſion by, and in the end the Ieſuite runneth to tradition: and at the length he thus concludeth; that it is not, *de iure diuino*, it is not neceſſarie by the law of God, that the Romane Biſhop ſhould Bellarm. c. 12. be *Peters* ſucceſſor: but it dependeth onely vpon the ordinance of *Peter*, and is prooued by tradition, not diduced out of Scripture. That it was neceſſarie for *Peter* to haue a ſucceſſor, they ſay, it is prooued out of Scripture: which we alſo graunt, that all faithfull Paſtors and Miniſters are the Apoſtles ſucceſſors, though they haue not their plenarie and Apoſtolike power: but that the Pope ought to be and is his ſucceſſor, it ſtandeth vpon tradition.

We

We see then the grounds of their opinion: Scripture they haue none but blinde tradition: vnlesse therefore they could bring better stuffe for the Papall succession, we will not spend any time in confuting nothing.

Yet *Bellarmine* seemeth thus to reason: A succession in the Church is now necessarie in the new Testament, as *Aaron* had his succession in the old Testament: but there can bee no certaine succession now shewed, but in the chaire of *Peter* at Rome: *Ergo*, the Bishops of Rome are the true successors of *Peter*. For either at Antioch must the succession of *Peter* bee, or at Rome; but not at Antioch, because S. *Peter* remoued from thence to Rome, and there dyed, *Bellar. cap.* 12.

Answ. First, a locall, personall, and lineall succession is not now needfull, as before vnder the law: the true worship of God is not now tied to person or place, as our Sauiour sheweth, Ioh. 4. 21. *God will be worshipped, neither in this mountaine, nor at Ierusalem:* and by the same reason, neither at Rome, &c. Secondly, yet a succession of doctrine, and of faithfull pastors wee graunt, and the Church was neuer without: such as the Prophet speaketh of, Esay 59.21. *My spirit, that is vpon thee, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor the mouth of thy seede, &c.* and in this sense all faithfull Bishops doe succeede the Apostles. *Concil. Aquisgr. c.*10. *Isidor. Apostolis decedentibus, &c.* The Apostles deceasing, Bishops haue succeeded, being appointed thorough the world in the seates of the Apostles. Yea S. *Hierome* doubteth not to say, that not onely Bishops, but all other faithfull Ministers are the Apostles successors: *ad Heliodor. Absit vt de his, &c.* God forbid I should iudge sinisterly of them, *qui Apostolico gradu succedentes*, which succeeding the degree of the Apostles, doe consecrate the bodie of Christ, &c. Thirdly, there may be shewed a succession to this day in Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, as afterward shal appeare, and not only at Rome. Fourthly, the death of Christ the chiefe Bishop is more forcible to priuiledge Ierusalem for the chiefe seate, than the death of *Peter* at Rome maketh for the preeminence of that See before Antioch.

The Protestants.

THat the Pope or Bishop of Rome neither can, is, or ought to be S. *Peters* successor, in his high and Apostolike authoritie, primacie, and iurisdiction ouer the whole Church, which *Peter* himselfe neuer had: thus we declare it.

*Argum.*1. The Pope, though he were *Peters* successor, yet can he not receiue that from him, which he neuer had: but *Peter* had neuer any such primacie of power, as wee haue shewed before, Quest. 1.2. *Ergo*, he is not herein his successor.

*Argum.*2. That primacie which *Peter* had, could not bee conueied to any other: namely, his primacie of confession, which he first of all the Apostles did vtter concerning Christ, proceeding from faith, did adhere so to his person, that it could not be deriued to any successor of his: for *Peters* faith was a proper adiunct to himselfe, *Argument. Tonstalli*, *Fox* p.1066.

Againe, how can he haue the Apostolike authoritie being not an Apostle: but an Apostle he is not: for Christ only made Apostles, the Apostles did not ordaine other Apostles, *Argum. Nili.*

To this *Bellarmine* answereth, first by a distinction, that whereas three things are to be considered in an Apostle: first, that he be immediatly called of God, and inspired to write Scripture: the second, to be a founder of the Churches, where none were before: thirdly, that he haue authoritie ouer the whole Church. The first (saith he) agreeth not to the Pope, but the two other doe: for by the Pope many Churches haue been planted, and he hath authoritie ouer the whole Church, as *Peters* successor, &c. *Bellar. cap.* 12. *resp. ad obiect.*2. *Nili.*

Answ. First, there bee other properties required in an Apostle beside these, as I shewed before out of *Chrysostome*, whereof none agree to the Pope. Secondly, to admit these three conditions named by the Iesuite, if they bee all necessarie to make an Apostle, then the Pope wanting one of them, by his confession, can be no Apostle. Thirdly, wee denie, that either the Pope hath founded any Churches since the Apostles times, he hath peruerted many nations, conuerted none; neither are the Popes much giuen to preaching, whereby nations are begotten vnto the faith: either that he hath such vniuersall authoritie ouer the whole Church, which is the thing in question. For he calling himselfe Bishop of Rome, and so fixing his chaire in a certaine place, can bee no Apostle: for the Apostles were no Bishops of one place more then another, as I haue shewed, but were sent to preach to all the world.

Secondly he answereth, that not the Apostles, but Christ did constitute the Bishop of Rome, to be the Apostolike and vniuersall Bishop of the whole Church.

Contra. First, the Apostles were immediatly called of Christ; then if the Pope be of Christs making an Apostle, he must shew his immediate calling in Scripture. Secondly, *Bellarmine* forgetteth himselfe: for a little before he said that the Bishop of Rome is *Peters* successor; by *Peters* fact, not by the institution of Christ.

3 He succeedeth not *Peter* rightly in place: for seeing *Peter* sate at Antioch; why may not that Church challenge succession, as well as Rome? Why might not also other Churches haue Apostolike

like succession, as Alexandria from *Peter* and *Marke*, Ierusalem from *Iames*, Constantinople from *Andrew*?

Further, they haue no certaine succession from *Peter*: *Tertullian* maketh *Clement* the next successor to *Peter*. *Optatus* first nameth *Linus*, then *Clement*: *Irenaus* after *Peter*, placed *Linus*, and *Cletus*, and *Clement* in the fourth. What certaintie therefore can they haue of so vncertaine succession? *Fulk. annot. in Rom. 16. sect. 4.*

4 It skilleth not who commeth in the place and roume of the Apostles: They that will be their true successors, must follow their example, and walke in their steps, teaching their doctrine and embracing their holy vertues. Wherefore the Pope is not *Peters* right successor, for warning both from his doctrine and example. *Non sanctorum filij sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum*: They are not the children of the Saints, which occupie the same places, but they which doe their workes, *Lambert*. So *Bernard* writing to *Eugenius*, chargeth him, that in respect of his pompe and pride, he did rather succeede *Constantine*, then *Peter*, *Iohann. Huss.* pag. 610. Fox. pag. 1120.

5 All good Bishops and Pastors are as well the Apostles successors, as the Pope; nay rather then he, being a wicked man, *Iohn Huss artic. 4. Fox.* pag. 590. *Lambert* pag. 1120. Nay, they haue greater and more excellent titles, then to be called the Apostles successors: for those that walke in obedience vnto Gods commandements, our Sauiour calleth them, his sisters, kinsfolkes and brethren, Matth. 12. 50. *Ergo* the Pope is not the right successor of *Peter*.

Lastly, of this matter *Augustine* thus writeth: *Cathedra tibi quid fecit ecclesia Romana, in qua Petrus sedit; & in qua hodie Anastasius sedet: vel ecclesia Hierosolymitana, in qua Iacobus sedit, & in qua hodie Iohannes sedet?* What hath the See of Rome done vnto thee, wherein sometime *Peter* sate, and where *Anastasius* now sitteth? or what hath the Church or chaire of Ierusalem committed, when sometime *Iames* sate, and *Iohn* now sitteth? In those words *Augustine* ascribeth as much to the succession of other Apostolicall Churches, as he doth to the succession of the Bishops of Rome. Cont. Petil lib. 2. cap 51.

And therefore *Canisius* craftily leaueth out the one halfe of the sentence, concerning the Church of Ierusalem. Neither is it true, which our aduersaries say, that *Peters* See remaineth still at Rome, when all other Apostolicall Sees are gone: for euen to this day the See of Antioch standeth and hath a Patriarch: likewise the See of Alexandria. The See of Constantinople neuer wanted successors to this day: nor the Church of Ephesus: In India and Æthiopia, there hath been alwayes a succession in those Churches planted by the Apostles, and is at this day, *Fulk 2. Thess. 2. sect. 3.* Wherefore they haue no cause to bragge of their succession, which is found in other places, as well as at Rome. Cap. de præcept. eccles. artic. 9. B.

Let vs see the consent of antiquitie: *Clement. Epistol. 1. Peter* is brought in speaking thus, *Hunc Episcopum vobis ordino, cui soli mea prædicationis & doctrina cathedram trado*: I ordaine this man (namely *Clement*) to be your Bishop, to whom only I deliuer my chaire of preaching and doctrine. Also in the same Epistle, *Post me non imperitus aliquis aut indoctus, aut ignorans verbi diuini mysterium, suscipiat cathedram meam*: After me, let no vnskilfull or vnlearned man, or ignorant in the word, take my chaire. In this *Clementine* Epistle, (which though it force not vs, because we holde it forged, yet it presseth our aduersaries, being of them receiued) we see that he onely is *Peters* successor, who succeedeth him in doctrine.

Pope *Felix* also thus writeth *ad Petrum Antiochen. Qui participes Apostoli esse volunt, ducuntur & doctrina ipsius*: They that will be partakers of the Apostleship, must follow the Apostles doctrine. But the Pope doth not embrace the Apostles doctrine: *Ergo*, he is not Apostolike. So also *Symmachus*, as he is alleaged in the decrees, *decr. p. 1. dist. 40. cap. 1. Petrus hæreditatem innocentiæ misit posteros*: *Peter* did leaue the inheritance of innocencie to his posteritie: the Bishops of Rome then, hauing lost *Peters* innocencie, are not the rightfull heires of *Peter*.

Iohn Husse dyed for this article with others, for saying, *Papa non est verus Petri successor, si vitæ moribus contrarijs Petro*: The Pope is not the true successor of *Peter*, if he be of contrarie maners in his life to *Peter*. *Articul. 14. obiect. Concil. Constantiens.*

THE FIFT QVESTION CONCERNING the primacie of the See of Rome.

THis question hath diuers parts, which must be handled in their order. First, whether the Bishop of Rome haue authoritie ouer other Bishops. Secondly, whether appeales ought to be made to Rome from other countries. Thirdly, whether the Pope be subiect to the iudgement of any. Fourthly, whether he may be deposed. Fiftly, what primacie he hath ouer other Churches, and how it began. Sixtly, of the titles and names giuen to the Bishops of Rome.

THE

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE BISHOP of Rome hath authoritie ouer other Bishops.

The Papist.

They doubt not to say, that the Bishop of Rome hath authoritie and ought so to haue, to ordaine and constitute Bishops, to deprise and depose them, to restore them likewise to their former dignities, and this power he exerciseth ouer the vniuersall Church. 41. Error.

Argum. 1. The Iesuites principall argument is drawen from certaine examples: how the Bishops of Rome haue in times past, constituted, deposed, and restored some Bishops in the Greeke Churches, in the Patriarchall Sees of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch: *Ergo*, he hath power ouer all Bishops. Bellarm. lib. 2. de Rom. pont. cap. 28.

We answere. First, it was not done by the absolute authoritie of the Romane Bishops, any such constitution, or deposition, though perhaps their consent and allowance were required, as *Leo* writeth thus to *Marcian* the Emperour, about the ordayning of *Anatolius* Bishop of Constantinople: *Satis fit, quod vestræ pietatis auxilio & aui fauoris assensu Episcopum iuxta verba obtinuit*: It is sufficient, that by your godly helpe and my fauourable assent, he hath obtayned so famous a Bishopricke. Whether was greater now, the helpe and furtherance of the Emperour, or the bare assent of *Leo*? Secondly, we denie not but that the Pope sometimes, what by sufferance of others, what by his owne intrusion, hath vsurped this power ouer other Bishops: but this ought not to make a lawe: that which is once or twise done by a false title, cannot proue the iustnes of the title. Thirdly, that the Bishop of Rome hath not such authoritie, it appeareth by this, that he doth not, neither of many yeares hath constituted or ordayned the Patriarches of the Greeke Church: they came not vp to Rome, nor yet sent thither for their pals as other Archbishops here in the West parts haue done, and payed full dearely for them, being made slaues to the beast of Rome. Epistol. 54.

This appeareth notably in the Councell of Florence, Sess. 25. for it so falling out, that *Ioseph* the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was there personally present, being an aged man, and wearied with long trauell, suddenly dyed: whereupon the Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, deale with the Grecians very earnestly, *vt nunc in synodo Patriarcham eligerent*: That they would chuse them a Patriarch now in the Synode: *vt quem constituerit is, nos confirmemus*: that whom you appoint, we may confirme, saith the Pope. The Grecians made him this answere: *Solet Patriarcham eligere non papa, cum Græcis mos semper fuerit, in sua ecclesia Patriarcham sufficere, simulque consecrare*: They could not chuse their Patriarch here, seeing it alwayes hath been the Grecians manner to chuse the Patriarch in his own Church, and there to consecrate him. See then, it was denyed to the Popes face, that he had any thing to doe with electing, consecrating, or confirming the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The Pope indeed doth take vpon him to this day, to make Patriarches: assigning to one the title of Constantinople, to another, the Patriarchship of Antioch, and so of the rest; but they haue onely the bare names, without either the dignitie or iurisdiction of those places: not much vnlike to a certaine iestour in the Emperours Court at Constantinople; the wanton Courtiers to make themselues sport, vpon solemne dayes were accustomed, *aliquem laicum insignibus episcopalibus compauare, quasi per ludum Patriarcham agere*: To take some lay man, and attyre him like a Bishop, who should counterfeit the Patriarch: which abuse was reformed, *Synod. 8. Constantin. can.* 16. The like disorder was corrected in the Councell of Basile *Sess.* 21. *Turpem illum abusum removendum censemus, quo certis anni celebritatibus nonnulli extra suum, baculo, ac vestibus pontificalibus more episcoporum benedicunt*: We thinke good that abuse be remoued, that some at certaine solemnities of the yeare, doe take vpon them with a Miter, a staffe, and other pontificiall vestures, as Bishops to giue blessing. Much like to these counterfeit Patriarches and Bishops, are the Popes Patriarches, who haue nothing beside the name and habite of Patriarches.

Argum. 2. The Iesuite with the rest doe very much vrge a certaine place of *Cyprian. Epistol.* 3. *ad Cornelium*: *Non alunde oborta sunt hæreses, aut nata sobismata, quàm inde, quòd sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec vnus in Ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos Christi vice cogitatur*: From hence spring heresies and schismes, that Gods priest is not obeyed, and that one Priest or Pastor at once in the Church in Christs stead is not acknowledged. Whereupon they would conclude, that the Pope ought to be this one chiefe Priest, and Pastor in the Church: for *Cyprian* thus speaking writeth to *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome.

Answ. We must vnderstand that *Cyprian* at this time had to deale with the Nouatians, who both at Rome where *Cornelius* was, and at Carthage where *Cyprian* was Bishop, diuiding themselues from the Church, erected schismaticall Bishops of their owne against the Catholike Bishops: Vpon this occasion *Cyprian* sheweth, that there ought to be but one Bishop, not ouer the whole

vniuersall, but in euery particular Church: for he complaineth, that this vnitie of the Priesthood was not kept at Carthage, as well as at Rome: for thus he writeth in the same Epistle. *Epist. 43. Caterum dico, dico dolens, dico protestatus, quando Episcopus in locum defuncti substituitur, &c. plebs sua in Episcopatu quadriennio iam probatus, totiens ad Leonem petitus, &c. qui ipsis diebus quibus ad te has literas feci, ad Leonem denuo postulatus, cum talis frater a quibusdam desperatis & perditis extra Ecclesiam constantis impugnari videtur.* But I speake it with griefe, I speake it being prouoked, when a Bishop is substituted in the place of the dead, &c. for the space of foure yeares known and approued to his people, so often sought for to be throwen to the lyons, yea and at that instant, when I write these letters to you, againe called for to the lyons: when such a brother shall be impugned of certaine desperate and damnable persons, runnagates from the Church, &c. Who seeth not, that *Cyprian* here speaketh of himselfe, and not of *Cornelius*, who was Bishop of Rome but two yeares and an halfe: and complaineth that euen in Carthage the right Pastor and Bishop was not obeyed? This place therefore serueth not at all for the primacie of the Bishop of Rome.

The Protestants.

THat the Pope neither hath, nor yet ought to haue any such authoritie ouer other Bishops: but that euery one in his owne precinct and iurisdiction, hath the chiefe charge: Is is thus proued.

Argum. 1. *Peter* was not chiefe, neither did exercise iurisdiction ouer the twelue: *Ergo*, neither the Pope ought to doe ouer other Bishops. The antecedent or first part is thus confirmed. The heauenly Ierusalem, which is the Church of God, is described Apocal. 21. not with one foundation onely of *Peter*, but with twelue foundations after the number of the Apostles: *argument. Tertulli.* To this purpose also he alleageth a saying out of *Hieronim contra Iouinian.* All the Apostles receiued the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: and vpon them all indifferently and equally, is the strength of the Church grounded and established, *Fox.* pag. 1066. Fox pag 1062.

Argum. 2. Till the yeare of the Lord 340. there was no respect had to the Church of Rome, but euery Church was ruled by their owne gouernment: afterward followed the Councell of Nice, wherein was decreed, that the whole Church should be deuided into foure circuites or precincts, ouer the which there were foure Metropolitanes or Patriarches set: first the Bishop of Rome: next the Bishop of Alexandria: the third was the Bishop of Antioch: the fourth the Bishop of Ierusalem: and not long after came in the Bishop of Constantinople in the roume of the Bishop of Antioch. All these had equall authoritie in their prouinces, and one was not to deale within anothers charge: *Ergo*, the Bishop of Rome had not then the iurisdiction ouer the whole Church, *argument. Nilo plura Fox.* pag. 9.

Argum. 3. We will adioyne the testimonie of the fathers of Basile, which were all of the Popish sect: what haue the Bishops been in our dayes, say they, but onely shadowes? might they not haue been called shepheards without sheepe? what had they more then their Miters and their staffe, when they could determine nothing ouer their subiects? Verely in the primitiue Church, the Bishops had the greatest power and authoritie: but now it was come to that poynt, that they exceeded the common sort of priests onely in their habite and reuenewes. What plainer testimonie can we haue, then from the Papists themselues? Fox pag. 679.

We haue also the consent of all antiquitie, the decrees of the eight generall Councels, that the Bishop of Rome hath no such preeminence or predominant power ouer his fellow Bishops.

Concil. Nicen. 1. can. 6. Honor suus cuique seruetur ecclesiæ, &c. To euery Church be reserued the honor and dignitie thereof, let the old custome in Lybia, Egypt, Pentapolis, take place, *Ita vt Alexandrinus Episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem, quia & vrbis Romæ Episcopo pariter mos est.* So that the Bishop of Alexandria haue the iurisdiction ouer all these Prouinces, because the like vse or manner remaineth to the Bishop of Rome; that is, the Bishop of Alexandria shall haue authoritie ouer his confines, as the Bishop of Rome ouer his: not as *Bellarmine* doth oddly expound it, let the Bishop of Alexandria rule his prouince, because the Bishop of Rome hath the like custome ouer the same prouince of Egypt, Lybia, &c. for this were, *idem per idem*, to proue the same by the same: and the Canon saith, *pariter mos*, the like vse: *Ergo*, Alexandria hath the like authoritie. But if Rome were aboue the See of Alexandria, their iurisdiction should not be like, but vnlike. And againe, let euery Church haue it owne honor. But if Rome were the commander of the rest, the honor should be onely reserued to it, and to no Church beside.

Constantinopol. 1. the 2. generall. Can. 2. the former Canon of Nice is ratified.

Ephesin. 3. generall. Can. 8. it was decreed, after that *Zenon* Bishop of Cyprus had complained of the vsurpation of the Patriarch of Antioch, affirming, that they within the Iland did alwayes chuse their owne Metropolitane, and that neither the Bishop of Antioch, *nec alius quispiam*, nor any other did euer ordaine there: it was decreed, that Cyprus should be exempt from the iurisdiction of Antioch, or of any other Sea; and should chuse their Metropolitane themselues: *Ergo*, much lesse was Cyprus subiect to the See of Rome.

Chalcedonens.

Chalcedonenſ. the 4. generall, action. 16. they determine, the Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, *Eiſdem primatibus honoris dignum:* To be worthie of the ſame primacie of honor, which the Biſhop of Rome hath: This was decreed, though *Paſchaſinus*, and *Lucinus* the Popes Legates earneſtly withſtood it. And further in the ſame place, the matter was thus in that Councell diſcuſſed: *Sedi ſeniori Romæ propter imperium ciuitatis illius, &c.* Vnto the See of the older Rome, becauſe it was the imperiall Citie, the Fathers did giue priuiledges: And by the ſame reaſon the 150. Fathers aſſembled in Conſtantinople being moued, *Æqua ſanctiſſimæ ſedi nouæ Romæ, &c.* Did aſcribe equall priuiledges to the moſt holy See of new Rome; thinking it reaſonable, that the Citie, which was adorned both with the imperiall ſeate, and Senate, ſhould enioy equall priuiledges with olde Rome, and in Eccleſiaſticall affaires to haue maieſtie as well as the other, and to be ſecond after the other. Out of the actes of this Councell three things may be gathered: Firſt, that both in this Synode, and in the ſecond generall Councell of Conſtantinople equall priuiledges were giuen to the See of Conſtantinople, with Rome. Secondly, that notwithſtanding, Rome for antiquitie ſake had the firſt place. Thirdly, that theſe two Patriarchall Sees had thoſe priuiledges by reaſon of the imperiall dignitie; contrarie to that, which *Bellarmine* beareth vs in hand, that Rome had the primacie ouer other Churches from Chriſt, and not from *Ceſar. c.* 17. And yet beſide the authoritie of this Councell, in the Trullane the ſixt generall, Can. 38. it was thus decreed: *Siqua ciuitas à regia poteſtate innouata &c.* If any Citie in reſpect of the ciuill ſtate be innouated and exalted by the princely power, that the order alſo of Eccleſiaſticall matters ſhould follow, that is, it ſhould be chiefe alſo in Eccleſiaſticall affaires, as in ciuill: wherefore it is euident, that olde Rome enioyed her priuiledges by the benefite of the Empire.

Conſtantinop. 2. the 5. generall, action. 1. the ſynode ſpeaking of *Leo* Biſhop of Rome, and *Cyrillus* of Alexandria, ſaith thus, *Qui æqualiter, ab hac ſynodo, pro ſtatu orthodoxæ fidei honorati ſunt:* Whom this ſynode honoreth alike, becauſe of the right faith: the ſynode giueth like honour to the Biſhops of Rome and Alexandria.

Conſtantinop. 3. the 6. generall, which is alſo the Trullane. Can. 36. *Decreuimus vt thronus Conſtantinopol. æqualia priuilegia cum antiqua Romæ throno obtineat:* We decree that the See of Conſtantinople enioy equall priuileges with the ancient See of Rome.

Concil. the 7. generall, action 2. *Adrianus* the Biſhop of Rome writeth to *Tharaſius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople, giuing him this ſtile, *Dilecto fratri Tharaſio, vniuerſali Patriarchæ:* To my beloued brother *Tharaſius*, vniuerſall Patriarch. We ſee then that the Biſhop of Conſtantinople had both the like ſtile and authoritie, which the Biſhop of Rome had.

Conſtantinop. 4. the 8. generall, Can. 21. *Definimus, qui patriarchalibus ſedibus præſunt, omni honore dignos iudicandos:* We define, that the preſidents of the patriarchall Sees are worthie all honor: and then are reckoned vp, firſt Rome, then Conſtantinople; after theſe Alexandria, Antioch, Ieruſalem: ſo that the See of Rome is but patriarchall, as the reſt: a primacie onely of order it hath, to be named before the reſt.

Thus we haue the conſent of the 8. generall Councels, to the which *Auguſtine* agreeth, *Habet omnis Epiſcopus*, ſaith he, *pro licentia libertatis & poteſtatis ſuæ arbitrium proprium, tanquam iudicari ab alio non poſſit, quomodo nec ipſe poteſt alium iudicare, ſed expectemus vniuerſi iudicium domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti:* Euery Biſhop is priuiledged by his owne authoritie, to follow his owne iudgement, neither is ſubiect to the iudgement of other Biſhops, as he is not to iudge them, but they all muſt be referred to the iudgement of Chriſt. See then in this place *Auguſtine* ſetteth Biſhops in the higheſt roume in the Church, and ſaith, they haue no iudge aboue them but Chriſt. De Baptiſ. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Of this iudgement alſo were the holy Martyrs: that the Biſhop of Rome had no ſuch ſouereignty ouer other Biſhops. *Thomas Benet* Martyr affirmed, that the Pope of Rome was but Biſhop ouer his owne dioceſe, and that he had no further power, *Fox.* pag. 1039.

M. Philpot telleth *Boner*, that by the word of God, the Pope hath no more authoritie, then the Biſhop of London hath, *Fox* pag. 1811. And he ſheweth further, how that *Cyprian* called the Biſhop of Rome his fellow Biſhop. p. 1804.

The ſentence of theſe holy Martyrs ſealed with their blood, is of greater waight then many arguments: and by thoſe that loue the truth, ought much to be reuerenced, and had in great regard.

Now laſtly we will obiect againſt them the Imperiall conſtitutions, together with their owne Canons: for the firſt, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 5. l. 6. Honor. Theodoſ. Vrbi Conſtantinopolitan. veteris Romæ prærogatiua datur:* The Citie of Conſtantinople hath the prerogatiue of old Rome. And *leg.* 15. *Leo, Anthem. Conſtantinop. Eccleſia mater noſtræ pietatis, &c.* The Church of Conſtantinople the mother of our faith, and of all right beleeuing Chriſtians: And in the ſame place, the priuiledge of that Church, *ante alios reſidendi*, to haue the firſt ſeate, is ratified and confirmed. And whereas *Bellarmine* vrgeth the epiſtle of *Iuſtinian* written to *Iohannes* Biſhop of Rome, where he acknowledgeth Rome to be the head of all Churches: *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 4. leg. 4.* the ſame *Iuſtinian tit.* 20. *l.* 1.

thus expoundeth himself, hauing giuen the same title of headship vnto Rome, *Romam intelligimus, non solum veterem, sed hanc regiam nostram:* By Rome we vnderstand, not onely olde Rome, but this princely Citie also, *Quæ melioribus condita est auguriis:* Which was first founded and built with more happie and prosperous beginnings. Thus we see that the Imperiall Citie of Constantinople by the lawes Imperiall was made equall to Rome. And their owne decrees also doe ratifie that Canon of the Chalcedon Councell, that Constantinople should haue *similia priuilegia*, like priuiledges to the Citie of Rome, *decr. p. 1. dist. 22. cap. 6.*

THE SECOND PART CONCERNING APpeales to be made to Rome.

The Papists.

41. Error. SVch, say they, is the preeminent authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, that appeales may be made vnto him from all Churches in the world, and that all ought to stand to his sentence and determination. For the proofe hereof they bring no Scripture, nor any sound argument, but stand chiefly vpon certaine odde examples of some that haue appealed to Rome: which we deny not to haue been done: but our answere more at large is this, *Bellar. lib. 2. de pontif. cap. 21.*

1. One cause of these appeales, was both for that they which were iustly condemned of other Churches, found greater libertie and fauour at Rome, as *Apiarius* did, who being condemned in the sixt Aphricane Councell for his detestable conditions, found fauour with *Zosimus* Bishop of Rome, who wrote for him to the Councell to be receiued againe. No meruaile then, if licentious fellowes, hoping to finde more fauour at Rome, did appeale thither: As also the ambition of the Bishops of Rome did somewhat helpe forward this matter, who were as readie to receiue such appeales, as others were to make them.

2 Bishop *Tunstall* doth answere very fully to this poynt, that, although appeales were made to Rome, yet was it not for any iurisdiction that the See had: but this was the cause, partly for that there were many diuisions and part-takings in the Orientall Churches, as also because many were infected with heresies, from the which the West and Occidentall Churches were more free; they were content to referre the cause many times to the Bishop of Rome, as being a more indifferent Iudge, and not like to be partiall, being no partie in the cause. Neither was their suit to the Bishop of Rome singularly, but to the whole congregation of the Bishops of Italie and France, or of the whole West, as it appeareth by the Epistles of *Basile, Tunstal. apud Fox. 1067.*

The Iesuite alleageth the fourth & seuenth Canons of the Councel of Sardis, which he saith was a generall Councell consisting of 300. Bishops: which said Canons doe allow and authorise appeales made to the See of Rome, and there the causes to be determined, or by direction from the Bishop of Rome.

Answ. 1. That such Canons are to be found in the Councell which beareth the name of Sardis, we graunt: but that small credite is to be giuen vnto those Canons, which goe vnder the name of this Councell; we are led by these coniectures and likelihoods so to thinke. 1. *Hosius* Bishop of Corduba in Spayne was the author of these two Canons, who both might be partiall in behalfe of the Occidentall Patriarch of Rome: neither is much to be attributed to him, for his inconstancie, because he subscribed to the Arimine Councell of the Arrians. 2. Whereas it is affirmed that there were present 300. Bishops of the West, and 76. of the East, Can. 21. we finde that there were of this number but 121. that subscribed: for the Greeke went apart by themselues, and it should seeme that many Bishops of the Latin Church departed also: this Canon therefore had not the consent of the Greeke Church. 3. That there are diuers Canons forged vnder the name of this Councell, of the which it is like those are, it appeareth by the preface to this Councel, where we reade thus: *Sunt alia 40 regulæ, quæ per Osium Episcopum Cordubensem currunt, quæ titulantur inquam 20. Episcoporum apud Sardicam, &c.* There be beside these 40. other rules, which passe vnder the name of *Osius Cordubens.* which are entituled, as decreed by the Bishops in Sardis, which the Grecians haue not, but are found onely among the Latines.

Answ. 2. We haue many decrees and Canons of better Councels, to oppose against this tumultuous conuenticle of Sardis.

Fabian Bishop of Rome *Epistol. 3. Semper ibi causa agitur, vbi crimen admittitur:* Let alwayes the cause be heard there, where the crime is committed.

Concil. Constantinopol. 1. Can. 4. Manifestum est, quod per singulas prouincias, prouinciales synodus administrare & gubernare omnia debeat: It is manifest, that in euery Prouince, a prouinciall Synode ought to rule and determine euery matter. Then what neede appeales to be made to Rome?

Carthaginens. 3. Can. 28. Placuit vt Episcopi trans mare non proficiscantur: We thinke it good, that Bishops should not trauell ouer the sea: that is, to make or prosecute appeales.

Milevitan. Concil. can. 22. Ad transmarina qui putauerit appellandum, à nullo intra Africam in communionem

sions suscipiatur; He that thinketh to appeale beyond the sea, let him not be receiued to the communion within any part of Africa.

Leo. Epistol. 82 ad Anastasium, Bishop of Thessalonica: he reproueth the said Bishop, for citing peremptorily one *Astio* a Bishop to come before him, and compelling him, *iter asperum & periculi plenum per inimicas nimis agere*, to take a bitter iourney, and dangerous, through snow, and vnknowne wayes, in so much that some of his companie perished by the way. As this was a fault in him; so hath it been in diuers Popes, that haue caused many in the depth of winter, with perill, yea losse of life, to obey their citations.

Constantinopol. general. 8. can. 26. Licere Episcopis prouocare ad Patriarchas, si crediderint se iniustum pati a Metropolitano, a quo litibus finis imponatur: It shall be lawfull for the Bishops to appeale to their Patriarch, if they be wronged by their Metropolitane, and the Patriarch shall end the strife. There neede not then any further appeale to Rome.

The Protestants.

THat appeales ought not to be made to Rome, but that all matters and controuersies may best be ended and determined at home, where they doe arise: It is thus confirmed.

1 This matter was notably handled, *anno* 420. in the sixt Councell of Carthage, where *Augustine* was present, with *Prosper* and *Orosius*: To this Councell Pope *Zozimus* sent his Legate with certaine requests, of the which this was one, that it might be lawfull for Bishops and priests to appeale from the sentence of their Metropolitanes, and also of the Councell to Rome: alleaging for himselfe a decree of the Nicene Councell. The Councell of Carthage sent forthwith to the Patriarches of Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria, for a copie of the Councell of Nice, wherein no such Canon was found, that appeales should be made to Rome: but the contrary; for in the sixt Canon of that Councell, it was found how all matters, and all persons Ecclesiasticall, both Bishops and others were committed to their Metropolitanes. Vpon this decree the Councell of Carthage drew out certaine reasons why appeales should not be made to Rome: First, it is not otherwise to be thought, but that the grace of God is as readie at hand in one prouince as in another. Secondly, there is no need to seeke any outlandish helpe: for the partie grieued may appeale to a prouinciall or generall Councell. Thirdly, it were not equall nor right to appeale from the Councell to the Bishop of Rome: for it is not like that God will inspire his truth vnto the Bishop, and deny it to a multitude congregated in his name.

Fourthly, no forraine or outlandish iudgement can be so vpright or iust: because the witnesses cannot be present, being hindred by infirmitie of sexe, age, sicknes, by whom the truth should be discussed.

Vpon these reasons the Councell concluded, that neither any appeales should be made to Rome: neither that Legates should be sent from Rome for deciding of matters: And this answere they made to *Zozimus* first, then to *Bonifacius* and *Celestinus*, that in short time one succeeded another. And for all the Bishop of Rome his absolution, *Apiarius* was againe called *eorum*, and brought to confesse his fault.

Now out of the Acts of this Councell, and their reasons alleaged we conclude, that it is not fit, conuenient nor reasonable, that appeales should be made to Rome.

The Iesuite answereth, that appeales were forbidden to be made by priests to Rome, not by Bishops. This is but a vaine shift, for the reasons of the Councell are generall against all appeales. And one of Pope *Zozimus* his requests, which the Councell iudged to be vnreasonable, and therefore would not yeeld to it, was generall, that it might be lawfull for Bishops and priests to appeale from the sentence of their Metropolitanes, and also from the Councell to the See of Rome: the Iesuites surmise therefore is false, that the Councell onely prouided against the appellation of priests to Rome, and not of Bishops, *Concilior. tom. 1. Concil. Carth. 6.*

But whereas Pope *Zozimus* is charged with forgerie, for corrupting of the Canons of the Nicene Councell: *Bellarmine* doth busilie bestirre himselfe to preserue the credite of his great master, and so the rest of that side, but all to little purpose.

First, in the 20. Session of the Florentine Councell, where the Bishops of the Greeke Church were present with their Emperor, *Marcus* Bishop of Ephesus affirmed that *Zozimus* had corrupted the Nicene Councell; for the copies sent from *Cyrillus* of Alexandria, and *Proclus* Patriarch of Constantinople contained no such thing, as was alleaged by *Zozimus*, that the Bishop of Rome should be called vniuersall, or Oecumenicall Bishop; and so concludeth that the Bishop of Rome did send *falsum decretum*, a false decree vnto the Synode. Against him rose vp *Iohannes* the Prouinciall, affirming that to be false that was reported of *Zozimus*, and that the Greeke copies were corrupted rather, for *Athanasius* did write to *Marcus* Bishop of Rome for the true copie of the Nicene Councell, which the Arrians had burned at Alexandria. But *Bellarmine* himselfe reiecteth this answere, as vntrue, for that *Marcus* was not then liuing, when the Arrians (*Athanasius* being expulsed) burned the bookes: and therefore *Athanasius* could not write to a dead man.

And againe, if *Marcus* (saith he) had sent the true copies to *Athanasius*, then the copies kept at Alexandria, would not haue varied from that, which *Zozimus* sent afterward. Thus *Bellarmine* confuteth the allegation of the Prouinciall, *cap.* 25. therefore he hath deuised two other especiall answers beside. First, he saith, that many Canons of the Nicene Councell are wanting, and these cited by *Zozimus* might be some of them. *Contra.* It is very like, that more Canons, then are now extant, were agreed vpon in the Nicene Councell, as *Gregorie* 10. sent to the King of Armenia for a true copie of the Nicene Councell, which was thought to be all extant in that tongue: yet the Church of Rome neuer receiued but 20. Canons, amongst the which, that of *Zozimus* cannot be found, so saith *Stephanus* one of your Popes, *distinct.* 16. *can.* 13.

Secondly, these Canons cited by *Zozimus* were not extant in the Councell of Nice, but of Sardis, which were both taken for one Councell, and of like authoritie; and therefore the Canons of the one might be taken for the other.

Contra. First, these two Councels could not be taken for one, there being at the least twentie yeares betweene; nor of like authoritie, the Councell of Sardis not hauing the consent of the Greeke Church, as I haue shewed. Secondly, the Canons of the Nicene which are wanting, are thought to haue been inserted into the Councell of Antioch, not this of Sardis, as *Stephanus* thinketh, *dist.* 16. *c.* 13. And therefore they had better reason to mistake that Councell, rather then the other for the Nicene. Thirdly, all that the Iesuite hath said, if it were as he affirmeth, doth but excuse the Pope from wilfull corruption of the Councell, and imputeth it to his ignorance: but I will spend no longer time about this matter.

Argum. 2. We can bring the decrees of a latter Councell, then this of Carthage: for in the Councell of Basile it was decreed, that no actions or controuersies should be brought from other countries to be pleaded at Rome, which were more then foure daies iourney distant from the said court of Rome, a few principall matters onely excepted, *apud Fox* p. 697.

Later. Concil. sub Innocent. 3. *cap.* 37. *Statuimus, ne quis vltra duas dietas extra suam dioecesim per literas apostolicas ad iudicium trahi possit:* We ordaine, that no man should be drawne by letters Apostolicall (he meaneth Citations from Rome) aboue two daies iourney out of his owne dioceese.

Argum. 3. This also is flatly contrarie to the rule of the Apostle, that appellations should be made out of the Church a farre off. Is it so, saith he, that there is not a wise man amongst you, no not one that can iudge amongst his brethren? 1. Cor. 6. 5. *Ergo*, euery Church hath wise men sufficient in it, whereby their controuersies may be ended.

4 *Augustine* also thus writeth concerning this matter, *Miltiades Episcopus Romanus, non sibi vsurpauit iudicium de causa Ceciliani, sed rogatus imperator iudices misit Episcopos, qui cum eo sederent, epist.* 162. *Miltiades* Bishop of Rome did not vsurpe or take vpon himselfe to iudge the cause of *Cecilian*, but the Emperour being requested, sent other Bishops, that should sit and determine the cause together with him. Out of these words first we note, that it had been vsurpation and presumption for the Bishop of Rome to haue taken vpon him the iudgement of this matter, not belonging vnto him, vnlesse the Emperour had committed it. Secondly, that *Miltiades* did not suffer other Bishops to sit with him, as *Bellarmine* imagineth: but he could not otherwise chuse, for they were ioyned in commission by the Emperour, to be iudges as well as he. Thus we see what small shew or colour of title the Pope hath, to heare or receiue appeales from other countries.

Lastly, concerning the vnlawfulnes of appeales to Rome, we haue the full consent and determination of the Clergie of England, in King *Henry* the 8. his daies, assembled then in the Conuocation house: in the which number of them which consented and subscribed, were *Stephen Gardener*, *Tonstal*, *Stokesly*, *Boner*, *Heth*, and other, which were Archpapists in those dayes, with many other: In a certaine instrument therefore, whereunto they subscribe, they protest against the Pope, for receiuing of forraine appellations in this maner: The Popes, say they, doe transgresse their owne profession made in their creation: for they in their creation doe make a solemne vow and promise, inuiolably to obserue and keepe all the ordinances made in the first eight generall Councels: among the which it is especially prouided and enacted, that all causes shall be determined in the same prouince where they began, *vid. plur. Fox* p. 1064.

Let vs see both the Imperiall and pontificiall constitutions concerning the inhibiting of appeales to be made a farre off.

Cod. lib. 3. *tit.* 23. *leg.* 3. *Diocletianus: Actor debet sequi forum rei.* That the plaintife must sue in the court of the defendant; that is, where he dwelleth. And *lib.* 2. *tit.* 47. *l.* 2. the same *Dioclet. Quamcunque causam agendam, &c.* What cause soeuer a man hath in hand, he must goe to the President of that prouince, where they haue their dwelling, whom he impleadeth. Thus euen by the light of nature, this Heathen Emperour could see what was right and reasonable in this case.

The Christian Emperours also haue decreed the same, as *Constantin. Cod. lib.* 3. *tit.* 14. *leg.* 1. *Terminos prouinciarum non oportet excedere:* That widowes, pupils, impotent, and sicke persons should

should not be called out of their owne prouince, no not by warrant from the Emperour. And concerning Ecclesiasticall persons, *Leo* and *Anthemius* enacted thus: *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 3. leg. 31. Vt sacerdotes cuiuscunque gradus, &c.* That priests, of what degree soeuer, should not bee called to forren Courts. Which law is generall for all Clergie men, of what degree soeuer: which taketh away the Iesuites cauillous answere, that it was forbidden inferiour priests, but not Bishops, to appeale to the Court of Rome.

Their owne Canons herein are agreeable to the Ciuill law: *Decret. part 2. caus. 3. quaest. 6. c. 1. Vbi crimen est ibi causa agatur, vbi crimen admittitur*: The cause must bee handled, where the crime was committed. And *cap. 2. Accusatus non oportet alibi, quam in foro suo audiri*: That he which is accused, should not elsewhere be iudged but in his owne Court. *Canon Sextus. Si quis Clericus, &c.* If any Clergie man bee accused of what crime soeuer, in the same prouince where the partie accused remaineth, the action must bee followed. Here is no exception made of Bishops, nor any reseruation for the See of Rome, as in some other Canons may be found. Thus we see that the Bishop of Rome in arrogating to himselfe this authoritie to receiue appeales from all the parts of the world, doth therein contrarie to the Imperiall, and Pontificiall lawes.

Let the constant iudgement and practise of the holy Martyrs also bee seene: *Iohn Husse* being wrongfully condemned in the Councell of Constance, appealeth not from them to the Pope, but to the tribunall seate of Christ, *Fox p. 612.*

Bishop *Cranmer* appealeth from the sentence of the Pope to a generall Councel: thereby shewing what he thought of appeales made to Rome.

Master *Philpot*, when one *Cosin* obiected, how that *Ireneus* went vp to Rome vnto *Victor* then Bishop there, to aske his aduice about the excommunication of certaine heretikes, and thereby would proue the Popes supremacie, and prerogatiue in receiuing of appeales: he answereth, This fact (saith he) of *Ireneus*, maketh no more for the supremacie of the Pope, then mine hath done, which was at Rome, as well as he, and might haue spoken with the Pope, if I had list, and yet I would none in England did fauour his supremacie more then I, &c. pag. 1803.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER THE POPE be subiect to the iudgement of any.

The Papists.

THe Pope neither can nor ought to be iudged either of the Emperour, or any other Secular or Ecclesiasticall Magistrate, no not of any generall Councell, *Bellar. cap. 26.* Nay, he should doe iniurie vnto God, to submit himselfe to the iudgement of any, *Iacobat. ex Tiberinus de potest. Roman. art. 34.* 43. Error.

Beside certaine blinde Canons and constitutions, and a few examples grounded vpon the insolent practises of Popes, they haue no other arguments, either out of Scripture, or drawne from reason, to confirme this their vnreasonable opinion withall.

Argum. 1. Bellarmine reasoneth thus: The Prince is not to bee iudged by the common-wealth, but is greater then his kingdome: the Pope is the prince of the Church, *Ergo.*

We answere: First, concerning the Princes high and soueraigne authoritie, we will not now dispute: we make it not infinite, the word of God must bee a rule and square both of Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall iudgement. Secondly, it is sufficient for vs here to answere, that the Iesuite hath said nothing: for this which he assumeth for a reason, is the greatest matter in question betweene vs; and so great an vntruth he hath vttered, that he is constrained to leaue Scripture, and seeke helpe elsewhere. But he shall neuer, by any good reason, or sufficient authoritie proue, that the Pope hath any such princedome in the Church, as he would beare vs in hand, or as the prince hath in the common-wealth.

Argum. 2. Bellarmine alleageth a decree of the Sinuessane Councell: *Nemo vnquam iudicauit pontificem: prima sedes non iudicabitur à quoquam*: Neuer any man iudged the Pope: the first seate shall not be iudged of any.

Ans. 1. By this decree the Bishop of Rome is no more exempted from iudgement, then all Bishops are by that decretall of Pope *Pius* 1. *Epist. 1. decretal. Episcopi à Deo sunt iudicandi, ipso Domino exemplum dante, quando per seipsum non per alium sacerdotes ementes & vendentes eiecit à templo*: The Bishops must be iudged of God: whereof the Lord himselfe giueth vs an example, when by himselfe and not another, he cast out the priests that bought and sold out of the temple. But *Bellarmine* here hath found out an answere for vs: *Episcopum non posse iudicari nisi à Deo, dicit intelligi debere, in rebus dubijs & occultis*: That a Bishop is not to bee iudged but of God, I say, it must be vnderstoode, in secret and doubtfull matters, *lib. 2. de Roman. pontif. cap. 16. respons. ad Cyprianii locum*: So we answere concerning the Pope, that he is left to Gods iudgement, onely in secret matters.

2. Concerning the Councell Sinuessane, notwithstanding those words which are thrust in, in the

the end of the Councell, it is certaine that *Marcellinus* Bishop of Rome, for sacrificing to Idols, was iudged and condemned of the Councell, as may appeare by these circumstances: First, *Marcellinus* was brought before the Councell, and appeared foure times, twice denying his fault, and excusing it vpon others, the third time he excuseth his fault, that he did not sacrifice, *Sed tantum grana thuris manibus suis super primas tantum basses*: I did onely lifting vp my hands cast incense into the fire: the fourth time, he falleth flat vpon the ground confessing his fault, and saying, *Peccaui Domine vobis*, I haue sinned before you all. Secondly, there were 72. witnesses produced against him, for the Councell saith, *In 72. comparentibus testimonium proferat*: A Prelate must bee condemned by 72. witnesses. Whereto then serueth this strict examining, the often vnappearing of *Marcellinus*, and the producing of witnesses, if he were not iudged? Thirdly, and yet the thing is made more manifest, in that one *Quintus* a Bishop standing vp in the Councell, said thus: *Confudisti cor nostrum pontifex maxime*: Thou hast (O Bishop) filled thy heart with malice: *propterea ego non recedam de Synodo, ne vsque peruersum cor tuum manifestetur*: therefore I will not rise from the Synode, before thy stained heart bee made manifest. And then it followeth, *Ibi ergo lacrymæ & mœrens confessio damnauit*. They condemned *Marcellinus* lying vpon the ground. How can it be denied now, but that *Marcellinus* was both rebuked and condemned in this Councell?

Argum. 3. The Rhemists thus argue, out of this place of the Apostle, 2. Corint. 8. 5. *They gaue themselues first to the Lord, then to vs*: therefore (say they) the principall respect next after God, is to be had of the Ministers of religion, in all temporall and spirituall duties, *Answ. we haue heard*.

Ans. It is true that the Ministers of God, teaching according to his will, as the Apostle his saith, ought of all men principally to be heard: yet this excludeth not the soueraigne authority of the Prince ouer all persons, to whom the Apostle elsewhere exhorteth euery soule to be subiect, Rom. 13. 1. The Apostle therein in this place speaketh of spirituall instruction, not of ciuill administration.

The Protestants.

THat the Pope, as well as other ecclesiasticall persons, ought to bee, and is by right subiect to the iudgement and authoritie of the Emperour, King, Prince, or other supreame Magistrate, and may also by generall Councels be corrected and censured, thus it is proued.

Argum. 1. *Peter* was iudged of *Paul*, Galat. 2. and of him iustly reproued: *Ergo*, the doings of the Pope may be iudged and censured.

Bellarmine answereth, that it was not *iudicialis censura*, but *fraterna correptio*, it was no iudicial censure, but a brotherly reprehension.

We replie: First, publike censure and reprehension is a part of ecclesiasticall iudgement and discipline, therefore *Peter* being publikely rebuked, was thereby iudged also of *Paul*. Secondly, the question is not onely concerning publike and open iudgement, but whether it bee lawfull to call the Popes doings into question, and whether his decrees are absolutely to be receiued without any scanning or discussing, or making any doubt thereof: for this we hold, that it is the duty of all Christians to examine and trie the truth of all things, which they are to receiue and to beleeue, though they sit not formally and iudicially, as in Consistories, to iudge their spirituall pastors: so the Bereans iudged of the Apostles doctrine: so may the Popes decrees bee examined and iudged. Thirdly, the Iesuite graunteth that the Pope may bee rebuked and brotherly reproued: but the Extraugant denieth it, *Non est, qui audeat dicere, domine cur facis sic!* None dare say vnto him, Sir why doest so?

Argum. 2. Euery soule must be subiect to the higher powers: *Ergo*, the Pope, Rom. 13. 1. *Bellarmine* answereth, that the Apostle here speaketh of all superiours both spirituall and temporall: and therefore it cannot bee concluded, that the Pope ought to obey, but he must bee obeyed, because he is also a spirituall power.

We replie: S. *Paul* in this place speaketh onely of the Ciuill Magistrate. First, he calleth them *Principes*, Princes, which is not meant of Ecclesiasticall or Church gouernours, nor so taken in any place of Scripture. Secondly, they are said to beare the sword. Thirdly, tribute is paid to them: those things agree not to Ecclesiasticall gouernours: so the Iesuite is answered.

Thus Master *Bradford* holy Martyr sometime answered to this place: Let euery soule (saith the Apostle) be subiect to the superiour powers: and he sheweth what power, *quæ gladium gestet*, which beareth the sword: which is not the spirituall, but the temporall power. And in the same place he declareth out of *Chrysostome*, how that Bishops, Prophets, Apostles, ought to be obedient to temporall Magistrates, *Fox* p. 1607.

Saint *Chrysostome* out of this place inferreth, that all men both Priests and Monkes, as well as temporall men, Whether thou be an Apostle, saith he, an Euangelist, or Prophet, &c. ought to be subiect to the highest power.

Their owne Master of the Sentences expoundeth this place of the secular power, *Secundum hoc Apostolus loquitur de seculari potestate, &c. lib. 2. dist. 44.*

Argum.

Argum. 3. S. *Peter* also exhorteth, as the Apostle doth here, that they should be subiect to euerie humane creature, 1. Pet. 2. 13. that is, to the temporall gouernour.

To this place, *Iuuencius* 3. first thus answereth, as he is alleaged *Decret. Greg. lib. 1. tit. 33. c. 6.* that spirituall persons are not here vnderstood: for by the same reason (the Apostle naming euerie humane creature, to whom they should bee subiect) they should submit themselues to euerie seruant.

Contra. Who seeth not how wilfully blinde this Pope is: for the Apostle speaketh not of euery man simply, but of men in authoritie: as *Bellarmine* confesseth, *Humana creatura potestati eminenti:* For by that reason, not onely spirituall persons, but temporall should bee subiect to euerie meane person.

Secondly, *Bellarmine* vnderstandeth, by euery humane creature, as well the power spirituall, as temporall, though a speciall instance be giuen of the King, *cap. 29. resp. ad argum. 1.*

Contra. I will here oppose against *Bellarmine* the contrarie iudgement of the Rhemists, who vpon that place Rom. 13. 1. thus write: S. *Paul* here (as S. *Peter* doth 1. chap. 2.) expresly chargeth euery man to bee subiect to his temporall Prince. And againe, by *humanam creaturam*, 1. Pet. 2. 13. they vnderstand the temporall Magistrate elected by the people, in their Annotations vpon that place.

Thirdly, our Rhemists yeelding this place to be vnderstood onely of the temporal Magistrate, yet denie that this commaundement is giuen to spirituall men, but affirme that the King is called most excelling, in respect of other his inferiour ministers and officers, not in respect of Popes, Bishops, Priests, &c.

Contra. First, the Rhemists affirme S. *Paul*, Rom. 13. and S. *Peter* in this place to haue both one meaning: but there by euery soule, all persons as well spirituall as temporall are vnderstood. *Ergo*, it must bee so taken here. Secondly, S. *Peter* would haue all them to bee subiect, to whom he writeth: but he writeth to spirituall Pastors and Elders, chap. 5. *Ergo*, they also must bee subiect, and in respect of them also is the King most excelling. Thirdly, they haue power ouer all euill doers to punish them, vers. 14. but there are such in the Clergie. *Ergo*.

See also the consent of antiquitie. *Marcellinus*, as we heard before, was condemned in the Sinuessane Councell. *Sixtus* 3. being accused of one *Bassus*, a Councell thereupon being assembled at the commaundement of *Valentinianus* the Emperour, *Cum magna examinatione per iudicium episcopi iudicum à 56. Episcopis purgatur:* After great examination, is purged by 56. Bishops, by the iudgement of the Synode: *ex libr. pontificial.*

Symmachus being accused of *Festus* and *Probinus*, two Senators of Rome, assembled 115. Bishops, *Et facta synodo purgatur à crimine:* And by the Synode is purged of the crime, *ex pontificial.*

Concil. Ilerdens. decret. 3. ex Gratiano: Mention is made how *Leo* Bishop of Rome in the Church of S. *Peter*, in the presence of the Emperour *Charles*, the Clergie and the people, did purge himselfe by his oth.

Pelagius being accused that he was accessarie to the death of *Vigilius* the Pope, did purge himselfe vpon his oth, *ex pontificial.* So *Leo* 3. *Paschalis* 1. *Leo* 4. were also purged by their oth.

The Councell of Constance iudged and deposed Pope *Iohn* 23. The Councell of Basil *Eugenius* the 4. If Popes then haue been examined in Councels, accused, and brought to their purgation, and condemned: then is there no question, but that they are subiect to iudgement.

See also your owne decrees, *part. 2. caus. 2. quæst. 7. cap. 41.* *Leo* 4. doth submit himselfe in these words to the Emperour *Lodouicus:* If we haue done any thing incompetently, &c. *Vestro & missorum, &c.* we will amend it according to your iudgement, and of those whom you send.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER THE Pope may be deposed from his Papacie.

The Papists.

SOme of them hold that the Pope ought not, neither can bee deposed for heresie; because it is not possible for the Pope to fall into heresie: *Sic Pighius.* The Iesuite confesseth this to be a probable opinion: but himselfe defendeth it not. He alleageth also the opinion of *Caietanus*, that the Pope may bee deposed for manifest and apparant heresie. *Bellarmines* opinion is this: that the Pope cannot be deposed for any cause but heresie: and not for all heresie, but that which is manifest and apparant: neither is he then deposed by any act of the Church, but is of himselfe deposed, and ceaseth any more to bee Pope: So the Church may afterward punish him, but he is then no Pope, for as soone as he is become an heretike, his Popedome in the very act is gone from him, *Bellarm. cap. 30.* 44. Error.

He reasoneth thus: A manifest heretike is not so much as a member of the Church, much lesse can he be Pope, who, they say, is the head of the Church: and therefore in such a case the Pope is deposed

deposed without any sentence: and if afterward the Church proceede against him, they doe not iudge the Pope; for he had lost his Papacie before.

We answere: First, if a manifest heretike be actually deposed, it is by the secret iudgement and sentence of God: for by no other authoritie can he bee deposed, as they hold: but before God manifest heresie, and close and secret heresie is all one: therefore the Pope is also actually deposed for secret heresie, and not onely for manifest: And so some of the Papists thinke, as *Iohann de Turr cremata*. Secondly, what call you manifest heresie? or how is he knowne to bee a manifest heretike? Can he be an heretike before he bee conuinced? shall iudgement passe against him vncondemned? A murtherer is a dead man by law, yet he liueth till iudgement passe vpon him: so is the Pope being an heretike, yet Pope, till he be iudicially proceeded against; as a murtherer dead by right is in act yet liuing, till by law he is depriued of his life. An heretike, saith S. *Paul*, after two or three admonitions auoyd: that is, saith the Iesuite, he is now *ipso facto* excommunicate, before the sentence of the Iudge. Be it so, but he must first be admonished, and if he still continue obstinate, then he is a manifest heretike: so before the Pope can be knowne to bee a manifest heretike, he must be found obstinate; he cannot be obstinate, vnlesse he refuse to bee admonished; if he bee admonished, then is he iudged. Thirdly, an heretike ceaseth not to bee a priest, (as they speake) no not after heresie is knowne, for manifest heretikes may baptise. The Donatists in *Augustines* time were manifest heretikes, and yet the Church did not baptise againe after them: If a manifest heretike cease not to bee a priest, neither ceaseth he to bee Pope; there is like reason of both; for if an heretike, because he is not a member of the Church, cannot be a Pope, neither also can he retaine the priesthood.

Caietan. Lastly, who seeth not what bare and friuolous shifts those are? one saith, the Church may iudge the Pope, not as he is Pope, but in respect of his person: another saith, that they may iudge the man which was Pope, but he is then no Pope, because his heresie tooke from him the Papacie. Why masters what iugling is here? is the Pope one thing, and the Popes person another? By the same reason you may say, that the Pope neither eateth, nor drinketh, nor sleepeth, nor dyeth, and so make a God of him, because it is the Popes person that doth all this, and not the Pope. And by this shift you make no difference betweene an heretike Bishop, or heretike Priest, and heretike Pope: for by the same reason, none of them all shall be subiect to the iudgement of the Church: for wee may say, that a manifest heretike, whether Bishop or Priest, hath lost by that very act of falling into heresie, his Priesthood and Bishopricke, and then is neither Bishop nor Priest. And so you may conclude altogether, that neither Pope, Bishop, nor Priest can bee deposed for heresie.

The Protestants.

WE doubt not to say, that the Pope both lawfully hath been depriued sometime by the Emperour, sometime by generall Councels, not onely for heresie, but for other notable crimes, and may still bee proceeded against by the same right, as well as any other Bishop or Prelate.

1. Diuers examples we are able to bring foorth, how the Pope hath been deposed for other crimes, beside heresie. Pope *Iohn* the 13. was deposed in a generall Councell by the consent of *Otho* the Emperour, for other matters beside heresie: as that he ordained Deacons in a stable, that he committed incest with two of his sisters, that playing at dice, he called to the diuell for helpe, that he defloured virgins, that he lay with *Stephana* his fathers concubine, likewise with *Raines* and *Anna* and her Neece: for these beastly parts and such like, he was deposed: there was no heresie obiected against him. And thinke you not he was worthily vnpoped? yet the Papists think no: for they admit no cause of depriuation but heresie. This diuellish Pope, through the harlots of Rome (for he was well beloued of them) recouered his Popedome againe; but at the length the Lord himselfe displaced him: for in the tenth yeere of his Popedome, being found without the citie with another mans wife, he was so wounded of her husband, that within eight daies after he dyed, *Fox* p. 159.

Boniface the 7. tooke Pope *Iohn* the 15. who was made Pope a little before, and he expelled, yet recouering the Papacie by force, he tooke him, put out his eyes, and threw him in prison where
Fox pag. 160. he was famished. Likewise was *Iohn* the 18. serued by *Gregorie* the 5. his eyes were thrust out first, and he afterward slaine. I marueile how our Catholikes can excuse these furious outrages of their ghostly fathers of Rome!

In the Councel of Brixia, *Gregorie* the 7. was deposed, not for heresie, but for other abominable vices: as maintaining of periurie and murthers: for following Diuinations and Dreames, Sorcerie and Necromancie, *Fox* p. 181. Pope *Iohn* the 23. deposed in the Councell of Constance: *Eugenius* in the Councell at Basil: yet neither of them for heresie. And yet our aduersaries would still make vs beleeue, that Popes cannot be deposed for any crime but heresie.

2. We can haue no better argument, then from our aduersaries themselues. It is a sport to see what

what diuers opinions they hold, and doe runne as it were in a maze, not knowing which way to get out. *Pighius* thinketh, that the Pope cannot possibly fall into heresie, and therefore for no cause may be deposed. Some other thinke, that the Pope for secret and close heresie is actually deposed of God, and may also be deposed and iudged of the Church: thus holdeth *Iohan. de Turre cremat.* *Caietanus* is of opinion, that for manifest and open heresie the Pope is both alreadie by right deposed, and may also actually be deposed of the Church. But *Bellarmine* confuteth all these. There is a fourth opinion most grosse: that the Pope neither for secret nor open heresie, is either alreadie of right deposed, or may be actually depriued of the Church. Lastly, commeth in the nice and daintie Iesuite with his quirkes and quiddities, who saith, that the Pope in case of manifest heresie, ceaseth to bee Pope, and is euen now deposed: and if after the Church proceede against him, they iudge not the Pope, for now he is no Pope. Which opinion how absurd it is, I haue declared before.

That the Pope may be deposed for other crimes then heresie, beside the practise of former times, as wee haue shewed before, wee haue also the decrees of Councels. The fathers of Basil alleaged these places of Scripture: *If thy eye, hand or foote offend thee, cut it off. Euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruite is cast downe, &c.* Also our Sauiour saith, *Euery branch that bringeth not fourth good fruit, my father will cut off*, Ioh. 15. *Vnprofitable salt is good for nothing, but to be cast forth, &c.* Hence they conclude, that an offensiue and wicked Pope, may bee deposed and cast forth as an vnprofitable branch: *ex Ænea Sylvio.*

Againe, the same Councell saith, *Epistol. synodal. Concilium Constantiense Benedictum propter schisma: Iohannem 23. propter deformitatem vitæ deposuit*: The Councell of Constance deposed *Benedictum* for schisme: *Iohn* 23. for the deformitie of life.

But if they answere as they do, that this Councell of Basil was schismaticall: (which I marueile how they can say, seeing it was congregate by the Popes authoritie) what will they say to the Councell of *Lateran. sub Iulio. 2. sess.* 5. where it was decreed, that if the Pope were chosen by Simonie, *vt huiusmodi electio nulla existat*, that his election should stand voyd as none at all, and he holden for no Pope: and that it should bee lawfull for his subiects, *ab obedientia eius discedere*, to cast off all obedience.

So then, the Pope may be deposed for Simonie, which though it be there termed *simoniaca hæresis*, the simoniacall heresie, yet it is not so properly, but rather a fault in manners, then an error in faith.

They haue also this rule in their owne law, *Extrau. commun. lib. 5. tit. 8. cap. 1.* The Pope thus writeth against a certaine Bishop whom he deposed for his enormous life, *Illud solum æstimamus salubre remedium, &c.* We count that an holesome remedie, that where we cannot take away, *velle*, a mans euill will, we should take away his, *posse*, his power to doe euill. Why should not this rule as well take place in a wicked Pope, as in an impious Bishop?

THE FIFT PART, CONCERNING THE ORIginall and beginning of the primacie of Rome.

The Papists.

THey doe boldly affirme without any ground, that the primacie of that See hath his beginning from no other but Christ: they are the Iesuites owne words, *Romani pontificis ecclesiasticum principatum, authore Christo, principium accepisse?* That the princely dignitie of the Bishop of Rome, acknowledgeth no other author or beginner thereof, but Christ, *Bellar. cap. 17. lib. 2.* 45. Error.

Argum. 1. They would build the primacie of the Romane Church vpon certaine places of Scripture: as Matth. 16. Thou art *Peter*, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church. Luk. 22. I haue praied for thee *Peter*, that thy faith should not faile. Ioh. 21. Christ said to *Peter*, Feede my sheepe: *Ergo*, *Peter* and *Peters* successors haue their primacie from Christ, *Bellarm.*

To these places *Tunstal* and *Stokesly*, two popish Bishops, yet in this poynt holding the truth, did properly make answere in their epistle sent to Cardinall *Poole*.

To the first: They affirme out of the ancient expositors, that it is meant of the faith which was then first confessed by the mouth of *Peter*, and not of *Peters* person. Further, confirming out of S. *Paul*, that neither *Peter*, nor no creature beside, could bee the foundation of the Church: for no other foundation can any man lay (saith the Apostle) besides that which is laid, Iesus Christ, 1. Cor. 3.

To the second they answere: That Christ speaketh onely of the fall of *Peter*, which he knew in his godly prescience, giuing an inkling vnto him, that after his fall he should bee conuerted and strengthen his brethren: for if it were meant also of *Peters* successors, they must first faile in faith, and after confirme their brethren.

To the third: The whole flocke of Christ was not committed to *Peter* to feede: for he himselfe

teſtifieth the contrary, exhorting all Paſtors to feede the flocke of Chriſt, which was giuen them
1.Pet.5. in charge by Chriſt, as it followeth in that place: when the chiefe ſhepheard ſhall appeare, ye ſhall receiue the incorruptible Crowne of eternall glory. He calleth not himſelfe the chiefe ſhepheard, but onely Chriſt. It is euident therefore (ſay they) that your 3. Scriptures ment nothing leſſe, then ſuch a primacie ouer all, *Fox* pag. 1067.

*Argum.*2. Thefe can be no time aſſigned ſince Chriſt (ſay they) when this primacie ſhould begin, nor no author named that brought it in: *Ergo*, it muſt needes be attributed to Chriſt, he muſt of neceſſitie be found the author thereof.

We anſwere: the time may be aſſigned, the authors named, when, and by whom this pretenſed and vſurped authoritie was brought in, as euen now we will ſhew.

The Proteſtants.

THat the vſurped iuriſdiction of Rome tooke not the beginning from Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles, neither was heard of for many yeeres after: we thus are able to proue it.

1 Before the Nicene Councell, which firſt deuided the regiment of the Church into foure Patriarchall ſeates: Rome had ſmall or no preeminence. So *Æneas Syluius* witneſſeth, who afterward was Pope of Rome, and called *Pius* the ſecond: *Ante Nicenum concilium ſibi quiſque vinebat, & ad Romanam eccleſiam parum habebatur reſpectus, Epiſt.*301. Before the Nicene Councell, euery Biſhop liued to himſelfe; there was no great reſpect had to the Church of Rome. What more euident teſtimonie can we haue then of a Pope himſelfe? Yet the Ieſuite ſaith, that it is falſe in part, which he writeth. He is ſomewhat mannerly, in making him but halfe a lyer: yet I wonder that he will confeſſe any vntruth at all in his ghoſtlie fathers words, *Bellarm. cap.*17. *lib.*2.

Secondly, in the Councell of Nice there was no primacie of power giuen to Rome ouer the whole Church: but the other Patriarches of Alexandria, Antioch, Ieruſalem, were priuiledged in like manner in their confines, as the Biſhop of Rome was in his: They had all equall authoritie giuen them in their owne prouinces: *Sic Tonſtall. Stokeſl. ad Paulum.*

Thirdly, afterward there was a certaine primacie of order graunted vnto the Patriarch of Rome aboue other Patriarches; as to haue the firſt place, to ſit firſt, to giue his ſentence firſt. One cauſe hereof was, for that Rome was then the Emperiall and chiefe citie in all the world: this reaſon
Fox.pag.9. was rendered in the Councell of Chalcedon, *Can.*28. Another cauſe thereof was, the ample priuiledges and immunities, whith the Emperours endowed it withall, as *Conſtantine* the Great, and *Gratianus* the Emperour made a lawe, that all men ſhould retayne that religion, which *Damaſus* of Rome, and *Peter* Biſhop of Alexandria did hold.

A third cauſe was, the vnquiet eſtate of the Greeke Church, who often voluntarily referred their matters to the Biſhop of Rome, as being leſſe partiall and a more indifferent iudge, they themſelues being diuided and rent into ſectes. And hereupon, and other like cauſes it came
Fox.pag.18. about, that the Biſhop of Rome a little ſtepped aboue his fellow Patriarches; but yet had no ſuch preeminent authoritie, as to command them.

Fourthly, the Popes of Rome being thus tickled with vaine glorie, becauſe they were reuerenced of other Churches, many matters were committed vnto them, and their conſent required vnto the decrees of Councels, when they were abſent. Hereupon they labored euery day more and more to aduance that See, taking euery ſmall occaſion that might helpe forward their ambitious deſire, till *Anno.*606. or ſomewhat after, *Boniface* the third obtained of wicked *Phocas* the Emperour (who murthered his Maſter the Emperour *Mauritius* and his children, to come to the Empire, and was after ſlaine himſelfe of *Heraclius* that ſucceeded him) of him, I ſay, *Boniface* for him-
Fox.pag.110. ſelfe and his ſucceſſors obtained, to be called vniuerſall Biſhops ouer the whole Church: and the See of Rome to haue the preeminence aboue all other Churches in the world.

Afterward in Pope *Zacharis* his time, the proud and inſolent iuriſdiction of Rome was eſtabliſhed by *Pepinus* King of France, who aſpired to the Crowne, and obtayned it by the ſaid Popes meanes, firſt depoſing *Childericus* the rightfull King, and diſpenſing with the oath which the French men had made before to *Childericus*. *Caluin. Inſtitut.*4. *cap.*7. *ſect.*17.

Thus then it ſufficiently appeareth, that the primacie of Rome, which it now vniuſtly challengeth ouer other Churches, is not of any ſuch antiquitie, as they would beare the world in hand, neither that it had the beginning from Chriſt: but both the time when, and the authors by whom it began, may be eaſily aſſigned.

*Argum.*2. We neede no better argument, to proue that the primacie of Rome hath not his originall from Chriſt, then the Ieſuites owne confeſſion. Firſt he ſaith, that it doth not depend of Chriſts iuſtitution, but *ex Petri facto*, of *Peters* fact, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould be rather *Peters* ſucceſſor, then the Biſhop of Antioch, or any other; It is not *iure diuino*, ſaith he, by Gods law: neither is it, *ex prima inſtitutione pontificatus, quæ in Euangelio legitur*, of the firſt inſtitution whereof we reade in the Goſpell. And againe, *Romanum pontificem ſuccedere Petro, non habetur expreſſe in ſcripturis*: It is not expreſſly ſet downe in Scripture, the Biſhop of Rome ſhould ſucceede

Peter:

Peter: but it is grounded only vpon that tradition of *Peter*. Nay he saith further, that *Peter* needed not to haue chosen any particular place for succession, and he might as well haue chosen Antioch as Rome: *Ergo*, neither is the succession of Rome grounded vpon Scripture, neither any commandement of Christ: for then *Peter* could not haue had free choice to appoint his successor where he would himselfe, as the Iesuite saith, if he had had any especiall direction or commandement from Christ. So then, marke I pray you, they cannot proue out of Scripture, that the Bishop of Rome ought to succeed *Peter* in the chiefe Bishopricke, but onely that *Peter* had the chiefe Bishopricke committed to him and his successors in generall, whosoeuer they should appoint: *Ergo*, the Bishops of Rome by their owne confession can alleadge no Scripture, institution, or commandement of Christ, for the primacie of the Church to be annexed to the See of Rome: and yet against their knowledge they will alleage Scripture to colour the matter withall, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de. pontif. cap. 17.*

That the iurisdiction and primacie of Rome is not grounded vpon Scripture, but rather vpon custome and continnance of time, it is thus proued by consent of antiquitie, *Nicen. 1. can. 6. Quia episcopo Romanæ vrbis paritèr mos est:* Let the Patriarch of Alexandria bee chiefe in his prouinces, &c. because the Bishop of Rome hath the like custome or manner. And it is not to be thought, that those two generall Councels of Constantinople, and Chalcedon, would haue made the See of Constantinople equall in authoritie to Rome, if the primacy of Rome had been grounded vpon Scripture.

Againe, what the cause is that some cities haue had spirituall iurisdiction ouer others, we finde *Trullan. synod. can. 8. Si qua ciuitas à regia potestate inuocata est, quoad ciuilem & publicam formam, ecclesiasticarum quoque rerum ordo consequatur:* If any citie be changed or aduanced in respect of the ciuill estate, the ecclesiasticall order or gouerment must follow: that is, be aduanced together with it. This reason was rendred, *Concil. Chalcedonens. action. 16*, why they aduanced the See of Constantinople, *Rationabiliter iudicantes, imperio & Senatu vrbem ornatam, aquis sentiens regia Roma priuilegijs frui, & in ecclesiasticis, sicut illa, maiestatem habere negotijs:* We thinke it reasonable, that the citie which is adorned with the Senate and Empire should haue the like priuiledges to the elder princely citie Rome, and of the like maiestie in ecclesiasticall busines. By the same reason also was Rome aduanced at the first, because it was the seat of the Empire: the beginning then of the primacie therefore was not from any commandement of Christ, but by the constitution of men.

Augustine saith: *Secundum honorum vocabula, quæ iam ecclesia vsus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio maior est.* The office of a Bishop is aboue the office of a Priest, according to the names of honour, which the Church by custome hath obtained. If then the difference of those two offices, both named in Scripture, did arise rather, and spring of the custome of the Church, which thought it good to distinguish them for auoyding of schisme, and is not grounded vpon the authoritie of Scripture: much lesse can the Pope (whose neither name, nor office is expressed in Scripture) fetch from thence any shew of proofe, for his vsurped primacie.

M. *Tindal* holy Martyr, condemned for this and such other articles, for saying that the Pope had no other authoritie from Christ but to preach onely: *articl. 22. Fox.* pag. 1251. Sir *Iohn Bortwicke* Knight, condemned for the Gospell, thus witnesseth: *Peter* could not giue that which he had not, as any lordly dominion, or such like; but he gaue vnto his successors that which he had, that is, carefulnes ouer the congregation, *Fox* pag. 1263. *articl. 6.*

The Popes lordly supremacie then hath not the beginning from Christ, neither is warranted by Scripture.

And here will I put them in minde of their owne rule: as *Innocentius* the third hath set it downe: *decret. Gregor. lib. 5. tit. 7. cap. 12. Offendat pro vocatione operationem miraculi, &c.* Let him shew for his calling the operation of a miracle, or some speciall testimonie of Scripture. So then, if the Pope can shew any miracle, or speciall warrant out of Scripture, for his primacie and superioritie, we will beleeue him.

THE SIXT PART OF THIS QVESTION, CONCERNING the proud names, and vainglorious titles of the Pope.

The Papists.

BEllarmine setteth downe to the number of fifteene glorious names which haue been of olde giuen (as he saith) to the bishop of Rome, whereby his primacie ouer other Bishops is notoously knowne; but the principall are these: He is called the Pope and chiefe father, the prince of Priests, or high Bishop, the Vicar of Christ, the head of the Church, the Prelate of the Apostolike See, vniuersall Bishop. These sixe names or titles they do appropriate to the See of Rome. *Bellarm. de Roman. pontif. lib. 2. cap. 31.* 46. Error.

The Protestants.

WE will shew by Gods grace, that these fixe seuerall titles and names aforesaid, are either such, as ought not in their sense to be attributed to any Bishop, nor any mortall man; or els were common in ancient times as well to other Bishops as to him of Rome.

1 For the first name of Pope, it is deriued from the Greeke word πάππας, which in the Syracusane language, is as much as, Father; which name was indifferently giuen to other Bishops, which were famous in the Church for their vertue and learning: As *Cyprian, Epiphanius, Athanasius*, were called *Papa*, Popes: *Augustine* saluteth *Aurelius* President of the sixte Councell of Carthage, by the name of Pope, *Epistol.77.* Fox pag.8.

Sophronius Bishop of Ierusalem writing to *Sergius* Patriarch of Constantinople, calleth him, *Papam beatissimum, & Papam deo honorabilem*, Most blessed and honorable Pope, *Constantinopol.6. actione.11.* So in the sixte Councel of Carthage, chap.4. the Synod calleth *Aurelius* Bishop of Carthage, *Sanctum Papam*, holy Pope. *Eutiches*, who was but a Priest and an Abbot, is called *Papa*, Pope, *Synod. Constantinopl. sub Flauiano.*

Bellarmine cannot deny, neither dare he for shame, that this name Pope hath been giuen to other Bishops; but he hath deuised three shifts to helpe him at a pinch: first, saith he, the Bishop of Rome onely hath vsed to be called the Pope absolutely, and without any addition, but others with adding of their name.

Contra. The absolute title of Pope hath been giuen also to others, and therefore *Bellarmine* surmise is false: as *Hierome* writing to *Theophilus* Bishop of Alexandria saith thus, *Admitere Papa amantissime & beatissime:* Doe your endeuour, most blessed Pope, &c. he saith not Pope *Theophile*, but absolutely most blessed Pope. *tom.3.*

Secondly, the Bishop of Rome onely hath been called vniuersall Pope, and no other Bishop, *Bellarm.*

Contra. First, neither hath this proude name in the better times, and purer ages of the Church, been attributed to the Bishops of Rome, but rather by them condemned: as *Gregorie* calleth it a proude title to be named vniuersall Pope, and reproueth *Eulogius* Bishop of Alexandria, for so writing vnto him, *dist.99.cap.5.* Secondly, yet it may be shewed, that after ambition set foote into the Church, other Patriarches haue been called by this name: as *Concil. Constantin.6. act.13. Cyrus* Patriarch of Alexandria calleth *Sergius* Patriarch of Constantinople, thrice blessed pastor of pastors, and father of fathers, the vniuersall Patriarch: and yet *Bellarmine* without all shame saith, that this title of *Pater Patrum*, Father of Fathers was neuer giuen to any but the Pope.

Thirdly, saith he, the Bishop of Rome hath been alwaies called Pope of others; but he himselfe neuer called any other by that name.

Contra. First, therein appeareth the pride of that See, that disdained to giue vnto other Bishops those titles, which others thought them worthie of, because they would appropriate them to themselues. Secondly, yet I find, though not the Pope, yet the Church of Rome, which is the Popes See, hath giuen this title to other Bishops: as after the death of *Fabianus*, the Presbyterie of Rome thus write to *Cyprian*, calling him most blessed, and glorious Pope, as may be seene in their epistle.

Likewise, those two epithetes of the Pope, as to be called, *Beatissimus & sanctissimus pater:* Most holy and blessed father, were vsed in the stile of other Bishops: *Prosper* in his Epistle to *Augustine*, twise calleth him *Dominum beatissimum Papam:* Lord, most blessed Pope, *Tom.7. Hieronus* calleth *Epiphanius, Beatum Papam*, Blessed Pope, *Ad Eustach. Fabiol.*

This also was the stile of the Patriarch of Constantinople, *Sanctissimo atque beatissimo Oecumenico Patriarchæ Iohanni Constantinopol. &c.* To the most holy and blessed vniuersall Patriarch, *Iohn* of Constantinople: *Constantinop.5. action.1. Cornelius* Bishop of Rome, writing to one *Rufus* a Bishop, *Epist.2.* saith thus, *Hæc & alia, quæ necessaria fore cognouimus tuæ sanctitati nolumus denegare:* These and other things which we knew to be necessarie, we would not denie to your holines: at this time it is a cleare case, that the Bishop of Rome did not appropriate to himselfe this title of holines.

Augustine writing to *Petrus* the Presbyter, or Priest, being no Bishop, yet thus saluteth him: *Ad sanctitatem tuam scripsit:* He hath written to your holines. Nay, in his booke dedicated to *Renatus* a lay man, neither Priest nor Bishop, thus he writeth, *Hinc angor, quòd sanctitati tuæ minus quàm vellem cognitus sum:* This grieueth me, that I am not so well knowne to your holines as I desire. If then these titles of holines and blessednes were not onely giuen to Bishops, but Priests also, yea vnto lay men of vertuous and holy life; what colour or shew of reason can our aduersaries haue, to make them proper to the Bishop of Rome? De origine anim.2.1. De origine anim. lib.1. cap.2.

But if the Bishop of Rome will haue this title of holines truely giuen vnto him, let him follow that wholsome saying, ascribed to *Clement epistol.2.: Nemo velit dici sanctus, antequam sit, sed prius sit vt verius dicatur:* Let no man desire to be called holy, before he be indeed, but let him first be holy,

ly, that he may more truely so be called: the same sentence also is found, *Constantinop. 6. cap. 6.*

See also the iudgement of *Iohn Husse* holy Martyr: *articul. 23. Papa non debet dici sanctissimus secundum officium quia sic & Rex diceretur sanctissimus &c.* The Pope ought no more to be called most holy because of his office, then the King in respect of his office.

2 The second name is Prince of Priests, or high and chiefe Bishop: which title, if it be taken for a chiefe power, dominion, and soueraignty, is proper onely to Christ the chiefe shepheard, 1. Pet. 5. 4. and cannot in that sense agree to any man.

It was also decreed *Carthaginens. 3. can. 26.* in this maner, *Prima sedis Episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum aut summus sacerdos, sed tantùm prima sedis Episcopus:* Let not the Bishop of the first See be called the prince of Priests, or chiefe Priest, but onely Bishop of the first See.

Bellarmine answereth, that this Canon did onely binde the Bishops of Africa, it doth not extend to the Bishop of Rome.

Answ. It appeareth Can. 47. that the Canons of this Councell were confirmed by *Boniface* Bishop of Rome. For to that end the Councell determineth to write vnto him, and the rest of the Bishops of the west Church: but it is certaine, that this Councell was receiued and authorized in the sixt generall Trullane Synode, Can. 12. how then can the Bishop of Rome be exempted from the decrees of generall Councels, which binde the whole Church, and euery part thereof? And againe, this Canon is approued in their owne decrees, *dist. 99. c. 3.* how then can they refuse it?

But if this name be vsed onely as a title of excellencie and commendation, so was it in times past ascribed to other excellent and famous Bishops, as *Russinus lib. 2. cap. 26.* calleth *Athanasius, Pontificem maximum*, chiefe Bishop; yea it was in common giuen to all Bishops; as *Anacletus* Bishop of Rome in his second Epistle writeth thus: *Summi sacerdotes, id est, Episcopi, à Deo iudicandi sunt:* The high Priests, that is, Bishops (saith he) are to be iudged of God. If it be taken further for the excellencie of the ministerie of the Gospell, and the worthy calling of Christians, in this sense the title of *summum sacerdotium*, of the high Priesthood, is attributed to all Ministers Ecclesiasticall, both Bishops and others: so *Fabianus* Bishop of Rome vseth this name. Yea, the holy Apostle calleth all the people of God *Basileum hierateuma*, a princely, royall, or chiefe priesthood: *Ergo*, the Bishop of Rome hath no especiall or proper interest in this name. Fox p. 12. col. 1

3 The third name is, to be called the Vicar of Christ vpon earth. Where we are to vnderstand, that in respect of the spirituall regiment and Kingdome of Christ, he needeth no Vicegerent vpon earth: for, I am with you (saith he) to the end of the world: he himselfe is alway present in power, and needeth not in that respect, that any man should supplie his rowme. *Petrus scriba Martyr.* Fox pag. 906. If we doe take it for a word of office and publike administration, so the Magistrate may be called the Vicar of Christ, in gouerning the people according to the word of God: in which sense *Eleutherius* Bishop of Rome, writing to *Lucius* King of the Britaines, calleth him the Vicar of Christ; and therefore in his owne Kingdome had power out of the word of God to establish lawes, for the gouernment of the people. Fox pag. 107.

Thus also writeth *Anastasius* Bishop of Rome, to *Anastasius* the Emperor, *tit. 6. Prastantiam vestram velut vicarium, Deus præsidere iussit in terris:* God hath commaunded or appointed your worthines, as his Vicar, to be president in earth. So all Bishops, Pastors and Ministers in ancient time were called the Vicars of Christ in preaching, praying, binding and loosing in the name and power of Christ. So *Augustine* saith, or whose worke else it is, that *Omnis antistes est Christi vicarius:* Euery pastor and prelate (and not the Pope onely) is the Vicar of Christ. Quæst. ex vtroque. 117.

Eusebius Bishop of Rome testifieth the same, *Epistol. 3. Caput Ecclesia Christus est; Christi autem vicarij sacerdotes sunt, qui vice Christi legatione funguntur in Ecclesia:* The head of the Church is Christ, and the Priests or Ministers are Christs Vicars, who in Christs stead doe performe his embassage in the Church. This is also confessed by our Rhemists, *annot. in 2. Cor. 5. 18.* that the Bishops and priests of the Church are for Christ, and as his ministers, that is, his Vicars. Nay, *Augustine* maketh yet a more generall vse of this word: he saith that, *Homo imperium Dei habens, quasi vicarius eius est:* That man by creation being made Lord of the creatures, doth therein represent God, and is as his Vicar vpon earth. So then, all ministers are the Vicars of Christ; the ciuill Magistrate likewise, in some good sense, may be so called: yea in respect of the creatures, man generally is vpon earth in Gods stead: *Ergo*, this name cannot be appropriate to the Pope of Rome. Quæst. 106.

Iohn Husse holy Martyr saith, *articl. 12. Nemo gerit vicem Petri vel Christi nisi sequatur eum in moribus:* No man can be *Peters* or Christs Vicar vnlesse he follow him in life and maners. The Pope therefore is not Christs Vicar vnlesse he imitate Christs holy life, which I would he did. One of your owne Popes also saith, *Iohan. 22. Extran. lib. 3. tit. 2. c. 3. Vicarius Christi ipsius actibus se tenetur conformare:* Christs Vicar must conforme himselfe to Christs actes and example: Which seeing the Pope doth not, he cannot be Christs Vicar, or Vicegerent.

4 It is also too huge a name for the Pope or any mortall man to beare, to be called the head of

the vniuerſall Church: this is a name onely due vnto Chriſt, neither doe the Scriptures acknowledge any other head, but him, Epheſ. 1.22. 4.15. But (ſay they) we doe not make the Pope ſuch an head, as Chriſt is, but onely a miniſteriall head ouer the militant Church vpon earth, *Rhemiſt. 1. Eph. 22.*

We anſwere: Firſt, *Ergo*, the Pope by your owne confeſſion is not head of the vniuerſall Church, whereof the triumphant Church in heauen is a part; nor yet of Purgatorie, but onely of
1 that part which is in the earth. Secondly, the Rhemiſts confeſſe that the Church in no ſenſe can be called the bodie of the Pope: *Ergo*, the Pope cannot be any waies the head of the vniuerſall Church, *Annot. in 1. Epheſ. 22.* Thirdly, the Fathers of Baſile vſed this argument: The head of the
2 body being dead, the whole bodie alſo dieth; but the whole Church doth not periſh with the Pope: *Ergo*, he is not properly the head of the Church, *Fox* pag. 675.

Further, in the ſame Councell, *Iohannes Patriarch. Antiochen. in appendic. concil.* thus reaſoneth, *Nec dici poteſt caput Miniſteriale vniuerſalis eccleſiæ, nam caput eſſe denotat præeminentiam, quam miniſter non habet ſupra dominum:* Neither can the Pope be ſaid to be the miniſteriall head of the vni-
3 uerſall Church: for to be an head argueth a preeminence, which the Miniſter hath not ouer his Miſtreſſe.

Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. lib. 2. cap. 9. Eccleſiam cum capite ſuo Chriſto vnam conſtat eſſe perſonam: The
4 Church and Chriſt the head thereof make but one perſon. But ſo doe not the Pope and the Church: therefore he cannot be the head thereof.

Adde vnto theſe the witneſſe of the holy Martyrs, *Iohn Huſſe articul. 20.* The Pope if he be
5 wicked man, cannot be the head of the Church, ſeeing he is not ſo much as a member thereof: the ſame reaſon vſeth that bleſſed Biſhop and Martyr, M. *Hooper*, examination 3. *Fox*. pag. 1567.

6 Maſter *Rogers* holy Martyr: Chriſt onely doth all in vs all, which is the true property of the head, which is a thing, that all the Biſhops of Rome ſhall neuer doe, pag. 1486.

Vpon theſe reaſons, which I haue produced, being ſixe in number, it may be ſtrongly concluded, that the Pope in no ſenſe can be the head of Chriſts Church: which proude title ſeemeth to haue miſliked ſome of your Popes: as *Clemens* the fift, in the Councell of Vienna thus writeth, *Clementin. lib. 2. tit. 9. c. 1. Sacroſancta Romana eccleſia caput Chriſtus redemptor, &c.* Chriſt our redeemer is the head of the ſacred Romane Church, and the Romane Biſhop our Redeemers Vicar. So then he is onely the head of the Church that redeemed it; the Pope is but the heads Vicar, not the head it ſelfe.

If it ſhall be further obiected, that the Biſhop of Rome hath been called in times paſt, *caput Epiſcoporum*, the head of all other Biſhops: we anſwere, that it was but a title of excellencie and commendation, not of dominion and power: as London is called the head or chiefe Citie of England, yet are not other cities of the land ſubiect vnto it, or vnder the iuriſdiction thereof. But we ſhall haue occaſion more fully to diſcuſſe this matter afterward.

5 They would haue the Pope called the Prelate of the Apoſtolike See: the Rhemiſts ſay further, that the Papall dignitie is a continuall Apoſtleſhip, *Annot. 4. Epheſ. ſect. 4.*

We anſwere: Firſt, if they call thoſe Churches Apoſtolicall, whoſe firſt founders were the Apoſtles, then the See of Antioch, Alexandria, Conſtantinople, are as well Apoſtolicall as Rome. *Concil. Nicen. 2. actione 1. Retinentes locum Apoſtolicorum thronorum Orientalis dioceſeos:* They which occupie the roume of the Apoſtolike thrones of the Eaſt dioceſſe.

And this the Ieſuite denieth not, *lib. 2. de pontifice cap. 31.* But he maketh this difference: firſt, ſaith he, when we ſay the Apoſtolike See abſolutely, not adding either of Epheſus, or Antioch, the See of Rome is vnderſtoode: but the other Apoſtolike Sees are ſo called with reſtraint to the place. *Anſw.* That this is falſe which the Ieſuite ſaith, it is proued thus: *Siricius* Biſhop of Rome, *epiſtol. 4. can. 1.* decreeth thus, *Extra conſcientiam ſedis Apoſtolicæ, hoc eſt, primatis, nemo audeat ordinare:* Let no man ordaine (Biſhops he meaneth) without the knowledge of the Apoſtolike See, that is, ſaith he, expounding himſelfe, of the Primate of the Prouince, not vnderſtanding thereby the Biſhop of Rome, but the Primate or Metropolitane.

Concil. Aurelianenſ. cap. 1. Clodoueus the King writeth thus to the Biſhops, which were 33. in number, there aſſembled, *Dominis ſanctis & Apoſtolicæ ſedis dignißimis:* To my holy Lords, moſt worthy of the Apoſtolike See. He calleth all their Sees Apoſtolicall according to the decree *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. cap. 9. ex Iſidor: Apoſtolis decedentibus ſucceſſerunt Epiſcopi, &c.* The Biſhops ſucceed the Apoſtles, and are placed through the world *in ſedibus Apoſtolorum*, in the Apoſtles Sees. In theſe places which I haue cited, the Apoſtolike See is named abſolutely, and yet the See of Rome not vnderſtood thereby. *Bellarmines* ſecond exception is this, that the Pope is not onely called Prelate of the Apoſtolike See, *Sed munus eius Apoſtolatus*, His office an Apoſtleſhip: ſo are not other. *Anſwere.* This is one of *Bellarmines* toyes, for ſeeing *Apoſtolicus*, and *Apoſtolatus*, are *coniugata*, and where the one is, there muſt be the other; if other Biſhops be as well Apoſtolicall as he, they haue alſo an Apoſtleſhip as well as he.

Secondly,

Secondly, those Churches are Apostolicall, which hold the Apostolike faith: so is not the See of Rome Apostolicall, being departed and gone backe from the auncient Catholike faith: but those Churches where the Gospell of Iesus Christ is truely preached, are indeed Apostolike.

Bishop *Ridley* holy Martyr thus witnesseth: it was neither for the priuiledge of the See or person, that the See and Bishop of Rome were called Apostolike, but for the true trade of Christs religion taught and maintayned in that See, *Fox.* pa. 1775. Thus also writeth *Agatho* Bishop of Rome to *Constantine* the Emperour, *Vae mihi est, si veritatem Dominicam, quam Apostoli praedicarunt, praedicare neglexero:* Woe is vnto me, if I neglect to preach the trueth of my Lord, which the Apostles preached.

Thirdly, how can the Pope be an Apostle, or haue Apostolike authority, seeing he preacheth not at all, much lesse to the whole world, wherein consisted the office of an Apostle? Neither can he shew his immediate calling from Christ, as all the Apostles could: for seeing he challengeth the Apostolike office by tradition from S. *Peter*, and not by commandement from Christ; he can in no wise be counted an Apostle, or his office an Apostleship: for the Apostles ordayned onely Euangelists and Pastors, they had not authoritie to consecrate and constitute new Apostles. Our aduersaries for this their Apostleship, can finde nothing in Scripture, not for a thousand yeares after Christ in the ancient writers, *Fulk. annot. in Ephes. 4. fect. 4.*

6 Concerning the title of vniuersall Bishop, it was thus decreed in the sixte Councell of Carthage, as it is alleadged by *Gratian: Vniuersalis autem nec Romanus pontifex appelletur:* No not the Bishop of Rome is to be called vniuersall. In *Gregorie* the first his time, *Iohn* Patriarch of Constantinople, obtayned of the Emperour *Mauritius* to be called vniuersall Patriarch: but *Gregory* would not agree thereunto, calling him the forerunner of Antichrist, that would challeng so proud a name, *Gregor. lib. 4. Epistol. 32.* Distinct. 99.

Bellarmine and other of that sect doe answere, that *Gregory* found fault with this title, because *Iohn* of Constantinople would haue been Bishop alone, and none other to be beside him, but all other onely to be his deputies and Vicars. Lib. 2. de pont. cap. 31.

To this we reply: First, *Iohn* did onely challenge a superioritie ouer other Bishops, not to be Bishop alone; for this had been a thing impossible. Secondly, if *Iohn* had fought any such thing, it is not like that the Chalcedon Councel and the Emperour would haue yeelded to so vnreasonable a matter as they did. Thirdly, *Eulogius* Patriarch of Alexandria doth call the said *Gregory* vniuersal Pope, which name he vtterly refuseth: and yet *Eulogius* had no such meaning to make him Bishop or Patriarch alone, but onely to giue him a preeminence aboue the rest. Fox pag. 13.

Fourthly, this may appeare to be so by that which *Leo* writeth *Epistol. 53.* concerning *Anatolius* Patriarch of Constantinople: to whom this preeminence was granted in the Chalcedon Councel. *Nimium superbum est, vt vnius crescat dignitas, vt metropolitanorum impugnare primatus:* It is too proud an enterprise, to impugne the primacie of so many Metropolitanes, to increase the dignitie of one. *Pelagius* the second thus writeth also against *Iohn* of Constantinople, who challenged to be called vniuersall Bishop: *Si summus patriarcha vniuersalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen caeteris derogatur: epistol. 1. decretal.* If the chiefe Patriarch be called vniuersall, then the title of patriarchship is taken from the rest. By these testimonies it appeareth, that these ambitious prelates had no meaning to spoyle the rest of their Episcopall dignitie, but onely to haue the primacie and preeminence before them. For the title of vniuersalitie doth onely derogate to the dignitie of Patriarches, and primacie of Metropolitanes.

This modest and humble Bishop of Rome *Gregory*, of whom we spake before, in steade of the title, Vniuersall, brought it into the Popes stile to be called *seruus seruorum Dei*, seruant to Gods seruants: *Ergo*, we conclude with *Gregory*, that this title, Vniuersall, is an Antichristian name, and that it hath misliked the auncient Bishops of Rome themselues; and how other Patriarches and Bishops haue challenged that ambitious name and title, as well as the Popes of Rome. And it hath been acknowledged and yeelded vnto them, as *Constantinop. general. 5. action. 1. Iohn* Bishop of Constantinople is called *Oecomenicus Patriarcha*, Oecomenicall, or vniuersall Patriarch. *Constantinop. general. 6. action. 13. Cyrus* Bishop of Alexandria writeth thus to *Sergius* Bishop of Constantinople: *Tuae beatissimo, benigno pastori pastorum, patri patrum, vniuersali patriarchae Sergio:* To the thrise blessed pastor of pastors, and Father of Fathers, the vniuersall Patriarch *Sergius*. And least it might be said that these Patriarches doe but dally and glose one with another, we finde that Pope *Adrian* writeth thus to *Tharasius* Bishop of Constantinople, *Dilecto fratri vniuersali Patriarchae:* To my beloued brother the vniuersall Patriarch, &c. *Nicen. 2. action. 2.*

We conclude therefore, that this title to be called vniuersall Bishop or Patriarch, neither was in times past, nor is now properly or of right belonging to the See of Rome.

Lastly, see the iudgement of some Papists themselues of this poynt: *Eckius* a stout popish champion saith thus disputing against *Luther*, that *the Bishop of Rome ought not to be called vniuersall Bishop, but Bishop of the vniuersall Church: Fox.* pag. 848.

Concil. Basiliens. epistol. Synodal. 8. Romanus pontifex est vniuersalis Ecclesia minister non dominus: The Bishop of Rome is a seruant or Minister of the vniuersall Church not a Lord or Bishop. They graunt not so much as *Eckius* doth. Bishop *Longland* cutteth him yet shorter, saying, *There is no vniuersall Bishop but Christ: the Bishop of Rome and all other Bishops, are but vnderlings and vnworthie suffragants to this Bishop Christ.* Fax. pag. 1100.

THE SIXT QVESTION, WHETHER THE Pope may erre, or not.

The Papists.

47. Error. THey deny not but that both the Pope by himselfe, and together with a whole Councell, may be deceiued in matters of fact, that is, in historicall poynts, and the truth of things that are done, because it dependeth of the testimonie and information of men; but in matters of faith and doctrine, the Pope determining with the Councell, is not subiect to error: yea, the Pope by himselfe alone decreeing any thing concerning faith cannot be deceiued, *Bellarm. lib. 4. de pontif. cap. 13.* No nor yet in precepts of manners prescribed to the Church by the Pope, is there any feare or danger of error, *cap. 5.* Yea, it is probable (saith he) that the Pope, not onely as Pope, cannot erre, but not as a priuate person, is it like he should fall into heresie, or holde any obstinate opinion contrary to the faith? *cap. 6.*

Argum. 1. Luk. 22. 31. *Simon, I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not.* Christ here praieth for *Peter*, and his successors, that they might not at any time erre, or bee deceiued in matters of faith, *Bellarm. cap. 3. Rhem. annot. in Luk. 22. sect. 11.*

We answere: First, this was a particular prayer for *Peter*, that his faith should not faile in that great and dangerous tentation, into the which our Sauiour foresaw he should fall: For if it were to be vnderstood of *Peters* successors, they also must first be sifted by Sathan as *Peter* was, and denie Christ, and so being conuerted strengthen their brethren: if they will vnderstand one part of *Peters* successors, I pray you, why not all? Secondly, our Sauiour praieth likewise for all his Apostles, that they might be sanctified in the truth; yea for all, that should beleeue by their preaching: yet is not euery Christian priuiledged from all error of faith. Thirdly, after this *Peter* himselfe erred, and was reprehended of S. *Paul.*

Argum. 2. The high Priests that sate in *Moses* chaire were priuiledged not to erre: as *Caiphas* though a wicked man, and in some sort an vsurper, had some assistance of God for vtterance of the truth, Ioh. 11. 51. *Ergo*, much more now are the chiefe pastors of the Church free from error, *Bellarm. cap. 3. Rhem. Luc. 22. sect. 11.*

We answere: the high priests had no such priuiledge, for some of them fell into strange error: *Vriah* the high priest set vp an Idolatrous Altar at the Kings commandement, 2. King. 16. *Eliashib* was ioyned in affinitie with *Tobiah* the Ammonite, contrarie to the law of God, Nehem. 13. 4. And concerning *Caiphas*, though at this time he ignorantly spake the truth, yet was he a Sadducee, and condemned Christ. And if *Caiphas* example proue any thing, being (as you say) but an vsurper of the Priesthood, it maketh as well for vsurpers of the Papall See, that they also should be priuiledged from error.

Bellarmine and the rest doe much vrge that place of *Cyprian, epistol. 1. ad Cornelium: Non cogitant eos esse Romanos, quorum fides Apostolo prædicante laudata est, ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum:* They remember not that they are Romanes, whose faith is so commended euen by the Apostle himselfe, vnto whom falsehood or vntruth can haue no accesse. Also *Eusebius* B. of Rome saith, *In Ecclesia Catholica extra maculam semper est Catholica seruata religio:* In the Catholike Church, the Catholike Religion hath alwaies been kept without spot.

Lucius B. of Rome also thus writeth, *Vt in exordio vnusquisque fidei Apostolicæ ab auctoribus suis percepit, sic illibata sine tenus manet:* As in the beginning it receiued the Apostolike faith from the authors thereof, so it remaineth vncorrupted to the end, *Epistol. decretal.*

Answ. First, as for the testimonies of the Bishops of Rome, they doe not greatly moue vs: for who seeth not that they might be partiall, in iudging of their owne Church? *Cyprians* testimonie, a welwiller of the Romane Church, though not of that Church, carrieth greater waight with it. Secondly, they all here alleaged, haue especiall relation to former times, and commend the constancie of the Romane faith: for vntill *Cyprian* and *Lucius* time, and somewhat after, the Bishops of Rome were faithfull men, impugners of heresies, holy Martyrs: for as yet *Marcellinus* had not fallen: and therefore they could doe no lesse, then commend their continuance in the Apostolike faith, during so many yeeres of persecution. And for the time to come, they speake not definitely as Prophets, but iudge charitably as brethren, that they hope well, that the Church of Rome, which had held out so long, would haue held out to the end. Thirdly, *Eusebius* saith, that in the Catholike Church the Catholike faith shall alwaies remaine: so then as long as the Church of Rome

Rome was Catholike, not departing from the doctrine of the Apostles, they were sure to haue the Apostolike faith: and thus *Cyprian* also and *Lucius*, with the rest that so speake, must bee vnderstood. So a popish champion himselfe teacheth vs to vnderstand them: *Quod dicitur, Ecclesia Romana semper immaculata permansit, & permanebit, intelligi debet verum, quamdiu ligabit & soluet iuste, claue non errante:* Where it is said, the Church of Rome hath remained and shall continue vnspotted, to make it true, we must vnderstand, so long as it bindeth and looseth iustly, the key not erring: *Ioban. Patriarch. Antiochen. apud cul. in appendic. Concil. Basilien.*

The Protestants.

THat the Popes and Bishops of Rome haue not onely erred in manners, but euen in faith; and not onely priuately and personally as men, but publikely and iudicially as Popes; that they haue by their publike and open preaching, defence, allowance, and consent approoued and established erronious, and some hereticall opinions: thus wee trust to make it plaine and euident to all men.

1 *Peter* erred: *Ergo*, the Pope may, though he were *Peters* successor. First, *Peter* erred in denying of Christ. The Iesuite answereth: first, he began not yet to be the chiefe Bishop, which he entered not into till after the resurrection, when Christ said vnto him, *Feede my sheepe*, Ioh. 21. therefore all this while he might erre. A goodly answere: I pray you tell me, was not the Church before Christs passion, and after, built vpon the same rocke? I trow they cannot denie it: but *Peter* was not the rocke before, therefore not after.

If he were therefore called a rocke because of his confession of Christ, why should he not then rather, straight after his confession, take possession of his office, then immediatly after his deniall of Christ? Surely this is but a silly shift. Secondly, saith the Iesuite, *Peter* failed in charitie when he denied Christ, not in faith, *cap.* 3. and if he failed in faith, he lost the confession of faith, and not faith it selfe.

We answere: First, can a true faith then bee separated from loue by your doctrine? The Apostles knew no such faith: Saint *Iames* saith, it is a dead faith that is without the workes of loue, and the faith of diuels, that is, no faith, Iames 2. 17. 19. If then *Peters* loue failed, his faith also failed. Secondly, we do not say that *Peters* faith was lost and vtterly extinguished, for Christ praied for him, but whether it were an error in faith which *Peter* fell into: for it is not all one to erre in faith, or cleane to lose faith. Thirdly, he lost the confession of faith, he denied Christ in word: *Ergo*, he denied the faith, howsoeuer he thought in heart: for these two are the principall fruites of faith, to Beleeue with the hart, and Confesse with the mouth, Rom. 10. and where either of these is wanting, there cannot bee a right faith: for he that putteth away a good conscience, maketh shipwracke also of faith, 1. Tim. 1. 19. But the Iesuite I see hath a queazie stomacke, let him cough vp lustily, and say with one of his fellowes, *Petrus non fidem Christi, sed Christum salua fide negauit:* *Peter* denied not the faith of Christ, but his faith remaining sound and whole, he onely denied Christ. Loe, here is new popish diuinitie, that a man may denie Christ, and yet not denie the faith. Alan. Cop.

Secondly, *Peter* erred in constraining the Gentiles to doe as the Iewes. *Bellarmine* saith, it was an error in example and conuersation, not in faith or doctrine, *cap.* 7.

We answere: First, in this example of *Peter* there was also included an error in faith: for how should the Gentiles better know *Peters* iudgement, then by his example, by the which they fell into an error of faith, and were constrained to conforme themselues like to the Iewes: thinking that the Iewish ceremonies were necessarie to be retained? Secondly, S. *Paul* himselfe saith, they went not the right way to the truth of the Gospell: *Ergo*, they erred from the truth of the Gospell, and so in faith. Thirdly, the Diuines of Paris doe attribute to *Peter* an error in faith, *Fulk. Anno.* 4. *Galat. sect.* 9.

Thus testifieth also *Gelasius*, *Tom. de anathematis vinculo. S. Petrus sic existimans noui testamenti gratiam prædicandam, vt à legis veteris non recederet institutis, quadam per simulationem legitur gessisse:* S. *Peter* thinking that the grace of the new Testament was so to bee preached, that he should not notwithstanding leaue the institution of the old law, is read to haue committed somewhat by dissimulation. It was therefore an error in opinion, which afterward the same *Gelasius* calleth, *imbecillis inscitia*, his impotent vnskilfulnes: Saint *Peter* therefore failed not onely in his examples, but in his knowledge and iudgement.

2 We can produce many examples of the Popes, which haue erred iudicially, namely, openly haue maintained errors. To let passe *Marcellinus*, who sacrificed to Idols, as a slippe of his person, and he afterward repented him of his fall: yet by the way the Iesuite is deceiued, that thinketh it probable, that the Popes particular person cannot fall into heresie: here you see *Marcellinus* fell into Idolatrie.

Bellarmine answereth, that *Marcellinus* was no heretike, *Nisi actu externo ob metum mortis:* But onely in an externall act for feare of death.

Contra.

Contra. That *Marcellinus* failed not only in committing of an vnlawful act, but erred in iudgement, it appeareth in the proceſſe againſt him in the Sinueſſane Councell: for thus *Marcellinus* at the firſt excuſed himſelfe, *Non Dijs ſacrificaui, ſed tantùm grana lenatis manibus ſuper prunas combuſſi:* I did not ſacrifice (ſaith he) to the Gods, but onely lifting vp my hands, burnt incenſe ouer the coales. But what is this elſe, I pray you, then to offer ſacrifice to Idols?

Liberius ſubſcribed to the Arrians, conſented to the condemnation of *Athanaſius:* as teſtifieth *Hieroms*, confeſſed by *Nicholaus Cuſanus*, and *Alphonſus de caſtro*, both Papiſts, *Inel. pag.* 164. *de. ſenſ. Apolog.*

Honorius 1. conſented to the hereſie of *Sergius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople, who was a Monothelite, and held, that there were not two wils or operations in Chriſt, and ſo deſtroyed the two natures. That *Honorius* was a Monothelite, *Melchior Canus* a Papiſt confeſſeth: he was condemned for an heretike in the 6. 7. and 8. generall Synodes. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that the Councels are corrupted, or they might be deceiued in iudgement, as in a matter of fact: or that *Honorius* onely miſliked the ſpeech, to ſay there were two willes in Chriſt, and not the thing. See what poore ſhifts here be to make *Honorius* no heretike, and yet all will not be: for one of your owne Popes *Leo* 2. writing to *Conſtantinus* the Emperour, accurſed *Honorius* amongſt other Monothelite heretikes: We accurſe (ſaith he) the inuentors of this new error, *Theodorus, Cyrus, &c.* and *Honorius*, which did not lighten the Apoſtolike Church, with the doctrine of Apoſtolike tradition, but by prophane treaſon endeuoured to ſubuert the immaculate faith. Thus *Honorius* in a principal article of the faith erred, not in his priuate opinion onely, but in his publike defence.

Lib. 6. de loc. cap. vlt.

Adrianus 2. Biſhop of Rome, whatſoeuer the Ieſuite ſaith to the contrarie, putteth all out of doubt: as it may appeare *Conſtantinop. general.* 8. *action.* 7. for he writeth thus: *Licet Honorio ab Orientalibus poſt mortem anathema ſit dictum, ſciendum tamen eſt, quia ſuper hæreſi fuerat accuſatus, propter quam ſolum licitum eſt inferioribus maiorum ſuorum motibus reſiſtere:* Although *Honorius* were accurſed or condemned of the Eaſt Church after his death, you muſt vnderſtand that he was accuſed of hereſie, for the which onely it is lawfull for the inferiours to reſiſt the doings of their ſuperiours. Here a Pope himſelfe plainly confeſſeth, that *Honorius* his predeceſſor was an heretike.

Pope *Stephen* the 6. tooke vp *Formoſus* bodie, and cut off two fingers of his right hand, and buried him againe in a lay-mans Sepulchre. Then followed *Romanus* the 1. *Theodorus* the 2. *Iohannes* the 9. and reſtored *Formoſus* with his decrees, iudging him to be lawfull Biſhop. After them commeth *Sergius* the 3. who tooke vp the bodie againe, cut off the head, and caſt it into Tyber. The Ieſuite anſwereth, that *Stephanus* and *Sergius* erred onely in a matter of fact. A goodly cloake to couer the filthineſſe of their ghoſtly fathers withall.

But by your leaue a little: doe you not hold it to be an article of faith to beleeue the Pope to bee the head of Chriſts Church? Then was it an article of faith to hold that *Formoſus* was right Pope, for at that time there was no other: *Ergo, Stephanus* and *Sergius* erred in faith, defining the contrarie.

All that you can ſay, is this: that it was not yet determined and decreed for an article of faith, ſo to beleeue: ſee, I pray you, theſe mens faith is pinned vpon Popes ſleeues. Why maſters, the rule of faith is certaine, you cannot make new articles of faith now, but onely declare and explane thoſe that are: as one of your owne Popes well ſaith; *Articuli fidei habent probari ex ſcripturis:* The articles of faith muſt be proued out of Scripture, and are contained in the *Symbole. Ioan.* 21. *Extra. tit.* 14. *cap.* 5. But doe you not thinke that theſe iolly Popes, that would rake the dead out of their graues, for their holineſſe might deſerue at Gods hand, to haue a priuiledge not to erre in faith?

Gregorius 3. *epiſtol. ad Bonifacium* thus determineth, *Virum vxore infirmitate correpta, & non volente ei debitum reddere, aliam ducere, &c.* The husband if his wife be taken with any infirmitie, ſo that ſhe cannot performe her due vnto him, may marrie another. Pope *Nicholas* 1. *de matrimon. can.* 6. decreed cleane contrarie: They that were found when they married, and afterward fall into any infirmitie: *ob hanc infirmitatem coniugia talium diſſolui non poſſunt:* becauſe of this infirmitie their mariage muſt not be diſſolued. One of theſe muſt needes be in error: for one ſaith, that becauſe of the infirmitie of the wife, mariage may bee diſſolued: the other ſaith contrarie. Neither doth *Bellarmine* helpe the matter, in ſaying, that *Gregorie* ſpeaketh of a continuall impotencie and weakenes of nature, and ſo the mariage was, *ex errore contractum*, contracted of error and ignorance: and ſuch kinde of mariages may lawfully bee looſed, being indeede no mariages: *Hæc ille, Contra.* But it is plaine that *Gregorie* ſpeaketh of infirmitie or ſicknes, that the wife is taken withall, *correpta*, not that was continually vpon her: and howſoeuer it is, both theſe Popes vſing the ſame word, Infirmitie, and ſo meaning the ſame thing, cannot be excuſed from contrarietie.

Nicholaus 1. *de baptiſmo decret.* 1. alloweth baptiſme made onely in the name of Chriſt, without expreſſe mention of the Trinitie: which is a manifeſt error, and contrarie to the Scripture, Math. 28. 19. *Bellarmines* anſwere is, *Eum non definiendo ſic dixiſſe, ſed vt particularem doctorem:* That he ſpake

take this not definitiuely, but as a particular Doctor. *Contra.* A weake defence: for where else is the Popes definite sentence to be found, but in his decrees published to the whole world, as this is? and it is placed amongst your owne Canons, *Decret. part. 3 dist. 4 cap. 24.*

Alexander 3 Lateranens. concil. part. 6. cap. 8. forbiddeth mariage to be made, *cum sorore sponsa defuncta*, with her sister that was espoused and betrothed, and is now dead.

Benedictus part. 6. cap. 27. determineth cleane contrarie: *Qui vnam sororem desponsauerit, si eam non copulauerit, potest aliam sororem sibi matrimonio copulare:* He that hath espoused to himselfe one sister, if he haue not knowne her, may marrie the other sister.

Alexand. ibid. cap. 8. Matrimonium contractum per verba de præsenti cum alio initum dissoluendum iudicat: He iudgeth matrimonie contracted with one by words of the present tence, and yet made with another, to be voide. *Benedictus* determineth contrarie, *cap. 28.* for the case is put of one *R.* that was contracted with one *Mary*, by words of the present tence, and nothing wanted but solemnization of the mariage: afterward the said *R.* marieth another: If there be no other let (saith he) beside this mutuall consent and contract, *Secunda matrimonia inuiolabiliter obseruanda iudicamus:* We giue sentence that the second mariage hold. Now one of these Popes, the one being so contrarie to the other, must needes be in an error.

Sylueller the second was a Necromancer and a Coniurer, and therefore fallen from the faith. *Bellarmine* saith, he was a good man, and all are fables and lyes that are tolde of him: and because he was cunning in Geometrie, that ignorant age straightwaies iudged him to bee giuen to Necromancie.

Thus we may take the Iesuites word, if we will. But the storie is reported by authors of better credit then *Bellarmine:* as *Iohannes Stella, Platina, Petrus Premonstratens. Nancleru, Antoninus.* Fox pag. 167.

Anastasius was a Nestorian heretike, whose heresie was this, that there are, as two natures, so also two persons in Christ, *Alphons. de castro lib. 1. de hæresib. cap. 4.*

Celestinus is reported by *Laurentius Valla* a Canon of Rome, to haue been a Nestorian heretike, *de donation. Constantin.*

Now commeth in Pope *Hildebrand*, or rather *Helldebrand*, for he was a very brand of hell fire; called *Gregory* the seuenth: Of whome *Benno* writeth thus: that he poysoned sixe Popes his predecessors to make himselfe a way to the Popedome: that he was a Coniurer, a rayser of Diuels, and in his rage he cast the sacrament into the fier. But saith *Harding* our countrey man, though vnworthily, *Benno* was his enemy, and wrote of displeasure: and *Bellarmine* thinketh that some *Lutheran* was the author of the booke, which goeth vnder the name of *Benno*, who was Cardinal in this *Hildebrands* time. But *Benno* onely doth not thus report of him: he was openly twise for the same crimes condemned in Councell: first at Wormes: then after deposed in the Councell at Brixia in Italie, and Pope *Clemens* the third elected to succeede him. And the said *Gregory* died in exile, of whome *Antoninus* reporteth, that before his death, he repented him of his insolency shewed toward the Emperor *Henry* the fourth; whom with his wife and young child bare foote, and bare legd, he had caused three dayes together, in extreame frost and colde, to waite at his palace gates at *Canusium*, before he could speake with him. Yet this *Hildebrand* for all these insolent, cruell, and dishoneste parts, is commended by our papists, *Harding, Bellarmine* and other, for a deuout Catholike man, who did all things of a zeale to the Church. By this you may iudge, whom our aduersaries count a Catholike man. Vrspergens. Fox pag. 179. Iuel. 168. Defens. Aplog.

Pope *Iohn* the 22. affirmed, that the soules lye in a traunce till the day of iudgement, and feele neither payne nor ioye. *Harding*, and likewise *Bellarmine* answere, that this was an error, but no heresie. Yet in the vniuersitie of Paris, it was condemned for heresie, as *Gerson* writeth. Againe saith *Harding*, he held it onely as a priuate opinion. But *Massæus* saith, that Pope *Iohn* preached this heresie and sent out preachers to maintaine it. He was condemned (saith he) with his error by the diuines of Paris in the presence of *Philip* the French King, before he was Pope, when he was yet but a priuate Doctor. But the contrary is proued by Bishop *Iewel*, that he was Pope 13. yeares before *Philip* was King, *Iuel. defens. Apolog.* pag. 667.

Pope *Iohn* the 23. denied the life to come, and the resurrection of the bodie: And this heresie was openly obiected against him in the Councell of Constance. *Bellarmine* and *Harding* before him, answere, that he was not the rightfull Pope, for there were three at that time, and therefore might erre. But *Platina* saith, that he was chosen at Bononia, by the consent of all the Cardinals, *ex Iuel* pag. 671.

Lastly, Pope *Eugenius* the fourth was condemned and deposed as an heretike in the Councell of Basile. Where the Iesuite hath no other answere, then by condemning the Councell as Schismaticall, to acquite the Pope, *lib. 3. de pontif. cap. 14.*

By these examples it may appeare to the indifferent reader, that it is no rare nor impossible thing, for the Popes of Rome to erre, yea become playne heretikes. And as for that shifte of the Iesuite,

suite, that they are no longer Popes, when they openly begin to teach heresie, this is as *Alphonsus* saith, *In re seria verbis velle iocari*, to dally with words in a serious and earnest matter. And so euery Bishop shall be as well priuiledged as the Pope, and cannot fall into heresie: for why may we not say that a Bishop, when he is knowne to be an heretike, ceaseth to be Bishop any longer, as the Pope is no longer Pope; and so as long as he remayneth Bishop, cannot possiblie be an heretike? Surely this is but paltrie and beggarly stuffe.

De hæresib. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Neither haue we named all the Popes, that are found to haue erred publikely, and iudicially: as *Lucius* doth allow marriages made without consent of parents; *de raptorib. cap. cum causa: Eusebius* before him defineth such not to be lawfull marriages, but rather, *stupra & adulteria*, whoredomes and adulteries, *epist.* 1. One of these two decreeing thus contrarie each to other, must needes be in an error. *Oldendorpius*, and *Quarenus* doe thinke that *Lucius* is in an error, and they thinke right: but *Antonius Delphinus* to iustifie the practise herein of the Popish Church, doth impute the error to *Eusebius*.

Innocentius the 1. did definitiuely hold, that it was necessarie for infants to receiue the Communion, which is a manifest error: *Augustine* so writeth of him, who was in the same error himselfe, *cont. Iulian. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

Innocentius againe writing to *Decentius*, affirmeth that none of the Apostles did preach in Italie, France, Spaine, Africa, but *Peter*, and whom he sent, *decr. p. 1. dist. 11. c. 11.* which one of your owne writers saith is contrarie to Saint *Pauls* epistles, and the storie of the Actes, *Effem. in 2. Timoth. p. 177.*

Nicholas the 4. did define publikely, that neither Christ or his Apostles had any thing in property, *Sext. decret. lib. 5. tit. 12. c. 3.*

Iohn the 22. defineth this assertion to be heresie, for any man to say, that Christ and his Apostles had nothing, *Extrau. tit. 14. cap. 4.*

And to conclude, it is a rule in their owne law: *Error cui non resistitur approbari videtur*: Error, that is not resisted, is approued, *Extrau. Iohann. tit. 5. c. 3.* And by these reasons, few of the Popes shall be free from error, who haue suffered, thorough their idle and voluptuous life, many errors and heresies to grow vp vnder their nose without checke.

Let vs see what a generall Councell hath determined of this matter, *Concil. Basilens. sess. 8. This priuiledge, say they, not to erre, hath not been granted*, communi lege, *by a common or perpetuall law to any, not to the Angels, for many of them fell; not to our first parents, for they were deceiued: Non solum pontificibus, quorum nonnulli in hæreses & errores lapsi esse dicuntur, & leguntur*, Not vnto the chiefe Bishops, for many of them are read to haue fallen into error and heresie.

The testimonie of the glorious Martyrs is this: Master *Bilney* holy Martyr, accused and condemned for this article with others, that he should say, *That these fiue hundred yeeres there hath bin no good Pope, nor in all the time past we can finde but fiftie, for they haue neither preached, nor lined well. &c. But till now haue borne the keyes of Simon, &c. Fox.* pag. 1001.

Master *Tindall* holy Martyr: *I thinke verely that so long as the successors of the Apostles were persecuted and martyred (he meaneth the 30. Bishops of Rome, that were put to death for Christ,) there were ful Christen men, and no longer*: pag. 1252. If the Popes haue hardly been good Christen men this long time, much lesse haue they been freed from error.

De Bapt. lib. 2. cap. 3.

Lastly, *Augustine* is not a whit afraid to say, *Epistolarum liter as per sermonem sapientiorem cuiuslibet in ea re peritioris, & per aliorum episcoporum graniorem authoritatem, & per concilia licere reprehendi, si ea à veritate deuiatum sit.* That the decrees of all Bishops whatsoeuer (not excluding Popes) may be corrected either by the sentence of wiser men in that point, wherein they erred, or by the better aduised sentence of other Bishops, or by Councels may bee reuersed, where they doe erre. *Ergo*, it is possible for Popes, by his iudgement, to erre.

A PART OR APPENDIX OF THIS QVESTION, whether the Church of Rome may erre or not.

The Papists.

48. Error.

THey doe not onely affirme that the Pope cannot erre, but that the Church of Rome also cannot be deceiued in matters of faith, so long as the Apostolike See remaineth there, which, they say, is like there to remaine to the end of the world. *Bellarmin. lib. 3. de pontif. cap. 4.* Hereupon *Panormitane* doubteth not to say, that he would preferre the iudgement of the Cardinals of Rome, before the iudgement of the whole world: this he said, standing vp in the Councell of Basile, *Fox.* pag. 669. ex *Æneæ Sylvio.*

Argum. 1. The Rhemists vpon those words of S. *Paul*, Rom. 1. 5. your faith is published through the whole world, doe thus inferre: See (say they) the great prouidence of God in the preseruation of the Roman common faith. In times past the Romane faith and Catholike all one: *Ergo*, that See cannot erre in faith.

We

We answere: they must proue their Romish faith and Popish religion, to be the same which was praysed and commended by the Apostle, or else they gaine nothing: but that shall they neuer doe.

*Argum.*2. So long as the Apostolike See remaineth at Rome, it shall be preserued from error, but that is like there to remaine till the worlds end: for it onely remaineth, when all other Apostolike Sees are gone: and it is very probable, that if this See could haue been ouerthrowen, it should haue been done by the incursion and inuasion of the Gothes, Vandals, Turkes, the emulation of Princes, diuisions and schismes of Popes themselues: yet for all this it standeth still, and hath so continued almost 1600. yeeres, and shall so continue still. *Ergo*, the Romane Church cannot erre. *Bellarm. lib.2.cap.4. Rhemist. annot. in 2. Thessal.2. fol.7.*

We answere: First, it is a great vntruth, that all other Apostolike Sees are gone, for there is a succession at Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, Ephesus, euen at this day. Secondly, it is false, that the See of Rome hath continued in that religion it now professeth, which indeede is no religion, but superstition and heresie, these 1600. yeeres: for first till *Gregories* time, which was 600. yeeres after Christ, none of the Popes would be called vniuersall Bishops: and it was more then 300. yeeres, from *Gregory* the first to *Syluester* the second, when Sathan is thought fully to be let loose: for he by the diuell was aduanced to the papacie: All these yeeres therefore you must strike off in your account. Thirdly, that the See of Rome, which is the seate of Antichrist, hath continued many yeeres, we grant: for it is the iust iudgement of God vpon the world, because they loued not the truth, that they should be deluded a long time, and deceiued by Antichrist, and beleeue lies: so did S. *Paul* propheste, 2. Thess. 2. 10. 11. And we grant also that that Antichristian See shall in some sort remaine till the comming of Christ, whom he shall destroy with the brightnes of his appearing, as S. *Paul* saith. You haue gained therefore nothing by this, but that Rome is the seate of Antichrist.

The Protestants.

IT is euident and plaine, and neede not much proofe, that the Romane Church, as also any particular visible Church, may not onely erre in faith, but fall cleane away into heresie and Idolatrie, as we see it come to passe in the Church of Rome.

*Argum.*1. The Church of Rome hath no better assurance of their continuance, then the Church of the Iewes had before Christ, no nor yet so great, for they were a peculiar and chosen nation. But *Iudah* fell and transgressed, and committed idolatrie in the raigne of *Ahaz*, and therefore the prophet *Esay* complaineth and saith, from the sole of the foote to the head, there is nothing sound chap. 1. vers. 6.

Neither are they better then the Church of Ephesus was in S. *Iohns* time, who was as able (I thinke) to keepe that Church from error, as the Pope is to keepe Rome: yet the Lord threatneth to remoue his candlestick from amongst them, vnlesse they did amend, Reu. 2. 5. *Ergo*, the Church of Rome may erre.

*Argum.*2. The Pope may erre, as we haue before shewed: *Ergo*, the Church of Rome: for the Apostolike See, as they say, is the cause that no error can approch or come neere them. Therefore (me thinketh) the Iesuite committeth a foule absurdity, in saying, the Church of Rome cannot so much as erre personally, and yet they grant that the Pope may erre personally. So by this reason the body should haue a greater priuiledge then the head: the Church of Rome should be freer from error then the Pope, who should preserue it from error: this sure is a great absurditie in Popish diuinity, *Bellarm. cap.4.*

3 It is confessed by our aduersaries themselues, that the Church of Rome may erre: as the Councell at Rome vnder *Adrian* the second erred, saith the Iesuite, in determining *Honorius* to be an heretike, one of his predecessors, chap. 11.

The Councell of the Italian Bishops at Brixia erred in condemning *Gregory* the seuenth, who was, if you will beleeue *Harding*, a vertuous and an holy man: Nay *Paulus Iouius* a popish Bishop confesseth, that *Adrianus* the sixte was made Pope, *mira & pudenda Senatorum factiosorum suffragatione*, through the strange and shamefull suffrages of factious Cardinals, because they preferred a stranger before their owne order. Lib.10.fine.

But our aduersaries haue a tricke, to shift off all this that hath been said: They erred in a matter of fact, not in any poynt of faith. Yet they cannot so closely conuey the matter away; for *Panormitan* euen in such questions also preferreth the iudgement of the Cardinals before the whole world, speaking in the defence of *Eugenius*, who was chalenged in the Councell of Basile, for the dissolution of the Councell, which he did (saith *Panormitane*) with the aduice of the Cardinals: whose iudgement he so much esteemeth in this matter, which concerned not faith, namely, for the dissoluing of the Councell. Fox. pag. 669.

Appendix. Concil. Basil. ex epist. Ioan. Patriarch. Constantinop. We reade thus, *Quod dicitur ecclesia Romana semper immaculata permansit, & permanebit, intelligi debet verum, quamdiu ligabit insti-*

clause non errante. Whereas it is said, the Church of Rome hath alwayes remained vnspotted, and shall so continue still, it must bee vnderstood to make it true, so long as shee bindeth iustly, the key not erring. Their sentence is therefore, that the Church of Rome may erre in dispensing of the keyes, &c.

Saint *Hierome* writing against *Vigilantius* saith, *Galliam solam haresin monstra non habuisse.* That onely France of all Churches was free from heresie. In saying onely France, the Church of Rome is not excepted: and this saying of S. *Hierome* is approued by one of your owne writers, *Esperc. in 1. ad Timoth. p.* 383.

The same father also misliketh a certaine custome, or abuse rather of the Romane Church, that Deacons were preferred before Priests, and saith, they did not, *recte facere*, doe that which was right, they were therfore in an error. And this sentence is inserted into their owne decrees, *dist. 93. cap. legimus.*

Againe, *Decr. part. 2. caus. 35. quæst. 9 cap. 6. Nicholaus, sententia Romanæ sedis, &c.* The sentence of the See of Rome may be changed into a better: *Ergo*, that See may erre and be deceiued.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, OF THE SPIRITUALL iurisdiction and power of the Bishop of Rome.

THis question hath two parts: the first, whether the Bishop of Rome haue a coactiue and constraining power to make lawes to binde the conscience, and to punish the transgressors. Secondly, whether other Pastors and Bishops haue their iurisdiction immediatly from God, or from the Pope.

Other questions also there are, which belong to this matter, as whether the Pope bee the chiefe Iudge in controuersies of faith, which we haue alreadie handled, entreating of the perfection and authoritie of the Scriptures: as also whether it be in the Pope to summon, dissolue, and confirme Councels, which hath been sufficiently declared before, in the controuersie concerning Councels. Concerning other questions, as the canonizing of Saints, which they say appertaineth to the Pope, the election and confirmation of Bishops, pardons and indulgences, we shall haue fitter occasion to deale in them, in their seuerall places and controuersies. At this time we purpose only to touch these two poynts aforesaid, of the Popes ecclesiasticall iurisdiction.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE POPE may make lawes to binde the conscience, and punish the transgressors thereof iudicially.

The Papists.

49. Error. THat the Pope hath such authoritie, to make lawes for the whole Church, which shall binde vnder paine of damnation, as well as the lawes of God, it is the generall opinion of the Papists, *Fox* 981. *articul.* 13. *& pag.* 1101. *articul. cont. Lambert.* 29. But they put in this clause, so they bee not vniust lawes nor contrarie to the diuine law, *Bellarm. cap.* 15. And yet they say that the Pope may make lawes, hauing not the authoritie nor warrant of Scripture, neither is it necessarie for these lawes to be expressed or diduced out of Scripture. And these lawes are not onely of externall rites and orders of the Church, but euen of things necessarie to saluation, *Bellarm. cap.* 15. *in reprehens. Caluini.* Yea he addeth further, that in matters not necessarie to saluation, he cannot be disobeyed without deadly sinne, and offence of conscience, *cap.* 16. *loc.* 1. *Bulla Leonis* 10. *aduersus Lutherum, Fox pag.* 1283. *col.* 1.

Argum. 1. The Apostles prescribed a law concerning the abstaining from blood, things strangled, and offered to Idols, concerning the which Christ gaue them no precept. But this law did binde the people in conscience: for euery where the Apostles gaue streighe charge, for the keeping of the decrees, *Bellarm.*

Answ. First, the Apostles commanded no new thing, but the same which they themselues were taught of Christ, that they should take heede of offence: the Christians therefore were not bound in conscience any further to keep the decrees concerning such things, then for auoyding of scandall and offence. Secondly, for afterward the offence being taken away, the law also ceased: and Saint *Paul* giueth libertie, notwithstanding this law, to eate things offered to Idols, if it might be done without offence, asking no question (saith he) for conscience sake, 1. Cor. 10. 27. which Epistle it is certaine was written after that decree of the Apostles, Act. 15. 29. *Ergo*, their consciences were not hereby obliged and bound.

1 *Bellarmine* replieth to the first, that though the end of the Apostles precept was to auoide offence, yet the precept it selfe was as touching the not eating of things offered to Idols, strangled and blood: as the end of the Morall law, as not to steale, not to kill, is charitie: yet the law

bindeth

bindeth vs not onely to that end, but to abstaine also from killing and stealing: *cap. 16. respons. ad Calum. loc. 5.*

Contra. Bellarmine here sheweth either his wilfull ignorance, or rash ouersight, making no difference betweene things indifferent, and euill of their owne nature: for to kill, to steale, are euill in themselues and simply forbidden, and not onely for offence: to eate or not to eate, this or that, are indifferent in themselues, and not vnlawfull but in respect of the offence; which followeth.

2. *Bellarmine* to the second point answereth, that this law of the Apostles is now abrogate, not because the offence ceaseth, but because the law vniuersally is determined: as for example, the end of fasting is to tame the flesh rebelling against the spirit, which reason shall cease after the resurrection, and then also the law of fasting shall no more be needfull.

Contra. Father *Robert Bellarmine* maketh here a long discourse, and would seeme to say somewhat, and yet it proueth iust nothing: and if he say any thing, it maketh for vs: for as the law of fasting shall then cease, when the reason and end thereof shall cease: so this law of the Apostles is vniuersally abrogate, because there is no more feare or danger of offence, which was the reason of the making of this decree.

3. To the place alleaged out of S. *Paul* to the Corinthians, he hath three answeres: first, that when S. *Paul* did so write to the Corinthians, that decree of the Apostles began then to bee abrogate. But he himselfe misliketh this answere, and therefore it needs no further confutation. Secondly, his reason is good, that the law did yet hold, because the reason of the law, that is to auoid offence, was not yet remoued. Secondly, it may be thought, saith he, that as yet the decree of the Apostles was not come to the Corinthians, and therefore the Apostle so writeth.

Contra. First, the decree was generally prescribed to all the Gentiles conuerted to God, and not to them of Antioch onely, as *Iames* determineth, Act. 15. 19. And therefore seeing it concerned the Corinthians as well as other Churches, he speaketh without ground, to say, that it was not yet deliuered to the Church of the Corinthians. Secondly, admit the Corinthians knew it not, S. *Paul* yet did know it, and therefore he would not haue written any thing contrarie to the decree which he knew, though they knew it not.

Cap. 11. lib. 1. de pœnit.

Argum. 2. It is necessarie to haue some lawes, beside the diuine law, for the gouernment of the Church: for the word of God is too vniuersall, neither is sufficient to direct euery particular action: therefore other ecclesiasticall lawes must bee added: but euery good and necessarie law hath a coactiue and constraining power, and bindeth the conscience to obedience: *Ergo*, the constitutions of the Popes and Councels, which are the onely ecclesiasticall lawes, do binde the conscience, *Bellarm. cap. 16. lib. 4.*

Answ. First, the word of God containeth all necessarie rules to saluation: wherefore all lawes of the Church concerning matters of faith, are but explanations, and interpretations of the rules of faith set forth in Scripture, if they be godly lawes, and so are not the lawes of men but of God, and doe binde the conscience to the obseruation thereof: as the lawes of the Church, which commaund Christians to resort to the congregation to heare Gods word, and reuerently to receiue the Sacraments, are the very ordinances and commaundements of Christ, who enioyned his Apostles to preach, and baptize, and his faithfull people to heare and to be baptized, and therefore in conscience wee are bound to the obedience hereof. Secondly, there are other ecclesiasticall lawes appointed for the publike order of the Church, concerning externall rites and circumstances of persons and place, as the houres of prayer, the forme of the Leiturgie and publike seruice, the times fittest for the celebration of the Sacraments, and such like. These and such like constitutions doe not binde in conscience absolutely, in respect of the things themselues, which are indifferent, but in regard of that contempt, and offence which might follow in the not keeping of them: contempt to our superiours, whom we ought in all lawfull things to obey: offence, in grieuing the conscience of our weake brethren. So that euen these constitutions also which are made according to the rules of the Gospell, that is, vnto edification, to the glorie of God, and for auoyding of offence, doe necessarily binde vs in conscience, not conscience of the things themselues, which are but exterpal, but conscience of obedience to our Christian Magistrates, and conscience in taking heede of all iust offence: *sic Calum. Institut. lib. 4. cap. 10. 11.*

3. But we are not, God be thanked, driuen to any such streight, that if there be needs of any such ecclesiasticall lawes, we should runne for succour to the Popes beggerly decretals. (And yet such Canons, as were in force amongst them, agreeable to the rules of the Gospell, we doe not refuse.) But if there bee want and penurie of good lawes, euery Church hath as full authoritie, to make decrees and ordinances for the peace and order, and quiet gouernment thereof, not as the Pope of Rome hath ouer the vniuersall Church (for that by right is none, or if it bee, it is but an vsurped power) but as the Bishop of Rome hath in his owne Bishoprick and dioces.

The Protestants.

WHat our sentence is of this matter, it doth plainly appeare by that which wee haue already said, that the Pope hath no power ouer the whole Church, and therefore can make no lawes to binde the conscience or otherwise for the same, for it belongeth not to his charge. Secondly, wee say, that neither he, nor any ecclesiasticall gouernment beside, can make lawes of things necessarie to saluation, other then those which are in Scripture contained. Thirdly, all ecclesiasticall lawes made concerning externall rites, and publike order, doe not otherwise binde the conscience, then in regard of our obedience due to Christian Magistrates in lawfull things, and for auoyding of scandall and offence: But in respect of the things commaunded, such lawes doe not binde: *Calum. loc. praedicto.*

Argum. 1. Saint *Iames* saith, *There is one law-giuer which is able to saue and to destroy*, chap. 4. 12. He therefore onely maketh lawes to binde the conscience, that is able to saue and to destroy: but that cannot the Pope doe: *Ergo, Calum. argum.*

Bellarmine answereth, that the lawes of men doe binde vnder paine of damnation, in as much as God is offended and displeased with their disobedience, and so iudgeth them worthie of punishment, *cap.* 20. All this we graunt, that the lawes of men being good lawes, doe binde in conscience in respect of the contempt and disobedience to higher powers, but not in respect of the things commanded, which in their nature are indifferent. The Iesuite should haue said, that God is offended not onely for their disobedience, but simply for not doing the things commaunded, which he durst not say: As when the Magistrate for some profitable and politike end commandeth vpon some dayes abstinence from flesh, it is not the eating or not eating of flesh, that simply displeaseth and offendeth God, but the contempt of the law, and wilfull and obstinate disobedience to the Magistrate: for otherwise the vse of the creature is free and indifferent.

Cap. 15. lib. 4. de pontif.

Arg. 2. We will beate the Iesuite with his own staffe: he saith not, that all lawes do binde the conscience, but onely iust lawes, in the which foure conditions are required. First, that they be made for some profitable end: so are not popish lawes which nourish superstition, and haue no edifying, and some of them doe commaund plaine idolatrie, and open impietie, as the worshipping of Images, the adoration of the Masse, and such like. Secondly, saith he, they must not be contrarie to Gods law, but such are many of their ordinances, yea the most of them. Thirdly, they must be made by him that hath authoritie: therefore none of the Popes lawes binde the vniuersall Church, for it is not subiect to him. Fourthly, the forme and manner of imposing such lawes must be orderly: but their lawes are most disordered, imposed vpon the Church violently, without their consent, or any good proceeding. Thus you see, euen by their owne confession, their lawes cannot binde.

One thing more I must needes tell them of. If they would needes haue their lawes to bind me in conscience, they should haue made fewer of them: now they are so many, that if the breach of them were an offence of conscience, do men what they could, they should daily make shipwrack of their conscience. It is a true saying that is reported of one *Thomas Arthur*, a good Christian, it is an homely speech, because the matter was somewhat homely, yet he did hit the marke. Likes (saith he) crosses were set vp against the walles of London, that no man should pisse there; and while there were but a few, men for reuerence of the crosses, would not pisse against the wall: but when in euery corner they set vp crosses, men of necessitie were faine to pisse vpon the wall and crosses too. So (saith he) if there had been fewer lawes of the Church, they would haue been better kept: but now they are so many, that men cannot chuse but breake them.

Fox pag. 999.

Argum. 3. The Pope hath no power to correct the transgressors of his lawes ouer the whole Church: *Ergo*, he cannot make lawes to binde the whole Church. The argument followeth, for he that hath absolute power to make lawes, hath also power to command obedience to the lawes so made. And your owne law saith, *Iurisdictio nullius videretur momenti, si correctionem aliquam non haberet*: That iurisdiction is nothing worth, that hath no constraining power, *Innocen. 3. decr. Greg. lib. 1. tit. 29. cap. 28.*

The first is thus prooued: the Pope indeede hath taken vpon him many times to thunder out his excommunications against other Churches: but it was an vsurped and tyrannicall power, and many times resisted, and controuled.

Fox pag. 41.

Pope *Victor*, *anno* 200. would haue excommunicate the East Churches about the keeping of Easter, but he was staied by *Irenaus*. The Councell of Constance did send out excommunications against Pope *Benedict. sess.* 36.

In the Councell of Basil, Pope *Eugenius* cited Cardinall *Iulian*, with the rest of the fathers there assembled, to come to Bononia, vnder great penaltie: they likewise cited *Eugenius* vnder the like penaltie, either to come or send to Basil. *Fox* pag. 668.

Pope *Leo* the 10. in his furiush Antichristian Bull, excommunicated and condemned *Luther*. *Luther* with better right pronounceth sentence of excommunication against him, being an aduersarie

uersarie to Christ, in these words: According to the power and might, that the spirit of Christ, and efficacie of our faith can doe in these our writings, if you shall persist still in your furie, wee condemne you together with this Bull and all the decretall, and giue you to Sathan, to the destruction of the flesh, that your spirit in the day of the Lord may be deliuered: in the name, which you persecute, of Iesus Christ our Lord. *Fox* pag. 1286.

Thus you see what small force there is of these popish leaden Bulls, and presumptuous excommunications: for it falleth out iustly by them, as the Wiseman saith, *As the Sparrow and Swallow by flying escape, so the curse causeles shall not come.* Now seeing therefore the Pope faileth of power and strength to see his lawes executed in the vniuersall Church, it cannot be that his lawes should vniuersally binde. Prou. 26. 2.

Lastly, let *Augustine* speake: he thus defineth sinne, *Peccatum est dictum, factum, vel concupitum contra legem aternam Dei*: Sinne is any thing done, said, or coueted against the law of God: therefore the transgression simply of the law of man is not sinne; but as thereby also the law of God is transgressed: *Ergo*, simply it bindeth not the conscience: for sinne onely bindeth and toucheth the conscience. Contra Faustum lib. 22. cap. 27.

We haue also a most cleere testimonie of a prouinciall Councell, *Synod. Magunt. cap. 48.* which I will set downe whole as it standeth, as very pertinent to this place: *Et si hoc in præceptis diuinis haud continetur, quod maiorum nostrorum constitutiones iubent, tamen vt maioribus obedimus (salua tamen ea, quæ legi diuinæ non aduersantur) diserti iuris diuini est: vnde per occasionem talium constitutionum transgressores grandis peccati rei sunt, dum ex contemptu aut cum scandalo charitatem violant, quorum vtrumque per se peccatum mortale operatur: alioqui ecclesia constitutiones suas charitati & necessitati libenter submittit*: Although it be not expressely contained in the word of God, which the constitutions of our fathers doe commaund: yet that wee should obey our Elders, especially wherein they are not contrarie to the law of God, it is the expresse word of God: whereupon they, which are transgressors of such constitutions, are guiltie of a great sinne, in so much as doing it of contempt and by giuing of offence, they violate charitie: for the lawes of the Church must submit themselues to the rules of charitie and necessitie. This decree sheweth, that the Church, or the gouernours thereof, are not to commaund lawes not warranted by Gods word: and that they binde vs to obedience no otherwise, then in respect of contempt, and offence which may be giuen: which is all one with that, which we affirmed before.

We haue also witnesse of both the lawes: first *Iustinian* the Emperour thus writeth: *Leges condere soli imperatori concessum est, &c.* It is onely lawfull for the Emperour to make lawes: *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 17. leg. 11.* If onely for the Emperour, then the Pope hath no authoritie to make lawes.

Their owne law also consenteth with vs: *Vrban 2.* in his decree as it standeth *in Gratians part 2. caus. 19. quæst. 2. cap. 2.* alleageth the same place of Scripture, which wee produce for this matter, 2. Cor. 3. *Where the spirit of God is, there is libertie; and if you be led by the spirit, you are no more vnder the law, &c. Ergo*, we are not bound in conscience to obey humane lawes, which infringe the libertie of the spirit, as the superstitious pontificiall lawes doe.

Bellarmine answereth, that wee are freed from *Moses* ceremoniall lawes, but not from the obedience of Prelates, *resp. ad argum. 5.*

Contra. First, if we be freed from the yoke of Iewish ceremonies, which were instituted of God, and were profitable for the time, much more are we deliuered from popish ceremonies, which are meere humane inuentions, and had neuer any good vse. Secondly, *Vrbanus* in the former decree inferreth the contrarie, that the libertie of the spirit doth exempt men from the obedience of Prelates: for he thus concludeth, after he had alleaged a certaine distinction, of publike law, and priuate, calling that publike, which is ordained by the gouernours of the Church; that priuate, which is written in the heart of man by the spirit out of the word, which is of more force then the other: and the publike (saith he) ought to giue place to the priuate. Then he thus resolueth, Whosoeuer is led by this spirit, though his Bishop do gainsay, *est liber nostra authoritate*, is pronounced free by our authoritie.

Againe, there is another decree of *Vrban. caus. 25. quæst. 1. cap. 6. Inde nouas leges condere potest, &c.* The Bishop of Rome may make lawes, where the Euangelists and Prophets haue said nothing: but where our Lord or the Apostles, &c. haue defined any thing, there the Romane Bishop cannot make a new law, &c. But now many of the Popes lawes are found to commaund many things directly contrarie to the Scriptures.

Let vs adde the seale of the Martyrs, master *Bilney* Martyr: As touching the multitude of lawes S. *Augustine* in his time did much complaine: and *Gerson* also who marueiled, that wee could by any meanes liue in safetie among so many snares of constitutions, when as our forefathers being pure before their fall, could not obserue one onely precept. *Fox* pag. 1000.

Master *Lambert* Martyr: If it be true, which is written in the decrees, that lawes bee neuer confirmed, till they be approoued by the common manners of them that shall vse them, then cannot

the Popes lawes binde all Christian men; for the Greekes and Bohemians will neuer admit them: *pag.* 1116. *reply. ad arrival.* 19. Whereupon we conclude, that the Pope cannot make lawes to bind the whole Church.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS QVESTION, whether all Bishops doe receiue their ecclesiasticall iurisdiction from the Pope.

The Papists.

50. Error. THey denie not but that the power of order, as they call it, which consisteth in the administration of the Sacraments, is equally distributed to all Bishops; and that they, as well as the Pope, doe receiue it immediatly by their consecration, of God: but the power both of externall iurisdiction, which standeth vpon ecclesiasticall censures, constitutions and decrees, and internall iurisdiction, which is exercised in binding and loosing, is deriued, say they, from the Pope to all other Bishops.

Numb. 11. 16. *Argum.* 1. God tooke of the spirit that was in *Moses*, and distributed it among the seuentie Elders, that were chosen to beare the burthen of gouernment with *Moses*, and to be his helpers: the Lord tooke of his spirit, not by diminishing it, but by deriuing of his vertue to the rest: but the Pope is now in the roume and place of *Moses* in the Church: *Ergo*, from him to the rest is this authoritie deriued.

Answ. First, *Moses* example was extraordinarie, he was a figure of Christ, not of the Pope, Deut. 18. vers. 15. The Pope might with better right stand vpon *Aarons* example, who was high Priest, not lay claime to *Moses* office, who was the Prince and Captaine of the people: for the Pope, I trow, would bee chiefe Bishop, and not Emperour too. Secondly, the meaning is not that God deriued *Moses* spirit to the rest: but bestowed the like gift of prophesying vpon them, as *Moses* had: surely neuer any mortall man had the spirit in such abundance, that it could bee deuided into seuentie portions, and one Prophet to make many. The like phrase is vsed, 2. King. 2. 15. where the Prophets said, that the spirit of *Eliah* did rest on *Elisha*, that is, God endued him with an excellent spirit of prophesying, as *Elias* had. If they will vnderstand this place also of deriuing of spirits; how then shall that bee taken in the ninth verse where *Elisha* praieth, that his spirit might be doubled vpon him? If his spirit were deriued from *Eliah*, how could it bee doubled vpon him? how could it be multiplied and increased? how could he haue more then was in the fountaine or originall, seeing he receiued all from thence?

3 What maketh this place, I pray you, for the power of externall iurisdiction? Here it is said that God gaue of his spirit to seuentie Elders and rulers of the people, and enabled them for their office; endued them with wisedome, and knowledge, and dexteritie in iudging of the people: this maketh nothing for their purpose, vnlesse they will also say, that there is a secret influence of knowledge and wisedome deriued from the Pope to al other Bishops, whereby they are made able to execute their office. But (I trow) they will not say so: for *Alphonsus de castro* truly saith of the Popes of Rome, *Constat plures eorum adeo esse illiteratos, vt grammaticam penitus ignorent*: It is certaine that many of them were so vnlearned, that they hard and scant knew their grammar.

4 The argument followeth not from one particular countrey, as this was of the Iewes, to the vniuersall Church: that because the seuentie Elders receiued iurisdiction from *Moses* (yet that cannot be prooued out of this place; for they were Rulers before, and commanders of the people, they were now but inwardly furnished, and further enabled) yet it were no good reason, that therefore the Ecclesiasticall Ministers ouer the whole Church, should receiue their power from one.

5 Neither doth it follow, that because the Prince and ciuill Magistrate may bestow ciuill offices, create Dukes, Earles, Lords, constitute Iudges, Deputies, Lieutenants, by his sole authoritie; that by the same reason Ecclesiasticall Ministers should receiue their power and office from their superiours: for although the Church from ancient time hath thought it good, to make some inequalitie & difference in ecclesiasticall offices for the peace of the Church; yet the superiours haue not such a soueraigne and commanding power ouer the rest, as the Prince hath ouer his subiects.

Argum. 2. If Bishops and pastors should haue their iurisdiction immediatly from God, and not from man, all Bishops should haue an equall iurisdiction: but now we see it to be otherwise, that one Bishop is set ouer one towne, another ouer twentie: therefore it is most like they haue their iurisdiction from men, not immediatly from God: *Bellarm. argum* 4.

Answ. 1. We doe not affirme, that the Bishops, Pastors and Ministers of the Church haue their iurisdiction, office or calling immediatly from God, as the Apostles, Prophets and Euangelists had; for such callings were extraordinarie, and are now ceased in the Church: but that by right of their consecration and receiuing of orders, according to the godly custome & practise of

that:

that Church where they liue, mediately by the hands of thoſe, to whom in the name of the whole Church that care is committed: yet by the commaundement of God, they are appoynted to their ſeuerall offices and functions.

2 It followeth not, if they all haue their authoritie and power from God, that they ſhould be all of an equall degree: for we ſee that there are diuers degrees in the ciuill ſtate, there be Emperours, Kings, Dukes, all chiefe in their owne ſeignories, and all haue their calling from God; as S. *Paul* teacheth, Rom. 13.7. to ſome tribute, to ſome cuſtome, to ſome feare, to ſome honor belongeth. Here are diuers degrees, yet they are all ordained of God, verſ. 1. Yea in the ſame kingdome, immediatly by the hands of the Prince, ſome are created Earles, ſome Lords, ſome Knights, yet are their degrees vnequall. In the naturall bodie the head immediatly conueyeth a ſenſitiue power to the organes of the ſight, the hearing, the taſt, and of the other ſenſes; yet are they not all of the ſame excellencie. And yet to make it more plaine; the Apoſtles, Prophets, Euangeliſts were immediatly called of God, yet were the Apoſtles in degree before the reſt: the Ieſuites argument then is not well knit togither.

3 One Biſhop (ſaith he) hath one towne, another hath twentie, &c. But this is nothing to the purpoſe; we ſpeake of the calling of Biſhops, and he of their prouinces and circuites: the largenes of their iuriſdiction, maketh not their degree higher; a Biſhop may haue a larger dioces then an Archbiſhop, as the Biſhop of Linolne hath then the Archbiſhop of Canturburie: yet, I trow, an Archbiſhop is before a Biſhop. We muſt diſtinguiſh then betweene *Epiſcopatum, & dioceſin*, the office of a Biſhop, and his dioceſſe, his calling, and his title or dignitie: there may be a Biſhop without a dioceſſe, as a Miniſter without a charge; though neither of them be fit or conuenient: for it is contrarie to the Canon, that any man ſhould be abſolutely ordayned without a title. *Chalced. concil. can. 6.* But I ſpeake of that which is practiſed, not which ought to be. S. *Paul* ſaith, he that deſireth *Epiſcopatum*, the office of a Biſhop, &c. there was then *Epiſcopatus*, the calling of a Biſhop, though as yet no dioceſſe aſſigned, no title or dignitie annexed. So then we conclude thus: as touching the titles, dignities, honors belonging to the calling of Biſhops, as to be ſet ouer this Citie or that, this dioceſſe or another, they haue it by the donation of the Prince: as that good Emperor *Frederike* telleth Pope *Adrian* the fourth, *Quicquid regalis papatus veſter habere dignoſcitur, largitione principum donatur*: whatſoeuer princely dignitie your papacie hath, it is giuen by the liberalitie of princes.

And as for the office and iuriſdiction it ſelfe, it is not deriued from Rome, but in euery Church the ſpirituall paſtors thereof haue as full authoritie from God to ordaine and appoint Biſhops, Paſtors, Doctors, teachers, neceſſarie for the gouernment thereof, as the Biſhop of Rome hath, if he were a good Biſhop in his owne dioceſſe: therefore though we ſhould graunt the Ieſuites concluſion, that the calling of Biſhops is from men, which in our meaning we deny not; yet he hath gained nothing: for it followeth not, if from men, then from the Pope, as we haue ſhewed: and better arguments the Ieſuite hath none, then we haue ſeene.

The Proteſtants.

THat Biſhops haue not their Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction from Rome, but doe as well enioy it by right of their conſecration, election, inſtitution, in their owne precincts, circuites, prouinces, cities, townes; yea, as the Pope doth in his Biſhopricke, and by much better right, if they be good Biſhops, and louers of the truth: thus briefely it is proued.

Argum. 1. The Apoſtles had not their iuriſdiction from *Peter*, but all receiued it indifferently from Chriſt: this the Ieſuite doth not barely acknowledge, but proueth it by argument, againſt the iudgement of other Papiſts, chap. 23. *Ergo*, neither Biſhops are authoriſed from the Pope, though he were *Peters* ſucceſſor: for if he were (to grant it for diſputations ſake) he is no more to the Biſhops of the Church, then *Peter* was to the Apoſtles. If he gaue not the keyes to the Apoſtles; neither doth the Pope S. *Peters* ſucceſſor, to the Biſhops, the Apoſtles ſucceſſors: for they may with as great right challenge to be the Apoſtles ſucceſſors, as he can to be S. *Peters*.

Bellarmine anſwereth, there is great difference betweene the ſucceeding of *Peter* by the Pope, and the ſucceſſion of the other Apoſtles in Biſhops: the Pope ſucceedeth *Peter*, not as Apoſtle, but as the ordinarie paſtor of the whole Church: the other Apoſtles were not ordinarie paſtors; and therefore the Biſhops cannot properly ſucceede them, for the Apoſtles had iuriſdiction ouer the whole Church, they had power to found Churches, to write Canonicall bookes of Scripture, they had the gift of tongues, and of miracles, but Biſhops haue none of theſe. Againe, one is ſaid *ſuccedere præcedenti*, to ſucceede one that goeth before: the Biſhops then cannot be the Apoſtles ſucceſſors, becauſe they were in the Apoſtles times.

Anſwere, to the firſt part concerning *Peters* ſucceſſion: firſt, let this be remembred, that the Ieſuite confeſſeth, that the Pope doth not ſucceede *Peter, vt Apoſtolo*, as an Apoſtle: then how commeth it aboute, that the Sea of Rome is called Apoſtolicall, and the Pope chalengeth to be called Apoſtolike, and ſaith his office is *Apoſtolatus*, a very Apoſtleſhip: from whence hath he this,

seeing he hath nothing to doe with *Peters* Apostleship? *Bellarmine*, I thinke, will here bestrew himselfe. Secondly, hee cannot succeede *Peter*, as ordinarie pastor of the whole Church, for so was hee neuer; and that power which he had ouer the whole Church, as other Apostles had, as the Iesuite himselfe confesseth, was Apostolike, not pastorall: for that commission, *Goe teach all nations*, Matth. 28. 19. *And ye shall be witnesses vnto me, to the vttermost parts of the earth*, Act. 1. 8. was giuen to all the Apostles, and was therefore Apostolicall: of any other such large and generall commission giuen to *Peter* alone, we reade not. Wherefore, if the Pope neither succeede *Peter* as Apostle, which *Bellarmine* graunteth, nor as generall pastor, as we haue proued: it will be found, that he is not *Peters* right successor at all, as in deede he is not.

To the second part we answere: first, that the Apostles were not properly ordinarie pastors, we easely graunt; for they had charge of the whole Church, and were not tyed and limited to any one certaine place: yet *Bellarmine* against himselfe in this place els where confesseth it, that *Iames* was *pastor & Episcopus*, pastor and Bishop of Ierusalem, *lib. 1. de pontifice, cap. 26.* Yet the argument followeth not, the Apostles calling was extraordinarie, and they had extraordinarie gifts; therefore they could haue no successors: for it is not necessarie that the successor should haue all which his predecessor had: the Apostles succeeded the auncient Prophets. Ioh. 4. 38. *You are entred into their labours*, yet was their calling diuers: yea the Apostles were in Christs stead, 1. Cor. 5. 20. yet was there more in Christ, then in his Apostles. Secondly, we say then, that as the Apostles had extraordinarie giftes, as to pen Scripture, to worke miracles, and so had an extraordinarie calling; so had they ordinarie giftes, as of teaching, exhorting, admonishing, yet after a more excellent manner: the Bishops then and pastors of the Church, though they succeede them not for their extraordinarie giftes, yet are properly their successors in feeding, teaching, and instructing, which giftes were not so extraordinarie in the Apostles, but that they were to continue vnto their posteritie, as the Lord saith by his Prophet, *My spirit that is vpon thee, and my words, which I haue put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor the mouth of thy seede, nor of thy seedes seed, from henceforth for euer*, Isay. 59. 21.

Thirdly, to *Bellarmines* last argument we answere: first, that it cannot be shewed, that then were any such Bishops, as he speaketh of in the Apostles time, seeing the names of *Episcopus* and *Presbyter*, of Bishop and Elder are confounded in the Apostles writings, as the Iesuite elsewhere confesseth: Againe, the successor and predecessor may be both at one time, as *Valerius* Bishop of Hippo yet liuing, appointed *Augustine* his successor, and *Augustine* appointed *Eradius*. And if it were not so, that the successor might be assigned in the predecessors life, the Pope were like to haue a colde suite of it: for S. *Peter*, if there be any credit in those records, *Clement. epistol. 1.* ordayned *Clement* his successor, while he liued. *Clementem hunc Episcopum vobis ordino, cui sicut mihi prædicationis & doctrinæ cathedram trado*: I ordaine this *Clement* to be your Bishop, to whom only I leaue my chayre of doctrine; Notwithstanding then, any thing which the Iesuite hath yet said, or is able to say, the Bishops and Pastors of Christs Church, doe as properly succeede the Apostles, as the Bishop of Rome succeedeth *Peter*; yea with better right, vnlesse he did embrace S. *Peters* doctrine.

Argum. 2. The Apostles gaue no power or iurisdiction to the Elders and Pastors, whom they ordained, Act. 20. 28. *Take heede to the flocke, ouer the which the holy Ghost hath made you Bishops ouerseers*: and Ephes. 4. 11. *He hath giuen some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Pastors and teachers*. So then the pastors and teachers, though ordained by the Apostles, yet had their calling and office from God and not from the Apostles: much lesse now can they receiue their power from any, no not from the Pope: for he is no Apostle, no nor Apostolike man, hauing left the Apostolike faith.

To these places *Bellarmine* answereth, that the spirit of God did appoint Bishops and pastors, but yet immediatly by the hands of the Apostles: And so God now also constituteth and ordayneth Bishops, but immediately from the Pope, or his assignes.

Contra: in the giuing of orders two things are to be considered, the externall rite and ceremony outwardly vsed in the admittance of those that are consecrated and set apart for the holy functions, and the office and function it selfe whereto they are ordained. Concerning the externall rite and outward act, it is done and performed by men; such was the imposition of hands vsed by the Apostles: but if we respect the power and efficacie of the office it selfe, it is not conferred by men; but God concurreth with the Churches externall act, in enabling those men to their spirituall office, whom the Church hath set apart. The Apostles layed on their hands in the ordaining of Bishops or Pastors, but their office they receiued of God: that externall rite was onely an outward testimonie of the Church, that such men were marked and sealed of God, for that office, as 1. Tim. 4. 14. *Timothy* his gift *was giuen by prophesie*, that is, by the reuelation of the spirit speaking by the prophets, *but with laying on of the hands*: this was the outward signe and testimonie of the Church, that the spirit had set such men apart. A liuely example hereof we haue

haue, Act. 13. 2. *Separate me Saul the holy Ghost, Barnabas and Saul to the worke, whereunto I haue called them.* Here they laide their office and euery part thereof immediately from God: then it followeth, vers. 3. they laid on their hands. This is the outward approbation and consent of the Church, which giueth them not their office, but onely sealeth and confirmeth it outwardly vnto them. So saith S. *Paul*, 2. Tim. 1. 14. *that worthie thing, which was committed vnto thee, keepe through the holy Ghost &c.* Hence we reason thus, that whereby men are kept, maintayned and vpheld in their ecclesiasticall office, is the beginner and author thereof: but by the spirit of God are ecclesiasticall officers prescribed in their office and ministerie. *Ergo.* The argument still remaineth sound and good, that if the Apostles gaue no power or iurisdiction to Pastors or Elders, but it was the ordinance of God, much lesse hath the Pope right to doe it. Let vs see what antiquitie saith, *Augustine* thus writeth, *Solus Christus habet authoritatem, & præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, & de actu nostro iudicandi. de baptis. 2. 2.* Onely Christ hath authoritie (saith he) to preferre vs to the gouernement of the Church, and to iudge of our doings: The pastors then of the Church haue the keyes of the spirituall regiment from Christ himselfe, not from the Pope, or any other.

Concil. Aquisgranense. cap. 9. ex Isidoro: Apostolis decedentibus successerunt Episcopi, qui sunt constituti per totum mundum in sedibus Apostolorum: The Apostles being departed, Bishops succeeded them, and were placed throughout the world in the Apostolike Sees.

Concil. Senonense decret. marum. 3. It is affirmed, *Apostolorum soles Episcopos successores, & ideo illis solam impositionem manuum reseruatam:* That Bishops are the onely successors of the Apostles: and therefore to them onely is the imposition of hands reserued. Hereupon we inferre, that whatsoeuer Bishops haue, they doe receiue it not from the Pope, but by reason of their succession from the Apostles.

We want not here the testimonie of their owne writers: as *Franciscus Victoria in Relect. 2. de potestate Ecclesiæ quæst. 2. Alphonsus de castro, lib. 2 cap. 24.* These Popish writers are of this iudgement, that both the Apostles, and likewise Bishops haue their iurisdiction immediately from God.

Their owne Canons also for this matter are against them: *Anacletus* saith, that Bishops succeede the Apostles; *dist. 22. 2. Vrbanus, Apostolorum locum tenent:* They are in the place of the Apostles, *dist. 68. cap. 6. Innocentius*, They are the Apostles Vicars: *decret. Gregor. lib. 1. tit. 15. cap. 1.* And *Clemens* the 5. saith, They are Christs Legates, *Clementin. lib. 5. tit. 8. c. 1.* If Bishops then be the successors, and vicegerents of Christ and his Apostles; then it followeth, that from them, and not from the Pope, they haue their iurisdiction.

This doctrine hath been sealed by the blood of holy Martyrs. Master *Philpot* saith, by the word of God the Pope hath no more authoritie then the Bishop of London hath; as *Peter* had no more authoritie, then euery one of the Apostles had, *Fox* pag. 1811.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF THE TEMPORALL iurisdiction and power of the Bishop of Rome.

THis question hath two parts: first, whether the Pope in respect of any spirituall iurisdiction, haue also the chiefe soueraignetie in temporall and ciuill matters; and so to be aboue Kings and Emperors. Secondly, whether the Pope, or any Bishop, may be the chiefe Lord and Prince ouer any Countrie, Citie, or Prouince.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE POPE DIrectly or indirectly haue authoritie aboue Kings and Princes.

The Papists.

THe Papists of former times were not ashamed to say, that the Pope is the Lord of the whole Church: as *Panormitane* in the Councell of Basile, *Fox* pag. 670. Yea, Pope *Innocentius* the third said, writing to the Emperor of Constantinople, that as the Moone receiued her light from the Sunne, so the imperiall dignitie did spring from the Pope: and that the Papall dignitie was seuen and fortie times greater then the imperiall: yea, Kings and Emperors are more inferior to the Pope then lead is to golde, *Gelasius dist. 96.* And *Clemens 5.* likewise saith, *Nos regis ordinarius iudex:* That he was the ordinarie iudge of the King of Sicile: *Et temporalia sua à nobis & sub nobis tenet:* And he holdeth his temporals of vs and vnder vs, not of the Emperor, *Clemens. lib. 2. tit. 11.* Thus in times past the arrogant Popes did chalenge power directly and ordinarilie ouer Kings and Emperors. But our later Papists ashamed of their forefathers arrogancie, in words seeme to abate somewhat of their proud sentence, but in effect say the same thing. For they confesse that the Emperor hath his office and calling of God, and not from the Pope: neither that the Pope directly

51. Error. Innocent. 3. in decretal.

rectly hath any temporall iurisdiction: but indirectly he may depose Kings and Princes, change the lawes of Emperours, and establish his owne: hee may take vnto himselfe the iudgement of temporall causes, and cite Kings to appeare before him: Yet not directly (saith the Iesuite) as he is ordinarie Iudge ouer the Bishops and whole Clergie; yet indirectly, as hee is the chiefe spirituall Prince, he may do all this, if hee see it necessarie for the health of mens soules. And so in effect, by their popish indirect meanes, they giue him as great authoritie, as euer hee vsurped or challenged, *Bellarmine lib.5.cap.6.*

*Argum.*1. The Ecclesiasticall and ciuill power do make but one bodie and societie, as the spirit and the flesh in man: Now the ecclesiasticall power, which is as the soule and spirite, is the chiefe part, because it is referred to a more principal end, namely the safetie and good of the soule: the other is as the flesh to the spirit, and respecteth but a temporall end, as the outward peace and prosperitie of the common-wealth: *Ergo*, the spirituall power is chiefe, and may commaund the other. *Bellarmine cap.7.*

Answ. First, it is a very vnfit and vnproper similitude, to compare these two regiments to the soule and the bodie: for by this meanes, as the spirit giueth life to the bodie, and euery part thereof, so the ciuill and temporall state should receiue their office and calling from the Ecclesiasticall, which the Iesuite himselfe denieth, and so directly the one should rule the other: for the soule directly I trow, not indirectly moueth the bodie and gouerneth it. But if we will speake as the Scripture doth, we make all but one bodie: and it is the spirit of Christ, who is the head, that giueth effectuall power to euery part. Ephes.4.15.16.

2 It is false, that the ciuill magistracie concerneth the outward and temporall commoditie only: for vnto Princes also is committed the chiefe care of religion and the worship of God: They are to see true religion aduanced, yea to watch ouer Ecclesiasticall ministers, and to charge them to looke to their offices; the Prince is Gods minister, for the wealth both of the soules and bodies of his subiects: And therefore S. *Paul* exhorteth to pray for Kings and gouernours, that we may liue (not onely) a peaceable life, but in all godlinesse and honestie, 1.Tim.2.2. *Ergo*, it is part of the Magistrates office, as to procure the peace of the people, so to haue a care of their godly life. Wherefore it is false, as the Iesuite supposeth, that the chiefe end of the ciuill gouernment, is only outward and temporall: *Ergo*, his argument is nothing worth.

*Argum.*2. *Azariah* the high Priest droue *Vzziah* the King out of the temple, when he would haue burned incense, and caused him to goe out of the citie and dwell apart, 2.Chron.26. *Iehoiada* likewise deposed *Athalia*, 2.King.11. *Ergo*, the Pope may depose wicked and vngodly Princes, *Bellarm.cap.8.*

Answ. First, we deny, that there is now, or ought to be any such high priest in the Church of God, to haue the chiefe authoritie in spirituall matters, as there was in the law: for he was the type and figure of Christ, who is our high Priest, and chiefe Bishop. Secondly, these examples do not excuse the Popes tyrannie, who hath deposed rightfull Kings and Emperours, and better then himselfe: as Pope *Zacharie* deposed *Childericus* the French King, and set vp *Pipinus*: *Gregorie* the seuenth set vp *Rodulphus* against *Henricus* the fourth, the Emperour. Pope *Paschalis* the second set vp the sonne of the said *Henricus* against his father. But we will answere more particularly to the examples.

To the first. First, it was not the sole act of *Azariah* the high Priest, but there were 80. priests that ioyned with him beside, and they all spake to the King: this example therefore maketh nothing for the sole authoritie of the Pope, who saith, that he may depose the Emperour himselfe, without any Councell, *Innocent.4.* Secondly, they did not depose *Vzziah*: they onely withstood him according to the law of God, because he vsurped the Priests office: so ought faithfull Bishops and pastors euen to reproue the greatest Magistrates, for the manifest contempt, and open breach of Gods law: neither did they constraine the King to goe forth, before they saw the iudgement of God vpon him: for the text saith, they compelled him to goe forth, because the Lord had smitten him, they saw the leprosie to rise vp in his face, vers.20. This therefore was the extraordinary iudgement of God, and not of the high Priest. Thirdly, he was not deposed from the kingdome, though he dwelt alone: his sonne did execute the office onely for him, and raigned after him: for being a leper, by the law he was to dwell apart, Leuit.13.46. Here was nothing done (we see) by the sole authoritie of the high Priest, but they had the manifest and direct law of God, vnto the which their Kings also were subiect.

To the second example we answere. First, *Athaliah* was a tyrant and an vsurper, and ought not to raigne, and therefore was iustly deposed. Secondly, *Iehoiada* did it not by his owne power, but assembled the Fathers and Princes of the land, 2.Chron.23.2. He shewed them the young King, and they made a couenant with him. *Iehoiada* onely gaue directions (the King being now knowne vnto them) vnto the Captaines and gouernours. Thirdly, they had the flat word of God for that action, The kings sonne must raigne, as the Lord hath said, concerning the sonnes of *Da-*

mid, vers.3. So when the Pope hath any such warrant from God, he may doe as *Iehoiada* did.

*Argum.*3. I must not here forget the goodly arguments vsed by *Boniface* 8. in his decretall, for the superioritie of Popes aboue Kings and Emperours: *Extrau. commun. lib.*1. *tit.*8. First, Christ said to *Peter*, *Pasce oues meas*, Feede my sheepe: but the Emperour is one of his sheepe: *Ergo*, he is committed to *Peter*.

Answ. First, here is a manifest begging of the thing in question: for whatsoeuer was said to *Peter*, belongeth not to the Pope. Secondly, here is a new exposition of these words, *Feede my flocke*, that is, the Pope may depose Emperours, and excommunicate them, tread vpon their neckes, exempt their subiects from their fealtie, and all by vertue of these words. Thirdly, as Christ said to *Peter*, *Feede my sheepe*: so *Peter* saith to all pastors, *Feede the flocke of Christ*, 1. Pet.5. Then by the same reason all pastors should haue superioritie to Kings.

2 The Apostles said to Christ, behold two swords, it is enough saith Christ, not too much: *Ergo*, there are two swords in the Church, the temporall and spirituall, *Bonif. ibid.*

Answ. First, who seeth not how absurdly that place is abused, whereas both Christ answered, and the Apostles made the question of two materiall swords, which were found in the companie. Secondly, S. *Peter* was reproued for handling the sword: *Ergo*, wee may better conclude, that the Pope (his supposed successor) hath nothing to doe with the sword. Thirdly, if these two swords proue any thing, they make no more for the Church of Rome, then for any other Church.

3 The Apostle saith, Rom.13.1. The powers that be, are, *ordinata*, ordained of God: but there can bee no order, vnlesse one sword were vnder another: the temporall vnder the spirituall: *Bonifac ibid.*

Ans. First, he cauilleth about the word, Ordained: for the Apostle speaketh not of any order, that the powers haue one vnder another, but of the ordinance which they haue from God. Secondly, but if they will enforce this exposition, it maketh for the superioritie of the Ciuill Magistrate, that beareth the temporall sword, as the Apostle speaketh plainly, vers.4.

4 The Apostle saith, *The spirituall man iudgeth all things*, 1. Cor.2.15. *Ergo*, the Pope iudgeth the Emperour, *Bonif. ibid.*

Ans. First, the Papists themselues are ashamed of this grosse exposition: for the Rhemists in their Annotations dare not so expound the spirituall man: but he is the spirituall man, that is led by the spirit of God, which the Pope is not led by: and therefore is not spirituall according to the Apostles meaning. Secondly, Kings and Emperours, that are faithfull, and beleeue in Christ, are as well spirituall men in the Apostles sense, as beleeuing Bishops. These and such like arguments not worth rehearsing, much lesse confutation, their stout champion *Boniface* vseth in that place.

The Protestants.

THat the Pope, or any other person ecclesiasticall, hath no manner of temporall iurisdiction either directly or indirectly ouer Kings, Princes, Emperours, but ought of right to be subiect to them and their lawes: it is thus proued.

*Argum.*1. By the same reason whereby the Iesuite proueth, that the Pope directly hath no temporall iurisdiction, we will conclude, that neither indirectly can he haue any, and so none at all. Christ, while he liued vpon earth, tooke vpon him no temporall iurisdiction, either directly or indirectly: he refused to be a King, Ioh.6. Nay he would not be a Iudge in ciuill matters, as in deuiding the inheritance, being thereto required, Luk.12.13. He paied poll money, Math.17. he did submit himselfe to the iudgement of *Pilate* an heathen Iudge. Therefore seeing Christ vsed no such temporall iurisdiction, neither can any Minister of Christ: *For the seruant is not aboue the master*; onely Antichrist dare presume beyond the example of Christ.

This argument drawne from our Sauiour Christ his example, is notably vrged by that good Emperour *Fredericke*, writing thus to that proud Pope *Adrian* the 4. *Cum ille noster & vester institutor nihil ab homine rege accipiens, tamen prose & Petro censum Cæsari persoluit, exemplum vobis dedit, vt vos ita faciatis*: Seeing Christ, both our founder and yours, did take nothing of the King, but paid tribute to *Cæsar* for himselfe and *Peter*, he gaue you an example to doe the like.

Bellarmines best answere in this place is, that Christ in refusing to deuide the inheritance, signified, *Ne pontifices minutis & vilibus officijs occupentur*: That Prelates ought not to occupie themselues in base and inferiour offices.

Contra. First, I pray you is it so base a place to bee Iudge of inheritance? I appeale to Westminster Hall, what subiect can haue a more honourable place, then to bee called to the seate of iudgement? Or if this were somewhat base, Christ also refused to bee a King, I trow the Iesuite thinketh that to bee no vile or beggerly calling. Secondly, more then this, Christ did not onely refuse these ciuill honours, but paid tribute, whereby he acknowledged his obedience, as man, to the Ciuill state. We may iudge the weaknes of their cause, by the feeblenes of their answeres.

*Argum.*2. The fathers of Basil doo vrge that place of S. *Peter*, 1. Epist.5.2. against *Panormitane*, who had vnaduisedly said, that the Pope was Lord of the Church. But the Apostle saith, *Feede the*

flocke of Chriſt; not by conſtraint, but willingly; not as lords ouer the Lords inheritance, verſ. 3. But the Pope contrariwiſe vſeth all forcible, conſtraining, and tyrannicall meanes, killing, ſlaying, impriſoning, depoſing thoſe that will not obey him: who calleth himſelfe chiefe Lord and Magiſtrate of the whole world: Surely this is Antichriſt, and not the Miniſter of Chriſt, or ſucceſſor of Saint *Peter*, whoſe counſell he refuſeth to follow and obey.

Argum. 3. Let but the ſtories of former times be ſearched: there we ſhall finde how wickedly and inſolently the Popes behaued themſelues towards Kings and Emperours: Pope *Alexander* cauſed *Henry* the ſecond to doe penance for *Beckets* death, and to bee diſpled of the Monkes. *Innocent* the third cauſed King *Iohn* to kiſſe the feete of the Biſhop of Canturburie his owne ſubiect. *Alexander* the third did tread vpon Emperour *Fredericke* his necke. Pope *Innocent* ſpoyled *Fredericke* the ſecond of his Empire, cauſed him to bee poyſoned, and his ſonne *Conradus* to be beheaded: and theſe Emperours were depoſed by the Popes in order, *Henricus* 4. *Henricus* 5. *Frederick* 1. *Philippus Otho* the 4. *Frederick* 2. and *Conradus* his ſonne.

It is not good, they ſay, to put a ſword into a mad mans hand: and thinke you not, that theſe Popes vſed the temporall ſword very diſcreetly, which they thus vſurped, making fooles and ſlaues of Emperours, as Pope *Adrian* did, that rebuked *Frederick* the firſt, becauſe he held his ſtirrup on the wrong ſide, and did excommunicate him, for ſetting his name before the Popes in writing? The very inſolent, diueliſh, and Antichriſtian practiſe of this their temporall power, ſheweth from what originall it commeth, euen from the father of pride.

Laſtly, *Auguſtine* ſaith, writing vpon thoſe words, Rom. 13. *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers: Si quis putat, quia Chriſtianus eſt, non ſibi eſſe vectigal reddendum aut tributum, aut non eſſe exhibendum honorem debitum eis, qui hæc curant poteſtatibus; in magno errore eſt:* If any man thinke, becauſe he is a Chriſtian, that he is not bound to pay tribute and taxe, and yeeld due honour to the temporall powers (for of ſuch *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh) he is in a great error. If all then are ſubiect to the temporall Magiſtrate that are Chriſtians, then all Biſhops and Eccleſiaſticall perſons, yea the Pope himſelfe, if he be a Chriſtian: *Ergo*, the Emperour is not ſubiect to him.

Epiſtol. Leodienſ. contra Paſchal. 2. *Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita, qui hoc omni anima præcipit, quem à ſubiectione terrena poteſtatis excepit?* Let euery ſoule (ſaith the Apoſtle) be ſubiect to the higher powers: he that inioyneth this to euery ſoule, whom doth he exempt from the ſubiection of the earthly power? *Ergo*, the Pope alſo is ſubiect.

Agatho Biſhop of Rome writeth thus to *Conſtantinus* the Emperour: *Secundum piiſſimam inſonem manſuetudinis veſtræ, pro obedientia, quam debemus, dirigimus preſentes confamulos noſtros:* As your clemencie hath moſt godly commaunded vs, according to the obedience which we owe, wee haue ſent theſe our fellowe ſeruants. And againe, *Omnes nos exigui eccleſiarum præſules veſtri Chriſtiani imperij famuli:* We all the poore prelates of Churches, ſeruants of your moſt Chriſtian Empire. Here the Pope himſelfe doth confeſſe himſelfe to be the Emperours ſeruant, and to owe him homage: what more euident teſtimonie can we haue?

Further, we haue teſtimonie of their owne law: *diſt.* 8. *cap.* 1. *Per iura regum, &c.* Temporall poſſeſſions are enioyed by the lawes of Princes: *Ergo*, the Pope holdeth his temporals of Kings, not they their kingdomes of him. *Diſtinct.* 10. *cap.* 9. *Leo* 4. thus writeth to *Lotharius* the Emperour, *Præceptis veſtris imperialibus, &c.* We promiſe and profeſſe for euer to keepe and obſerue your imperiall precepts, &c. And if any man tell you otherwiſe, *ſciatis eum pro certo mendacem*, hold him for a lyer.

Likewiſe *Gelaſius ibid. c.* 11. *Quis autem leges principum, &c.* Who will ſay that the lawes of princes ought to be contemned? &c.

Diſtinct. 97. *Boniface.* 1. thus writeth to *Honorius* the Emperour: *Augeretur pluribus, &c.* The Mother Church would bee much grieued, if ſhe were not ſecure and aſſured of your helpe in all her cauſes, and had not preuailed in ſuppreſſing of Idols, correcting of Heretikes by your faithfulnes, &c. This *Boniface* writing with a better ſpirit, then *Boniface* 8. whoſe goodly arguments wee ſaw before, calleth for aſſiſtance of the Emperour, euen for the redreſſe of Eccleſiaſticall matters. Thus wee ſee, that of ancient times Popes did not commaund, but were commaunded rather of Emperours; that they did not preſcribe lawes to them, but rather yeelded obedience to imperiall lawes. And a later Extrauagant decreeth, *Vt non ſint regnata amplius eccleſiæ Romanæ ſubiecti, quam antea, &c.* That Kings ſhould be no otherwiſe ſubiect to the Church of Rome, then they haue been in times paſt: *Clemens* 5. *Extrau. commun. lib.* 5. *tit.* 7. *cap.* 2. Wherefore the Pope doth contrary to his owne law, in challenging ſuch ſuperioritie ouer the Emperour, which of ancient time hath not been due.

Let Biſhop *Cranmer* holy Martyr put to his ſeale: By the Scripture the King is chiefe, and no forraine perſon in his owne realme aboue him: there is no ſubiect but to a King: I am a ſubiect, I owe my fidelitie to the Crowne; the Pope is contrarie to the Crowne; I cannot obey both, &c. *Fox* pag. 1874.

AN

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, WHETHER the Pope haue power to excommunicate Emperours and Kings,&c.

The Papists.

WE neede not seeke farre to know their opinion for this matter,for the continuall practise of Popes and popish Bishops, in taking vpon them most arrogantly to excommunicate Emperours and Kings, doth euidently shew what their iudgement is. *Gregorie* 3.did excommunicate *Leo Isaurus* Emperour of Constantinople,because he pulled downe Images:so did his predecessor *Gregorie* 2.before him. *Gregorie* 7. did thunder out his mercilesse curses against *Henrie* 4.Emperour. *Adrian* 4.and after him *Alexander* 3.most wicked and insolent Popes,did persecute the good Emperour *Frederick*,with their cruell excommunications. *Innocent*.3.did excommunicate King *Iohn*,and interdict the whole Realme of England. And according to the Antichristian practises of their predecessors,the Popes that haue been of late,haue breathed out,as a vaine blast and bladder crack,their vniust excommunications against our renowmed Soueraigne, and most blessed of God, Queene *Elizabeth*.

Yea not onely the Popes haue thus farre presumed,but their inferiour Bishops haue malepartly pricked forth, by their excommunications, to buffet Princes, and pull them by the eares: As *Odo* Archbishop of Canturburie did suspend *Edwine* the King from the Church, and *Dunstane* afterward did inioyne King *Edgar* seuen yeeres penance,*Fox* pag.156. So the Bishops threatned to excommunicate King *Henrie* the 3.vnlesse he would expell the straungers out of the land,*Fox* pag.280.Let vs see how these iolly stirring Prelates can iustifie their doings.

*Argum.*1. *Azariah* is brought forth for an example,who being chiefe Priest, when King *Vzziah* offered to burne incense in the temple vpon the Altar, constrained him hastily to depart, 2.Chron.26.20.The like power why may not the Pope Bishops haue now to excommunicate Kings?

Ans. First, it was not *Azariah* his act onely, whatsoeuer was done at this time, but there were 80.Priests ioyned with him,sufficient to make a lawfull Synode or Councell. Secondly, their intent was not by violence to thrust *Vzziah* out of the temple, but onely to admonish him,and reproue him for his presumption, vers.18. they said vnto him, it pertaineth not to thee *Vzziah* to burne incense,&c. And this they might lawfully doe,as *Iohn Baptist* rebuked *Herod* for his incest: And as it is the part of all faithfull Bishops,not to spare, in dutie and reuerence, to tell Kings and Princes their faults; so did *Ambrose* deale with *Valentinian* the Emperour, *Theodoret.lib.*3.*cap.*11. *Britannio* a Scythian Bishop with the Emperour *Valens* who was an Arrian, *Theodoret.lib.*4.*cap.*35. *Isaachus Monachus* also thus said to ý same Emperor going in warfare against the Barbarians, *Quò proficiscere, bello suscepto aduersus Deum?* Whither goest thou, seeing thou hast waged battell with God? *Theodoret.*4.34. He said also further to him, *Redde Ecclesias ortbodoxis:* Restore the Churches which thou hast taken from them of the right faith. The Emperour thereupon bid him be apprehended,dealing with him, as *Ahab* plaied with *Micaiah* the Prophet: but he answered, *Non es reuersurus,nisi ecclesias reddideris:* Thou shalt not returne,vnlesse thou doe restore them: And so indeede it came to passe. This zeale and boldnes in good Bishops is not to be misliked, but much to be commended,and wished in the Bishops of our time.

3. *Azariah* constraineth not *Vzziah* to depart, before the leprosie appeared in his face, then was he thrust out, for they had the expresse word of God so to do, Numb.5.2. So if the Pope had the expresse commaundement of God to excommunicate Kinges, and if it might appeare that they are first excommunicate of God,as the Lord set a marke of leprosie in *Vzziah*; it might be as lawfull for him so to do, as it was then for *Azariah*: but such commandement we are sure the Pope hath none, nor yet is he so acquainted with Gods secrets, as to know who are reiected before him.

*Argum.*2. S. *Ambrose* example is much vrged in this case,who inioyned *Theodosius* the Emperour penance, for a certaine murther and slaughter of the people made at his commandement, and would not admit him to receiue the Lords Supper,saying thus vnto him, *Istasine adhuc stillantes insula cadis cruore manus extendes,& sanctissimi Domini corpus prehendes?* Doest thou stretch out these thy bloudy hands, to apprehend the most holy body of our Lord? *Theodoret lib.*5.17.

*Ans.*1. *Ambrose*, in not admitting the Emperour without repentance of that bloudy act to the Lords Supper,and in refusing himselfe to minister to him in that case, did not amisse if he had stayed there, hauing so farre the word of GOD. Ierem.15.19. *Separate thee the precious from the vile:* and 1.Timoth.5.22.*Be not partaker of other mens sinnes.* 2. But in that he tooke vpon him by his sole authoritie to censure the Emperour, and to inioyne him penance, he somewhat exceeded his limits: and yet, though this act might proceed (in *Ambrose* so holy a Bishop) from an extra-

ordinary ſpirit, which I denie not; yet the Emperour is rather to be commended for his humilitie, in ſubmitting himſelfe to his order, (for it is written of him, that *Lachrymas effudit coram Eccleſia, & tempus pœnitentiæ præſcriptum implenit*: He ſhed teares before the Church, and fulfilled the time ſet for his penance. *Ruffin. lib. 2. cap. 33.*) Such alſo was *Theodoſius* modeſtie, that at another time being excommunicate, *à leui homuncione*, of a light cock-braine fellow, becauſe he graunted him not that thing, which he requeſted, he would not enter into the Church, before he had bin of the ſame partie abſolued; *Theodoret lib. 5. cap. 37. Theodoſius* lowlineſſe therefore, and ſubmiſſion to *Ambroſe* cenſure, doth not proue the lawfulneſſe thereof, no more then his modeſtie here doth allow the inſolent fact of a ſaucie malapert prieſt. 3. Though we admit *Ambroſe* act to be lawfull, yet doth it not authoriſe the Popes vniuſt proceedings: for that cenſure was laid vpon the Emperour vpon iuſt cauſe, a haynous murther committed; but the Pope doth excommunicate Kings for well doing, as *Gregorie* the 3. did to *Leo* the Emperour, for pulling downe of images; and for the moſt part of ſtomacke, for *Gregory* the 7. had no other cauſe againſt *Henrie* the 4. nor *Alexander* the 3. againſt *Fredericke*. 4. If *Ambroſe* example proue any thing, it doth authoriſe other Biſhops as well as him of Rome, to excommunicate Emperours of themſelues.

The Proteſtants.

ALthough wee do not altogether exempt Princes from Eccleſiaſticall cenſures, for they are, though chiefe and principall, yet parts and members of the Church: yet we thinke, that againſt all other perſons, beſide the ſupreame and ſoueraigne Magiſtrate, though of neuer ſo high place, the cenſures of the Church may more ſafely and with better right be extended, and applyed: as B. *Groſthead* that good Biſhop of Lincolne, hauing excommunicated a prieſt for incontinencie, becauſe after 40. dayes the Sheriffe refuſed to apprehend him, as it was his dutie, excommunicated him likewiſe, *Fox. p. 285.* But as concerning excommunicating of Kings and Princes, we thinke that neither the Pope, nor any Biſhop in the world by their ſole authoritie haue power to do it.

Argum. 1. Paulus orari vult pro regibus malis. 1. Timoth. 2. S. *Paul* would haue vs pray for euill kings. This is our onely remedie that we haue againſt ſuch: *Nec talis à nobis repellendus eſt arma contra eum ſumptis, ſed precibus ad Deum ſumptis*: Neither is ſuch an one to be reſtrained by weapons taken vp againſt him, but prayers made vnto God for him: *Epiſtol. Leodienſ. cont. Paſchal. 2.* As *Ambroſe* ſaid well, if he could there haue kept him, *Arma noſtra preces & lachrimæ*: Our weapons are onely teares and prayers. Againſt the ſoueraigne power no violent meane is to be vſed: *Ergo*, not excommunication.

Argum. 2. The wiſe man ſaith, Prou. 26. 2. *Maledictio immerita non aduentura eſt*: A curſe cauſleſſe or vndeſerued ſhall not come. Malach. 2. *Maledictionibus veſtris benedicam*: I will bleſſe the you curſe. And their owne law ſaith, *Neminem ligare debet ſententia iniuſta*: An vniuſt ſentence bindeth not: *Et excommunicatus non poteſt excommunicare*: An excommunicate perſon cannot excommunicate. Therefore we feare not the Popes curſe or excomnunication, becauſe it is vniuſt: and he excommunicateth vs, as the Phariſes did the Apoſtles, becauſe wee ſpeake in the name of Chriſt: and he himſelfe ſtandeth as an excommunicate perſon before God, being an Apoſtata and ſlidebacke from the trueth.

Argum. 3. Concil. Toletan. 4. can. 74. It was decreed, that the Kinges of that countrie which ſhould exerciſe cruelty againſt the people, *Anathematis ſententia condemnentur*: Should be anathematized, or held accurſed. *Concil Toletan 6. can. 3.* If the King ſhould violate his faith which he gaue, not to ſuffer the Iewes to infringe the Catholike faith, *Sit anathema in conſpectu Dei*: Let him bee accurſed in the ſight of God. Theſe decrees of anathematizing Kings were not made by any one or two, but in the firſt were aſſembled all the Biſhops of the prouinces of *Hiſpania*, and *Gallecia*, the King *Siſcenandus* alſo himſelfe was preſent, with the chiefe of his Nobles and gaue conſent: In the ſecond there were aſſembled 72. Biſhops, the King *Chintillanus* and his Nobles. Hereby then may appeare what was the practiſe of thoſe times, that nothing ſhould bee attempted by any ſingular authoritie againſt the higheſt powers, but by conſent of all the ſtates, and in the generall Seſſion of Parliament, as it were.

Maſter *Lambert* holy Martyr, thus alſo giueth his opinion of this matter: The Pope ought not to denounce excommunications of his owne proper head and affection onely, but with the conſent of other gathered with him in Chriſts name: for ſo vſed Saint *Paul* when hee did excommunicate the man of Corinth, &c. And the ſame forme declareth the Goſpell, Matth. 18. *Dic Eccleſiæ*, Tell it to the Church or congregation; ſo that ſuch excommunication ought to be done, as me thinketh, by the congregation aſſembled together with their Paſtors, whoſe aduice they ought principally to eſteeme and follow, if it be vertuous and godly: *Fox. pag. 1113. reſponſ. ad artic. 24.* Hence we conclude, that neither Pope nor any Biſhop by their ſole authoritie can excommunicate Princes.

Laſtly, *Epiſtol. Leodienſ. cont. Paſchal. 2.* thus we reade: *Si quis vetus & nouum teſtamentum, geſta-*

que

quæ retulerit, patienter tulerint, quod aut minimè aut difficilè possint reges excommunicari: admoneri quidem possunt, increpari, argui, à discretis viris: quia quos Christus in terris ex regum vice sua constituit, damnandos & salvandos suo iudicio reliquit: If any man will take paines to looke ouer the old and new Testament, and the acts thereof, shall readily finde, that Kings either hardly or not at all ought to be excommunicate: they may be admonished, rebuked, aduised discreetly, and wisely, and not else: for those whom Christ the King of Kings hath set in his stead in the earth, to bee saued or damned, he hath reserued it for his owne iudgement. And these, which did thus write, were of the popish Church, though herein they milliked the practise of the Popes. And one of their late writers approueth the foresaid epistle, and alleageth out of the same, how that *Gregorie 7.* called *Hildebrand*, was the first, contrarie to all antiquitie, that did, *sacerdotalem lanceam contra Imperatoris diadema levare*, lift vp the spirituall launce against the Crowne of the Emperour: *Espens. 2. Timoth. pag. 275. d.* The same author hath these words, *Magistratui colla non bello patientia, non violentia, patiendo, non agendo resistendum est:* The Magistrate must bee resisted, not by stroke, but yeelding the necke; by patience, not violence; by suffering, not practising: *ibid. pag. 276. f.* Whereby he insinuateth, that nothing ought to be attempted against Princes, no not by excommunicating of them, for that were to practise, not to be patient.

I thinke also, their owne Extrauagant condemneth the cruell practise of popish Prelates in enterdicting of Kings and their kingdomes, as *Boniface* 8. thus decreed: *Extrau. commun. lib. 5. tit. 10. cap. 2. Prouide attendentes. &c.* Wee considering, that many are too forward in denouncing of interdictions, whereupon it commeth to passe, that the Ecclesiasticall Sacraments are not administred, the seruice of God suspended, &c. Wee doe prouide by this edict, that no prouince, citie, castle, territorie, goe vnder the interdict, for any quantitie or summe of money, by the Lord thereof vnpaied, &c. We haue then their owne testimonie against them.

THE SECOND PART OF THE QVESTION, concerning S. *Peters* patrimonie, whether the Pope may be a temporall Prince.

The Papists.

They say that it is not against the word of God, that the Pope should be both a temporall and ecclesiasticall Prince, and that both the swords of spirituall and ecclesiasticall iurisdiction doe belong vnto him: and that he is the right heire of S. *Peters* patrimonie: to him belongeth as chiefe Lord the Imperiall citie of Rome, the pallace of Laterane, Capua also and Apulia are his: *distinct. 96. Constantin.* 51. Error. Bellarm. lib. 2. cap. 9. Fox. pag. 93.

1 *Moses* (saith the Iesuite) was both Priest and Prince: so was *Heli* 1. Sam. 4. He iudged Israel fortie yeeres: so were also the *Macchabees, Iudas, Ionathas, Simon*: yea *Melchisedech* long before *Moses*, was Priest and King: *Ergo*, the Pope is lawfully both chiefe Bishop, and chiefe Prince also, and Lord of that which he now possesseth, *Bellarm. cap. 9.*

Ans. Concerning *Melchisedech*; who knoweth not, that he being King and Priest, was a liuely figure of our Sauiour Christs spirituall kingdome and priesthood? Heb. 7. And as yet the offices of the spirituall and temporall gouernment were not distinguished: for all the Patriarches, *Abraham, Isaack, Iacob*, and the rest were sacrificers, therefore wee cannot borrow any examples from them for this matter.

Moses also did offer sacrifice to God, and was chiefe iudge both in spirituall and temporall affaires vnto the people, vntill such time, as when by Gods commaundement, *Aaron* was chosen to the priesthood, vnto whom the charge of sacrifices and vnto his sonnes was committed: so *Moses* remained still prince of the people, whom *Iosua* succeeded, and *Aaron* was inuested to the Priesthood, and so the offices were distinct. This example therefore of *Moses* is extraordinarie, and proueth not. Leuit. 8. 9.

Concerning the time when *Ely* iudged Israel, which was in the daies of the Iudges, we must vnderstand, that the gouernment of Israel was very dissolute, and men were left to themselues to doe almost what themselues listed: as Iudg. 17. we reade that *Micah* set vp an Idoll in his house, and the reason is rendered, there was no King in Israel, but euery man did that which seemed good in his owne eyes. Likewise the tribe of *Dan* offered violence to *Micah*, and robbed him, Iudg. 18. For there was no King in Israel, verf. 1. The Leuites wife was most shamefully abused by the Gibeonites: for there was no King, chap. 19. 1. The men of *Beniamin* tooke them wiues by force: for they had no King, chap. 21. 25. So you see that both religion was corrupted, and the manners of the people grew to be outragious; and all because there was no perfect distinct gouernment, there was no King in Israel.

In *Ely* his time, the word of God was precious, 1. Sam. 3. 1. Great was the ignorance of the whole land: the licentiousnesse also of his sonnes was a great offence to all Israel, and brought a great

great decay of godlines with it, 1.Sam.2.17.23. Yea they cauſed the people through their euill example to ſinne, verſ.24. Wherefore *Ely* his houſe was iudged of God for his remiſnes in gouernment, in not correcting his ſonnes, chap.3.13. And he that cannot rule his owne houſe, how ſhould he care for the Church, 1.Tim.3.5. It cānot now be proued by the example of *Ely*, that the ciuill gouernment was annexed to the prieſthood by the Lords appoyntment: but it is rather to be aſcribed to the corruption of thoſe times: for hauing no King nor Captaine ouer them, they were driuen of neceſſitie to come to the high Prieſt, vnto whom the iudgement of many matters was committed by the law of God, Deut.17.8.Leuit.13.2. But the prieſthood, and the ciuill Magiſtracie were two diſtinct things alwayes from the time of the law eſtabliſhed.

It is then no good argument, which is drawne from the practiſe and example of thoſe corrupt times: And yet we ſay not, that theſe offices were ſo diſtinct, but that the Lord might raiſe vp ſome extraordinary Prophet, as he did *Samuel*, who to reſtore iuſtice and religion decayed, might for a time both iudge the people and offer ſacrifice, as we ſee he did.

As for the examples of the Macchabees, they moue vs not, you muſt bring better ſcripture for your purpoſe: ẏ authority of thoſe bookes bind vs not: and againe we ſee they did contrary to the law, in taking vpon them both offices: for the prieſthood was annexed to the poſteritie of *Aaron* for euer, Num.3.10. and the ſcepter was not to depart from *Iuda* till Chriſt came, Gen.49.10. As the Lord alſo had promiſed to *Dauid*, that the kingdom ſhould remaine in his ſeede, 2.Chro.21.7.

Laſtly, *Gelaſius* that famous Biſhop of Rome ſhall anſwere the Ieſuites argument, whoſe authoritie I truſt he will not deny. Thus he writeth, *Tom. Anathematis. Ante aduentum Chriſti quidam ſ. gerebatur adhuc in carnalibus actibus conſtituti, &c.* Before the comming of Chriſt, ſome figuratiuely in carnall and earthly actes were both Kings and Prieſts: ſuch an one was *Melchiſedech*: which the diuell alſo imitated in his members, ſo that the Pagane Emperors would alſo be called chiefe prieſts: But after that Chriſt was come, both the true King and Prieſt, neither was the Emperor any more called by the Prieſts name, neither did the Prieſt challenge the kingely ſtate. So Chriſt hath diſtinguiſhed both offices by their proper actes, and dignities, that both Chriſtian Emperors, as touching eternall life ſhould neede the helpe of prieſts, and they in temporall things ſhould vſe the benefite of Imperiall decrees.

Thus then according to this fathers ſentence, it followeth not, that becauſe before Chriſts comming, both powers were vnited in ſome figuratiuely, therefore it ſhould be ſo now: nay he ſaith, that ſince Chriſts comming, this confuſion of the prieſtly and Kingly office, is in Sathans members onely to be found: an hard ſentence againſt the Biſhop of Rome, by a former Biſhop of Rome, which maketh him chalenging the vſe of both ſwordes, no better then a limme of the diuel.

Argum.2. Conſtantine the Great gaue vnto the Pope the chiefe gouernment of the Citie of Rome, and other Lordſhips in Italie, yea the ſoueraigntie ouer the Weſt parts: why then is it not lawfull for him to enioy his gift? *Bellarm lib.5.cap.9.*

Anſw. Firſt, the donation of *Conſtantine* ſeemeth to be forged: for if *Conſtantine* reſigned to *Silueſter* the politicall dominion of the Weſt parts, how could he then haue diſtributed his Empire amongſt his ſonnes, as the Weſt part to one, the Eaſt to the ſecond, the middle part to the third? Againe, the Donation ſaith, that *Conſtantine* was baptiſed at Rome by *Silueſter* before the battaile againſt *Maximinus*, and that then the patrimonie was giuen: but it is certaine by ſtories that he was baptiſed at Nicomedia, by *Euſebius* Biſhop there, in the 31.yeere of his raigne: wherefore it ſeemeth to be a forged and deuiſed thing. *plur.apud.Fox.pag.105.*

Fox. proteſta. ad Angl. 2 *Æneas Siluius* ſaith, that *Matbilde*, a noble Dutches in Italie, gaue thoſe lands to the Pope, which are called S.*Peters* patrimonie: how then can it be true, that they were giuen by *Conſtantine*? Thirdly, the popiſh doctors and Canoniſts confeſſe, that *Conſtantines* grant is not ſo much to be counted a donation, as a reſtitution of that which tyrannouſly was taken from him: but he hath his power ſpirituall and temporall imediatly from Chriſt. You ſee then that they themſelues make no great reckoning of *Conſtantines donation. Antoni.ſumma.maior.3.part.*

Agathon Biſhop of Rome, long after *Conſtantines* time the Great, thus writeth to *Conſtantine* another Emperor of that name, *Hanc Romanam vrbem ſeruilem veſtri Chriſtianiſſimi imperij*: This Romane citie ſeruile or ſubiect to your moſt Chriſtian Empire, &c. *Ergo*, it was not exempted from ſubiection to the Empire, as *Conſtantines* forged donation granteth.

Fox.pag.791. 791. Yet if *Conſtantinus* that good Emperor had bin ſo minded, to haue beſtowed the imperial dignitie vpon the Biſhop of Rome; there remaineth a great queſtiō, whether he ought to haue accepted of it or not; nay he ſhould haue refuſed it: for the temporall ſword belongeth not to ſpirituall gouernors: At the leaſt it had been a charitable part, not to haue ſuffered the Emperor to diſinherite

Ad Frat.in eremo.ſer.52. his owne ſonnes, for to enrich the See of Rome; as *Auguſtine* very well ſaith, *Qui vult, exheredato filio, eccleſiam heredem facere, quærat alterum, qui ſuſcipiat, non Auguſtinum, immo Deo propitio vllum inueniat.* He that would make the Church his heire, and defeat his own children, let him ſeeke ſome bodie elſe, to accept of his gift: ſurely *Auguſtine* will not, nor I truſt any honeſt man beſide.

The

The Protestants.

Firſt, we willingly grant, that the Church may inioy thoſe temporall poſſeſſions, which haue been of old granted vnto it for the better maintenance thereof, ſo they be not abuſed to riot and exceſſe; as the Leuites beſide their tithes, had their cities and fieldes. Numb. 35. Secondly, the iudgement of Eccleſiaſticall matters doth of right appertaine to the Church, as *Amariah* the Prieſt was the chiefe in all matters of the Lord, 2. Chron. 19. 11. Thirdly, we doe not vtterly exclude ſpirituall perſons from temporall cauſes: but as the ciuill Magiſtrate hath his intereſt in ordaining of Eccleſiaſticall lawes, ſo ſpirituall perſons ought not to be ſtrangers from the ciuill ſtate; being meete men for their knowledge and conſcience to be conſulted withall, and conferred with, and to be ioyned in Councell with the Magiſtrate in difficult matters: as we reade, Deut. 17. 8. How the high Prieſt, and chiefe iudge, did ioyne in mutuall helpe and aſſiſtance. But that any ſpirituall perſon may be a temporall prince, and haue the chiefe gouernment of both ſtates, and handle both ſwordes, we ſay it is contrarie to the word of God: for in theſe three pointes ſtandeth chiefly the office of the prince, In making and ordaining ciuill lawes, in hauing power of life and death, in proclaming of warre, and waging of battaile: with none of theſe ought Eccleſiaſticall perſons to deale, as we will now ſhew in order.

Argum. 1. Concerning the making of ciuill lawes and ſtatutes, though the Eccleſiaſticall bodie, according to the ancient cuſtome of this land, haue their ſuffrage and voyce, and doe giue conſent: yet the chiefe ſtroke, in allowing, confirming, and enacting of ſuch lawes is in the prince, and cannot agree or be matched with any ſpirituall office.

S. *Paul* ſaith, Who is ſufficient for theſe things? that is, for the worke of the Miniſterie, 2. Cor. 2. 16. If therefore ſpirituall perſons ſuffice not to execute to the full, their ſpirituall charge, though they ſhould bend all their ſtudie and care that way, much more inſufficient ſhall they be, if they be entangled in temporall affayres, for the well guiding and ordering whereof a whole man likewiſe is ſcarce ſufficient.

Againe (ſaith he) *No man that warreth, entangleth himſelfe with the affaires of this life*, 2. Tim. 2. 4. By affaires ſecular here are not only vnderſtoode (as the Ieſuite imagineth) merchandiſe, traffick, buying, ſelling, and ſuch like, but the care and charge alſo of ciuill gouernment, of making lawes and orders for the ciuill ſtate, which muſt needes be a great let to the ſpirituall buſines, and require greater ſtudie and labor, then the other baſer workes whuch are named. To this *Auguſtine* agreeth: *Quoiure* (ſaith he) *defendis villas? Vnde quiſque poſſidet quod habet? Iure humano, iure imperatorum; quare? quia ipſa iura humana per imperatores & reges ſeculi Deus diſtribuit generi humano. tract. in Iohann. 6.* By what law doeſt thou defend thy poſſeſſions? by the law of man, the law of the Emperors: for theſe humaine lawes, by Gods ordinance are giuen vntò men by the Emperors and Kings of the world. See then, ciuill lawes, and humane conſtitutions are giuen and made, not by the Pope, Prieſt, or any other Prelate, but onely by Kings and Princes, and the ciuill magiſtrates.

So alſo ſaith the Ciuil law, *Cod. lib. 1 tit. 20. leg. 2. Imperatori ſoli leges condere conceſſum eſt*: It is onely lawfull for the Emperour to make lawes: *Iuſtinian*, Likewiſe their owne Canons affirme the ſame, *decret. Gregor. lib. 4. tit. 17. cap. 7. Alexand. 3 ad Regem pertinet non ad Eccleſiam de talibus poſſeſſionibus iudicare*: It belongeth to the King not to the Church to iudge of ſuch poſſeſſions.

Argum. 2. It were a monſtrous and an vnnaturall thing, that any Eccleſiaſticall gouernour, ſhould haue power of life and death: for hee hath no better right to the ciuill ſworde, then the Prince to the Eccleſiaſticall ſword: and if it be not lawfull for the ciuill Magiſtrate to excommunicate, which is as the ſpirituall ſword, and the greateſt cenſure of the Church; no more is it to be ſuffered, that by the authoritie or commaundement of any Eccleſiaſticall perſon, any man ſhould be put to death.

The high Prieſt was not to deale with matters of blood, which touched the life: but the offenders were brought to the gates of the Citie, where the Magiſtrates ſate, Deut. 17. 5. Not to the Temple, where the Prieſt miniſtred. Nay, wee ſee, that in the moſt corrupt times of the Iewiſh Common-wealth, namely, when they put our bleſſed Sauiour to death, the prieſts did not challenge any ſuch power: *It is not lawfull* (ſay they) *for vs, to put any to death*, Ioh. 18. 31. But that power was in the temporall Magiſtrate, as *Pilate* ſaid to Chriſt: *Knoweſt thou not, that I haue power to crucifie thee, and power to looſe thee?* Ioh. 19. 10. *Ergo*, the Pope cannot be a temporall Prince, to haue power of life and death. And it is contrary to your owne Canons: *decret. p. 2. cauſ. 23. qu. 8. c. 20. Gregor. Quia Deum timeo, in mortem cuiuſlibet hominis me miſcere formido*: becauſe I feare God, I dare not enter-meddle with the death of any. Likewiſe *cauſ. 33. q. 2. c. 6. Nicholaus, Eccleſia gladium non habet, niſi ſpiritualem; non occidit, ſed viuificat*: The Church hath no ſword but the ſpirituall, it killeth not, but giueth life. Now, whereas the examples of *Phinehes*, that killed the adulterer and adultereſſe; and of *Samuel*, that hewed *Agag* in pieces with his owne handes, might be vrged; their owne gloſſe thus anſwereth: *Miracula veteris Teſtamenti ſunt admiranda*: The mi-

racles of the old Teſtament are worthie rather of admiration, then fit for our imitation: for many things were permitted then, which are prohibited now. And a little before: *Nathan*, when he reproued the King, did execute his owne office, he did not vſurpe the Kings office, he did admoniſh him to repent, he did not giue ſentence of death againſt him, as an adulterer, &c. *Canſ.2.qu.7.cap. 41.gloſſ.*

But it will here be anſwered, as *Boniface* 8. hath decreed, *Sext.decretal.lib.3.tit.24.c.3.* That a Cleargie man hauing temporal iuriſdiction, may without feare of irregularitie, commit the iudgement of death to his Bailiffe and Miniſter &c. To the which replie, that this notwithſtanding is contrary to the ancient Canons alledged before, that a Cleargie man ought not to meddle, or intermingle himſelfe with matters of blood: but now he muſt meddle, giuing authoritie to others to do it. For the authoritie of him that commaundeth, is greater, then of the Miniſter.

*Argum.*3. If the Pope be a temporall Prince, then he may wage battell, which although the Ieſuite dare not plainely affirme, yet it followeth neceſſarily vpon his aſſertion: for it is lawfull for any temporall Prince to make warre: And it hath been the common practiſe of Popes and popiſh Prelates ſo to do.

There were great and bitter battailes fought betweene *Vrbane* the ſixt, and the *Antipope Clement*, in the which on the one ſide there were 5000. ſlaine. *Fox.*pag.434. *Henry Spenſer* a luſtie
Fox.p.446. yong blood, Biſhop of Norwich, was the Popes Captaine generall in France: where hee ſacked the towne of Grauenidge, and put man, woman, and child to the ſword.

So Pope *Iulius* caſt his keyes into the Riuer Tybris, and tooke himſelfe to his ſword: waged many battels, and at the laſt was encountred withall by *Lewes* the French King, vpon Eaſter day: where there was of his armie ſlaine, to the number of 16000. But theſe warlike affaires of the
Fox.p.798. Pope miſliked the Papiſts themſelues: for he was therefore condemned in the Councell of Turone in France, *Anno.*1510. We may ſee how well theſe furious Popes do follow the rule of Chriſt, who commanded *Peter* to put vp his ſword into his ſheath: If it were not lawfull for *Peter* to ſtrike with the ſword, how is it lawfull for the Popes, that, I am ſure, dare not challenge more to themſelues, then was lawfull for *Peter*? Thus wee ſee how abſurd a thing it is, that the Pope ſhould be a temporall Prince.

Let vs examine antiquitie for this poynt, *Concil.Conſtantin.5.actione.1. Antimus* the Biſhop of Trapezuntium was complained of to the Councell, that he ſhould affirme, *Magnitudinem & dignitatem ſacerdotij non ſpiritualem eſſe animarum curam, ſed quendam ciuilem principatum*: That the dignitie of the Prieſthood conſiſteth not in the ſpirituall care of ſoules, but in a ciuill kinde of Princedome. Of this heretical iudgement ſeemeth the Biſhop of Rome to be, which then miſliked the whole generall Councell.

Concil.Toletan.11.can.6. His à quibus domini ſacramenta tractanda ſunt, iudicium ſanguinis agitare non licet: They by whom the Sacraments of our Lord ought to be handled, ought not to meddle with the iudgement of blood: *Ergo*, they can be no temporall Princes, for to ſuch belongeth the iudgement of death and life.

This truth haue the holy Martyrs ſealed, *William Swinderby* condemned for Gods truth, *I ſay if the Pope holde men of armes, &c. to venge himſelfe on them that offend him, and giues remiſſion of ſinns to them that fight, and ſlay them that contrarie him, as men ſaid he did by the Biſhop of Norwich, not putting his ſworde into his ſheath, as God commaunded Peter, he is Antichriſtus: for he doth contrarie to the commandement of Ieſus, that bad Peter forgiue his brother ſeauentie ſith ſeuen ſith, &c.* Fox.pag.470.

I thinke it not amiſſe in the laſt place to adioyne the ſentence of a popiſh Biſhop, *Aegidius Viterbienſ.* vttered in an oration which he made before *Iulius* the ſecond. The foreſaid warlike Pope in the Councell of Laterane, beginning thus, *To the reformation of the Church as many other things, ſo eſpecially the late loſſe of our armie ought to ſtirre vs vp*: which I thinke hath fallen out by the diuine prouidence, *Quò armis eccleſia alienis freti cederemus, vt ad noſtra redeuntes victores euaderemus: noſtra arma ſunt pietas, religio, ſupplicationes*, To the end that while we vſe ſtrange and forreine weapons we ſhould giue place, and taking our owne ſhould returne victorers: our proper armour is godlines, religion, prayer: Remember, ſaith he, the warre that *Moſes* had with *Amalech, Videbis populum armis fidentem, deo charum, vinci ſemper; contrà ſemper vincere precibus ſupplicantem*, You ſhall ſee the people euen beloued of God, while they truſt to their weapons, alwayes to be ouercome: but while they are in their prayers, to be themſelues ouercommers. Thus he is bold to reproue the Pope euen to his noſe (and he doth it without checke) for his warlike humour and diſpoſition.

And indeede herein they doe contrarie to their owne Canons, as *diſt.36.3. Moſes ad bella non vadit, &c. Moſes* goeth not to warre, he fighteth not againſt the enemies: but what doth he? he prayeth: and the people ouercome. Wherefore it is a Biſhops part to pray, &c.

Againe, *cauſ.23.c.1.Ioann.8. Terram defendere, &c.* To defend the countrie, to deale with warre, belongeth to the terrene power. *Ibid.c.3.Innocentius*, Chriſt being taken of the Iewes, when *Peter* had

had striken off ones eare, he forbiddeth him to smite; giuing an example to all Bishops, not to vse carnall weapons, &c.

Ibid. cap. 19. Pope *Nicholas* findeth fault with certaine Bishops, which kept watch and ward vpon the Sea coasts against the Pirates: *Militum Christi est Christo seruire:* It is the part of Christs souldiours to serue Christ, &c.

Thus wee see how vniustly the Popes of Rome, and contrarie to their owne Canons, challenge to be temporall princes; which their ambition hath much misliked some of their owne writers: as a sober and graue author of their side giueth an instance in the Bishop of Wirceburge, who euer since *Charles* the great, hath borne both the chiefe ecclesiasticall, and temporall office there; and vpon festiuall daies hath the sword carried before him: and the Bishops there lie buried, with a naked sword in the one hand, and a pastorall staffe in the other. The same author sheweth the iust iudgement of God vpon that See, how as they gouerned by the sword contrarie to their calling, so diuers of them perished by the sword. Espenc. in 1. ad Tim. p. 269. a.

I cannot here omit to rehearse two merrie conceits vttered vpon this occasion, one by a countrie fellow, of the Bishop of Colone bearing the person both of a Bishop and a Captaine: *Velim discere, &c.* I would faine know, saith he, when the diuell shall carrie this Captaine to hell, whom you represent, whither then the Bishop shall goe? The other by a souldiour of the Cardinall *Balua* sent by *Lewis* the 11. to take muster of the souldiours at Paris: O prudent King, saith he, you haue sent this Cardinall, Bishop of Ebroike, to muster your souldiours, send me also to his dioces to make priests: for I can doe that as well, as he the other. Thus we see that this popish ambition was derided euen of the common and simple people. And thus I conclude this place with that saying of S. *Ambrose: Non conuenit vnum hominem duplicem professionem habere:* It is not fit for one man to haue a double profession or calling. Fulgosus lib. 6. cap. 2. Gnaguinus lib. 10.

THE NINTH QVESTION, OF THE PREROGATIVES of the Pope.

BEside these priuiledges and immunities of the See of Rome, which hitherto we haue spoken of both in spirituall and temporall matters, there are other prerogatiues, which haue been in times past giuen to the Bishops of Rome, most blasphemous and wicked, which the Papists of this age are ashamed of, and therefore passe them ouer with silence: for *Bellarmine* saith nothing of them: We will therefore spare our labour in confuting of them, they are so grosse and absurd, but onely bring them forth, that the godly reader may vnderstand the abomination of the whore of Babylon.

There are three monstrous and shamefull prerogatiues, which the Canonists ascribed to the Pope in times past: and they are these; his power dispensatiue, his power exemptiue, his power transcendent, so we will call them at this time.

1 His prerogatiue in dispensing was wonderfull: it would offend a Christian eare, to heare what his grosse Canonists are nothing ashamed to say, *Papa potest dispensare contra ius diuinum:* The Pope may dispence against the law of God, *contra ius naturæ*, against the law of nature: *contra Apostolum*, against the Apostle, *contra nouum testamentum*, against the new Testament: Nay, *Papa potest dispensare de omnibus præceptis veteris & noui testamenti:* The Pope may dispence with all the Commaundements both of the old and new law. What intollerable blasphemies are here? The practises also of Popes are agreeable hereunto: for did not the Court of Rome dispence with King *Henry* the eights marriage with his brothers wife? but that vngodly dispensation at the last was ouerthrowne: and it was well concluded by act of Parliament, *anno* 1553. That no man had authoritie to dispence with Gods lawes. 53. Error. Iuel. pag. 59. Defens. Apol. Fox. pag. 785.

Symmachus Bishop of Rome hereunto agreeth, concluding thus: *Roman. Synod. 6. Non licet Imperatori vel cuipiam pietatem custodienti aliquid contra mandata diuina præsumere, nec quicquam quod Euangelicis propheticisque & Apostolicis obniti, agere:* It is not lawfull for the Emperour, or any other that holdeth the true religion, to presume any thing against Gods commaundements, or to doe that, which doth contrarie the writings of the Prophets or Apostles.

Likewise *Fabianus*: He that feareth God will not attempt any thing against the Gospel, Apostles, or Prophets, *can.* 11. *quæst.* 3. *cap.* 95.

Marcellin. can. 25. *quæst.* 1. *cap.* 8. *Stare non valet, &c.* It cannot stand, which is done against the Euangelicall or Apostolicall doctrine.

Adde the iudgement of Bishop *Lattimer* holy Martyr: If it be of God, *Quis potest dissoluere, nisi qui videbitur deo repugnare?* Who can dissolue it, vnlesse he will seeme to resist God? *Fox* p. 1750.

Bishop *Cranmer* holy Martyr; That the Bishop of Rome had no authoritie to dispence with the word of God, and Scripture, *Fox* pag. 1861.

2 Concerning his power exemptiue: the Pope (say they) is not bound to any law: No man 54. Error.

Fox pag.785. artic.188. is to iudge or accuse him of any crime, either of adulterie, murther, simonie, or such like. If he fall into adulterie, or homicide, he cannot be accused; but rather excused, by the murthers of *Sampson*, thefts of the Hebrues, the adulterie of *Iacob*: As *Ozzah* was stricken for putting his hand to the Arke inclining, no more must subiects rebuke their Prelates going awry: by the inclination of the Arke, the fall of Prelates is vnderstood. This generally is the opinion of the Canonists: but the Iesuites doe holde the contrarie, that it is lawfull, euen for an inferiour Priest to rebuke the Pope, *Rhemist. Annot. in 2. Galath. sect.* 8. Wherefore, seeing they confute themselues, they need not any other refutation.

Fox pag.788. artic.130.

Reade antiquitie, you shall finde, that the Popes doings haue been called in question: When *Bonifacius* 1. was chosen Pope, and one *Eulalius* by his confederates was set vp against him, *Valentinianus* and *Honorius* the Emperours, the better to haue their right and title examined, commanded, *vt ambo exirent ciuitate*, that both of them should voide the citie. Afterward *Symmachus* and *Laurentius* contended about the Popedome, the Senators made relation to King *Theodoricus*, desiring him, *Vt visitationem daret sedi Apostolicæ: tunc rex dedit Albinæ ciuitatis Episcopum*, to send a visitation to the Apostolike See: and the King sent the Bishop of Albin, as visitor thither. By those and such other examples it appeareth, that the Bishops of Rome in times past haue not been without check and controulment.

53. Error. Antonius in Sum. part. 3. John de Parijs. Antonius Sum. maior. part. 3. dist. 22.

3 Concerning the third power, which we call Transcendent: one saith, that, *Non minor honor Papæ debetur, quàm Angelis:* That there is no lesse honour due to the Pope, then to Angels. Another saith, *Papatus est summa virtus creata*, The Popedome is the highest power that was created of God, aboue Angels, or Archangels. Againe, those words of the Psalme, Thou hast put all things vnder his feete, as sheepe and oxen, fowles of the ayre, fishes of the sea: they thus blasphemously applie to the Pope; by sheepe and oxen, vnderstanding men liuing vpon the earth; by the fowles of the ayre, the Angels in heauen, whom they say, the Pope may commaund; by the fishes, the soules in purgatorie: Ouer all these the Pope (say they) hath absolute power, who may, if it please him, release all purgatorie at once. What horrible blasphemies are here? Yet our Rhemists and other Iesuites are somewhat more modest, which confesse that the Pope is but Christs Vicar in the regiment of that part which is on the earth, *Annot. 1. Ephe. sect.* 5. Seeing then they confute themselues, we will not further trauaile herein, but proceede.

Zozimus decret. Contra statuta patrum condere aliquid, vel mutare, nec huius quidem sedis potest authoritas: To make or change any thing against the decrees of the fathers, not this seate hath authoritie: *Ergo*, the Pope is not higher then Angels, being inferiour vnto men his predecessors.

The like iudgement the ancient Bishops of Rome were of, that it was not lawful to depart from the decrees of their predecessors: *Dist.* 11. *cap.* 3. *Iulius* calleth it, *Satis indignum*, a very vnworthie thing so to doe. *Nicholaus: Ridiculum & abominabile dedecus:* A ridiculous and abominable shame, *distinct.* 12. 5. *Damasus* saith, That the violaters of the Canons, *blasphemi sunt in spiritum*, doe commit blasphemie against the spirit: *caus.* 25. *quæst.* 1. *cap.* 5. *Gregor. Euersor, non constructor*, He is a destroyer, not a builder, *caus.* 25. *quæst.* 2. *cap.* 4. *Iulius* calleth it presumption, *ibid. cap.* 11. And lest that other might seeme to bee tied by these Canons to the obseruation of the ancient decrees, and the Pope to be exempted: *Pelagius* saith peremptorily, *Ne pontifex ab his discedendi licentiam, &c.* That not the Pope, though he would, should be suffered to depart from the statutes of his predecessors, *ibidem.* 21. Now then from hence we conclude: first, that seeing the Pope hath no power to change the former decrees, much lesse can he dispense against the word of God. Secondly, seeing he must obserue the rules of his predecessors, he is not exempted from all iudgement. Thirdly, seeing that he is inferiour to the ancient Bishops, in that he must be ruled by their orders, he is much lesse inferiour to the Angels.

THE TENTH QVESTION, CONCERNING Antichrist, and whether the Pope be that great aduersarie vnto Christ.

THis question is diuided into many parts. First, whether Antichrist shall be some one singular man. Secondly, of the time of his comming and continuing. Thirdly, of his name. Fourthly, of what nation or kinred he shall come. Fiftly, where his place and seate shall be. Sixtly, of his doctrine and manners. Seuenthly, of his miracles. Eightly, of his kingdome and warres. Ninthly, whether the Pope bee the very Antichrist. This then is a most famous question, and worthie throughly to be discussed, euery point therefore must be handled in order.

The Papists.

56. Error. THey hold that Antichrist, whose comming is foretold in the Scripture, shal be one particular man, not a whole bodie, tyrannie, or kingdome, as the truth is, *Bellarm. cap.* 2. *lib.* 3. *de Rom. Pont.* 1. They vrge the words of our Sauiour, Ioh. 5. 43. *I come in my Fathers name, and ye re-*

ceiue

reiue me not, if another come in his owne name, him will ye receiue. Here Christ, say they, speaketh of another that shall come, namely Antichrist: for here one is opposed to one, namely, Antichrist to Christ, not a Kingdome to a Kingdome, or sect vnto sect, but one person to another, *Bellarmine cap.2.lib.3.*

Answ. First, here is not so much an opposition of persons, as there is of doctrine, as to preach in the name of God, and to preach in the name of men: and though Christ be the chiefe doctor and teacher, that came in the name of his Father; yet all true preachers beside, doe come in the same name: for so our Sauiour saith of his Apostles, *He that receiueth you, receiueth me, and he that receiueth me, receiueth him that sent me.* Matth.10.40. Therefore, he that receiueth the Apostles, receiueth God: they also then do come in the name of Christ: and so Christ and all the faithfull make but one, Iohn 17.21.

2 Neither doth Christ here speake of one speciall enemie, but of all false prophets; for it is not vnusuall in the Scripture, in the singular number to expresse a multitude being of the same kinde, as Iohn 10.11.12. There is a comparison betweene Christ the true shepheard, and the hireling: where, by the name of hireling, all false shepheards, and spirituall theeues are vnderstood, and so is it in this place: therefore they cannot conclude out of this place, that Antichrist shalbe but one man.

Argum.2. An other proofe is out of 1.Ioh.2.18. the Antichrist shall come, ὁ ἀντίχριστος, the Greeke article, ὁ, expresseth some singular notable person, *Bellarmine ibid.*

Answ. It is false. The Greeke article doth not alwaies in Scripture assigne some particular person: as Matth.4.4. *Man shall not liue by bread onely:* the Greeke text hath ὁ ἄνθρωπος, the man, and yet is it vnderstood not of any one man, but of all in generall, so 2.Tim 2.17. *The man of God*, that is, euery faithfull Minister, or good Christian, yet is it expressed with the article. *Fulke Annot.2.Thess.2. sect.8.*

Argum.3. Apocal.13.18. It is the number of a man: the proper name of Antichrist is set downe: *Ergo*, but one man, *Beller.ibid. Rhemens.2, Thess.2. sect.8.*

Answ. The name here mystically described, which shall containe 666. in number, for so the Greeke letters χ ξ ϛ. do signifie beeing numbred, doth not expresse any particular name of one man, but rather of the whole societie and bodie of Antichrist: for it is said to be the number of the beast. Now by the beast is vnderstood the Romane Empire, the name whereof is Λατεινος, *Latinus*, which letters do arise in computation to the whole number of 666. And this name *Irenaus* thinketh to agree best to this place. Further, seeing the Rhemists themselues by the beast do vnderstand the vniuersall companie of the wicked, Reuel.13.vers.1. And this is the name or number of the beast: it must be vnderstood, by their owne confession, of a company and congregation, and not of one singular person.

The Protestants.

THat Antichrist, which is interpreted an aduersary, or against Christ, shall not be one man, (as the Papists imagine, that the Popes might be disburdened and discharged of this name, who are many) but that it is a whole body, company and synagogue, and a succession of heretikes, we do thus proue it.

1 The mysterie of iniquitie wrought in *Paules* time, then was there a way in preparing for Antichrist, 2.Thes.2. But it is vnpossible for one man to continue from *Paules* time to the end of the world: *Ergo*, Antichrist is not one man, but a succession of heretikes. Argumen. 2. Beza. 1.02.

First *Bellarmine* answereth, that as Christ is said to haue come since the beginning of the world in his forerunners the Prophets and Patriarches, but yet came not in person, till he tooke flesh: so Antichrist straight after Christs ascension began to worke in his forerunners also, but shall not come in person till toward the end of the world *cap.2.resp.ad.1.argument.Beza.*

Cont. 1 The comparison betweene Christ, and Antichrist in this behalfe, is not good: for Christ is said to haue come in the Prophets, because vnto them Christ did communicate his spirit: and therefore Christ is said in his spirit to haue preached by *Noah.* 1.Pet.3.19. But Antichrist being but a mortall man, can not giue of his malignant spirit to his forerunners: for this is not farre from the phrensie of the Manichees, to make Antichrist the beginning of euil, as Christ is the author of good; that as Christ the head doth giue influence to his body, so Antichrist an other head should also inspire his members. Secondly, but if they will make a good comparison, as Christ is the head of his Church, and the Prophets and Apostles his Ministers; so the Diuell is the ring-leader of the wicked, and the Antichrists and false prophets his chiefe worke-men: and in this sense Apocal.13.7. *Michael*, that is Christ, and his Angels are said to fight against the Dragon, that is, the diuel and his angels: And as Christ since the beginning of the world did speake in his seruants the Prophets, so the diuell also from the beginning ceased not to worke in his ministers; and so he began to worke the mysterie of iniquitie against the Gospel in the Apostles time. But to say, that as he which ruled the true Prophets by his spirite was incarnate afterward, and came in his

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owne person; so he that misled the false prophets, shall also come in his person, were to make Antichrist a diuell incarnate: for it was the diuell that wrought in heretikes and false teachers.

Bellarmine answereth againe: if the mysterie of iniquitie began in *Paules* time, that is, the kingdome of Antichrist; and you will needs make Rome the seate of Antichrist: belike Saint *Paul* and Saint *Peter* were the Antichrists, for there were no Bishops of Rome beside at that time.

Answ. First, that Antichrist began then to worke euen in Rome, it cannot be denied, seeing the Papists confesse, that *Simon Magus* first broched his heresie there, and that *Peter* calleth Rome Babylon. It is not necessarie, that the mysterie of iniquitie should so soone creepe into the very chaire of the Pastors, and Bishops: that should come to passe in the full reuelation of Antichrist: It is sufficient that it wrought closely amongst the false Apostles: wherefore the Iesuits obiection concerning *Peter* and *Paul*, is ridiculous.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* saith, that there must come a departing or Apostasie and generall falling from the faith: for so an apostasie signifieth, a relinquishing of the faith, not a departure from the Romane Empire, or Antichrist himselfe, as *Bellarmine* would haue it: so the word is vsed by S. *Paul* else where, 1. Tim. 4. 1 some, saith he, [illegible], shal fall away, or play the apostataes from the faith: and so one of your owne writers expoundeth it, *à veritate in errorem desciscent*; they shal fall from the trueth into error: *Effene in hunc locum*. Common vse also of speech so taketh it: *Iulian* the Emperour is knowne by the name of Apostata, for forsaking of the Christian faith: Antiquitie also hath so vsed the word. *Alexander* patriarch of *Alexandria*, thus writeth in his Epistle touching the *Arrians*: *Egressi sunt viri è nostra parochia, docentes apostasiam, quam recte quilibet præcurrere suspicetur Antichristum*: There be certaine fellowes gone forth out of our precincts, teaching apostasie (that is, corrupting the right faith) which any man would thinke did foreru Antichrist. Whereas then the Rhemists affirme, that most of the ancient fathers do so vnderstand Apostasie for a defection from the Empire: it is certaine, that *Tertullian, Chrysostome, Augustine, Primasius* with others do expound it for a defection from the faith. *Fulke annot. 5 in 2. Thess. 2.* Yea and the Rhemists so take it. *ibid. annot. 6.*

Now this generall falling away from the faith cannot be accomplished in one man, but it sheweth a whole bodie or companie, whereof Antichrist is the head, one man of sinne succeeding another by succession: and this apostasie cannot be wrought at one time, but it shall come to passe in seuerall ages: for how is it possible, that at once such a generall Apostasie should be? *Ergo*, Antichrist shall not be one particular man, *Argum. Caluini*. Neither can the Iesuite thus shift off the argument, to say, that this generall Apostasie is but a preparation to the kingdome of Antichrist, not that he shal then be presently come: for S. *Paul* ioyneth both these together: *There must come a departing first, that the man of sinne be disclosed*, vers. 3. So that this very apostasie and departing shall be a disclosing and manifest declaration of Antichrist.

Argum. 3. Ioh. 3. 7. The Apostle saith: Many deceiuers are come into the world, which confesse not that Iesus Christ is come in the flesh: the same is the deceiuer and the Antichrist. Marke then, one deceiuer is many deceiuers: one Antichrist many Antichrists, 1. Ioh. 2. 18. *Ergo*, Antichrist shall not be one man, but many, *Argument, Ful. Annot. 2. Thess. 2. sect. 8.*

Augustine sheweth, how that in his time this place of S. *Paul* was not expounded of any one man, but of a whole bodie: *Nonnulli non ipsum principem, sed vniuersum quodammodo corpus eius, sub eius principe hoc loco intelligi Antichristum volunt*: Some (saith he) doe take Antichrist not for the head alone, but for the whole bodie and multitude togither with their prince. And their coniecture is this: because these words vers. 7. He which withholdeth, are vnderstood of the Empire and Emperors of Rome, which were many: so the man of sinne, which is described as in the person of one, may fitly be vnderstood of a succession of many.

De ciuit. Dei. 20. 19.

Bernard saith, 2. *In conuersion. Paul. serm. 1. Iniquè agunt & cæteri contra Christum, multique sunt nostris temporibus Antichristi*: There be diuers other that doe wickedly against Christ, and in our times there be many Antichrists. Againe, *Cantic. serm. 33. Ministri sunt Christi, & seruant Antichristo*, They are the Ministers of Christ, and serue Antichrist: how could Antichrist be in *Bernards* dayes, some hundred yeeres since, yea many Antichrists, if Antichrist should be one man? So also one of your later writers: *Bruno* thus witnesseth writing vpon the 4. of the 1. to Tim. vers. 1. *Apostolum de Antichristo instituentem, &c*: That the Apostle giuing instruction concerning Antichrist, doth insinuate that the members a long time goe before the head! but if Antichrist were one singular man, his head and members must go togither!

Likewise out of your owne Canons: *distinct. 23 cap. 1. Nicholaus* defineth him to be Antichrist, that is elected to the Papacie by Symonie. He noteth not any particular Pope, but any whosoeuer, that should be so elected.

Caus. 16. qu. 7. c. 3. Gregor. 7. He that granteth tithes to lay persons, *inter maximos hæreticos et Antichristos non minimus habebitur*: shall be counted among the greatest Heretikes, and not the least among the Antichrists: *Ergo* by your owne Canons there is not one onely Antichrist, but many

Antichrists;

Antichrists. Yea, here I will oppose the iudgement of the Rhemists, who therein are contrary to themselues: yet thus they write, *annot.7.in 17. Apocal.* that the seuen heads are seuen Kings, or Kingdoms, fiue were then past, the sixt was the state of the Empire then present, the seuenth should be Antichrists state, &c. As then they take the sixt head not for any particular person, but for the State of the Emperours, who were many; so by their exposition the seuenth head must be taken not for a particular person, but for a State and Gouernement.

Let vs adde the seale of the holy Confessors and Martyrs, *Iohn Wicliff. articul.37. Ecclesia Romana,* saith he, *est synagoga Sathanæ:* The Church of Rome is the synagogue of Sathan. *Iohn Husse Concil. Const. sess.11. Papa est patronus Antichristi, non solum illa simplex persona sed multitudo Paparum &c. est Antichristi persona composita monstrosa:* The Pope is the patron of Antichrist, not any one single person, but the multitude of wicked Popes, &c. is the monstrous compound bodie of Antichrist. If it should bee obiected, that there haue been some good Popes since the time there assigned, namely, from the dotation or endowment of the Church: he answereth, *Non repugnat quod Gregorius & alij Papæ sinaliter pœnitebant:* Notwithstanding this *Gregorie*, and other tolerable Popes might finally repent them.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER ANTICHRIST be yet come, and how long he shall continue.

The Papists.

THe Romish Iesuites doe hold that Antichrist is not yet come, neither can they tell when he shall come: But this they say boldly, that *Henoch* and *Elias*, who liue all this while in Paradise, shall come immediately before Antichrist; and that Antichrist, when he is come, shall raigne but three yeeres and an halfe, and then shall the world end, *Bellar. cap 4 lib.3. de pontif. Rhemist.11. Apocal sect.2.4.* 57. Error.

Argum.1. The Romane Empire must vtterly be destroyed and layd waste before Antichrist come: as S. *Paul* saith, That which withholdeth must first be taken away, 2. Thes. 2.7. that is, the Roman Empire. But the Empire yet remaineth: for the Emperor is knowen by name, and there are also prince electors of the Empire: *Ergo*, Antichrist is not yet come. *Bellarm. cap.5.*

Answ. It is true that the Romane Empire, while it retained and kept the ancient dignitie, maiestie and power thereof, was an hinderance and let to the tyrannie of Antichrist; but when it began to decay, then Antichrist set in his foote. First, it was not necessary therefore that the Empire should vtterly be extinguished, but so much only taken away, namely, the ancient honor and imperiall maiestie thereof, as hindered Antichrist: and so we find, that the Romane Empire was more then halfe decayed, when Antichrist crept into Rome.

As first when *Constantine* the great, *an.* 312. left the citie of Rome, and fixed his imperiall seate at Constantinople, in the East, the maiestie of the Empire was much impayred, the Bishop of Rome taking occasion by the absence of the Emperor to rule ouer the west Churches. The next pul from the Empire was betweene the yeere 700. and 800. *Constantinus* 1. Bishop of Rome first offered his feete to be kissed of the Emperor *Iustinian*, and most insolently tooke vpon him to excommunicate *Philippicum Bardanes* Emperor after *Iustinian*, because he could not away with Idols, *anno* 715.

Gregorie the third likewise for the same cause did excommunicate *Leo* the Emperor, and translated the custodie of the Church from the Grecians to the French nation, *anno* 740. *Zacharias* first tooke vpon him to depose and set vp Kings: as he depriued *Childericus* King of France of his kingdome, and set *Carolus Martellus* in his steade, *anno* 750. *Stephanus* the second first presumed to be carried vpon mens shoulders: vnto him *Pipinus* King of France yeelded the exarchate or soueraignty of Rauenna, held his stirrop, and led his horse by the bridle, *anno* 752. Afterward *Carolus* King *Charlemaines* sonne, confirmed vnto *Adrian* 1. the former graunt of *Pipinus*, and besids gaue vnto him, the dutchie of *Forsiulum, Beneuentum*, and *Spoletum, anno* 796. *Leo* 3. proclaimed *Charles* the great Emperor, and so spoyled the Emperor of the West of the better halfe of his kingdome, *anno* 800.

From this time forth the maiestie and ancient dignitie of the Empire began daylie to decrease: Iohn. 13. made a decree that the Emperor should be crowned of the Pope, *anno* 964. *Otho* the Emperor confirmed to *Leo* the eight whatsoeuer before graunted by *Pipinus* or *Carolus*, *anno* 966. *Iohn.14.* brought vnder his papall regiment the kingdome of *Poole*, *anno* 973. *Steuen* the ninth obtayned Millaine: *Vrbanus* the second set foote into Spaine, *anno* 1090. Vnder *Innocentius* the second the Kingdome of Sicilie was made part of S. *Peters* patrimonie, *anno* 1140. *Eugenius* the third subdued Norway to the papall profession, *anno* 1152. *Alexander* the third decreed that none should be King of England, vnles he were first nominated and called of the Pope, *anno* 1180. *Sub Lucio* the third the Armenians submitted themselues to the papall iurisdiction, *anno* 1185. Vnder *Vrbane* the third, *Livonia* came vnder their yoke, *anno* 1187. Vnder *Innocentius* the

the third, the kingdome of Arragon was made tributarie to the Pope, *anno*.1216. Vnder *Nicola* the third, the countrey of Romandiola and Bononia, was brought vnder the Popes ſubiection, *anno*.1280.

And to put the matter out of all doubt: *Bonifacius* the eight did one day ſhew himſelfe in his pontificals, as a Pope; another, in his imperiall robes, as an Emperor by vſurpation, *anno*.1300. *Clemens* the fift made a decree that the Emperor ſhould receiue the name and right of the Empire from the Pope, and the Emperor being dead, till a new elect, the imperiall power to remaine in the Popes hand, *anno*.1314. *Clemens* the ſixt crowned *Charles* the fourth vpon this condition, that he ſhould neither ſtay in Rome, nor in any part of Italie: the ſame *Charles* to procure the ſucceſſion of the Empire to his ſonne, did morgage to the Prince-Electors the chiefe reuenues of the Empire, and ſurrendred the free cities, which were neuer ſince redeemed, *anno*.1350. And thus by degrees was the Empire weakned: and as Antichriſt daylie gathered ſtrength, ſo the imperiall dignity fayled, and was empayred.

Secondly, the imperiall power muſt in ſome ſort be reſtored by Antichriſt: for the Pope vſurped the ſame authority which the Emperors had, yea greater: for the whore is deſcribed ſitting vpon the beaſt, Apocal.17. which is the Empire: and therefore it is ſaid, verſ.8. The beaſt that was, and is not, and yet is: for the ancient Empire both is, and is not: It is, becauſe the power thereof is tranſlated to the Pope: it is not, that is, not in that kingly manner, as it was in times paſt. Apocal.13.12. The beaſt that roſe out of the earth with two hornes like a lambe, did all that the firſt beaſt could doe before him: that is, the power of the Empire was in the Pope. Thirdly, Apocal.13.15. It is ſaid, that the image of the beaſt remayned, and that the other beaſt gaue ſpirit vnto the image of the beaſt: So is it at this day, the name and image of the Empire remaineth, but the maieſtie and power is gone: And who giueth life to the image but the Pope? he confirmeth and ratifieth the election of the Emperour. Wherefore, this rather is an argument that Antichriſt is alreadie come, becauſe nothing but the image of the beaſt remaineth.

*Argum.*2. Antichriſt ſhall raigne three yeeres and an halfe: but if he were already come, he muſt needs haue raigned diuers hundred yeeres already, *Bellarm.cap* 8.

They proue this raigne of Antichriſt for this ſhort ſeaſon, out of thoſe places of Dan.7,25. A time, times, and halfe a time: and Apocal.12.14. alſo it is deſcribed by dayes 1260. dayes, and by moneths 11.2. two and fortie moneths: which all come to one reckoning, and make three yeeres and an halfe.

Anſw. Firſt, the time is alſo ſet downe by the name of three dayes and an halfe, Apocal.11.11. How then is it likely, that 1260. dayes and three dayes and an halfe, ſhould ſignifie the ſame time? And ſeeing the Rhemiſts themſelues, by the thouſand yeeres Apocal.20.1. do vnderſtand all the time of the new Teſtament till Antichriſts raigne, and ſo take it for an vncertaine and indefinite number, they can not in any reaſon ſo ſtrictly expound this account of dayes. And as they take the other number indefinitely, ſo diuers of the fathers expound this number of dayes; as *Beda* vnderſtandeth all the time of Chriſtianitie: *Rupertus*, ſo long as the Church endureth perſecution: *Haymo*, for all the time from the aſcenſion of Chriſt, till the end of the world. *Fulke. annot.*12. *Apoc.*2. Secondly, with much better ſenſe are theſe times applyed by our learned and painefull countrieman Maſter *Fox*, to the great perſecution vnder the Emperors, which continued 294. yeeres, which time is myſtically ſignified by 42. moneths, taking euery moneth for a ſabboth of yeeres. And the reſt of the numbers agree hereunto: for 1260. dayes make three yeeres and an halfe, that is, moneths 42. and three dayes and an halfe make houres 42. So taking euery houre in the dayes, and euery moneth in the yeeres for a ſabboth of yeares, there ariſe 294. yeeres, which was the iuſt time of the perſecution from the death of *Iohn Baptiſt*, vnto the end of *Licinius* the tyrant and perſecutor. This account, I ſay, better agreeth with the truth of the hiſtorie, then their imagined computation. Thirdly, if it ſhould be taken, as they expound it, for ſo ſhort a time, then very little of the prophecie in the Apocalyps is yet fulfilled: for the reuelation, for the moſt part, conſiſteth in ſetting downe the reigne and Kingdome of Antichriſt with the circumſtances thereof: as of the time of his tyrannizing ouer the Church chap.11.12. of his marke and myracles chap.13. of the plagues, which ſhould be powred out vpon the world vnder his kingdome chap.16. the deſcription of the whore, which is Antichriſt chap.17. the ouerthrow of Babylon, prophecied of in chap.14. fulfilled and accompliſhed, chap.18. So that if we take our aduerſaries ſtrict expoſition, the whole prophecie of the Reuelation almoſt ſhall bee brought within the compaſſe of three yeeres and an halfe, which is not to be admitted: for ſo little of the Apocalypſe ſhould be yet fulfilled ſeeing their preciſe three yeeres and an halfe are not yet come. And againe, it is certaine that the Apocalypſe is a generall prophecie of the ſtate of the Church from Chriſts leauing the earth to his comming againe: and it tooke beginning euen from *Iohns* time: for things are ſhewed to him *ſhortly to bee done*, chap.1.verſ.1. *and the time is at hand*, verſ.3. So that we doubt not but the moſt part of that propheticall reuelation is alreadie accompliſhed,

Fox.pag.110.

complished, as it may appeare in comparing the visions reuealed in that booke together, and in applying the histories done to the prophecie there contained.

And againe, there is no prophecie beside this of 42 moneths, which can be applied to the great persecution in the primitiue Church: wherefore it is not like that the Lord would leaue his Church without some comfort, in forewarning them of those great troubles which immediatly ensued. But if these prophecies, which are wrested by the Papists, did not foretell of those persecutions, then are they vtterly forgotten in that booke: which is not like, it being the greatest trial that euer the Church had.

4 The 1260 daies mentioned, Apocal. 11.16. cannot be taken precisely for so many naturall daies, but we are to vnderstand so many prophetical daies, that is, a day for a yeere: for this both agreeth to the phrase of Scripture, and the prophetical custome and practise: as Numb. 14.34. *After the number of forty daies wherein you searched out the land, euen forty daies, euery day for a yeere, shall you beare your iniquities.* Likewise, Ezech. 4.5,6. *I haue giuen thee forty daies, euery day for a yeere.* Also the current of time and course of history approueth the same; that 1260 yeeres are determined for Antichrists raigne vntill his ouerthrow: for whether wee begin the account from the yeere 261, when *Paulus Samosatenus* refused that foule heresie, in denying Christ to bee God, and so was a forerunner of Antichrist; adding hereunto 1260 yeeres, we come to the yeere 1521. when *Luther* began to impugne the Antichristian doctrine: *Sic Balaeus in vita Leon. 10.* Or whether we count from the yeere 300. when *Constantine* the great left the imperiall citie of Rome to the Popes discretion, which made an open way to Antichrist, adding here also 1260 yeeres, we fall into the yeere 1560. when according to the prophesie, Reuel. 11.13. the tenth part of the Antichristian citie, as of Abbeyes, Nunries, Monasteries was destroyed, as in England, Scotland, Germanie, and other countries. The Iesuites liberall wresting then of this number of daies, is not any way to be admitted.

5 We say lastly, that wee are not curiously to search into times and seasons, which the Lord hath not reuealed: Onely thus we learne, that the time of affliction being set downe by daies and moneths, the faithfull should hereby be comforted, knowing that the time of their trouble is limited of God, and is but short in respect of the kingdome of Christ.

Argum. 3. The Lord saith, Matth. 24. that those daies shall be shortned, lest no flesh should be saued. But how can the time bee short, if it should last some hundreds, or a thousand of yeeres? *Bellarm. cap. 8. Rhemists annot. Mat. 24. fol. 6.*

Ans. First, that place verse 22. is properly vnderstood of the calamitie of the Iewes, which if it had continued any longer, the nation of the Iewes had been vtterly destroyed. Secondly, yet notwithstanding the raigne of Antichrist is short, in respect of the eternall kingdome of Christ: yea the whole time from his ascension vntill his comming againe, is counted but short. Apocal. 22. 20. *I come quickly.* And S. Peter saith, *That a thousand yeeres before God is as one day, and one day as a thousand yeeres.* 2 Pet. 3.

Argum. 4. Christ preached but three yeeres and an halfe: therefore Antichrist shall be suffered to preach no longer.

Ans. First, yet Christ was thirtie yeeres old when he began to preach, and shewed himselfe before, though not so openly; as when he was twelue yeere old he disputed with the Doctors in the temple: he was also acknowledged for the Messiah in his nativitie. If Antichrist then must in this respect be correspondent to Christ, he must also be knowne to bee thirtie yeeres vpon earth, before he be fully manifested. Secondly, though Christ himselfe preached no longer, yet he sent his Apostles, who preached many yeeres after: we doe not therefore oppose the person of Antichrist, whom we denie to be a singular man, to Christ; but the kingdome of the one to the other. Now by their owne reason, it followeth, that because the kingdome of Christ endured many yeeres, and yet doth, that therefore Antichrists kingdome must likewise.

Other demonstrations the Iesuite hath to proue that Antichrist is not yet come: as, because the Gospell is not yet preached to all the world, *cap. 4. Bellarm. Helias* and *Henoch* are not yet come, who are certainly looked for, *cap. 6.* There shall bee a most grieuous and terrible persecution vnder Antichrist, which is not yet past, *cap. 7.* But these arguments shall be answered in another place towards the end of this worke, when we come to speake of the appearing of Christ to iudgement.

The Protestants.

THat Antichrist shall raigne but three yeeres and a halfe, wee take it for a meere fable, and a very popish dreame: whereas on the contrarie side, we are able to shew both that Antichrist is alreadie come, and hath tyrannized in the world these many yeeres.

Argum. 1. We will make it plaine by demonstration, that Antichrist hath been in the world many yeeres agoe, by the prophetical places of Scripture. First, it is said, the number of Anti-

christ is 666. Apocal. 13. 18. So, *anno* 606. or thereabout, *Boniface* the 3. obtained of *Phocas* the Emperour to be called vniuersall Bishop. Thus saith *Illyricus Chytraus*.

And if wee take our account from that time when *Pompeius* the great tooke the Scepter from the Iewes, according to *Iacobs* prophecie, that *before the Scepter went from Iuda, the Sonne of God should not come*, Genes. 49. 10. which fell out in *Cæsars* his Consulship, sixtie yeeres before Christs nativitie: Then ioyning to this number, 606. wee finde *Bonifacius* in the yeere 666. at which time many strange and prodigious sights appeared, diuers Sea-monsters were seene, and a terrible blazing starre was descried. Also *Gregorie* 1. the immediate predecessor of this *Boniface*, doubted not to call him Antichrist, that tooke vpon him to be called vniuersall Bishop, as this *Boniface* did. All these signes did foreshew, that Antichrist was euen now borne into the world.

Paulinus diaconus lib. 18.

Further, if we begin at the yeere of the Lord 97. at which time *Iohn* wrote the Apocalypse, and counting 666. yeeres, we shall come to the time of *Pepinus*, whom the Pope made King of France, and he againe much inlarged the iurisdiction and authoritie of the Pope. And yet more euidently, about the yeere of the Lord 666. the Latin seruice was commanded to be vsed in all countries subiect to the See of Rome, by Pope *Vitalianus*: and about the same time, *Constantine* the Emperour remoued the ancient monuments of the Empire to Constantinople, and left the citie to the Popes pleasure, *Fulconus in* 13. *Reuel. fol.* 10.

Another prophecie wee haue, Reuel. 20. 3. that after one thousand yeeres Sathan must bee let loose. Euen so, a thousand yeeres after Christ, Pope *Siluester* a great coniurer, hauing made a compact with the diuell, obtained the Papacie: and not long after him came in *Gregorie* the 7. a great Sorcerer also and Necromancer: *Sic Lutherus*.

But because it is not to bee thought, that Sathan was bound during that great and long persecution vnder the Romane Emperours, wee must begin the account of the thousand yeeres from the end of the persecution, which continued 294. yeeres: vnto that adde a thousand, so haue we the yeere of our Lord 1294. about which yeere *Boniface* the 8. made the first booke of the Decretals, confirmed the orders of Friers, and gaue them great freedomes: with this number agreeth *Daniel* his 1290. daies, Dan. 12. 11. Also somewhat before this time, *anno* 1260. the orders of Dominicke and Franciscane Friers began first to be set vp by *Honorius* the 3. and *Gregorie* the 9. And so haue we the 1260. daies, which are set downe, *Apocal. 12. plura apud Pan. pag.* 498.

Argum. 2. If Antichrist should raigne but three yeeres and an halfe, as our aduersaries vrge, and then immediatly that time being expired, the world should end: then is it impossible to assigne the time of our Lord Christ his comming to iudgement, so soone as Antichrist is reuealed. But the Gospell saith, *that of that day and houre knoweth no man, no not the Angels in heauen*, Matth. 24. 36. Are these good fellowes take vpon them to be wiser then the Angels: for they dare set downe the very day of Christs comming; which shall bee, as *Bellarmine* presumptuously imagineth, 45. daies after the destruction of Antichrist. And to this purpose he abuseth that place of Dan. 12. 11. where mention is made of 1290. daies, that is, as he fondly interpreteth, three yeeres and an halfe, the iust time of Antichrists raigne: *But blessed is he that continueth* (saith the Prophet) *to* 1335. *daies*, that is, saith *Bellarmine*, to 45. daies after the destruction of Antichrist; and then Christ commeth, *cap. 9.* What intolerable boldnes and presumption is this, contrarie to the saying of Christ, so attempt to declare the very houre of his comming?

Againe, the prophecie of *Daniel* had no such meaning: for he onely speaketh of the afflictions of the Church, before the comming of Christ, as *Iohn* prophecieth of the troubles that came after. *Daniel* therefore in that place receiueth instructions concerning the cruell persecution of the Iewes vnder *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the beginning, and the end thereof: There are three times reuealed vnto him.

Dan. 7. 25. The first is of a time, two times, and halfe a time, or rather the diuiding of time, or as *Tremellius* more agreeable to the Hebrue, a part or parcell of times: so long should the temple bee defiled, and the abomination set vp in the temple, that is, three yeeres and certaine daies: And so it came to passe, for this desolation began in the temple the 145. yeere of the raigne of the Grecians, the 15. day of the moneth *Casleu*, 1. Macchab. 1. 57. when *Antiochus* caused the daily sacrifice to cease, and incense to be burnt to Idols. And iust three yeeres and ten daies after, which is to be reckoned for the od parcell of times, *anno* 148. the 25. day of *Casleu*, they began to offer sacrifice in the temple according to the law, 1. Macchab. 4. 52.

The second time reuealed, is of 1290. daies, Dan. 12. 11. which maketh three yeeres, seuen moneths and odde daies: which is the time counting from the desolation, when as the sacrifices should be restored, and confirmed by the Kings graunt, and letters Patents: which accordingly came to passe, *anno* 148. the 15. of the moneth *Xanthicus*, which was the last moneth but one, as it is recorded, 2. Macchab. 11. 33.

The third time is described by daies, 1335. Dan. 12. 12. Blessed is he that should liue to see that time: namely, when the Church of the Iewes should fully be deliuered by the death of *Antichrist*, which

which was in the beginning of the next yeere, which was 149. 1. Macchab. 6. 16. Thus wee see these times were fully accomplished vnder the tyrannie of *Antiochus:* wherefore these prophecies being once fulfilled, they cannot bee drawne to signifie any other time, but by way of similitude and comparison.

Neither is that any thing worth, which the Iesuite obiecteth out of S. *Paul*, 2. Thess. 2. 8. *Then shall the wicked man be reuealed, whom Christ shall consume with the spirit of his mouth:* As though presently after the reuelation of Antichrist Christ should come. And therefore Antichrist must not be expected or looked for before the end of the world: for the whole time from the first comming of Christ to his second, is in the Scripture called *nouissima hora*, the last times, 1. Ioh. 2. 18. And therefore Antichrist, at what time soeuer he is reuealed after the ascension of Christ, he commeth in the last times: whose vtter ruine and destruction shall be reserued for the glorious appearing of Christ, as the Apostle there speaketh.

Argum. 3. Whereas the Scripture saith, that Sathan must be bound for a thousand yeeres, and after let loose againe, Apocal. 20. 2. And it is plaine, that the thousand yeeres since Christ are expired more then fiue hundred yeeres ago: It followeth hereupon that Antichrist is alreadie come: for he must be reuealed with the loosing of Sathan. Our aduersaries haue nothing to answere but this, that by this 1000. yeers, a certaine time is not meant, but the whole space during the time of the new Testament, till the comming of Antichrist, *Rhemist. Reuel.* 20. *sect.* 1. To whom we answere, that by the same reason, neither shall their 42. moneths shew any certaine time, but the whole space so long as Antichrist shall raigne. And this number of moneths, as of daies, weekes, houres, the Scripture euery where taketh mystically in prophecies: but when thousands or hundred yeeres are mentioned, they are alwaies taken literally: as Isai. 7. 8. it is prophecied that Ephraim, that is, Israel, should vtterly cease to bee a people within 65. yeeres, which euen so came to passe, counting from the fourth yeere of the raigne of *Ahaz* King of Iuda, to the 23. yeere of *Manasses*, when the remnant of Israel was carried away.

Isai. 16. 14. *In three yeeres as the yeeres of an hireling*, that is, precisely so many, *the glorie of Moab shall be destroyed.* Isai. 21. 16. *Yet a yeere according to the yeeres of an hireling, and all the glorie of Kedar shall faile.* In all these places hirelings yeeres are vnderstood, that is, so many common yeeres, as seruants doe vse to be hired for.

Let vs adioyne the testimonie of antiquitie: *Cyprian epistol. 3. ad Cornelium: Antechristi iam propinquantis aduentum conantur imitari:* They, speaking of the Nouatian heretikes, doe imitate Antichrist, who is now approching and drawing neere.

Paschal. 2. anno 1100. held a Councell at Rome against the Bishop of Florence, who affirmed Antichrist then to be borne: *Epistol. Leodiens. contra Paschal. 2. Ecce solutus est Sathanas babens iram magnam:* Behold Sathan is broke loose, hauing great wrath. *Anno* 1390. Pope *Vrbane* the 6. and *Clement* 7. being both Popes at once, did thunder out one against another, calling each other schismatike, heretike, Antichrist.

Whom now may wee beleeue rather for this matter then the Popes: for Antichrist may best iudge of himselfe?

We haue also the iudgement of one *Houtenius* a Papist, against their dreame of three yeeres and an halfe, who thus writeth in his preface to his translation of *Arethas:* It is not possible that Antichrist, in so short a time of three common yeeres and an halfe, should obtaine so many kingdomes and prouinces.

Adde the seale of holy Martyrs: Master *Bilney*; Sathan, as the Scripture witnesseth, hath been now let loose these 500. yeeres, as it is written in the Apocalypse, *After a thousand yeeres Sathan shall be let loose. Fox* pag. 1003. Master *Tindall* holy Martyr, saith, That since the first 30. Bishops of Rome that died Martyrs, there haue been 204. Popes, and hardly foure to bee found among them good Christian men. pag. 1252.

All these agree together, that Antichrist hath bin many yeeres alreadie reuealed to the world: and therefore this new deuice of three yeeres and an halfe, is but a meere forgerie.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING THE name, character, and signe of Antichrist.

The Papists.

THey stoutly affirme, that Antichrist shal be one particular man; consequently they also hold, that he shal haue a certaine name, as Christ is called Iesus, so Antichrist must also haue a proper name: but what that name shall be, no man can tell, vntill he come: but it shall consist of certaine letters, that in number make sixe hundred sixtie sixe, *Bellar. cap.* 16. *Rhemist. annot. Apocal.* 13 *sect.* 10. 1. Error.

1 Apocal. 13. 18. *Count the number of the beast for it is the number of a man, and his number is 666.*

Hereupon they conclude, that Antichrist shall haue a certaine name, which containeth that number, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Ans. First, it is the number of the beast, and yet of a man: *Ergo*, it cannot be the name of any one man: for by the beast, the Iesuites themselues vnderstand a companie or multitude, *Ribera Apocal. 13. sect. 1.* Wherefore it must be such a name as agreeth to a company or succession of men, and such is the name *Latinus*, as afterward we will shew. Secondly, it must be a name by number, shewing the time, not an idle number signifying nothing; the time of his comming is set downe to be 666. But the name of their Antichrist cannot shew any such time, seeing there are yeeres more then twice 666. gone alreadie, and yet they say, their Antichrist is not yet come.

Argum. 2. Antichrist shall haue a name, as Christ had: but it is not necessarie to bee knowne, otherwise then Christ his name was: which was described by *Sibil* by the number of 888. as Antichrists is by 666. yet was not his name, Iesus, perfectly knowne before his comming, neither is it necessary that Antichrists should before that time. Iesus, in Greek letters thus, ΙΗΣΟΥΣ maketh as you see 888. *Bellarm cap. 10.*

ι.	10.
η.	8.
σ.	200.
ο.	70.
υ.	400.
σ.	200.
	888.

Ans. First, you must proue Antichrist to bee one singular man as Christ was, and then striue for his name. Secondly, you doe euill to match *Sibils* prophecie, and *Iohns* reuelation together, & though her coniecture of the name of Christ, by the number of 888. were of like authoritie with *Iohns* prophecie, of 666. Thirdly, that the name of Iesus is described by one of the *Sibils* by the number 888. it is euident. And *Augustine* also maketh mention of others verses, which goe vnder the name of *Sibill*, the first letters whereof doe make this title or name both in the Greeke and Latin, ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ: *Iesus Christus filius Dei saluator*: Iesus Christ the sonne of God our Sauiour, *August. cont. Iudæos & Pagan. cap.* 6. But these prophecies of Christ, which goe vnder the name of *Sibill*, may bee doubted of: for it is not like that out of the Church among the Gentiles there could be found more euident predictions of the Messiah, then in the Church of the Iewes in the true Prophets writings: and if the Prophets of God, speaking by the spirit of God, did not foresee or foretell the name of Iesus, how could the *Sibils*, speaking by a spirit of diuination, be able so to declare it? But because the testimonie of the *Sibils* is alleaged by graue authors against the Iewes and Pagans, I spare to speake of the vncertaintie of them. Fourthly, if Antichrists name were as well knowne, as Christs name was before his comming, no man could be ignorant of him: for the names of Christ were particularly expressed by the Prophets, as euen now shall be shewed.

The Protestants.

WE affirme by the warrant of Scripture, that as it is a meere fable, that Antichrist shall be one singular man; so of the like truth is it, that he shall be knowne by some notorious name: neither can any such thing be gathered, Apocal. 13. 18.

Argum. 1. If there should come such a notorious wicked person into the world, who only should deserue to be called Antichrist, it is not vnlike, but that the spirit of God speaking of his name, both could and would also haue expressed it: As *Iosias* was described by name, 1. King. 13. and *Cyrus*, Esai 44. 28. 45. 1. long before either of them came into the world. And why, I pray you, might not this prophetical Euangelist, haue named Antichrist, as well as *Sibilla* foretold the name of our Sauiour Iesus Christ?

Againe, Christs names were prophecied of and knowne before: One name of his is to be called a *Nazarite*, so the people call him, Matth. 21. 11. a prophet of *Nazareth*. This name the Prophet hath, Isai 11. 1. he calleth him, *Netser*, in Hebrue it signifieth a branch. Another name of his, is *King of Israel*. Ioh. 12. 13. prophecied of by Zach. 9. 9. Christ also was saluted by the name of the sonne of *Dauid*, Mat. 21. 9. Mark. 10. 48. for the Iewes did generally hold, that the *Messiah* should be called by the name of *Dauid*, according to the saying of the Prophets: as Ezech. 34. 24. *My seruant Dauid shall be their prince.* And 37. 35. *My seruant Dauid shall be their prince for euer.* And againe, Ierem. 30. 9. *They shall serue the Lord their God, and Dauid their King*: which place *Rabbi Ionathas* doth thus translate, *Obedient Dauidi Messiæ regi suo*: They shall obey *Dauid* the Messiah their King.

Further, he was knowne by the name *Messiah*, or Christ, before he came, Ioh. 4. The woman of Samaria said, I know well that Messiah shall come, which is called Christ, vers. 25. This name was reuealed to *Daniel*. 9. 25. he is called Messiah the prince.

But will our aduersaries say, his name Iesus was not knowne before his comming? Yes, euen that name also hath some euidence out of the Prophets: for *Iesus*, or *Iesua*, is all one, and signifieth a Sauiour: of the which name we reade Zachar. 3. where mention is made of *Iesua* the hie Priest, who was a type of our Sauiour Christ, and bare his name, for vers. 5. a Diademe is set vpon his head: which must needes be vnderstood of Iesus Christ, our high Priest. Againe, he is called *Hosanna*, Ioh. 12. 13. which signifieth the same that Iesus, and both are deriued from the same roote:

translated

translated, *Saluum*. Which name we finde in the 118 Psalme, vers. 25. And Augustine seemeth to gather the same name out of the prophecie of Habakkuk 3. 3. *Sanctus de monte Pharan*: The holy one shall come from the mount Pharan: that is, saith he, of the same name whereof he was, which was sent from Pharan, Numb. 13. that is, *Iosua*, who also is called *Iesus*, Heb. 4. 8. and at that time also was his name chaunged, when he was sent from Pharan, as Augustine in the same place noteth, *lib. 16. cont. Faustum Manich. c. 19.* who is there also called *Hoshea*, Num. 13. 8. which is the very name consisting of the same letters and points in the Hebrue, which is given to Christ, Matth. 21. 9. according to the prophecie, Psal. 118. vers. 25. for thus they salute him thus, *Hoshiang* na, Saue vs.

Lastly, if the name Iesus Christ were reuealed to *Sibilla* an heathen prophetesse, how can it be that the Prophets of God were ignorant of it? Therefore by their owne argument, seeing Christs name were knowne before his comming, why should not Antichrists in like manner, if he should be some one singular notorious man?

Argum. 2. We can bring forth a name, which in all respects agreeth with that description, Apocal. 13. 18. which is a name both of a man and of the beast, that is, of a companie, or succession of men, which sheweth the time of Antichrists birth, namely, the yeere 666. which doth fitly agree with the manners and properties of Antichrist, which was also the name sometimes of a man, and that is the name *Latinus*, by which name one of their first Kings were called, which in Greeke letters λατεινος, sheweth in account, the number 666. and so doth the name of Rome in Hebrue רומיית, *romiijth*, which also was the name of one of their Popes called *Romanus*, who was Pope about the yeere 900. about which time they began to be in their ruffe. And one of their owne writers *Barthol. Caranza* the Epitomizer of the Councels thus testifieth of those times: *Iam tunc coeperat pontificum virtus & integritas deficere*: And euen then began the vertue and integritie of the Bishops of Rome to faile and decay. And, *ecclesia Italica*, in Greeke letters doe make the same number.

λ.	30.	ר.	200.
α.	1.	ו.	6.
τ.	300.	מ.	40.
ε.	5.	י.	10.
ι.	10.	י.	10.
ν.	50.	ת.	400.
ο.	70.		666.
ς.	200.		
	666.		

We see then, that all things doe well agree to this name: first, that it signifieth the whole Latin Church or Empire, and so is the name of the beast. Secondly, it sheweth the time 666. about which yeere Pope *Vitalianus* composed the Latin Seruice, and enioyned all nations to vse no other. Thirdly, it properly agreeth with the Antichristian practise of Rome, which is called the Latin Church. And contrarie to S. *Pauls* rule they haue brought an vnknowne tongue, (which edifieth not) into the seruice of God: yea they preferre it before the Greeke and Hebrue, making the Latin translation of the Scriptures onely authenticall, as it was concluded in their Tridentine chapter. And they doe so much extoll their Latin text, as the setter forth of the *Complutense* edition is not ashamed in his preface to write, that he hath placed the Latin text betweene the Hebrue and the Greeke, as Christ betweene the two theeues. What Church then in the whole world but theirs, can be called the Latin Church? Fourthly, it also maketh much for vs, that we haue a consent of names: for λατεινος, ἰταλικα ἐκκλησια, and in Hebrue *romiijth*, doe all make the same number, and doe note the Latin, Romane, or Italian Church.

But they obiect: First, that *Latinus* maketh not that number with ι, but *Lateinus* with ει. A great matter: wherein they shew their ignorance, as though the Greeke diphthong, ει. be not vsually expressed by a single *i*. in Latin, as we say, Αντιοχεια, *Antiocheia* in Greeke, and Αλεξανδρεια, *Alexandreia*, with ει. diphthong: in Latin, *Antiochia*, *Alexandria*, with single *i*. for the cities of Antioch, & Alexandria: this therefore is a small quarrell. But marke, I pray, what a poore shift this is: If this small letter, be but admitted, the Pope is made Antichrist: so wee haue found out Antichrist, sauing one small letter.

2. There are many names beside, that make that number, as τειταν, ευανθας, and others: nay the Rhemists say, that *Luthers* name, in the Hebrue, and *Bellarmine*, that *Dauid Chytraeus* his name, doe expresse that number of 666. But what of all this? there is none of these names, vnto the which the three properties aforesaid doe agree, as they doe vnto *Latinus*, as to betoken the whole bodie of Antichrist, to shew the time of his birth, and describe the qualities of his kingdome, as the word *Latinus* doth: yet this we do not say, that this is the very name which is meant in that place, and that the prophecie can haue no other meaning, but to shew how ridiculous their interpretation is, and how much neerer ours commeth to the truth. And concerning *Luthers* name, it can not make that number, vnlesse they chaunge the letters, and make it *Luderus*: and so it is an easie matter by chopping and chaunging of letters to bring any name to that number. And againe, the Rhemists doe cleere *Luther* in this behalfe that he is not Antichrist, *Apocal. 13. sect.* 10.

Antiquitie also approoueth this name, as *Irenaeus lib. 5. de haeresib. Testimonium perhibentibus his, qui facie ad faciem viderunt Dominum, &c.* And these bearing testimonie, that face to face had seene S. *Iohn*, and by reason teaching, how that the number of the beasts name doth containe 666. after the Grecian reckoning, by the letters that are therein. And though this father in that place

preferreth the name *Teitan*, before others, as most like to be the name of Antichrist? yet doth he approueth the name *Lateinos*, saying, *Valde verisimile est*. It is very like to be this name, because the Latines now dor raigne. And *Irenæus* might be deceiued in the other name *Teitan*, because Antichrist was not yet reuealed: but since the reuelation of Antichrist, it is now eatie to discerne which of these two names doth best agree to the prophecie.

Now further for these two points, that the name prophecied of in the Apocalypse, is so a name, as that it decipbereth also a certaine number of yeeres: and that it is not a special or proper name of any one man, we haue the testimonie of some of their owne writers.

For the first, *Lyranus* vpon this place is a witnesse, that although he take not *Mahomet* to be Antichrist, yet thinketh his death falling out at the yeere 666. to be signified in this number. So the other, *Viegas* and many other of their side, thinke that *Arnus*, that signifieth, contrarie, shall be the name of Antichrist, which is no proper, but a generall name of opposition to Christ, as Antichrist is. Likewise *Rupertus* thinketh, that the name of Antichrist (that is, of that one singular man) is not contained in this number: who hath another mystical interpretation of the same, which is nothing to the purpose: and therefore I omit it.

The holy Martyrs thought that Antichrist should not be set forth by any such notorious name. *Wiclif. & Ioban. Huss.* That there were diuers disciples of Antichrist, Popes, Cardinals, Patriarches, Monkes, Chanons, Friers, &c. *articul.* 18. All these make but one Antichrist, hauing seuerall names and places.

OF THE CHARACTER OR SIGNE and badge of Antichrist.

The Papists.

59. Error. They doe hold that Antichrist shall haue a certaine outward marke or character, which he shall cause to be printed in the right hands, and foreheads of all both small and great, that do belong to his kingdome, Apocal. 13. 16. But this marke is not yet knowne, no more then his name is: onely this they are sure of, that the Pope hath not Antichrists character, but rather the character of Christ, the signe of the crosse which he causeth to bee signed in the foreheads. *Bellarm. cap.* 11.

Answ. 1. Antichrist must in all respects be contrarie to Christ: for as he seeth his Image and Crucifixe adored, so shall he set vp his owne image to be worshipped: and therefore as Christians now doe beare in their foreheads the signe of the Crosse which is Christs marke, so he shall haue another marke contrarie to Christs: and he will make his name and the letters thereof sacred, as now the name of Iesus is worshipped among Christians, *Rhemist. Apocal.* 13. *sect.* 7.

Answ. 2. First, where haue you learned, that roodes and images are to be adored and worshipped? or doth not the word of God teach the plaine contrarie? Psal. 115. 8. 9. *O Israel trust in the Lord:* but they that worship images are like vnto them: he therefore that trusteth in an image cannot trust in God. Againe, where learne you to make an Idol of the letters or syllables of Christs name, to cause men to carrie it in their caps, and bowe their knee vnto it? thinke you that S. Paul when he saith, that all things doe bowe the knee to the name of Iesus, yea of things in heauen, Philip. 2. that he meant, that euen the Angels doe stoup and make obeisance, when they see the name of Iesus written in a glasse window? Or who taught you that the signe of the Crosse is to be borne vpon mens foreheads, and that with crossing of the forehead, we are preserued from danger? S. Paul, you know, hath no such meaning, when he saith, *He bare in his bodie the marks of the Lord Iesus*, which were nothing else, but the signes and tokens of his persecutions, as whipping, stoning, and such like in his flesh: Galat. 6. 17. Neither, when he saith, *He reioyced in nothing but the Crosse of Christ, whereby he was crucified to the world.* vers. 14. hath he any relation to the Crosse in the forehead? for it were a miracle, that a man by crossing his forehead, should straightwaies crucifie and mortifie his affections. Nor yet did our Sauiour speake of this marke, where he saith, that they which will follow him must take vp his crosse, Mark. 8. 34. for in that place by taking vp the crosse, he meaneth, nothing else but the forsaking and denying of our selues. So it is plaine, that in the Scripture you finde not this superstitious signe of the crosse in your foreheads.

Answ. 3. Where you say, that you doe honour the Character of Christ, as his name, and the signe of the Crosse: You doe euen so honour Christ, as the souldiers did that gaue him a reede for a Scepter, and thornes for a Crowne, and bowed themselues in mockage: So you doe leaue Christ certaine badges and signes of his kingdome; but indeede you spoyle him of it, and of his priesthoode too, making other mediators beside him, and other sacrifices propitiatorie beside his. What doe you else now, in bowing the knee to the name and syllables of Iesus, and spoyling him of his honour, but with the souldiers in mockage to bow vnto Christ? And I pray you, how doe you honor the name of Christ, when you make a iest of the name of Christian? for in Italie it is a word of reproch, taken, for an idiote or foole.

3 We are so farre from thinking, that the characters of Christs name, and the signes of the Crosse so superstitiously vsed among Papists are the markes of Christ, that we take them rather to be the visible markes of Antichrist: for besides the invisible characters of Antichrist, whereof we are to speake afterward, that he shall vse also some visible markes, and what those markes are we doe learne where the text saith, *The marke of the beast: name*, Apocal. 14. 11. *and the marke of the number of his name*, Apocal. 15. 2. as it is in the originall: Now the number of the beasts name, is expressed by these three Greeke letters χ. ξ. ϛ. Apocal. 13. 18. Hence are deriued the abused characters of Christs name, χ. ρ. ϛ. for χριϛος: the first letter and the last in the beasts name χ. ξ. ϛ. and in these abused characters χ. ρ. ϛ. are all one; and the middle character ρ. with his crowne thus ρ. cannot more fitly be expressed by any letter, then the middle in the beasts name, ξ. Thus we see that these characters χ. ρ. ϛ. so superstitiously abused by the Papists, which they vsed in their rings, amulets, tablets, in their caps and garments, doe issue out of the beasts name, and so are markes of Antichrist.

In like manner did they abuse the signe of the crosse, attributing vnto it the power, efficacie, and merite of Christs death, as though the very signe of the crosse were able to sanctifie those that were crossed, and to preserue them from spirituall danger.

And these superstitious markes of the crosse, had their beginning from the beasts name: for the first letter χ. is a crosse, the middle letter ξ. in Latin X. is also a sideling crosse, the last letter ϛ. containeth both σ. and τ. two Greeke letters, whereof the latter is called an headlesse crosse †: and thus it appeareth plainly, that the markes whereby they say, they honor Christ, are rather a dishonor to him, and are in very deede the cognisance of Antichrist.

4 We answere, that the signe whereby Christians are marked, are not externall, but internall: Weare sealed by the spirit of God, Ephes. 4. 30. The outward signes are none other, but the two Sacraments of baptisme and the Lords supper: by the right administration whereof the congregations of the faithful are knowen. But of this, more shal be spoken in the *Antithesis*, or *Antithesis*, in the declaration of our opinion.

The Protestants.

BY the character or marke of Antichrist, we doe not so much vnderstand any visible signe or badge to be printed in the right hand or the forehead, as the Iesuite imagineth: as though he should brand all his subiects in the hande or forehead: as that hereby is meant and signified chiefly the society and communion, whereby they shall be joyned to Antichrist, by giuing vnto him their fidelitie, oth, and obedience, agreeing together in the same corruption of faith, and doctrine. This is Antichrists badge or cognisance, *Fulk. Apocal.* 13 *fol.* 7. There are also outward markes of their coniunction with Antichrist: as the shauing of priests, and greazing them with oyle: such are the receiuing of holy bread, the wearing of beades, the annoynting with Chrisome, the crossing of themselues, as we haue before shewed. But the proper note and character, is the oth and profession of fealty and obedience.

Argum. 1. Antichrist, say they, shall bring in another contrary character, to disgrace the signe and character of Christ, namely the crosse in the foreheads: But Christ hath appoynted no such visible character, neither are true Christians knowne by any such: therefore also the character of Antichrist is no such thing: the antecedent is proued thus.

1 The people of the Iewes had no such outward badge, who were more charged with outward obseruations, then Christians are: Circumcision was the only signe of the couenant to them, Genes. 17. 11. which was one of their chiefe Sacraments, in place whereof Baptisme is enioyned vs: *Ergo*, much lesse are we to be knowne by any other outward badge.

2 This place Apocal. 13. is taken out of Ezech. 9. where the Angell is commanded to set a marke vpon the foreheads of them that mourne: but that was no visible externall marke, for it was shewed the Prophet in vision: *Ergo*, neither is it to be taken so in this place.

3 We grant the Sacraments are badges and markes of our profession: which markes the Pope, the onely Antichrist hath defaced, by bringing in fine other Sacraments, and cleane changing, polluting and altering, the right Sacraments which Christ instituted: for they haue brought into baptisme, chrisme, salt, oyle, spittle, and such trash: into the Eucharist, adoration, transubstantiation, sacrifice, with such like: so that herein he sheweth himselfe Antichrist, and hath altered the true markes of Religion.

Argum. 2. It appeareth by the effect what is the Character of Antichrist: The text saith, It was not lawfull for any to buy or sell, but he that had the marke or the name of the beast: No more was it lawfull for any to haue trafficke amongst the papists, but he that acknowledged the Popes crosse keyes, or made himselfe a member of the Romish Italian Church: Nay they say, he is not of the Church, that acknowledgeth not the Pope to be head of Christs Church, *Fulk. Apocal.* 13. *fol.* 7.

The Iesuite obiecteth: First, this oth of fidelitie and coniunction cannot be that character: for

it must be in the right hand or forehead. *Answ.* We haue alreadie declared, that it is too childish to take these words literally, as though all Antichrists subiects should carie brands in their foreheads or hands. Secondly, saith he, many doe both buy and sell amongst them, that haue not made profession of their fealtie to Rome, as the Ievves. *Bellarm. cap.* 11. *Answ.* Yea no marvaile, for Antichrist is an enemie onely to Christ: all other people he can brooke well enough be side good Christians; tell me I pray you, whether our Merchants be admitted to trafficke safely in Spaine, if their religion be knowne? The seruants of God amongst you, can neither enioy, houses, lands, libertie, or life: which yoke also was laid a long time vpon this land, till it pleased God to haue mercy on vs: for the which his name be blessed.

Thirdly, Againe, many yeeres agoe, euen in *Augustines* and *Ambrose* his time, all Churches were ioyned to Rome, before Antichrist was yet reuealed. *Ergo*, This is not the Character of Antichrist, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, they were ioyned then in common consent of religion, not as subiects by compulsion, but voluntarie; because at that time, Rome in the chiefest pointes of Religion was in the right faith. Secondly, but of late dayes in the Councell of Constance, not yet two hundred yeres agoe, it was made an article of faith, to beleeue, that the Pope was the head of the Vniuersall Church: yea about the yeere 600. the title of vniuersall Bishop first began to be appropriated to Rome: whereby was insinuated, that all Churches in the worlde should be vnder the obedience thereof.

Lastly, we haue the testimonie of one of their Popes themselues, who saith plainely, that he is the forerunner of Antichrist, which would be called Vniuersall Bishop. *lib. 4. epistol.* 32. and writing
Gregory. 1. to *Eulogius* of Constantinople he calleth this title of Vniuersalitie, *superbæ appellationis verbum*, a proude name. And *Pelagius* 2. 1. *decretal. contra Iohannem Constantinop.* saith thus, *Nullus Patriarcharum tam profano vtatur vocabulo*, he termeth it a prophane name. See then by his testimonie, the title of Vniuersalitie, and exacting of obedience of other Churches, is a prophane and proude title, and in very deed the character and marke of Antichrist.

Bishop *Cranmer* holy Martyr, maketh this an infallible signe of Antichrist, *Because he aduanceth himselfe aboue all other creatures*: *Fox.* pag. 1874. and would haue all to depend vpon him. Maister *Bradford* calleth him Antichrist, that arrogated to himselfe, *to be called the supreme head of the vniuersall Church*, pag. 1626. *epistol. ad Londinens.*

THE FOVRTH PART, CONCERNING the generation and originall of Antichrist.

The Papists.

60. Errors. THey do reiect those old fancies concerning Antichrist, as that he should be borne of a Virgin by helpe of the diuell, that he should haue the diuell to his father: that he should be a diuell incarnate: or that he should be *Nero* raised from the dead. Refusing these fables, they haue found out one as foolish: Our Rhemists hold, that Antichrist shall be borne of the tribe of *Dan*. *Bellarmine* dare not say so, but he thinketh that he shall come of the Iewes stocke, and be circumcised, and be taken of the Iewes for their Messiah, *cap.* 12.

Argum. 1. That he shall come of the tribe of *Dan*: thus they would proue it, Gen. 49. 17. Dan shall be a serpent by the way, biting the horse heeles: Ierem. 8. 16. The neying of his horse is heard from *Dan*. And Apocal. 7. where 12. thousand of euery tribe are reckoned, onely Dan is left out, because (belike) Antichrist should come of that tribe, *Rhem.* 2. *Thes.* 2. *fol.* 8.

Answ. *Bellarmine* confuteth all these reasons: the first he saith with *Hierome* to be vnderstood of *Sampson*, who came of the tribe of *Dan*: the second place is of *Nabuchadnezzar* comming to destroy Ierusalem, as *Hierome* also expoundeth it: to the third he saith, that *Ephraim* is left out as well as *Dan*: yea and so is *Manasseh* too: because the tribe of *Ioseph* is named for his two sonnes: but *Dan* is left out because *Leui* is reckoned in his place. We may see now, how well they agree, when one Iesuite confuteth another, *Bellarm. cap.* 12.

Argum. 2. *Bellarmine* standeth much vpon that place, Ioh. 5. 43. If another come in his name, him will ye receiue: but saith he, the Iewes will receiue none but of their owne kinred, and whom they looke for to be their Messiah. *Ergo*, Antichrist must come of the Iewes. *ibid.*

He also vrgeth that place of the Apostle 2. Thess. 2. 11. *God shall send them strong delusions, to beleeue lies*: which he vnderstandeth of the Iewes, that shal be readie to receiue Antichrist for their Messiah: and indeed saith, Antichrist shall come especially for the Iewes, to delude and deceiue them.

Answ. 1. This place we haue shewed before, *part.* 1. of this question, to be vnderstood of false prophets amongst the Iewes, such as mention is made of, Act. 5. as *Theudas* and *Iudas*, and not of any one false prophet: so Iohn 10. where Christ compareth himselfe, which is the true shepheard,

with

with the hireling, he vnderstandeth all hirelings, though he speake in the singular number. Secondly, and if it should be vnderstood onely or specially of their imagined Antichrist, then it would follow, that the Iewes as yet haue receiued none counterfeit in their owne name, but haue as it were, kept themselues in suspence, refusing Christ, and yet hearing none other. Which were very absurd, that this saying of Christ hath not been verified vpon the Iewes these 16. hundred yeeres. Thirdly, and Christs speech is especially directed to that generation, that seeing they refused Christ, yet they followed other ringleaders, or sectmasters, that deceiued them.

And concerning the other place, we answere. First, that it is not spoken onely or specially of the Iewes, but of all vnbeleeuers, who through the hardnesse of their heart should be readie to receiue Antichrist: and so the Rhemists expound it, in their annotations vpon this place: and the Apostle doth giue instructions as touching Antichrist, not to the Iewes, but to the beleeuing Gentiles, to whom he writeth, saying in the 3. verse. *Let no man deceiue you &c.* Secondly, that Antichrist shall come chiefely to seduce the Iewes in the end of the world, is contrary to the Apostle Rom. 11. which prophecieth of the generall calling of the Iewes, not of their generall seducing: and this assertion of the Papists, that the Iewes Messiah is yet to come, doth harden their hearts, and nourish them in their blind hope and foolish conceit.

The Protestants.

THat it is a very fable and cousening deuice of heretikes, to make men beleeue that Antichrist shall come of the tribe of *Dan*, or of the stocke of the Iewes, thus we shew it.

Argum. 1. It is out of doubt, that the nation of the Iewes shall be conuerted vnto God, and mercy shall be shewed againe to the remnant of Israel, Rom. 11. 25. confessed also by the Papists. And hereof *Origen* so many yeeres since, hath written very confidently, though doubtful and vncertaine in many things beside. First, *Homil. 6. in Numer.* speaking of the marriage of *Moses* with a woman of Ethiopia, how *Miriam* his sister for murmuring against it became leprous, and was shut 7. dayes out of the Campe: he thus applieth the Storie by the mariage with the Ethiopian, vnderstanding the calling of the Gentiles: and by the excluding of *Miriam*, the reiection of the Iewes: *Veruntamen hæc lepra &c.* But this their spirituall leprosie shall not remaine euer, but when as the weeke of the world is accomplished, she shall be brought againe to the tents: that is, the Iewes shall returne to the Church.

Againe *homil.* 18. vpon those words of *Balaam. c.* 24. 17. I shall see him, but not now: *in nouissimis temporibus cum plenitudo gentium intrauerit*: That is, in the last times, when the fulnesse of the Gentiles is come in, and all Israel beginneth to be saued. Thus he writeth of the generall calling of the Iewes toward the end of the world. But if one come, which shall reedifie the temple, and restore the sacrifices and circumcision, such an one, as the Iewes shall take for their Messiah: who seeth not, that by this meanes the Iewes will be more hardened, hauing now their owne hearts desire, their temple, Messiah, circumcision: and their conuersion would be greatly hindred, nay quite and cleane ouerthrowne?

Argum. 2. If Antichrist should come of the Iewes, it is like that his seat should be at Ierusalem, and that the Temple should be built againe by him: but that cannot be, for the Temple, as *Daniel* prophecieth, shall lie desolate euen vnto the end, Dan. 9. 27. *Ergo*, he shal not come of the Iewes. More of this in the next part.

Beside the Prophecie of *Daniel*, we haue the warrant of our Sauiour Christ, that the temple of Ierusalem shall not be reedified. Matth. 24. 2. *a stone shall not be left vpon a stone*: Which Prophecie was not onely accomplished in the destruction of the old temple, but then also, when in *Iulian* the Apostata his time, the Iewes being by him encouraged to build the temple, what was built in the day, was cast downe in the night; and beside a fire fell from heauen, that consumed the worke and workemens instruments: which *Cyrillus* Bishop of Ierusalem then seeing, applied vnto that euent, this prediction of our Sauiour. *sic Socrates lib. 3. c. 17.* The like successe let them looke for, that shal attempt the like againe. Further there is an imperiall law made by *Theodos.* that the Iewes should not attempte to build any Synagogue vnder the paine of confiscation of all their goods and losse of their life: and the lawe beginneth thus: *Hæc vsitata in omne enim lege sancimus*: They make it an eternal law, to hold as long as the world standeth. *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 2. l. 17.* How then is it like that the temple should be built, there being such restraint against Synagogues? And in the same law it is forbidden, that the Iewes should haue any honour, or beare any office, or execute any place of Iudgement. Wherefore seeing the Nation of the Iewes is despised and contemptible, and by a perpetuall law kept from rising to any honor: it is vnlike, that from them should spring such a mightie Monarch, as they imagine Antichrist to be.

Bernard witnesseth with vs: *Bestia illa in Apocalypsi, cui datum est os loquens blasphemias, & bellum facere cum sanctis, Petri cathedram occupat, tanquam Leo paratus ad prædam.* The beast in the Apocalypse, to whom a mouth was giuen to speake blasphemies, and to make warre with the Saints, doth occupie *Peters* chaire, readie as a Lyon to his pray: *Epistol.* 126. But we reade not, that euer any

any Iew was Pope of Rome to sit in *Peters* chayre. *Concil.Toletan.4.can.65.* The Iewes are there called, *Ministri Antichristi*, The Ministers and seruants of Antichrist: and so in deede the Popes haue vsed them in diuers seruices: And therefore *Gregory* the ninth, in despite of all Christian Princes did giue the Iewes great immunities, *anno.*1240. And who knoweth not that the papists haue begged many of the Iewish ceremonies: as the yeere of Iubile was instituted by *Bonifacius.8. anno.*1300 and many other beside.

See more Tetrast.Papist.3. Piller part.1.

Fox.pag.1775. Bishop *Ridley* holy Martyr saith, that the See of Rome for the contrarie of Religion and diuersitie of doctrine from the Apostles, is the seate of Antichrist, and the Bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abhominations thereof, is Antichrist himselfe in deede. But none of the Iewes were euer Bishops of Rome.

THE FIFT PART, CONCERNING THE seate and place of Antichrist.

The Papists.

61.Error. *Bellarmine* holdeth opinion, that Antichrist shall haue his imperiall seate at Ierusalem, and reedifie and build againe the temple, yea for a while commaund circumcision to be vsed and obserued, *Bellarm.cap.*13.*lib.*3.*de pontif.Rhemist.*2.*Thessa.*2.*sect.*11.

*Argum.*1. Apocal.11.8. The Citie of Antichrist is called the great Citie where our Lord was crucified. But Christ was crucified at Ierusalem, *Ergo.*

Answ. First, it cannot be so vnderstood, for vers.2. Ierusalem is called the holy Citie, vers.8. The great Citie is called Sodome and Ægypt: how can the same Citie be capable of such contrarie names? How can that be called an holy Citie, where the abomination of desolation shall be and the seate of Antichrist?

Secondly, *Augustine in Apoc.homil.*8. vnderstandeth by the great Citie and the streetes thereof, the middest of the Church: And by the great citie very fitly is vnderstood the large iurisdiction of the Pope, who saith, he is head of the great citie and Catholike Church: Whose seate we see is at Rome, by authoritie of which citie Christ was put to death: and by Antichrist the Pope, Christ also is persecuted in his members, *Fulk, annotat. Apocalyps.*11.*sect.*2. *S.Hierome* also doubteth not to call Rome, *Maledicam ciuitatem*: The cursed citie: *ad Principium*: and Sodome, in his Epistle to *Lætum.*

*Argum.*2. Apocal.17.16. The ten hornes, that is, ten Kings, amongst whom the Romane Empire shall be deuided, shall hate the scarlet whore, that is, Rome, and burne it with fire: how then shall it be the seate of Antichrist? *Bellarm.*

Answ. The text is plaine, that the same kingdomes, that before had giuen their power to the beast, and were subiect to the whore of Babilon, shall after make her desolate, and eate her flesh: which thing we see in part to be accomplished already, that many princes haue redeemed their necks from Antichrist his yoke, *Fulk, Apocal.*17.*sect.*3. It is not necessarie therefore to be doned at one time, but one after another.

*Arg.*3. 2.Thess.2. He shal sit in the temple of God: but at that time the Iewes only had a temple, the Christians yet had none, and ý Apostle speaking of the Church of God, did of purpose refraine this name, least the Church of Christians should be thought like the Iewes Synagogue, *Bellarm.*

Answ. First, the Iewish temple shall not be built againe, as *Daniel* prophesieth, 9.27. And how can it be built in so short a space, seeing Antichrist, as they say, must raigne but three yeeres and an halfe? and to what purpose, seeing he will abolish all sacrifices? Secondly, though it should be built againe, nay if it were standing now, for the exercise of Iewish sacrifices, it could not be called the temple of God. Thirdly, by the temple therefore is meant the visible Church, that which sometimes was a true visible one, as the Church of Rome, and after should be so taken, reputed and challenged, as it is at this day by the papists: So saith Master *Bradford* holy Martyr, That wicked man sitteth in the Temple of God, that is, the Church, for it cannot be vnderstood of *Mahomet*, or any out of the Church, but of such as beare rule in the Church, *pag.*1616.*disputat.cum Cicestrens.* Neither haue the Papists hereby any aduantage, as though the Pope sate in the very true Church: for it is not the true Church indeede, but so reputed and taken by them. But he is said to sit in the temple, that is the Church of God, both because there sometime hath been a visible Church, and as yet they doe retaine the name and shadow of the Church, and because he challengeth to be the head of the Church, and his office to be chiefly ecclesiasticall and of the Church. Fourthly, though there were no materiall temples of the Christians in *Pauls* time, what of that? Fiftly, he speaketh not here of any such materiall temple, but of the Church of God: neither doth S.*Paul* in this sense refuse to vse the name of temple, as 1.Corinth.3.vers.16. and 6.vers.19. and in other places. Sixtly, the Rhemists doe allow the interpretation of S.*Augustine* and S.*Hierome*, who expound the temple spoken of by the Apostle, not for the temple of the Iewes, but for the Church of God: from the which Antichrist (say they) shall reuolt and become an Apostata: *sect.*12.*in* 2.*Thes.*1. But whereas in the same place they would hereupon conclude that the Pope is not Antichrist,

christ, because he is in the Church; and so shall not Antichrist. To this we answere, that the Pope though he remaine in some outward shew of the Church, yet is departed from the true doctrine of the Church, and so become an Apostata.

The Protestants.

THat Rome is the seate and place of Antichrist, beside that the Rhemists confesse so much that Antichrist shall raigne there, *Annot. Apocal.* 17. *fol.* 4. we proue it thus.

Argum. 1. Babylon is the seate of Antichrist, who is called the great whore of Babylon, Apocal. 17. 5. Rome is Babylon: *Ergo*, the seate of Antichrist.

Obiect. It was Babylon, while it was gouerned and ruled by heathen Emperors; but the Church was not then called Babylon, *Bellarm.*

Ans. First, *Ergo*, by your owne confession, Rome shall be the seate of Antichrist, seeing by Saint *Iohn* it was called Babylon: for that citie, which then did beare rule ouer the earth, Apoc. 17. 18. was Rome, and the same is Babylon, ver. 5. and Babylon is the citie of the great whore: *Ergo*, Rome is the citie or seate of Antichrist who is that great whore. Secondly, it was not onely called Babylon in the time of the Heathen, but euen of Christian Emperors. *Augustine* saith, it is *Secundum alia Babylon*, the Babylon in the West parts, *& prioris filia Babylonis*, and daughter to the first Babylon. And S. *Hierome* saith, *Dum in Babylone versarer*: While I liued in Babylon, and was a tenant to the scarlet whore: *Præfat. ad Paulinum.* He thus speaketh in the time of Christian Emperours, not doubting euen then also to call Rome Babylon. Thirdly, Saint *Iohn* doth not onely prophecie of the cruelties of the terrene state, but of the false prophet Antichrist, he should also vsurpe an ecclesiasticall gouernment there. For as the terrene state of the Emperours for their cruelties is compared to a Leopard and a Lion, Apocal. 13. 2. so the ecclesiasticall state of the Popes is resembled to a Lambe with two hornes speaking in hypocrisie, pretending holines, yet practising tyrannie, vers. 11.

Obiect. Secondly, they obiect that by the damnation of the great whore, is vnderstood the finall destruction of all the companie of the reprobate, *Rhemist. Apocal.* 17. 1.

Ans. The damnation vniuersally of the wicked is described chap. 20. and therefore this place must be vnderstood of Antichrist, and his adherents: and very fitly doth the name of whore agree to that See, for once a whore indeede was Pope there, called *Ioane* the eighe. Which so wringeth the Papists, that they haue no other shift but impudently to denie it.

Argum. 2. That citie, which hath names of blasphemies, and is full of abominations, is the seate of Antichrist the great whore, Apocal. 17. 3. but this is the citie of Rome. *Ergo.*

First, that Rome is the citie full of names of blasphemie, being called eternall, and yet but temporall, *Hierome* testifieth, *lib.* 2. *cont. Iouinian. Scripsum in fronte blasphemiam*: Thou hast rased out, by the confession of faith, the blasphemie written in thy forehead. Here it is answered, that Rome was the place of blasphemie, while it was heathenish: but since the profession of the Christian faith it is not, as *Hierome* here saith, *Bellarm.*

Contra. First, it is sufficient for this matter, that *Hierome* affirmeth Rome to be that citie which was full of blasphemie. Secondly, as he here affirmeth that for that present Rome was cleered from blasphemie, because of the faith of Christ: so elsewhere he sheweth, that the damnation of the great whore, that is the citie of Rome, is yet behinde, according to the prophecie, Reuel. 17. 1. as it followeth in the same place, That curse, which our Sauiour hath threatned thee in the Apocalypse, thou maist escape by repentance. So then in his iudgement, seeing the damnation of the whore was not then fulfilled, at that time the whore had not shewed her selfe.

Secondly, that Rome also is the citie of abominations, the same author beareth witnesse: He calleth it the citie, *in qua palma vitiorum*, that may beare the bell for all kinde of vice: *ad Principiam.* And againe, The citie of pompe, leacherie, delicacie, *vbi humilitas est miseria est*: where humilitie is counted miserie: *ad Marcellam.* Thus he spake of Rome being at that time Christian: but who seeth not how much more it is degenerate now?

Argum. 3. Wee haue another argument out of the same chapter, vers. 9. The seuen heads are seuen mountaines, on which the woman sitteth. But there is no citie in the world notoriously knowne to stand vpon seuen hils but Rome: *Ergo*, it is the seate of Antichrist.

Obiect. The text is, They are also seuen Kings: so the seuen heads, or seuen hils, signifie seuen Kings: for there shall be so many chiefe Empires which shall persecute the Church, there are fiue past: Egypt, Canaan, Babylon, the Persians, Grecians, the sixt, the Romes, which in part standeth yet, the seuenth shall be Antichrist, *Rhemist. Apocal.* 17. *fol.* 7.

Ans. First, the seuen heads are expounded to be both seuen hils and seuen Kings: the Scripture vseth not to expound one hard and obscure thing by an harder and more obscure, as to say, seuen heads are seuen mountaines, that is, seuen Kings: for wee were neerer the sense before: and the terme of heads doth more fitly resemble Kings, then mountaines. Secondly, the seuen kings are more fitly taken for seuen principall gouernours of the Romanes, as Kings, Tribunes, Consuls, Decemviri,

Decemviri, Dictators, Emperours, Popes: for by these seuen orders hath the common-wealth bin gouerned first and last, *Fulk. ibid.*

Obiect. Rome is not now built vpon seuen hils, it standeth in the plaine in *Campo Martio*, *Sander ibid.*

Ans. First, you haue then no right to *Peters* Chayre, for when he sate at Rome, the citie stood vpon seuen hils. Secondly, though the Pope now hath remoued his palace to the Vaticane, on the other side of the riuer, yet he did sit for many yeeres in Laterane, vntill the time of Pope *Nicholas* the second, who was almost 1100. yeeres after Christ. Thirdly, though the Pope hath remoued his palace vpon pleasure beyond the riuer, yet his See is not remooued: for vpon euery one of those hils there are Monasteries, and Chappels, and such like monuments to be seene this day. In mount Cælius there is the Monasterie of *Gregorie* the first, the Cathedrall Church of Laterane. In mount Auentine, the Monasteries of *Sabine* and *Boniface*. In the moune Exquilie the Minster of S. *Maria maior*, the ruines of S. *Cyriacus* Church, which is yet a title of a Cardinall. The mount Viminalis hath the Church of S. *Laurence*. The mount Capitoline hath an house of Friers, called *Aracœli*. The mount Palatine the Church of S. *Nicholas*. The moune Quirinalis hath Saint *Mariade populo*. Wherefore though the Popes person be remoued a little aside, yet the Papish religion is exercised, and relickes of superstition are to be found in euery one of those hils. Wherefore we nothing doubt to conclude, but that Rome is that citie vpon seuen hils, and the principall seate of Antichrist.

Let vs see antiquitie: *Epistol. Leodiens. contra Paschal. 2. anno 1107. Ait Petrus in Epistola, salutat vos ecclesia, quæ est Babylone collecta, &c.* *Peter* saith in his epistle, the Church, which is at Babylon, saluteth you. Hitherto I vnderstood Babylon to signifie Rome, because of the idolatrie then in those times: but now my wofull experience teacheth me so to expound it, that *Peter* saying, the Church at Babylon, &c. did foresee the horrible confusion and dissension, which is there this day. So then Rome was not onely Babylon then, but it is also Babylon now.

We haue also here the euident testimonie of our aduersaries themselues: It may well be, say they, that as the persecuting Emperours did principally sit in Rome; so Antichrist shall haue his principall seate there, though others thinke, that Ierusalem rather shall be his principall citie. *Rhemist. annot. in 17. Apocal. fol. 4.* And againe, whereas they confesse that the great citie, that is the whore, is old Rome, *ibid. fol. 9.* and that the seuenth head of the beast, whereupon the whore sitteth, is Antichrists state, *ibid. fol. 7.* it must of necessitie follow, that Antichrist is one of the heads of the Romane state. Their only euasion here is, that euen then, when Antichrist shall sit in Rome, the Church there shall not be Antichrist, *Rhemist. fol. 4.*

Contra. Antichrists state shall either be the Imperiall Romane state, or Ecclesiasticall: but not the Imperiall, for these reasons: First, they themselues confesse that Antichrist shall not come so long as the Romane Empire standeth, *fol. 7.* Secondly, the Romane Empire is now weakned, and nothing remaineth but the name and image thereof: so that it is not like to bee that, which shall trouble and vexe the world. Thirdly, euen when *Nero* and *Domitian* and other persecuting Emperours gouerned, when as the Emperours had neuer greater power, nor yet malice or enuie; yet euen then the Empire was an hinderance to the comming of Antichrist: and therefore *Tertullian* giueth this as a reason, why the Christians did pray for the Romane persecuting Emperours, *Quod vim maximam vniuersis orbi imminentem, &c.* Because that wee know, that the great trouble and vexation of the whole world, threatning the end thereof, and horrible miseries, is hindered by the flourishing of the Romane Empire, *Apolog. cap. 32.* If that then the Imperiall state cannot be Antichrist, it must needes follow that the Papall and Ecclesiasticall state in Rome, which hath the exercise of both swords there, and the chiefe gouernment thereof, is the very strength and head of Antichrists kingdome.

Heare the testimonie of an holy Martyr: The whore is that citie, saith *Iohn*, which hath the empire of the Kings of the earth, Apocal. 17. Now what citie is there in all the world, that, when *Iohn* wrote, had the rule of the kingdomes of the earth, but onely the citie of Rome, &c. Bishop *Ridley*, pag. 1779.

THE SIXT PART, CONCERNING THE doctrine of Antichrist.

The Papists.

61. Error. THeir opinion is, that Antichrist shall be an open and manifest aduersarie to Christ, and that he shall abolish all worship of God, and all religion, *Rhemist. annot. 2. Thess. 2. fol. 10.* *Bellarmine* draweth all the doctrine of Antichrist to these foure heads. First, he shall denie Iesus to bee Christ, and abolish the Sacraments instituted by Christ. Secondly, he shall make himselfe Christ. Thirdly, he shall make himselfe God, and be adored as God. Fourthly, he shall abolish all other worship,

worſhip, both true and falſe, yea the worſhip of Idols. Wherefore (ſaith he) the Pope cannot bee Antichriſt, that doth none of theſe things, *cap.* 14. Of theſe now in their order.

Argum. 1. Antichriſt ſhall vtterly denie Chriſt, 1. Ioh. 2. 22. and 4. 3. *Euery ſpirit that confeſſeth not, that Ieſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is not of God:* this is the ſpirit of Antichriſt: *Ergo*, Antichriſt ſhall altogether denie Chriſt.

Anſ. Firſt, the Rhemiſts ſay, that this is not a marke for all times, to know an heretike by, but it was onely for thoſe times, to confeſſe Chriſt to be come in the fleſh. This is a ſurer note now (ſay they) that whoſo confeſſeth not Chriſt to be really preſent, and to be ſacrificed in the Maſſe, is not of God, *Rhemiſt annot. 1. Ioh. 4. ſect. 2.* Where I will not ſtand to note the preſumption of theſe Papiſts, that will correct and amend the Apoſtles rule, to know Heretikes by, which ſerueth for all times: and ſo *Auguſtine* taketh it. But here firſt I oppoſe our Rhemiſts iudgement againſt *Bellarmine*: for they denie that this place ſerueth to deſcribe Antichriſt, belonging onely to the Apoſtles times: *Bellarmine* ſaith, it doth moſt properly decipher Antichriſt. Serm. de verbis Apoſtol. 33.

2 The great Antichriſt ſhall denie Chriſt no otherwiſe, then other Antichriſts and heretikes did in the Apoſtles time: for they are all Antichriſts, 1. Ioh. 2. 18. and he giueth one rule to know them all by, verſ. 22. But the Antichriſts then denied not Chriſt apertly, but couertly: *Ergo*, ſo ſhal the great Antichriſt.

The firſt is true, that the old heretikes did not plainly denie Chriſt to be come in the fleſh: but ſome denied his humanitie, ſome his diuinitie, ſome his perſon. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Arriani hoc negant, licet verbis fateantur:* The Arrians denie that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, though they confeſſe it in word: for he that doth not confeſſe that Chriſt is equall vnto God, denieth Chriſt in the fleſh; and ſo of other heretikes. The ſecond alſo is as true: that Antichriſt, who is no other but the Pope, ſhall alſo cunningly and couertly denie Chriſt; for he that denieth the offices of Chriſt, denieth Chriſt: As *Auguſtine* ſaith of *Peters* deniall, *Quicquid item negauit, ipſum negauit, Tract. in Iohan.* 66. Whatſoeuer he denied of or belonging to Chriſt, he denied Chriſt. So the Pope denieth Chriſt to bee our Prophet, King, and Prieſt: His propheticall office he defaceth, and in effect denieth, in diſgracing the Scriptures, ſaying, they are imperfect, and containe not all matters neceſſarie to ſaluation, that their authoritie bindeth vs not without his allowance: His Kingly office, in making himſelfe Chriſts Vicar and Vicegerent vpon earth, in making new lawes, Sacraments, ordinances, beſide Chriſts, as neceſſarie to ſaluation as the rules of the Goſpell: His Prieſthood, in ſetting vp a new propitiatorie ſacrifice in the abominable Maſſe, beſide the onely ſacrifice of attonement vpon the Croſſe, in making other mediators and interceſſors, beſide Chriſt: and ſuch like, whereof we ſhall haue occaſion to intreate afterward more at large: *Ergo*, the Pope in denying the offices of Chriſt, denieth Chriſt, and ſo is Antichriſt.

Argum. 2. He ſhall make himſelfe Chriſt and Meſſiah, which the Ieſuite would proue out of Ioh. 5. verſ. 43. If another come in his owne name, him will ye receiue: But the Pope commeth not in his owne name, but in the name of Chriſt, he calleth himſelfe Chriſts Vicar: *Ergo*, he cannot be Antichriſt, *Bellarm.*

Anſ. Firſt, it is not neceſſarie that Antichriſt ſhould openly profeſſe himſelfe to bee Chriſt, in name, but he ſhall doe it, *opere*, indeede, and that cloſely and couertly: for thoſe whom Chriſt calleth, *pſeudochriſtos*, falſe Chriſts, Matth. 24. 23. *Iohn* calleth *Antichriſtos*, Antichriſts, 1. Ioh. 2. 18. Falſe prophets therefore are falſe Chriſts, and Antichriſts: yet all thoſe falſe prophets and heretikes did not in name and outward profeſſion make themſelues Chriſts.

2 The Pope of Rome in effect maketh himſelfe Chriſt: for who but Chriſt is the head of the Church? who but Chriſt is ſuperiour to the Angels, and to commaund them? who but Chriſt can make Sacraments and articles of faith? But all this the Pope taketh vpon himſelfe to doe: yea the Ieſuite is not aſhamed to ſay, that he hath the ſame office which Chriſt had being vpon earth, *lib. 5. de pontif. cap. 4.* And whereas they ſay, the Pope commeth in the name of Chriſt: it ſhall as much profit him (it being not in truth, but in colour onely and ſhew) as it ſhall profit the falſe prophets to ſay in the day of the Lord, *Haue not we in thy name prophecied, and caſt out diuels?* Mat. 7. 22. 23. to whom Chriſt ſhall make anſwere, *Verily I know you not.*

Argum. 3. Antichriſt ſhall openly name himſelfe God, and commaund men to worſhip him as God, 2. Theſſal. 2. 4. But this doth not the Pope: *Ergo*, he is not Antichriſt, *Bellarm.*

Anſ. Firſt, if Antichriſt ſhould be ſuch an one, you might haue found amongſt the Emperours of Rome diuers Antichriſts: for ſuch an one *Caligula* was, that commaunded temples to be erected in his name, and his images to be ſet vp to be worſhipped, yea in the temple at Ieruſalem. Secondly, S. *Pauls* words will not beare any ſuch ſenſe: he ſhall ſit, ὡς θεὸς, as God: and your vulgar Latin hath *oſtendens ſe tanquam ſit Deus*, ſhewing himſelfe as though he were God, that is, in deede and effect, not in open profeſſion: for he ſhould ſit and be worſhipped in the temple as God: how then can it be called the temple of God, being thus a temple of moſt groſſe idolatrie? *Bellarmine* hath taketh vpon him to correct the text, and ſaith it muſt not bee read, ὡς θεὸς, as God, but, ὡς θεὸς,

that he is God, both contrarie to the Greeke originall, and the Latin vulgar tranſlation, which readeth, *he ſhall ſhew himſelfe as God*, in ſuch ſenſe as I haue ſhewed. Thirdly, the Pope in effect maketh himſelfe a god vpon earth: for he can diſpence againſt the law of nature, the law of God, againſt both new and old Teſtament: as wee haue ſhewed before, Queſt. 9. of this Controuerſe: yea *Bellarmine* ſaith, he may by his Apoſtolike authoritie diſpence with the precepts of the Apoſtles, *cap.* 14. He is able to change the nature of things, and of nothing to make things to be, of wrong to make iuſtice, &c. Pope *Nicholaus diſtinct.* 96. Yea it is ſaid of the Pope, that he is neither God nor man, but a middle thing betweene both: Pope *Boniface.* I pray you then what is he? he is no Angell, for he is aboue them, and commandeth them: *Papa Angelis præcipit*, the Pope commandeth Angels. He muſt then either be a God or a Diuell, by your owne confeſſion, chuſe which you will: Nay they do make him a plaine God: *Es alter Deus in terris*, another God vpō earth: and they ſalute him by theſe names, *Dominus Deus noſter Papa*, our Lord God the Pope. Thus it is proued, that the Pope, both by his deeds as alſo by his titles, doth make himſelfe God vpon earth.

Extrauag.

Agrippa.

Argum. 4. Antichriſt (ſay they) ſhall take away all worſhip, yea of Idols, and ſhall commaund nothing to bee worſhipped but himſelfe, 2. Theſſ. 2. 4. the word is *σέβασμα, numina*, all things that are worſhipped. But ſo doth not the Pope, for he prayeth to Saints, adoreth the bodie of Chriſt on the altar. *Ergo. Bellarm. cap.* 14. *Rhemiſt.* 2. *Theſ.* 2. *ſect.* 10.

Anſ. Firſt, the text proueth not, that he ſhall take away all Idols, or things worſhipped, but ſhall exalt himſelfe againſt them, and make ſmall account of them. The place alſo of *Daniel* is plaine, 11. 37. *He ſhall not regard the God of his fathers, nor care for any God, but ſhall magnifie himſelfe aboue all: and in his place ſhall he honour the God Mauzzim, and the God which his fathers knew not, ſhall he honour with gold and ſilver.* Out of this place wee gather two things: firſt, that Antichriſt ſhall bring in a ſtrange God, which his fathers neuer knew: ſo hath the Pope inuented a breaden god, which he honoureth with gold and precious ſtones, making more account of it, then of any Image or relick whatſoeuer. Secondly, yet he ſhall magnifie himſelfe aboue all ſuch Gods, Images, Roodes, Shrines, and the like, yea aboue his owne breaden god; ſo doth the Pope: for he rideth vpon mens ſhoulders, when his breaden god is carried vpon an hackney: he exalteth his throne aboue the altar, the Croſſe is carried on the right hand of the Emperours ſword and ſcepters, but is laid vnder his feete: In the yeere of Iubile, he beateth vpon the gates of Paradiſe with a golden hammer, *Fulk. annot.* 2. *Theſ.* 2. 10. So then howſoeuer like an hypocrite he ſeeme to adore his breaden god, yet indeede doth he magnifie himſelfe aboue it.

Bellarmine hath no other ſhift to foyſt off our arguments, but theſe: he ſaith, this *Mauzzim* like enough to bee the diuell himſelfe, whom Antichriſt ſhall worſhip: but he careth neither for ſiluer nor gold: or elſe it is himſelfe. And how I pray you can a man worſhip himſelfe? or elſe, ſaith he, it is ſome ſtrong caſtle where he ſhall lay his ſiluer and gold: or elſe you know not what, *Bellarm.* 14.

2 That Antichriſt ſhall not aboliſh Idols of ſiluer and gold, but rather commaund the people to worſhip them, as the Pope now doth, it is plaine, Apocal. 9. 20.

The Rhemiſts obiect, that he ſpeaketh here againſt the heathen Idols, which is here called the worſhip of diuels.

Anſ. Firſt, in this place *Iohn* ſpeaketh of the end of the world, in the opening of the ſeuenth ſeale: and the Idols of the Heathen were aboliſhed long agoe: Neither is there any knowne nation in the world that hath worſhipped Idols of gold, ſiluer, braſſe, ſtone, or wood, but the Papiſts, for theſe many yeeres. Secondly, all worſhippers of Images, doe worſhip diuels: for Idolatrie is a ſeruice inuented by the diuell, and that which is ſacrificed to Idols is offered to diuels, 1. Cor. 10. 20.

The Proteſtants.

THat Antichriſt ſhall not in outward ſhew bee an open enemie to Chriſt, but ſecretly and cloſely, and vnder pretence of religion take away all religion: thus we make it plaine.

1 Theſe places alleaged before doe prooue it, Ioh. 1. 2. 18. the Antichriſt, and the Antichriſts, ſhall be enemies all alike: but the Antichriſts in S. *Iohns* time were couert enemies. *Ergo*, ſo ſhall the great Antichriſt. And as Antichriſts forerunners were, ſo himſelfe ſhall bee: but they ſhall ſpeake lyes through hypocriſie, and giue eare to the doctrine of diuels, 1. Timoth. 4. 1, 2. that is, as one of your owne writers expoundeth it, *Qui Chriſtianorum ſibi appellatione impoſita, contraria docent:* Which taking vpon them the name of Chriſtians, doe teach things contrarie, *Eſtenius in hunc locum.* And this place is vnderſtood of the forerunners of Antichriſt, and ſo interpreted by *Lyra* one of your owne authors: *Ergo*, alſo Antichriſt himſelfe ſhall pretend one thing, and teach another, and vtter his lyes through hypocriſie.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* calleth it the myſterie of iniquitie, 2. Theſſ. 2. 7. and he ſhall come in all deceiueableneſſe of vnrighteouſneſſe, verſ. 10. and God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſion, to beleeue lyes, verſ. 11. All this prooueth that Antichriſt ſhall worke cloſely, cunningly, myſtically, by deceiuing,

ceiuing, by delusion, not by open enimitie, and prophanenes, or by violence and tyrannie onely, as the Papists imagine.

Argum. 3. Antichrist shall be the greatest enemie to Christ and his kingdome, that euer was in the world. But he is a greater enemie that pretendeth friendship, and yet is a foe, that vnder the name of Christ persecuteth the Christian faith, then he that openly destroyeth it, making no shew of religion: as *Dauid* complaineth, Psalm. 41. 9. *The my familiar friend whom I trusted, which did eate of my bread, hath lift vp his heele against me.* This was accomplished in *Iudas*, who betrayed Christ with a kisse, who was the greatest enemie of Christ, sinning against his owne knowledge and conscience: Euen so they now a daies, are the greatest enemies that Christ and the Church hath, that betray Christ with a kisse, which name themselues the Church of God, and yet make hauock of the Church.

Argum. 4. S. *Paul* also sheweth, that Antichrist, vnder colour of religion, shall be an enemie to religion and the Church: for he shall sit in the temple of God, that is, take vpon him the name and title of the Church, and yet an aduersarie vnto it. For he that publikely taketh away the exercise of religion, cannot be said to sit in the Church of God; as the heathen persecuting Emperors did, and *Iulian* the Apostata: but this agreeth better to one, that by bearing Christs name, shall wound the Christian faith, and this is the Pope. *Origen* writeth to the same purpose: *Qui simulat veritatem, &c.* He that dissembleth the truth, wresting the Scripture to prooue false doctrine, he it is that is an enemy, *& super Cathedram scripturarum sedet*, and sitteth aboue the chaire of the Scriptures, *Tract. 27. in Matth.* And thus the Pope of Rome taketh vpon him to dispence, contrarie to the Gospels and Apostles: which first *Bellarmine* impudently denieth, that euer the Pope in word or deede tooke vpon him so to dispence: the contrarie I haue proued before, Quest. 9. Secondly, saith he, if he doe dispence with the positiue precepts of the Apostle, he doth it, *iuxta Apostolum*, according to the Apostle, that is, according to his Apostolike authoritie.

Contra. First, he must shew his authoritie out of Scripture, that he hath power to dispence against Scripture, but that shall he neuer doe: but the Apostle sheweth the contrarie, that he is accursed, that taketh vpon him to teach any other doctrine, then the Apostle taught, Galath. 1. 9. Here all power and authoritie to dispence against the Apostle is cut off for euer.

Lastly, *Augustine* saith as much, that Antichrist shal come with deceiueable doctrine, and shew of righteousnesse: *Quid expauescimus in Antichristo, nisi quia nomen suum honoraturus est, & Domini contempturus? Quid aliud facit, qui dicit, ego iustifico? Quid aliud est dei ignorare iustitiam, & suam velle constituere, quam dicere, ego iustifico, ego sanctifico?* What other thing doe we feare in Antichrist, but that he shall honour his owne name, and contemne Christs? What else doth he, which saith, I doe iustifie, I make holie? What is this but to destroy the righteousnesse of God, and to bring in his owne? De verb. domin. secund. Iohan. ser. 45.

Marke now I pray you, if all this be not true of the Pope of Rome: for he taketh vpon him to iustifie, to sanctifie, to dispence with mens sinnes for an hundred, yea a thousand yeeres: to rid soules out of Purgatorie: nay, to commaund Angels to carrie their soules to heauen, that dye in their pilgrimage to Rome, as Pope *Clement* the 6. did: what is this else but to say, *Ego iustifico, sanctifico*, I iustifie, I sanctifie? And who I pray you, doth so, if *Augustine* may be iudge, but Antichrist? But thus the Pope doth: *Ergo*, he is Antichrist. Iuel. p. 595.

And to conclude, such an enemie is the Pope, as *Leo* the 1. speaketh of, *Epist.* 82. *Pro fide vos agere creditis & fidei contrariè: Et Ecclesiæ nomine armamini, & contra Ecclesiam dimicatis:* Ye thinke ye worke for the faith, and ye goe against the faith: you are armed with the name of the Church, and yet fight against the Church.

I will adde the testimonie of an holy confessor of Gods truth *Walter Brute*: That the Popes come in the name of Christ it is manifest, saying, that they are his principall Vicars vpon earth: wherefore seeing they make themselues the chiefe friends of Christ, and yet doe iustifie many lawes contrarie to the Gospell of Christ, it is plaine that they are in earth the most principall Antichrists, because there is no worse plague or pestilence, then a familiar enemie. *Fox* pag. 482.

THE SEVENTH PART, CONCERNING the miracles of Antichrist.

The Papists.

ANtichrist, they say, shall be a Magitian, and worke strange signes and wonders by the power of the diuell: and these three miracles by name shall be wrought by him: He shall cause fire to come from heauen, and make the image of the beast to speake: and thirdly, he shall faine himselfe dead and rise againe, *Bellarm. cap.* 15. 63. Error.

1. He shall by the helpe of the diuell cause fire to come downe from heauen, as it is Apocalypse 13. 13.

Answ. First, it is a great question whether the diuell haue any such power to bring downe fire from heauen: for the Iesuite himselfe remembreth the storie 1. King. 18. How *Baal* his priests would haue fetched downe fire from heauen, but they could not: onely *Elias* did it: and he that will doe the like, must haue *Elias* his spirit, as Christ saith, Luk. 9. 55.

Concil. Bracarens. 1. *can.* 8. It was decreed thus: *Si quis credit, quod diabolus ipse motum, fulgura, tempestates, siccitates sua authoritate facit, sicut Priscillianus docet, anathema sit:* If any man beleeue, that the diuell of himselfe can raise tempests, thunder, lightning, drought, as *Priscillianus* teacheth, let him be accursed. How therefore can Antichrist, who worketh by Sathan, doe that which Sathan himselfe cannot doe?

Secondly, It is very grosse to vnderstand this literally: for the whole chapter is mysticall, of the beast with seuen heads, of another beast with two hornes, and all the rest. But three wayes Antichrist may fitly be said to bring fire from heauen. First, by fire the holy Ghost may be vnderstood, as Matth. 3. and Act. 2. The spirit appeared in fierie tongues: so Antichrist and his ministers make men beleeue, that they doe conferre the holy Ghost, as in confecration, in absolution of sinners, and such like. Secondly, the Popes thunderbolts of excommunication, are resembled to fire, whereby he hath made the whole world afrayd in times past, as though he could cause the heauens to fall vpon men: yea, to make the matter more likely, the Pope vseth burning Tapers in excommunicating men, which with violence are throwne downe as though God himselfe did rayne fire from heauen vpon them. And this is the terrible manner of their excommunication: there are three candles burning set vp; and then they begin to accurse them, whom they excommunicate, bodie and soule to the diuell: and let vs, say they, quench their soules in hell fire, if they be dead, as this candle is put out (and with that they put out one of the candles:) If they be aliue, let vs pray, that their eyes may be put out, as this candle is, and so the second candle goeth out, and that all their senses may faile them, as this candle looseth his light, and so the third candle goeth out. Behold, here is the fire which the Pope and his popelings doe bring from heauen. *See Bullinger. serm. 60. in Apocalyps.* Adde vnto these their fierie ceremonies, their fierie iugling trickes also, as Cardinall *Benno* reporteth of *Gregory* the seuenth, that great Sorcerer: *Cum velut, manicas suas discuteret, &c.* When he list, he would shake his sleeues, and out flew sparkes of fire, &c. Thirdly, the Dragon is said, Apocal. 12. 4. with his tayle to draw many starres from heauen: that is, many excellent men, as starres in gifts and knowledge, shall be deceiued by the Pope, and be wonne vnto him: yea the Pope himselfe is a Starre fallen from heauen to the earth, from heauenly doctrine to earthly tradition, Apocal. 9. 1. Thus Antichrist also may be said to fetch fire from heauen.

Fox. pag. 1038.

2 The second miracle, he shall cause the Image of the beast to speake, which the Iesuite vnderstandeth literally, that is, grossely.

Answ. First, *Bellarmine* and our Iesuites doe not here agree: for *Bellarmine* saith, that these two miracles shall be wrought by Antichrist himselfe, to fetch fire from heauen: and to cause the Image to speake. But the Rhemists say, this other beast, is another false Prophet, inferiour to Antichrist, which shall also worke wonders, such an one as *Caluin*, say they: where they shew their malice, more then learning; for *Caluin*, they know, tooke not vpon him to worke myracles, *Annot. Apocal.* 13. *sect.* 3.

2 This causing the Image to speake hath a better meaning: The Image of the beast is the shadow of the olde stately Empire of Rome, which was erected by the Pope: for the West parts wanted an Emperour the space of three hundred yeeres from *Augustulus* time till Pope *Leo* the third, who made *Charles* the great King of France, Emperour: And at this day is there nothing in the Empire, but onely a name, title and Image: for neither hath the Emperour the Imperiall authoritie, which is in the Pope, nor the Imperiall kingdomes, vnlesse he haue them of his owne. And the Pope onely maketh this Image to speake, for vnlesse hee doe confirme the election of the King of the Romanes, he is not thought worthie the name of Emperour, *Bullinger. ibid.*

Auentin. lib. 4.

3 And yet we deny not, but that they both haue and may make Images speake either by the helpe of the diuell, as *Dunstane* caused a Roode to speake; or by iugling, as the Roode of grace by gimmals was made to roule the eyes, moue the lips, and such like, in King *Henries* dayes.

3 The third miracle that Antichrist shall worke, is to faine himselfe dead, and to rise againe, Apocal. 13. 3.

Answ. There can be no such thing gathered out of the text. First, the words will not beare it: the text is, that one of the heads was wounded to death, and the wound was healed: which cannot be so meant, as though he fayned himselfe dead: but he receiued a wound indeede.

2 The sense is mystical, as thorough the whole chapter: First, it is said, that the seuenth head was wounded to death: but reuiued againe; that is, the seuenth gouernment of the Romanes in the Popedome: for the Popacie had many times deadly blowes, and yet was healed againe, especially when there were three Popes togither, at Rome, in France, and the third in Spayne: But this wound

wound was cunningly healed vp in Pope *Martio* the fift, in the Councell of Constance, the other three being deposed. *Sic Bullinger Serm. 59.* Secondly, it is said vers. 14. that the beast whose Image remained, had the wound of a sworde, and yet liued: which is vnderstood of the Romane Empire, reuiued and quickened by the Pope.

The Protestants.

IT is true that Antichrist shall worke signes and wonders by the power of Sathan, 2. Thess. 2. but lying signes, both because they shall be done to confirme lyes, neither shall they be such as the Prophets wrought, but many of them but cunning and cousoning sleights of iuglers. And for such wonders we neede not to search farre, the Popish Church is full of them: where els then should we looke for Antichrist?

1 There haue been of the Popes themselues Sorcerers and Coniurers, such an one Antichrist shall be, saith *Bellarmine. Siluester* the second came vp to the Papacie by the helpe of the diuell, as we haue before shewed. *Gregory* the seuenth was condemned in the Councell of *Brixia* for a Coniurer: and *Benno* a Cardinall in those dayes thus writeth of him: that on a time he sending two of his seruants for a certaine Sathanicall booke, charging them not to looke into it; they notwithstanding looked into it, and presently a great multitude of diuelliſh spirits were round about them; who were instant vpon them to knowe why they were called for; the seruants being at the first astonished, yet comming to themselues, enioyned them to plucke downe certaine high walles neere to Rome: and so they came to their master, *Fox.* pag. 176. What other Antichrist now neede wee looke for? If he must be a Coniurer, we may here make our choyce. Beside these two, *Platina* and other writers make mention of 20. Popes that bound themselues as slaues to the diuell.

2 We are not ignorant, what lyes and fables are reported by the Papists of the myraculous acts of their popish Saints, of the which we haue spoken before: As how *Dunstane* appeared to a cripple, that came to his Tombe to be helped of his lamenesse: How *Plegildus* a priest saw and handled the shape of a childe vpon the Altar, which after he had kissed returned agayne to the likenesse of bread. How a certaine Iewes boy tolde his father that he saw a childe broken in peeces vpon the Altar and distributed among the Christians: and the boy for that, was cast into a furnace of fire, and was preserued from the fire by the Virgin *Mary*, which appeared to him, and spred her garment ouer him. Many such either lyes and fables, or workes of diuels the popish Church hath: what neede we therefore doubt, but that it is the Antichristian Church? Fox pag. 1148.

3 *Augustine* saith, Saint *Paul* calleth them lying wonders, either because Antichrist shall deceiue men *per phantasmata*, with iugling sleights, or because, *admendacia portrahet creaturas*, by his wonders he shall make them beleeue lyes. But in which sense they are so called, it shall appeare when Antichrist is come saith he: and indeede it is now apparant; for our aduersaries haue plentie of both kindes, both myracles wrought indeed by the diuell, and many pretie iugling feates beside. De ciuit. Dei lib. 20. cap. 19.

These lying fables and forged miracles, which the Popes worke by, are euident signes of their Antichristian profession: *For Antichrist shall come with the power of Sathan with signes and lying wonders*, 2. Thess. 2. 9. Stories shew this to bee true: *Leo* the third confirmed by his decree, that the bloud which issued out of a woodden Crucifix at *Mantua*, was the very bloud of Christ, *anno.* 800. *Anno.* 1470. one *Alanus* a drowsie dreaming Monke forged this blasphemous tale, how the Virgin *Marie* came into his Cell, kissed him, drew out her breasts, and espoused her selfe to him: and these and such like Monkish tales went for currant in those dayes. Not much vnlike to the wicked practise of *Polychronius* a Monothelite heretike, who affirmed before the whole Councell Constantinop. 6. action. 15. that a certaine beautifull young man appeared vnto him, and taught him to lay that there was but one will in Christ: and gaue him this for a signe, that he should lay the schedule of his confession vpon a dead bodie, and so raise it to life: The Councell hearing him, immediatly caused a dead bodie to be brought, but *Polychronius* muttering ouer the same a great while, could doe nothing, and so was condemned of the Councell for a lyar and an heretike.

Many such fabulous miracles popish bookes are full of: such are, in the iudgement of a graue writer of their side; *Petrus Venetus* his catalogue of the Saints, and the Martyrologue of *Hussuardus* the Monke: *Multis scatent quisquilijs:* These bookes (saith he) are stuffed with much paltrie stuffe. Yea, the liues of the fathers, vnworthie of *Ieromes* name, are full of such fabulous narrations: *See Espence in 2. Timoth. p. 151. C.* Seeing then that the popish Church is full of lying signes and miracles, where is Antichrist more like to be found, then there?

Theasius well said therefore Nicen. 2. *Miracula non credentibus data sunt, sed iis, qui in incredulitate versantur:* Miracles are not for those that beleeue, but for incredulous persons. The incredulitie then of Papists better appeareth not, then by their insatiable desire, and superstitious vse of miracles.

Fox.pag.1025. Adde vnto these the beleefe of *Iohn Tewkesbury* confessor of the truth: *Antichrist is not an outward thing, that is a man, that should suddenly appeare with wonders, as your forefathers talked of him, but Antichrist is a spirituall thing, &c.*

THE EIGHT PART OF THE QVESTION, concerning the warres, and kingdome of Antichrist.

The Papists.

64. Error. *Bellarmine* saith, that Antichrist shall make great battailes against the Saints, and shall conquer the whole world: first, by craft he shall aspire to the kingdome of the Iewes: Secondly, he shall fight with three kings, of Lybia, Egypt, Æthiopia. Thirdly, with a great armie he shall persecute the Christians throughout the world; and this shall be the battaile of *Gog* and *Magog*. *Bellarm. cap.16.*

Argum.1. That he shall craftily aspire to the kingdome, he proueth it out of Dan.11.21. where it is prophesied of one that he shall obtaine the kingdome by flatteries.

Answ. This prophesie of *Daniel*, as likewise the whole chapter, was historically accomplished in *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who defrauded *Seleucus* his brothers sonne of the kingdome, and circumuented his elder brother *Demetrius*: so that it being once fulfilled, it cannot be wrested to any other sense: of Antichrist it cannot be ment; for here is a succession of Kings described, vers.19. One is said to be ouerthrowne, that is, *Seleucus*, but not in battaile, for he was poysoned, vers.18. There another is said to be ouerthrowne and to be no more found, that is, *Antiochus magnus*. But Antichrist cannot succeed any in the kingdome of the Iewes: for he shall be their first King, as the Papists imagine.

Argum.2. He shall (saith *Bellarmine*) ouercome three Kings, of Lybia, Egypt Æthiopia, Dan.11.43. and this horne shall remoue three other hornes, Dan.7.8.

Answ. This also must needes be vnderstood of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and they are two prophesies. First, he is called a little horne, because he was not heire to the kingdome: he remoueth three other hornes: for by his meanes *Ptolemaus Philopater* was cast out of the kingdome in his fathers time *Antiochus* the great: his brother *Seleucus* poysoned, his sonne *Demetrius* disinherited, *Trem.* Dan.7.20. The second prophesie was also accomplished by *Antiochus*, who ouercame Egypt, and the countries adioyning.

Of Antichrist it cannot bee vnderstood: for the first prophesie speaketh of a beast with ten hornes, which must bee vnderstood of one kingdome and monarch, and by the ten hornes ten Kings are signified: for so was *Antiochus Epiphanes* the tenth from *Seleucus*: here then is a succession of Kings: but Antichrist shall not succeed any.

Argum.3. The Iesuite saith, that Antichrist with a great armie shall vexe the whole world, and that shall bee the battaile of *Gog* and *Magog* prophesied of, Ezech.38.39. and Apocal.20.

Answ. The prophesie of *Ezechiel* was fulfilled in the time of the Macchabees, when as *Gog* and *Magog*, that is *Antiochus* with the helpe of the Syrians and Scythians and other countries, molested the people of God: for vers.23. chap.39. the Prophet speaketh of the captiuitie of Israel, from the which they should at that time be deliuered. And againe, the Lord would not leaue his Church, which at that time endured great afflictions at the hands of the heathen, comfortlesse: but if these prophesies of *Ezechiel* and *Daniel* concerned them not, then small had been their comfort. Lastly, the Iewes may with as good reason vnderstand the prophesies concerning Christ, of their Messiah, whom they yet looke for, as you may these prophesies concerning the enemies of the Church, of your Antichrist.

The other prophesie also is fulfilled, Apocal.20.8. how *Gog* and *Magog* from the foure corners of the earth, shall compasse the tents of the Saints: for by *Gog* and *Magog*, is vnderstood the whole multitude of the enemies of the Church both within and without, as Turkes, Papists, infidels, which all haue agreed togither at times and in their turnes, though enemies amongst themselues, to afflict the people of God.

And yet more particularly *Anno* 1300. the Church of God began to bee molested with the armies of *Gog* and *Magog*: when *Boniface* the eight shewed himselfe in his Emperiall robes, and so was the *Gog* in the West; and *Ottomannus* was crowned Emperour of the Turkes, *Magog* in the East.

And if you will needes also haue the other two prophesies fulfilled againe, being once before accomplished: they agree fitly to the Turkish Empire: for *Mahomet* by craft and subtiltie aspired to a kingdome, and in short time he ouerran Egypt and Lybia, with other parts of Africa.

The Protestants

WE denie that there shall come any such Antichrist: or that it is possible for him to wage battaile with the whole earth. We grant that the Antichrist of Rome hath warred with the

the Church, poysoning it with corrupt doctrine, and persecuting the same by fire and sword: which his rage is well slaked now, God be praised, in many places, and his tyrannie ouerpast: miserable were the state of the Church, if it should endure such a brunt againe.

Argum. 1. It is impossible, that Antichrist in so short a time as three yeeres and an halfe, should conquer all nations, and be Monarch of the whole world, burne and sacke Rome, and driue out the Pope, as the Papists grant themselues, *Bellarm. lib. 4. cap. 3. de pontifice.* A man can not in that space trauaile through the whole world, much lesse conquer it. See the iudgement of one *Hentenius* a papist of this matter before *par. 2. qu. 10.*

And seeing Antichrist shall begin at Ierusalem, make his habitation there, and haue an ende there: (for, say they, he shall be slaine in Mount Oliuet, *Gloss. sup. Apocal.*) It is not like that in his owne person he should conquer the world: neither can it be thought that he shall do it by his deputies, for then they should be the Antichrists, and not he. See what a Labyrinth you are fallen into, out of the which you cannot wind your selues.

Argum. 2. Antichrist is not described in Scripture as a warriour, or warlike man, sitting harnessed in his tent; but like an hypocrite aduancing himselfe in the temple; not comming with engins of warre, but deluding and deceiuing with false miracles, and lying signes, 2. Thessal. 2. Not with Harolds of armes openly proclaiming warre: but he shall worke in a mysterie, Apocal. 17. 5. Wherefore it is but a popish dreame and fancie, that Antichrist shal be such a mighty warriour: yet we denie not but that diuers of the Popes haue beene warrioars, but that was beyond the commission of *Peters* crosse keyes.

Thirdly, they haue no ground of this their opinion out of Scripture: for neither *Ezechiel* nor *Daniel* maketh for them, prophecying of the state of the Church before Christ: nor yet the Apocalypse, the prophecie of *Gog* and *Magog* being accomplished in the greatest part already. Wherefore away with these mistie clowdes of your brain-sicke inuentions: they shall not be able to abide the lightsome sun-beames of the trueth.

Lastly, if Antichrist by his warlike and bloody disposition may be discerned, wee shall finde him no where sooner then in Rome: *Boniface* 8. shewed himselfe openly in his Emperiall robes with the sword carried before him: *Iulius* the 2. threw *Peters* keyes into Tyberis, and drew out his sword: and vnder this Pope, as Chronicles make mention, in the space of seuen yeeres were two hundred thousand men slaine by continuall warre. *Alexander Farnesius* Cardinal, Pope *Paulus* the 3. his Captaine generall against the Lutheranes, gaue out these threatning wordes, that he would shed so much blood of the Lutheranes, that their horse might swimme therein.

Such furious and Antichristian outrages of Popes, are contrarie to the decrees of antiquitie: *Synod. Francicas. Seriis Dei armaturam portare, pugnare aut in exercitum pergere prohibemus*: We forbid the seruants of God (he meaneth Clergie men) to beare armour, to fight, or go to battell.

Concil. Agathens. decret. ex Gratian. Non licet Episcopo, &c. It is not lawfull for a Bishop to smite any with his hands, much lesse with his sword.

Master *Rogers* holy Martyr iudgeth the Church of Rome Antichristian, because of their tyrannicall lawes, and maintenance thereof by cruell persecution, *Fox. p.* 1488.

THE NINTH AND LAST PART OF THIS question, whether the Pope be Antichrist.

The Papists.

THis question pincheth our aduersaries very sore, that we should touch their head so neere, as to make him Antichrist. For this being once knowne, we need not labour much about other matters: for Antichrist with all his doctrine must not be heard, but abhorred of the Church. 65. Error.

They therefore, craftily foreseeing this, do take great paines to deliuer the Pope out of this danger, and haue found out many starting holes, but all to small purpose: yea their forefathers seeing the matter so plaine, and almost put out of doubt, gaue streight charge in the late Councel of Laterane to all Preachers, that none should dare once to speake of the comming of Antichrist. This argueth a guilcie conscience. But yet they face out the matter, and say, the Pope cannot be Antichrist: their arguments are none other then those we haue heard, being eight in number.

1 Antichrist shall be one singular man: the Popes haue beene many, *part. 1. of this question.* Secondly, he shall raigne but three yeeres and an halfe: but the Pope hath continued many hundred yeeres, *part. 2.* Thirdly, he shall be knowne by his name: the Popes haue sundry names, *part. 3.* Fourthly, he must come of the stocke of the Iewes: but there was neuer yet any Iewe Pope, *part. 4.* Fiftly, his seate must be at Ierusalem: the Popes is at Rome, *part. 5.* Sixtly, he shal manifestly deny Christ: so doth not the Pope, say they, *part. 6.* Seuenthly, he shall do strange miracles, as bring downe fire from heauen, cause Images to speake, *part. 7.* Eightly, he shall wage great battels, and conquer all the world, *part. 8.* which cannot agree to the Pope: *Ergo*, hee is not Antichrist.

Answ. To these eight arguments, we haue before answered seuerally; shewing how fabulous, ridiculous, and impossible our aduersaries assertions are, without ground of Scripture, shew of reason, or colour of argument. Wherefore we will not trouble the Reader with needlesse repetitions, desiring him to haue recourse to that which hath beene already said.

Argum. 9. Further the Rhemists do thus reason: Antichrist shall exalt himselfe aboue all, that is called God. 2. Thess. 2. 4. So doth not the Pope, who is so farre from exalting himselfe aboue God, that he prayeth to Saints, kneeleth before the altar, adoreth the Eucharist. *annot. 2. Thes. 2. 4. & ibid. sect.* 10.

Ans. First the Pope in hypocrisie maketh shew of a superstitious kind of deuotion, yet is in truth the Prince of Pride: for as he calleth himselfe *Seruum seruorum*; Seruant of seruants; yet hath made Kings his slaues: so also, though he seeme to be a worshipper of Saints, yet hee taketh vpon him more then either Angell or Saint, as to forgiue sinnes, to deliuer soules from Purgatorie, to dispense with the Scriptures. Secondly, as touching the adoration of the Eucharist, therein hee sheweth his pride, in adoring his owne inuention; and beside hee honoureth his breaden god with Masse seruice for his owne aduantage, because it is so gainfull vnto him: and yet what account he maketh of it may appeare, when his throne is set higher then the altar; and in procession, he rideth on mens shoulders, when the host is carried vpon a palfreyes backe.

Argum. 10. Sathan must be bound a thousand yeeres, and afterward let loose; and then Antichrist shall come, whose kingdome shall increase, and faith decrease toward the end of the world. But if the Pope be Antichrist, who hath beene these thousand yeeres in the Church, then Antichrist should raigne while Sathan is bound, which can not be, and his kingdome waxe weaker toward the end of the world contrary to the Scripture, which saith, that at Christs comming, faith shall scarce be found in the earth, &c. *Rhemist. sect. 7. 20. Apocal.*

Answ. First we say not that Antichrist hath beene 1000. yeeres in the Church, but began to be reuealed 1000. yeers after Christ in *Siluester* 2. who by Necromancy obtained the Papacie, and in *Boniface* 3. who did iustifie the error of Purgatorie and Inuocation of Saints. So that Sathan loosing and Antichrists raigning shall fall out together, that is at the expiration of the thousand yeeres. Secondly, it is more agreeable to the Scriptures, that the kingdome of Antichrist shall be weakened toward the end of the world: God shal first consume him with the breath of his mouth, that is his word, as alreadie, thankes be to God, the preaching of the Gospell hath shaken the walles of Babylon: but hee shall perfectly be destroyed by the brightnesse of his Comming. 2. Thess. 2. 8. And though faith generally shall decay in the ende of the world, because iniquity shall abound: yet faith shall remaine in the true members of Christ, that are in continuall expectation of his comming.

The Protestants.

THat the Pope of Rome is very Antichrist, and that all the qualities and properties which the Scripture describeth Antichrist by, do fitly agree vnto his person: and that we are not therefore to expect and looke for any other Antichrist: Thus by testimonie of Scripture, and sufficient reasons deduced out of the same, we trust it shall appeare to all men.

Argum. 1. The first place of Scripture is Dan. 11. Where many notes and markes are declared proper to Antichrist, yet especially set forth to describe *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who might be very well a type and figure of Antichrist, who was then to come.

1. Verse 36. It is said, He shall do what him listeth. This is most true of the Pope: his will must stand for reason, *Distinct. 96. cap. satis.* If the Pope should draw infinite soules to hell, no man is to say vnto him, Sir, why do you so? *Distinct.* 40. Heere *Bellarmine* hath but this poore shift to say, that it is meant onely of publike iudgement, that no man is by authoritie to call the Pope to account: but yet a brotherly admonition may be vsed. But who seeth not that the words are generall: *Nemo debet ei dicere*: No man ought to say vnto him: neither Iudge, nor other?

2 He shall magnifie himselfe against God, and speake blasphemous things against God: hath not the Pope done so? Of him it is said, that God and the Pope haue but one Consistorie: I am able to do almost all that God can do, *Fox. pag.* 785. *articul.* 192. I am aboue all and in all: *Hostiens.* Nay, that Dominion and Lordship which Christ had in earth, but *habitu*, in habite, the Pope hath *actu*, in act and in deed. Againe, as we reade, the earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse thereof, and as Christ saith, all power is giuen mee in heauen, and in earth: so is it to be affirmed, that the Vicar of Christ hath power on things celestiall, terrestriall, infernall, *apud Fox. p. 791. vol.* 1. Now let the discreet Reader iudge, whether this fellow doth not magnifie himselfe, and speake blasphemously against God.

3 He shall prosper till the wrath be accomplished: So hath the Pope had but too good successe: he hath subdued Emperours, and made them his seruants, trode vpon their necks, made them serue at his table, crowned them with his feete, made them hold his stirrop, and leade his horse by the bridle. But we do hope that his date is out, and that he shall prosper no longer.

4 Vers. 37.

4 Vers. 37. He shall not care for the God of his fathers: No more doth the Pope: for hee hath invented and erected a new *breaden god*, which he worshippeth, hangeth vp in Churches, carieth about in procession, being but a peece of bread. This *breaden god* amight, his forefathers neuer knew.

5 He shal not care for the desires of women: So he prohibiteth lawfull marriage, permitteth adulteries, and the vnnaturall lust of Sodomites. *Bellarmine* first denyeth the text, which is faithfully translated according to the Hebrew. Secondly, he saith, the place is meant literally and properly of *Antiochus*, who was giuen to the pleasures of women.

Answ. First, if it be meant literally of *Antiochus*, then can it not be meant literally of your Antichrist: If *Antiochus* be but a type of Antichrist, then can you not necessarily conclude out of this place: for types proue not, vnlesse they be diuine, that is, appoynted of God to be types, which you cannot shew for this place: See then, the best arguments that you haue for your Antichrist, out of the prophesies of *Daniel* and *Ezechiel*, are proued nothing worth. Secondly, as *Antiochus* was giuen to vnlawfull desires of women, so is the Pope: yet might he be an enemie to chast and holy mariage, and so is the Pope. And by the way let it be noted, that the Iesuite picketh quarrels with Scripture, and maketh it false: for the text saith, He, that is, *Antiochus*, shall not care for the desires of women. Yes (saith the Iesuite) he shall be giuen to the pleasures of women, cleane contrarie to the text, *Bellarm. cap.* 21.

6 Vers. 38. He shall honour his god *Mauzzim*, that is, a god of power and riches, with golde siluer, precious stones: Both of these are most true of the popish religion: for their god hath brought them great riches, lands, treasure, possession: by their idolatrous Masses, they haue greatly enriched themselues, wherein their *breaden god* playeth the chiefe part: and therefore they doe worship him againe with gold, siluer, precious stones: what rich Corporals, and Altarclothes, Copes, Vestiments of veluet, silke, wrought with golde, are seene in their Churches? what gilding of Roodes, and Roodlofts, garnishing of Idols, what rich Crucifixes of siluer, of gold, beset with pearle and precious stones?

This description therefore of *Daniel*, as you see, doth in euery respect agree with the conditions and properties of Antichrist of Rome, *Argument. Illyrici.*

Argum. 2. Secondly, S. *Pauls* description in euery poynt also is verified in the Pope. First: He shall exalt himselfe aboue God, and all that is called God, 2. Thess. 2. 4. So the Pope challengeth the full authoritie of Christ, as we haue shewed before, and exalteth himselfe aboue Emperours, which are called gods vpon earth: yea they haue taken the iust proportion of inequalitie betweene the Pope and Emperour: for the Pope is 47. degrees aboue the Emperour, as the Sunne is 47. degrees bigger then the Moone, *Innocent. 3. in decretalib.*

2 *He shall sit in the temple*, that is, in the Church: so the Pope nameth himselfe head of the Church, and hath the keyes, as he braggeth, both of heauen and hell. Therefore the Turke cannot be that Antichrist, because he is out of the Church: and so in truth is the Pope, but yet he challengeth to him and his the name of the Church.

3 The mysterie wrought in *Pauls* time, and afterward encreased: so not long after the Apostles time, the Bishops of Rome began to lift vp their heads aboue other Churches, as *Zozimus* falsified the Councell of Nice, and sent to the 6. Councell of Carthage, to haue it there confirmed, that it might be lawfull to send vp appeales to Rome.

4 Antichrist shall come with lying signes: So hath the Pope done, as experience proueth, and we haue shewed before.

5 Vers. 11. God shall send strong delusions, that they shall beleeue lyes. And in time of Poperie, men indeede were so strongly deluded, that the father persecuted the sonne, the sonnes set fire to their father, yea the husband was made a witnesse against the wife, the wife against her husband, and seruants accused their masters. These things are so well knowne in stories, that I neede not come to particulars.

6 Antichrist is called a wicked man, and a man of sinne, vers. 3. 8. And where shall you finde more wicked men, then among the Popes? *Siluester* the second gaue his soule to the diuell to obtaine the Papacie, *Fox.* pag. 167. *Benno* reporteth of *Hildebrand*, that he poysoned sixt Popes to come to the Popedome. Pope *Stephen* and *Sergius*, tooke vp the bodie of *Formosus*, and mangled it, cutting off his head and fingers, and so cast it into Tibris, *Fox.* p. 120. Much vnlike to one of their predecessors *Sixtus* the third, who tooke the bodie of *Bassus* his enemie being dead, who had accused him before, embawmed it, and buried the same with his owne hands. We haue heard before, what a holy Father Pope *Iohn* the thirteenth was, he lay with his owne sister, and with his fathers Concubines, playing at dice called for the diuell, was slaine in adulterie. And was it not, I pray you, a common prouerbe in England? He that goeth to Rome once, seeth a wicked man; he that goeth twise, learneth to know him; he that goeth the third time, bringeth him home with him *Fox.* pag. 841.

That

That Antichrist that man of sinne sitteth in Rome, it might easily be proued by a particular induction: for sinne being the transgression of the lawe, as Saint *Iohn* defineth it, 1. Epist. chap. 3. vers. 4. If we shall shewe how the Pope of Rome hath notoriously transgressed the lawe and euery part thereof, who will doubt but that he is that man of sinne, and so consequently Antichrist.

The first Commandement: *Thou shalt haue no other gods, &c.* Among other corruptions, forbiddeth all prophanenes and infidelitie, all confederacie or societie with the diuell: for the first we haue diuers examples of Popes: *Boniface* the eight when *Porcbetus* Archbishop of Genua came to him to receiue ashes in a publike solemnity, he cast ashes into his eies and said, *Memento homo quia Gibellinus es, &c.* Remember man that thou art of the faction of the Gibellines, and shalt returne to dust. Was not here great deuotion? *Gregory* the twelft pulled a certaine preaching Carmelite Frier out of the pulpit and cast him into prison, because he perswaded the Popes, who were then deuided, to vnitie. *Innocentius* the eight was seene for the most part to sleepe in the time of diuine seruice. *Iulius* the second cast S. *Peters* keyes into Tyberis in great disdayne, saying, Seeing *Peters* keyes did not serue his turne, he will try what *Pauls* sword can doe. *Leo* the tenth is reported to haue said to Cardinall *Bembus*: *Quantum nobis profuit fabula ista de Christo*: How much hath this fable or tale of Christ aduantaged vs? And such hath been the pietie and deuotion of our holy fathers of Rome.

Ex Balæi chronico de actis pontif.

Concerning the second point, their familiaritie with the diuell, the two forenamed examples of *Siluester* and *Gregorie* are able to certifie vs. *Benedictus* the 9. about the same time, was accustomed to call vpon euill spirits, and could by his diuelliſh enchantments, cause any woman whom he liked, to come vnto him. *Paulus* the 3. was a sorcerer and enchaunter: hee gaue vnto a certaine noble Matrone a little hallowed brasen ball to hang about her necke, which should shield her from certaine molestations: he made *Dyonisius Seruita* a notable Necromancer, Cardinal, thereby shewing his affection to that profession. And many other of the Popes were giuen to these diuelliſh studies, to the number of 22. *ex Balæo, Platina, & alijs.*

The 2. Commandement: *Thou shalt make to thy selfe no grauen image, &c.* How the Popes haue transgressed this law, their practise to this day sheweth, who are more giuen to idolatrie and worship of images, then any knowne Nation vnder the Sunne. *Constantinus* the 1. decreed that images should be worshipped in Churches. *Bonifacius* the 4. begged of wicked *Phocas* Emperor, the Church in Rome called *Pantheon*, and in stead of *Cybele* an Ethnicke Goddesse, there placed the image of the Virgin *Marie* to be adored. *Leo* the 3. iudged certaine forged bloud which issued out of a woodden Crucifix, to be the true blood of Christ, and so to be adored.

The 3. Commandement: *Thou shalt not take the Name, &c.* Here blasphemie is forbidden. Diuers of the Popes haue been most horrible blasphemers: *Iulius* the 3. is a notable example hereof: who being forbidden of his Phisition to eate swines flesh, on a time called for it, met swiniſh himselfe, with great indignation and blasphemie, saying, giue me my porke, *All despit de Dio*: in despite of God. At another time, at supper missing the colde peacocke, which he commanded to be kept for him, he began to curse and sweare, and being admonished by some of his Cardinals, not to be moued so for a trifle: he added further, *If God were angry with Adam for an apple, may not I much more for a peacocke, being his chiefe Vicar vpon earth: ex Balæo, & alijs. Alexander* the fift being at the poynt of death, said thus to the Cardinals, *My peace I giue vnto you, my peace I leaue with you.* Thus most blasphemously abusing the holy speech of Christ, and appropriating it to himselfe. *Paulus* the fourth said thus to his fellow Iesuites, whose sect he is said to haue founded, going to Rome, to be in the eye and sight of the world, *Whither I goe, you cannot come*: blasphemously abusing Christs speech to his owne purpose. Thus they are found grieuous transgressors of this law.

The 4. Commandement: *Remember thou keepe holy, &c.* Yet *Alexander* the sixt vpon festiuall dayes gaue himselfe to heare *Plautus* Comedies, and to be present at other playes: his festiuall exercise was, from *Hadrianes* Mount to behold the gay harlots, and braue bawdes and strumpets that passed by: *ex Balæo de actis pontific.*

The 5. *Honour thy father and mother, &c.* Yet *Paulus* the third poysoned his mother and his nephew, that the whole inheritance of the Farnesians might come vnto him. And concerning the publike and common parents, Emperours and Kings and ciuill Magistrates; they were neuer more dishonored then by Popes: *Alexander* the third did tread on *Henry* the Emperors necke. *Adrian* made him hold his stirrup. Diuers of them caused Emperours to kisse their feete. *Paschalis* the second raised vp *Henry* the fift most vnnaturally against his owne father, to depose him from the Empire. *Innocentius* the third set vp *Otho* against the Emperour *Philip*, by whom he was slaine. *Innocentius* the fourth hired one *Manfredus* to poyson the Emperor *Frederick*. Such honor haue the Popes shewed to their earthly parents.

The 6. *Thou shalt not kill. Iohn* the 13. did thus vse his Cardinals, some had their eyes pulled out, some

some their tongues, some their fingers cut off. *Gregorie* the 7. poysoned, by wicked *Brexutus* meanes, sixe Popes in order, to come himselfe to the Papacie. *Vrbane* the 6. put fiue of his Cardinals into sackes, and drowned them. *Alexander* the 6. commaunded *Antonius Mancinellus* his tongue, and both his hands to be cut off, because he made an oration inuective against his impure life. *Paulus* the 3. poysoned his owne sister, whom he had knowne carnally, because she loued other better then him: the same Pope also poysoned *Fulgosius* and *Contarenus* two Cardinals, that began somewhat to sauour the Gospell.

The 7. *Thou shalt not commit adulterie.* As for simple fornication, it was no rare thing in the Popes chaire. *Iohn* the 13. committed vncleannes with *Rainera* and *Anna*, two widowes. *Iohn* the 23. was accused, *Concil. Constantiens. sess.* 11. for defiling of virgins. *Paulus* the 3. enticed a noble virgin to follie, promising her mariage.

The Popes many of them haue been adulterers. *Gregorie* the 7. retained *Mathilda* the Countesse, hauing forsaken her husband Earle *Azon*. *Paulus* the 3. was found with *Nicholas Querceus* his wife, who gaue him a wound, which was seene till his dying day.

But what will ye say, if these holy fathers haue fallen into horrible incest? *Iohn* the 23. was accused in the foresaid Councell, to haue knowne carnally his brothers wife. *Alexander* the 6. (oh most horrible impietie!) did lye with his own daughter *Lucretia*. *Paulus* the 3. that filthie wretch, vsed carnally his sister, daughter *Constantia*, and Neece. Neither stayed they here in these outragious lusts, which were not yet against the naturall vse, but fell also into hellish vnnaturall filthines, into that abominable sinne of Sodomitrie. *Iulius* the 2. did abuse two noble youths that were sent to Rome by the French Queene to bee instructed. *Iulius* the 3. had his *Ganymedes*, to whom, beside the rest of his Cardinals leaue, he gaue a red Hat. Neither did they onely in their owne filthie persons practise this wickednesse, but permitted it also to others. *Sixtus* the 4. erected a Stewes in Rome for both sexes: he gaue licence to his two nephewes Cardinals, and their household, in the three hot moneths of the yeere, Iune, Iuly, August, to vse masculine venerie. *Alexander* the 6. gaue leaue to *Pet. Mendoza* Cardinall, to vse his owne bastard sonne as his spouse: *ex Bale. & alijs.* Who hearing now of these filthie abominations of that strumpet of Babylon, will not easily graunt Antichrists seate to be there?

The 8. *Thou shalt not steale.* Notwithstanding this, *Bonifacius* the 7. carried away all S. *Peters* treasure at Rome, and fled to Constantinople. *Iohn* the 18. as *Platina* saith, *In pontificatu fuit fur & latro*, behaued himselfe in his Papacie as a theefe and a robber. As for iniustice and oppression, which is also a kind of theft, nothing with the Popes was more common. *Zacharias* Pope put *Childericus* King of France from his kingdome, and gaue it to *Pipinus*. *Adrian* the first, *Charlemaines* King of France being dead, disinherited *Bertha* his wife with her two sonnes, and gaue the kingdome to *Charles* their vncle: and many such other examples might be alleaged.

The 9. *Thou shalt not beare false witnesse, &c.* Yet this notwithstanding, *Vigilius* accused *Siluerius* Bishop of Rome falsely, that he would haue deliuered Rome to the Gothes: *Siluerius* was therefore deposed, and *Vigilius* set in his place, who was iustly called to account by *Theodora* the Empresse, for that he had promised to restore *Anthemius* Bishop of Constantinople, excommunicated by his predecessors, and afterward refused to doe it: *ex pontifical.* For this is also a breach of this law, not to performe the oth, or promise made, which with the Popes was not daintie. *Paschal* the 2. confirmed by an oth to *Henry* the 5. the imperiall right of inuesting Bishops: but afterward reuoked it againe. And as they were thus perfidous themselues, so they gaue counsell to others: *Eugenius* the 4. perswaded *Vladislaus* King of Hungarie to break his league made with *Amurathes* the great Turke, which was to his owne ruine, and of all Christendome. *Alexander* the 6. betraied *Gemes Baiazetes* the great Turks brother, that did flye to Rome for succour, and being thereto largely hired by the great Turke, procured him to be poysoned.

The like treacherous part played *Alexander* the 3. long before this with *Frederick* the Emperour, who sent his counterfeit to the Sultane, against whom he warred, whereby the Emperour was taken: but the Sultane his enemie dealt honourably in deliuering him, whereas the Pope, his pretended friend, plaied a right Iudas part. The Popes their predecessors, though bad enough, yet were ashamed of such Iudaical practises: *Nicholas* 1. when *Michael* the Emperour sent to him, to deliuer one *Theognostus*, which was fled to the Pope for reliefe, made this answere: *Nolumus, deo volente, Iuda proditori similes esse, &c.* We will not be like the traitor *Iudas*, nor be more wicked then the Pagans: for you may remember how one of your predecessors sent to the King of the Agarenes, to haue one deliuered, but it was not granted: *Epistol. ad Michael.* Thus we see by the Popes owne testimonie, that they which betray such as of trust commit themselues vnto them, doe *excedere paganorum nequitiam*: are more wicked then the heathen: but such were some of the Popes.

The 10. *Thou shalt not couet, &c.* The couetousnes of Popes hath been insatiable, as it may appeare by the infinite treasure which they heaped together. *Iohn* the 23. is said to haue gathered 205000.

200000. crownes. *Calixtus* the 3. left to his ſucceſſor, an hundred and fifteene thouſand duckets, which he had ſcraped together by his Indulgences. *Leo* the 10. ſent his Indulgences abroade with this commiſſion, that whoſoeuer would giue ten ſhillings, ſhould deliuer a ſoule from the paines of Purgatorie: the Popes chiefe factor for this merchandiſe, was one *Simon* a Frier Franciſcane of Mallaine, who by this meanes gathered ſuch infinite ſummes of money, that he offered in one day aboue 12 00000. duckets for the Popedome. And no marueile if the Popes did grow ſo infinitely rich, for all things were put to ſale: as ſpirituall liuings, Biſhoprickes, benefices, &c. The Archbiſhop of Canturburie was wont to pay to the Pope tenne thouſand florence for his firſt fruites, and fiue thouſand for the vſe of his pall: ſo did the Archbiſhop of Yorke. *Iohn* the 23. exacted the tenths of Eccleſiaſticall liuings. *Vrbanus* the 6. the firſt fruites. *Innocentius* the 7. more vnreaſonable then they, would haue had halfe the fruites of Benefices, *ex Bales.* Cardinalſhips alſo were ſold. *Leo* the 10. made 31. Cardinals in one day, getting thereby vnreaſonable ſummes of money. The Pope offered the Empire to ſale: as *Alexander* the 3. tooke money of *Alphonſus* King of Spaine for the Empire, and afterward ſold it to another. Yea the Popedome it ſelfe hath bin ſet to ſale: *Benedictus* the 9. ſold the Papacie to *Gregorie* the 6. for fifteene hundred pound. Yea honeſtie and all is ſaleable at Rome: the reuenewes of the harlots in Rome amounteth yeerely to 40. thouſand pound, *Conſul. Chronic. de Acta Paul.* 3. To conclude this place, conſidering this vnſatiable thirſt of the Popes, the Greekes, *anno* 1330. or thereabout, made a fit anſwere to the Pope, who had ſent to them before, telling them that Chriſt had but one Church, and he was the head thereof: their anſwere is this: *Potentiam tuam ſummam ergo tuos ſubditos firmiter credimus, ſuperbiam tuam ſummam tolerare non poſſumus, auaritiam ſatiare non valemus:* Your tyrannie toward your ſubiects we eaſily beleeue, your infinite pride we cannot beare, nor ſatiate your couetous deſire: *ex actis Iohan.* 23. Thus haue I ſhewed by the way the generall corruption that raigneth in the Papall chaire of peſtilence, and the wicked vſage of that ſinfull ſeate, ſo that in no place in the world, neither amongſt the Turkes or Infidels can the man of ſinne be ſooner found, then there. Let vs now proceede.

Argum. 3. The third place wee doe take out of the Apocalypſe, chap. 9. where is a plaine ſtorie ſet downe of the Pope.

1 Verſ. 1. He is a ſtarre fallen from heauen: he is departed from the ancient faith of Rome to ſuperſtition and idolatrie.

2 He hath the key of the bottomleſſe pit: who giueth the croſſe keyes in his armes but the Pope? Who ſaith he may euacuate all Purgatorie at once, if he will, but he? Who ſaith, he may, *Plena iure currus animarum plenos ſecum ad tartara detrudere:* By full right, carrie downe to hell with him chariots loden with ſoules? *cap. ſi Papa diſtinct.* 42. Is not this the Pope? Who then more fitly may be ſaid to haue the key of the bottomleſſe pit?

3 There ariſe out of the bottomleſſe pit a great flocke of Locuſts, that is, the innumerable ſort of begging Friers: for they are in euery reſpect deſcribed: Firſt, compared to Locuſts for their number, verſ. 3. There were an hundred diuers ſorts of Friers, *Fox* pag. 260. Secondly, they had power giuen them for fine moneths: that is, as *Walter Brute* expoundeth it, taking a moneth for thirtie daies, and a day for a yeere, as it is prophetically taken, an hundred and fiftie yeeres: for ſo long it was from the beginning of the Friers vnder *Innocent* the 3. *anno* 1212. to the time of *Arundelius*, who preached, diſputed, and wrote againſt the Friers, about *anno* 1360. *Fox* pag. 414. Thirdly, they ſhall ſting like Scorpions, not ſlay all at once, but venome and poyſon the conſcience with the ſting of their peſtilent doctrine. Fourthly, other parts alſo of the deſcription agree, as verſ. 7. They are as horſes prepared to battaile, that is, ſtoute and ambitious, their haire as the haire of women, that is, they ſhall be effeminate, and giuen to the luſts of the fleſh: their teeth as the teeth of Lions: they by valiant begging ſhall deuoure the portions of the poore: as it was well proued in King *Henrie* the 8. daies, in the *Supplication of beggars*, that the ſumme of the Friers almes came to a great ſumme in the yeere: for the fiue orders of Friers had a penie a quarter for euery one of euery houſeholder throughout England, that is, for them all twentie pence by the yeere: Suppoſe that there be but tenne houſeholds in euery towne, and let there be twentie thouſand pariſhes and townes in England; it will not want much of twentie thouſand pound. Thus had they Lions teeth, that is, conſuming and deuouring. Laſtly, they haue a King, verſ. 11. whoſe name is *Abaddon*, a deſtroyer: for the Pope, their chiefe prince and patrone, hath by his Antichriſtian doctrine laid waſte the Church of God, *Argument. Chyrei.*

Argum. 4. The fourth place of Scripture wee will take out of the 17. of the Apocalypſe, there the ſeate of Antichriſt is deſcribed. Firſt, verſ. 3. It is called Babylon, the citie which raigneth ouer the Kings of the earth, verſ. 18. This can be no other but Rome, which then had the Empire of the whole world: as *Walter Brute*, holy confeſſor of Gods truth, witneſſeth: In the daies of S. *Iohn* the whole world was ſubiect to the temporall Empire of the citie of Rome, and afterward it was ſubiect to the ſpirituall Empire or dominion of the ſame, *Fox* pag. 499. Secondly, It is the citie built

vpon

vpon seuen hils or mountaines, vers. 9. that is no other but Rome. Thirdly, the whore, which is Antichrist, shall sit vpon the beast with seuen heads and ten hornes, that is, shall succeede in the Empire, and haue the authoritie thereof; so hath the Pope. Fourthly, the ten hornes, that is, the Kings of the earth shall giue their authoritie to the beast, but afterward shall deuoure her flesh: Euen so the Kings of the earth, by their sword, maintained the authoritie of the Pope. But now being taught by the Gospell, they are made the Lords free men, and begin to subdue their neckes from his yoke.

Argum. 5. The fift place is, 1. Iohn 2. 22. Who is a lyar, but he that denieth that Iesus is Christ? the same is Antichrist that denieth the father and the sonne.

Euen so the Pope of Rome, though not openly and apertly, yet closely and subtilly is an enemie vnto the whole Trinitie: He exalteth himselfe aboue God the father; because he taketh vpon him to dispence not onely against the law of nature, but against the law of God, the morall law, and against the precepts both of the old and new Testament: but a law cannot be dispensed withall, but by the same authoritie, or greater.

Against Iesus Christ he exalteth himselfe, and all his offices; he denieth him to be the only Prophet, saying, the Scriptures are vnperfect, and that their traditions are also necessarie to saluation. Againe, he maketh other bookes Scripture, then those which are Canonicall. His kingly office he doth arrogate to himselfe, in making lawes to binde the conscience, in ordaining other Sacraments, in graunting Indulgences and Pardons, and saying that he is the head of the Church. His Priesthood he is an enemie vnto, constituting another priesthood after the order of *Melchisedech*, then that of our Sauiour Christ, which begun vpon the Crosse, and remaineth still in his person, being incommunicable to any other creature: yet they make euery sacrificing priest to be of the order of *Melchisedech*. He impugneth the office of the holy spirit, counting that prophane which the holy Ghost hath sanctified, as mariage and meates: arrogateth in all things the spirit of truth not to erre: applieth the merits of Christs passion after his owne pleasure, by pardons, Indulgences, by ceremonies and Sacraments of his owne inuention, *Fulk. 2. Thess. 2. sect. 10. Ergo*, we conclude out of S. *Iohn*, that seeing he denieth Iesus to be Christ, he is Antichrist.

Argum. 6. Sixtly, Saint *Paul* saith, that Antichrist shall be an aduersarie, *ἀντικείμενος*. 2. Thess. 2. vers. 4. An aduersarie in doctrine, teaching cleane contrarie to the Gospell of Christ: so doth the Pope.

1 The Scripture saith, wee ought to put our trust onely in God, and not in man, Ierem. 17. 7. and to call vpon God onely in the day of trouble, Psal. 50. 15. and to worship him in spirit and truth, Ioh. 4. 24. The Papists say cleane contrarie, that we must call vpon Saints, and beleeue they can helpe vs, and they teach vs to fall downe before Images, which are stockes and stones.

2 The Gospell teacheth, that we are freely saued by Iesus Christ, without workes, which neither merit remission of sinnes, nor eternall life: for eternall life is the free gift of God, Rom. 6. 23. And our sinnes are forgiuen vs freely, because they are not imputed, Rom. 4. 6. They affirme cleane contrarie, that by our merits wee may deserue heauen: and that *vita aeterna*, is *merces bonorum operum*, that eternall life is the reward of good workes. But Saint *Paul* saith, it is a free gift, *Bellarm. cap.* 23.

3 The Gospell teacheth vs, that we should grow vp to an assurance of our election, 2. Pet. 1. 10 and with boldnes to call vpon the name of God, Heb. 4. 10. The Papists say, we should bee kept alwaies in doubt, and it is presumption to be assured of the fauour of God.

4 The Gospell saith, that not onely externall acts, but euen secret thoughts are sinne, yea the very concupiscence of the flesh to be sinne, Genes. 6. 5. Rom. 7. 7. They denie that concupiscence and euill thoughts are sinne, vnlesse they be voluntarie, and haue the consent of the will, *ibid.*

5 The Gospell teacheth, that it is impossible for any man to keepe and performe the lawe of God, Rom. 8. 7. Luk. 17. 10. They doubt not to say, that a man by grace may fulfill the law, and by fulfilling of it deserue heauen.

6 Christ instituted the Sacrament in both kinds; and *Paul*, 1. Cor. 11. giuing a direction concerning the Sacrament, not onely to the Pastors and Ministers, but to the whole Church of Corinth, doth rehearse the institution in both kindes: but the Papists doe minister but in one kinde to the people.

7 The Gospell saith, that the Church is builded vpon Christ, and he is the onely foundation thereof, 1. Cor. 3. 11. The Papists hold that *Peter* first, and now the Pope, whom they make his successor, is the foundation of the Church, *Argument. Chytr.* And thus we see, the Pope in his doctrine is a plaine aduersarie to Christ, and therefore Antichrist.

Argum. 7. The seuenth argument, Apocalypse 17. 1. Antichrist is called the great whore: And here we are to note the singular prouidence of God, who suffereth not one iot of his word to fall to the ground: for euen so verily, *anno* 853. next after *Leo* the 4. there was a right whore elected Pope called *Iohn*, or if you will, *Ioane* the 8. who sate in the Papacie two yeeres, sixe moneths; and

on a time being with childe, fell in labour in the middeſt of a ſolemne proceſſion. Whereupon there was a certaine Image of a woman with a childe ſet vp in the ſame place where the Pope was deliuered: And euer ſince the Popes, when they goe to Laterane, doe ſhun that ſtreete, being yet the neerer way, abhorring that fact and the memorie thereof. There was alſo long after a chayre of Porphyrie ſtone kept in Laterane, with an hole in the middeſt; wherein the new elected Pope was wont to ſit to haue his humanitie tried, *Iuel. pag. 428. Defenſ. Apol.*

Obiect. 1. *Harding*, and ſince him *Bellarmine* obiect, that there was neuer any ſuch Pope, becauſe ſhe is not regiſtred in the Popes Calendar.

Anſ. No, they left her out for ſhame, as *Marianus Scotus* writeth. Againe, Biſhops names haue vpon ſundrie occaſions been left out: as *Chryſoſtomes* name was ſtriken out, vpon diſpleaſure, out of the table of the Biſhops of Conſtantinople: So Pope *Cyriacus* is not reckoned in the Calendar of the Popes, and yet he was one of them.

Obiect. 2. Whereas it is ſaid, that this Pope *Ioane* was firſt ſtudent at Athens, and afterward profeſſed at Rome: *Harding* denieth, that at Athens then there was any place for ſtudents, but all was barbarous, and ſo ſaith *Bellarmine*; neither that at Rome there was any open profeſſion of learning at that time.

Anſ. Firſt, *anno* 680. the Biſhop of Athens was at a Councel at Conſtantinople, called *Synodus ſexta, anno* 742. at the ſecond Councell of Nice, there were many Biſhops of Greece preſent: and Pope *Ioane* followed, *anno* 853. and how ſhould Athens afterward become barbarous, being inhabited all this while by Chriſtians? for it was not taken of the Turks before *anno* 1440. Secondly, me thinkes it is a diſcredit for Rome, that there ſhould bee there vnder the Popes noſe no profeſſion of learning, and that there ſhould bee there no Vniuerſitie of Students, where the vniuerſall Biſhop ſate. But *Theodoricus Niemus*, ſometime the Popes Secretarie, ſaith, ſhe read a Lecture two yeeres at Rome.

Obiect. 3. It is not like that God would ſuffer Saint *Peters* chayre to bee polluted by a woman, *Harding*.

Anſ. You preſume too much of Gods prouidence, hauing no ſuch promiſe. Why might not a woman as well creepe into S. *Peters* chayre at Rome, as one did into S. *Andrewes* of Conſtantinople? as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth: what priuiledge hath one more then the other? And why might not a woman as well be Pope, as Popes made by women? as *Iohn* the 11. got the Popedome by *Theodora* that harlots meanes: *Iohn* the 12. was made Pope through the helpe of *Marozia* that notorious ſtrumpet. For the whore of Babylons ſeate was then, as reaſon would, gouerned by ſtrumpets, the like by the like: So was *Victor* the 3. elected Pope, at *Matilda* that noble harlots ſuite. But to put the matter out of doubt, *Mantuan* that elegant Poet, writeth thus of Pope *Ioane*:

Hic pendebat adhuc ſexum mentita virilem
Fœmina, cui triplici phrygiam diademate mitram
Extollebat apex, &c. lib. 3.

Here did as yet, in ſhew a man, a woman ſit,
Whoſe head a tripled coſtly Crowne did fit.

Caranza alſo the epitomizer of the Councels, doth aſſigne vnto this whore of Babylon, 1. yeer, one moneth, foure daies; ſo long did ſhe occupie that chayre of peſtilence. *Platina* alſo reporteth the ſame ſtorie, an author of their owne.

Obiect. 4. As for the chayre (ſaith *Harding*) it is a fable: but *Bellarmine* more modeſtly graunteth there is a chayre of Porphyrie, but to another purpoſe, to ſhew the Popes humilitie, not to trie his humanitie. Againe, *Harding* ſaith it is a lye, that the Popes refraine to goe that way. But *Bellarmine*, that knoweth Rome better then he, denieth not that the Pope ſo doth, but not for any ſuch hainous fact there committed, but becauſe it is a ſtrait way, and is not fit for his traine. And as for the Image, *Harding* ſaith, it repreſenteth no ſuch thing, but is rather like one of the great ragged ſtones at Stonage: *Bellarmine* denieth not, but there is ſuch an Image, but it ſeemeth not to be the picture of a woman, but rather of ſome heathen prieſt going to ſacrifice. We ſee how handſomely they agree in their anſweres: And no marueile, for if one lyer is many times contrarie to himſelfe, how ſhould two lyers agree? But theſe men goe onely by coniectures: wee haue their owne writers againſt them: for *Theodoricus Niemus* ſaith, there is ſuch an Image that reſembleth ſuch a thing, and that the Popes will not goe that way in proceſſion to this day vpon that occaſion. And as for the chayre of Marble to that vſe, to ſearch the Pope, *Sabellicus* reporteth it, *Ænead. 9. lib.* 1.

In this one example we may ſee the boldnes of our aduerſaries, which are not aſhamed to deny ſo famous a ſtorie, being reported by *Sabellicus*, *Leonicus Chalcondyla*, *Marianus Scotus*, that liued about the yeere 1028. *Sigebertus Gimblacenſ. anno* 1100. beſide thirteene Hiſtoriographers, as they are quoted by Biſhop *Iuel*, and of them all not one a Lutherane. It is almoſt as foule a ſhame for them to denie ſo manifeſt and plaine a thing, as it is a great blot to their ſucceſſion, that a whore

Defenſ. Apolog. pag. 437.

late sorceries in the Papall chayre. Thus then by euident demonstration it appeareth, that the Pope is the whore of Babylon, and so consequently very Antichrist.

Argum. 8. He that was letted and hindered from comming while the Empire stood, and shall bee reuealed after the dissolution of the same, is Antichrist: to the Apostle saith, 2. Thess. 2. 6. *You know what withholdeth, &c.* So much also is confessed by the Rhemists, *Apocal* 17. *annot.* 9. But this is the Pope, who was hindered from his princely supremacie or tyrannie rather in the Church, by the flourishing state of the Empire: and since the decay thereof, the Papacie hath increased. First, by the absence of the Emperour in the East parts, the Pope incroched in the West. Secondly, the Empire was weakened by translating of it from the Greekes to the French, from the French to the Germanes. Thirdly, whereas Rome was subiect to the Emperour, now he is excluded and beareth onely a vaine title to bee called, *Rex Romanorum*. Fourthly, whereas the Emperour bare stroke in the election of the Pope, now he hath nothing to doe with it. Fiftly, whereas the Imperiall state went by succession, now it is conferred by election, by the Popes deuice, that passing from one kingdome to another, by shifting of places it might bee weakened: So that now it is plaine that there remaineth nothing but an image and shadow of the Empire; so that the Empire being thus defaced, Antichrist must needes be reuealed: And who should he be, but he, that hath incroched vpon the Imperiall right and possessions, which is the Bishop of Rome?

Argum. 9. He is Antichrist, and so called, which impugneth Christs kingdome in earth, that is, the spirituall regiment which he appointed in his Church, and the forme of gouernment ordained therein, applying all to himselfe by singular tyrannie. For which cause *Athanasius* calleth *Constantius* the Emperour, an Arrian, Antichrist, for making himselfe *principem Episcoporum*, prince of Priests, &c. which also impugneth Christs Priesthood in earth, &c. he is Antichrist, *Rhemist. testam. verbi fest.* 13. 2. *Thess.* 2. But the Pope impugneth both the kingdome and priesthood of Christ: *Ergo*, he is Antichrist.

First, he impogneth the kingdome of Christ, which is either externall, or internall, that is, spirituall: for the externall gouernment of the Church, which Christ hath appointed by making some Apostles, some Euangelists, some Pastors and Doctors, &c. Ephes. 4. the Pope hath arrogated all to himselfe: who challengeth to bee called vniuersall Bishop, prince of Priests, which *Athanasius* condemned in *Constantius* as an Antichristian title. And concerning the title of vniuersalitie, *Gregorie* 1. thus writeth: Farre from all Christians hearts be this name of blasphemie, in which the honour of all Priests is taken away, while it is challenged of one man to himselfe, *lib.* 4. *epist.* 32. So then the Pope hath taken away the externall gouernment of the Church, by applying all to himselfe. And concerning the spirituall regiment of the Church, which is more properly the kingdome of Christ, he hath incroched vpon that also; both by presuming to dispence against the law of God, by abolishing the institution and right vse of the Lords Supper, in taking vpon him to forgiue sinnes, and to absolue from the paine and the fault: with such like intolerable presumptions.

Secondly, he impugneth the Priesthood of Christ, both concerning his sacrifice, in offering vp Christ daily in the Masse, as though his sacrifice vpon the crosse were not sufficient; as also as touching his mediation, in making other mediatours and intercessors beside Christ, as though he were not the alone able and sufficient Mediatour. So then, seeing the Pope most notoriously doth impugne both the kingdome and priesthood of Christ, he is certainly Antichrist.

Lastly, in the tenth place, their owne witnesses shall speake: *Bernard* saith, *Bestia de Apocalypsi, cui datum est os, loquens blasphemias, Petri Cathedram occupat*: The beast in the Apocalypse, to the which a mouth was giuen speaking blasphemies, doth occupie *Peters* chayre. *Ioachim Abbas* saith, *Antichristus iampridem natus est Roma*: Antichrist a good while since was borne at Rome. The Bishops in the Councell at Reynspurge say thus: *Hildebrandus Papa, sub specie religionis iecit fundamenta Antichristi*: *Hildebrand* vnder colour of holinesse, hath laid a foundation for Antichrist. Nay, long before any of these, *Gregorie* the 1. first of all the *Gregories*, and the best of all the Popes that haue followed him, thus prophecied of his successors: *Ego fideuter dico, quod quisquis se vniuersalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum praecurrit*: I speake it confidently, that whosoeuer calleth himselfe vniuersall priest, or desireth so to bee called in the pride of his heart, is the forerunner of Antichrist. But the Popes of Rome are now called vniuersall Bishops or Priests: *Ergo*, they are either Antichrists, or the forerunners of Antichrist. But it is not like that Antichrist should haue so many forerunners, and so many yeeres, almost a thousand since *Boniface* the 3. was first called vniuersall Bishop: *Ergo*, Antichrist is alreadie come, and hath been a good while: and where else should he be, but there where his forerunners were, namely, at Rome?

Epistol. 125.

Lib. 6. epist. 30

We want not here the witnesse of their owne law in this case for the triall of this point, who should be Antichrist:

First, *Nicholaus* 2. decreeth him to be Antichrist that was elected or made Pope by simonie, *Decret.*

cret.23.cap.1. but so was *Gregorie* the 6. made Pope, giuing to his predecessor *Benedict* the 9. 1500. pounds: and as things goe now a daies it was good cheape.

Secondly, *Distinct.79.cap.1. Nichol.2. Qui sine consensu electionis &c.* He that is inthronized Pope without the Canonicall and concording election of the Cardinals, is not Apostolicall, but Apostaticall. But when *Iohn 23.* was made Pope, and two more beside, a *Gregorie* and a *Benedict* the Cardinals concorded not in their election: *Ergo*, the Pope then was an Apostata.

Thirdly, *Caus.6.quæst.7.cap.3. Gregor.7.* thus decreed, that if any Bishop granted tithes or oblations, *laicalibus personis, seu consanguineis*, to lay persons, or his kinsemen, *inter maximos hæreticos, & Antichristus non minimus haberetur*, he should bee counted amongst the greatest heretikes, and not the least Antichrist. But the Bishop of Rome hath done this, by whose deuice many portions of tithes haue bin appropriate to lay persons: *Ergo*, he is an heretike and Antichrist.

Fourthly, *Decret.par.2.caus.24.quæst.1.cap.25.* that saying of S. *Hierome* is approued: *Qui Christi non est, Antichristi est*: He that is not of Christ, is of Antichrist. And againe he saith, *Aduersarius Christi & Antichristus est, &c.* He is an aduersarie to Christ, and an Antichrist, whom Christs precepts offend, or displease: *Hieron. de agrot. at. Blesill.* But such an one is the Pope, that alter eth and changeth the precepts of Christ: for Christ said, *Feede my sheepe*, but he preacheth not: Christ appointed the Sacrament in both kindes, he commandeth it to bee vsed in one: Christ said, beleeue in me: but he would haue vs beleeue in the Virgin *Mary*: And many such like precepts he hath contrarie to Christ: *Ergo*, he is Antichrist.

Fiftly, *Caus.25.quæst.1.cap.5. Damasus: In spiritum sanctum blasphemat, &c.* He that violateth the Canons of the fathers is a blasphemer against the spirit. But so doth the Pope, in calling himself vniuersall Bishop, contrarie to the Canons: *distinct.99.cap.5.* and in many other things he doth transgresse the Canons: *Ergo*, he is a blasphemer; and consequently Antichrist, who hath names full of blasphemie, Apocal. 17.3.

Sixtly, *Ibid.cap.11. Hadrian. Anathema, quicunque regum*: He is an anathema, or accursed, that doth violate the decrees of Kings. But so doth the Pope, whose Canons doe euery where impugne the Ciuill constitutions. *Ergo.*

Seuenthly, *Caus.35.quæst.5.cap.3. Gregor. Vxorem propinqui mei, &c.* The wife of my kinseman I must hold as neere vnto me, as if she were my kinswoman in the same degree, &c. whosoeuer thinketh otherwise is Antichrist. But the Pope so thinketh, that permitteth a brother to marrie his brothers wife, which is as neere as his owne sister by this Canon: *Ergo*, he is Antichrist.

Eightly, *Decret.part.3.dist.3.cap.12. Qui die sabbati, &c.* They that forbid to worke vpon the Saturday, *prædicatores Antichristi*, are the preachers of Antichrist. But so doth the Pope, that enioyneth Saturdaies to be as strictly kept holy daies, as the Lords day. *Ergo.*

Let vs see in the last place the glorious testimonie of the holy Martyrs and confessors of Gods truth: *Walter Brute* proueth the Pope to be Antichrist by this argument: He which establisheth his lawes, allowing warres and the slaughter of men in the warres, as well of Christians, as of Infidels; doth he not iustifie things contrarie to the Gospell and law of Christ? therefore he is Antichrist: but this doth the Pope, &c. *Fox* pag. 487.

Iohn Husse holy Martyr: The way of Antichrist is wickednesse and sinne, of the which the Apostle speaketh to the Thessal. &c. pag. 617. But in Rome, euen in the Popes chayre, all abomination, as pride, couetousnesse, simonie, are to be found, pag. 628. *Ergo*, the Pope is Antichrist.

Thomas Bilney holy Martyr: The Pope sitteth in the temple of God: for the conscience of man is the temple of the holy Ghost: as S. *Paul* saith, 1. Cor. 3. *The temple of the Lord is holy, which is you* but the Pope sitteth in the conscience, counting them guiltie of death, that breake his constitutions: therefore sitting in the temple as God, he is Antichrist, pag. 1002.

Master *Tindall* Martyr: The Pope inferring a necessitie of those things, which Christ leaueth free and indifferent, what doth he else, but make himselfe Antichrist? pag. 1251.

For this truth also many besides gaue their liues: *Thomas Benet* burned at Exceter, for saying the Pope is Antichrist, pag. 1037. *Iohn Stilman* burned in Smithfield for the same, p. 815. Master *Rogers* holy Martyr, for affirming the Romish Church to be the Church of Antichrist, p. 1488.

Now therefore seeing we haue so many witnesses, the Scripture, reason, experience, authorities to proue the Pope Antichrist: who will either be so simple, as seeing so good grounds, not to beleeue it; or so scrupulous, hauing such certaine euidence, to doubt thereof? And thus at the length, by Gods gracious assistance, we haue finished and brought this great question concerning Antichrist, to an end; as also the whole controuersie as touching the Bishop or Pope of Rome.

THE

THE FIFTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING SPIRITVALL PERSONS, COMMONLY CALLED THE CLERGIE.

HAuing now sufficiently handled the controuersie of the chiefe member of the Militant Church, which our aduersaries say is the Pope, wee must come in the next place to speake of the middle parts, which are those whom they call *Clerici*, Clerkes, and they are of two sorts; Secular, which haue any publike function in the Church; or Regular, which liue according to some rule, and they are called *Monachi*, Monkes. First then of their secular Clerkes.

This Controuersie containeth sixe questions.

1 Of the name and title of Clerkes or Clergie men.

2 Concerning the election of Bishops and Ministers: first, of all in generall: secondly, of the election of the Bishop of Rome.

3 Concerning Ecclesiasticall orders: first, in generall: secondly, of the difference of Bishops and other Ministers: thirdly, of Cardinals.

4 Concerning the keyes of the Church, and the power of binding and loosing: the question diuided into foure parts.

5 Concerning the mariage of Ministers: three parts of the question.

6 Of the maintenance of the Church by tithes: in two parts.

THE FIRST QVESTION, CONCERNING the name of Clerkes or Clergie men.

The Papists.

THis name Clergie, in Latin, *Clerus*, is a name made proper to the Spiritualtie, by vse of antiquitie, and agreeably to Scriptures: they are so called, because they are the Lords lot, and consecrate to the diuine seruice: the rest are called popular, or lay men, which meddle not with any function of the Church. 66. Error.

Argum. 1. This word (say they) hath been vsed by all antiquitie, and thereby Church Ministers onely signified: *Ergo*, it is a fit and decent name, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de Clericis, cap. 1. Rhemens. 1. Pet. 2. 3.*

Ans. First, the Fathers vsed this name Clergie, but not as it is now vsed of the Papists, which do hereby as it were exclude the people of God from the Lords inheritance, counting them as Asses and Dogs, in respect of the Clergie: as one of their owne writers thus complaineth; *Quomodo excusandi vel ferendi hodierni in ecclesia prælati, &c.* How can the Prelates of these daies bee excused, or suffered, which doe rule ouer men as beasts in the Northerne parts, (he meaneth the Lapiani, and Pilapij people of those countries) which doe lay such grieuous yokes vpon those simple people, as stray sheepe, hauing no pastor, that they cannot submit themselues to the Lords sweete yoke, &c. *Espenc. in 1. Timoth. p. 312. f.* Such distinction betweene the Clergie and Laitie the fathers neuer allowed: they vsed it as a ciuill indifferent name, for an outward distinction of their callings, not as a name of more holines, and so we refuse it not.

3 What though by custome and continuance this name hath been somewhat abused, wee will learne herein to speake of the Scriptures, and not of men.

Argum. 2. Secondly, wee mislike this name (say our aduersaries) because wee would haue no difference betweene the people and Clergie, *Rhemens. ibid.*

Ans. It is a great slander: because we make no such difference, as they doe, as to make the Clergie onely Gods lot and portion, and to count the people as vnholie, and to preferre euerie ignorant doltish Masse priest, before the best and deuoutest of the people: therefore they imagine we make no difference at all. We do distinguish the calling of the one, and the other: none of the lay sort to be so hardie as to meddle with the word or Sacramentes, which are committed to

the Ministers, which you notwithstanding permit them to do: and the people euery where reuerence their Pastors, and so yeelde due obedience vnto them. But that the calling of the one before God in it selfe, is more meritorious then the other; that wee doe not, neither dare affirme.

Argum. 3. The Leuites in the time of the law, were seuered out from the rest of the Lords people, and he was their lot and inheritance, and they the Lords lot Deut. 18.2. And as the Leuites were then, so are the Ministers of the Gospell now, *Bellarmin ibid.*

Answ. First, the Lord is rather said to be their lot, because they had the Lords portion, and liued of the Altar, then they are said to be the Lords lot: for the whole Nation was holy vnto God, and a kingdom of Priests, Exod. 19.6. Secondly, it followeth not, that because there was a legall and ceremonial difference then between the Priests and the people, that therfore it ought to be so now: Nay rather the contrarie followeth, because there was such a difference then, that therefore the Priesthood of the law being ceased, there ought to be none such now: for Christ hath made vs all Kings and Priests to God his Father, Apocal. 1.6. And wee are all a royall Priesthood and holy Nation, 1 Pet. 2.9. Now, though there be a difference of callings amongst men, yet before God we are all Priests alike; and there is but one Priest for vs all to Godward, euen Christ Iesus our Lord.

The Protestants.

THe name of Clerks, or Clergie men, if it be not vsed as a name in it selfe of greater holinesse and merite, and so be in effect a proud excluding of the rest of Christians from the Lords heritance; we refuse it not, though there are better names and titles, to call the Ministers of the Gospell by: yet being taken as it is in Poperie, we do vtterly refuse and reiect it.

First, 1 Pet. 5.3. The Apostle exhorteth the pastors and teachers to feede the flocke of Christ, *non vt dominantes Cleris*: Not as Lords ouer Gods Cleargie and inheritance. Here S. *Peter* calleth the whole flocke, the Clergie: wherefore it appeareth, that this difference was not knowne in the Apostles time of lay and Clergie men. And it is against all sense, that Saint *Peter* should vnderstand here the inferiour Ministers, and so exhorteth the superiour Pastors and Bishops to looke to their Clergie, as the Rhemists would haue it. For S. *Peter* writeth not onely to Bishops, but to all Presbyters, pastors or Elders, verse 1. Secondly, vers. 3. That which he calleth the Clergie, or heritage, he expoundeth in the same verse to be the Lords flocke: but the Clergie in their sense is not the whole congregation or flocke. Thirdly, the Apostle would haue them to feed the flock, that is, to teach and instruct them, but he was farre from allowing an ignorant Clergie, that neuer to be instructed and catechised, such as for the most part the popish Clergie is.

Bellarmine answereth againe: that it may be granted also that the name of Clergie in some sort agreeth to the people, as being the Lords heritage; but in a more excellent manner is it giuen to those which serue at the altar: as all the Israelites were the Lordes heritage, yet the Leuites more specially so called. *Bellarmin lib. 1 de Clericis cap. 1.*

Contra. First, if the people then may be called the Clergie, then is not this name peculiar to ecclesiasticall persons, which is the thing now in question. Secondly, there is no such legall difference now betweene the Priest and people, as was vnder the law, betweene the Leuites and other tribes: for Christ hath now made vs all kings and priests to God his Father. Apocal. 1.6. Thirdly, we denie not, but that the Ministers of the Gospel haue a more excellent office, then lay men, in respect of the policie and order of the Church, but not more meritorious in it selfe before God.

Argum. 2. Neither shall we find this word *Clerus*, the Clergie, properly applied to the Ministers, throughout the new Testament, let our aduersaries brag neuer so much of scripture as they do. Galat. 6.6. S. *Paul* vseth these names of difference, κατηχούμενος, κατηχῶν, the teacher, and he that is taught: and 1 Corinth. 14.16. ἰδιώτης, the speaker, and ἰδιώτης the priuate or vnlettered man. So that all their names are giuen in respect of their outward ministerie and calling, not in regard of any difference before God. For before the Lord, as there is neither Græcian nor Iew, bond nor free, male nor female; so neither is there Clerke or lay man. Gal. 3.28.

Argum. 3. S. *Paul* saith, 1 Cor. 12.20. *There are many members, yet one bodie, &c.* verse 13. *By one spirit are we all baptized into one body, &c.* Like as then the parts of the same body, though they haue distinct offices, and one more excellent then an other, yet no parte is despised or vnnecessary, but are all knit to the same head, and are partakers of the same life and spirite: so is it in the members of the Church, their offices are diuers in the bodie of the Church, but all vnited by one and the same spirite to the head Christ: if they be all one bodie, then consequently one entire inheritance of Christ. *Augustine* thus writeth concerning this name, *Clerus, qui sunt in ecclesiastici ministerij gradibus ordinati, sic dicti puto, quia Matthias sorte electus est, in Psal. 67.* Clerkes, which serue in the Ministerie, I thinke, were so called, because *Matthias* was chosen by lot. See then, they are not called Clerkes, so much because they are the Lords lot, but because they are allotted and chosen out of the people for that seruice: as the Leuites are called the peo-

ples

ples gift, Numbers 18.6. and the Priests office an office of seruice; not of more merite or holinesse, or an office of Lordly preeminence, but of ministerie and seruice. *Augustine* therefore hath a notable saying: *Non vos digni, qui pro vobis oremus; vos indigni, qui pro nobis oretis, Psal.68.* We are not onely worthie to pray for you, and you vnworthie to pray for vs: *Audientibus suis, quibus verbum prædicauit, se commendauit Apostolus, ibid.* The Apostle commendeth himselfe to their deuout prayers, to whom he preached. By this their error is confuted, that thinke the prayer of a Priest to be the rather heard for the merite and dignitie of his calling, howsoeuer else hee be affected in his prayer. So the Rhemists say, that a prayer not vnderstood profiteth by the vertue of the worke wrought, and the office of the Priesthood, *Annot.1.Corinth.14.sect.10.*

Let vs see the consent of antiquitie, *Concil. Aquisgranens. ex Isidor. Clericos hinc appellandos doctores nostri dicunt, quia Matthias sorte electus est:* Our doctors hold that Clerkes are so called, because *Matthias* was chosen by lot: not that they were by any such lot of difference seuered from the rest of the people. So is the name Clergie expounded in the Ciuill lawe, *lib.1.tit.6.leg.32.authentic.3. 1.Clerici dicuntur &c.* They are so called, because they must be chosen by lot, as *Matthias*, that is, by diuine election, not humane knowledge: So *decret.21.c.1.* the like notation is giuen out of *Isidor.*

Colonienf.part.2.cap.2.Clerici dicuntur, quia de sorte domini sunt, &c. Non quidem quod à sorte dei ...laicos secludamus, omnes enim qui Christo per Baptismum & fidem concorporati sumus populus acquisitionis sumus, sed quod Clerici peculiari quadam ratione ministerio Dei & Ecclesiæ dedicati sunt: Clerkes are so called because they are of the Lords lot, not that wee do exclude the lay sort from Gods lot, for all that by Baptisme and faith are incorporate into Christ, are the people of God; but because Clerks after a more peculiar manner are consecrate to the Ministerie of God and his Church. This Councel preferreth Clerks before others, onely in respect of their outward functions in the Church, not for any greater merite or holinesse.

The sute of the holy Martyrs and confessors of Gods truth followeth: *Walter Brute* holy confessor: of the Christian priesthood Christ in expresse words speaketh but little, *To make any difference betweene the priests and the rest of the people; neither yet doth he vse this name of sacerdos, or presbyter in the Gospel, but some be called disciples, some Apostles, &c. And S. Paul speaking of Priests to Timothie and Titus, seemeth not to me to make any difference betweene the priests and the people, but that he would haue them to surmount other in knowledge and perfection of life, Fox.pag.496.*

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: All Christian people in Scripture are called priests, as Apocal.1. *He hath made vs kings and Priests to God his father: yet ought not all to preach in generall congregations, yet priuately are they bound for instruction of their seruants, children, kinsfolke, &c. Fox.pag.1111. respons. ad artic.12.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING THE election and institution of Bishops and Pastors.

This question hath two parts: First, of the election generally of Pastors and Ministers: Secondly, of the election of the Bishop of Rome.

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING THE election generally of all Bishops and Pastors.

The Papists.

They say, that the election of Bishops neither belongeth to the Clergie, nor the people, but wholly appertaineth to the Bishop of Rome: as for the people, they haue (they say) nothing at all to doe in the election of their Pastors, or ordaining of them, that neither their *suffragium, consilium,* or *consensus,* suffrage, counsell, or consent is to be required, *Bellarm.de clericis lib.1. cap.7.&.8.* 67. Error.

Argum.1. That the people are to be vtterly excluded, thus they would proue it: *Aaron* was onely elected of *Moses*, without consent of the people: so were the Apostles by our Sauiour: *Ergo*, the peoples consent is not required, *Bellarm.*

Answ. Who seeth not, that there is great difference betweene ordinary and extraordinary callings: such as the calling of the Apostles was, and *Aarons* at the first, though the office of the high Priest afterward became ordinary. Also it followeth not, the Apostles were chosen without consent of the people, when there were yet no faithfull and Christian congregations, and because they were pastors of the whole world: *Ergo*, as well the peoples consent may be wanting in the election of ordinary Bishops and Pastors, which haue their peculiar and proper charges, and there being now many faithfull and well instructed congregations. It is one thing to appoint Pastors for the Church not yet planted, and another thing to constitute them in a Church alreadie reformed and instructed: for we reade of nations that haue been conuerted to the faith, by those that had

had no calling of the Church, as a great nation of the Indians was by *Adelfus* and *Frumentius*, *Ruffin.lib.1.9.* and the Iberians by a captiue woman, *Ruffin.1.10.*

Argum.2. The people cannot iudge, who are fit to be pastors, and their elections are tumultuous, as we may reade, how in the election of *Damasus* there were 137. persons slaine; and therefore it is not meete, nor conuenient, that the matter should be committed to the people, either to elect, or ordaine: but whatsoeuer they did in times past, it was either by sufferance or negligence of the Bishops, *Bellarm.cap.7.*

Answ. First, meere popular elections were neuer allowed in any well ordered Church, neither was the allowance of their pastors wholly referred to the people, neither did they beare the chiefe stroke, but the election was moderated by the wisedome and grauitie of the Clergie, *Fulk.Tit. sect.2.* Secondly, the question is not betweene vs, concerning the ordaining of pastors, for that belonged onely to the Eldership, and was done by laying on of their hands, 1.Tim.4.14. but concerning the electing and chusing of them. Thirdly, neither doe we dispute, whether it be conuenient and necessarie at all times, but whether it be lawfull: for neither doe we affirme, that of the essence and substance of the calling of ministers to be chosen by the voyces of the people: as though they were no ministers, but vsurpers and intruders that are not so called: but whether it hath been at any time, and may yet be lawfull, to require the consent of the people. Fourthly, it is false, that the people had this right by vsurpation, or els sufferance of the pastors: for *Cyprian* saith it did, *De diuina authoritate deferendum lib.1. Epistol.4.* That this custome was grounded vpon diuine authoritie, yea it was established by the lawes of Kings: as there was a law made by *Lodouicus Pius* King of France, that Bishops should be ordayned by the free election of the Clergie and the people.

Fulk.Act.14. 23.

Argum.3. Therefore (say they) elections of Bishops ought to be at the Popes assignment: for vnto *Peter* was committed the care of the vniuersall Church, when hee badde *Peter* feede his sheepe. Hereupon they are bold to affirme, that we haue neither true Bishops nor Ministers, because they are not lawfully sent, that is, as they interprete it, from the See Apostolike, *Iohan. lib.1. cap.3.8. Rhemist. Rom.10. sect.5*

Answ. First, the charge giuen to *Peter* beareth no such sense: that because Christ bad him feede his sheepe, therefore he and his successors should onely haue authoritie to consecrate Ministers: for if *Peter* had it by this graunt, other Elders and Pastors had it in like sort, to whom it also appertained to feed the flocke of Christ, 1.Pet.5.2. And againe not *Peter* onely, but the rest of the Apostles did ordaine and consecrate Pastors and Elders, as it shall be shewed afterward.

Secondly, neither is it a good reason to condemne our Ministerie, because it hath not the Popes allowance: for euery Church hath a lawfull calling within it selfe, without sending to forraine Prelates for their approbation. And if you aske vs by whome our Ministers were first called, seeing there were none but popish Bishops in euery Church: we answere, that some had their calling in the popish Church, which afterward being more effectually called of God, became profitable teachers of the Gospell. Neither is it necessarie, that the Church should alwayes be bound to an ordinarie calling; when as the state of the Church is so corrupted, and the gouernment thereof, that no good calling can be obtained: for then the Lord raiseth vp some extraordinarie for the reformation of the Church, such as we doubt not, but *Luther* was. In which and the like cases, the ordinarie imposition of hands by the Pastors of the Church, being heretikes and idolaters, as it was in time of poperie, is not to be expected or stayed for, *Plura apud Fulk.anno. Dom. 30. sect.5.*

The Protestants.

COncerning election or choise to be made by the people, we are to put three cases. First, meere popular elections, wherein the people by multitude of voyces should carry all away, are in no case, nor at any time to be allowed. Secondly, for the people to giue their voices in elections, which are moderated and gouerned by the graue and wise Pastors and Elders, it hath been vsed in times past, and may be againe, and is in some places, where the state of the Church, the condition and qualitie of the people will beare it. Thirdly, though the people neither beare sway in the election, nor giue their suffrages and voyces, yet it is conuenient and requisite, that their consent should be had, and publike testimonie: for the Ministers should bee such as haue a good report of all, 1.*Tim.*3.7. *Fulk, Act.*14. *sect.*3. But as for the Pope, let him keepe himselfe, as a Bishop his owne Dioceese, hee hath nothing to doe with ordayning or electing of Ministers in other Churches.

Argum.1. Numb.20.27. *Eleazar* was made Priest in *Aarons* place, in the sight of all the congregation: *Ergo*, Ministers ought to be ordained publikely in the sight of the congregation: not in corners or priuate places, as they vsed to doe in time of Poperie: yea it is recorded of Pope *Iohn* the thirteenth, that he ordained Deacons in a stable. And herein they offended manifestly against their owne rules. For their decree is, *Nullus inuitis detur Episcopus sed Clerici & plebis consensus*

Ex Celestin. pap.distin.63. cap.cleri.

ſus & de ſideratio requiratur: Let no Biſhop be thruſt vpon any againſt their wils, but let the conſent and deſire of the people and Clergie be knowne.

Argum.2. We haue the example of the Apoſtles, Act.1.& 6.14.23. When *Matthias* was elected, the whole multitude was called together: and Act.6. the deacons were choſen by the whole multitude: *Ergo*, the people had an intereſt in times paſt in the election of Church officers: and this example of the Apoſtles may ſafely and lawfully be followed of the Church, when time and place ſerueth.

Bellarmine anſwereth: Firſt, the election of Deacons and Paſtors is not all one, neither is there the like reaſon. *Anſw.* They are both publike officers for the good of the Church; and therefore if the people haue any intereſt in the one, why not in the other? Secondly, this was done by the grant and ſufferance of the Apoſtles. *Anſw.* Yea the Apoſtles called them together, but by the direction of the holy Ghoſt: as Act.15. when the Church was aſſembled together vpon another occaſion, it is ſaid, it ſeemed good to vs and the holy Ghoſt. Againe, in the election, beſide impoſition of hands, prayer was vſed, which was a chiefe part of that action: but the people had their intereſt in publike prayers, as being part of the congregation, and were not admitted thereunto at the pleaſure and will of men: wherefore it is not true, that it was a meere grant of men, that the people might be preſent at elections, but it ſo ſeemed good to the Apoſtles thereto directed by the ſpirit of God.

Now, whereas *Bellarmine* gaue vs this anſwere before, concerning the election of Deacons, that the reaſon is not alike betweene them and Paſtors: we do oppoſe the election of *Matthias* into the place of *Iudas*, no Deacon, but an Apoſtle, that it was done by the conſent and ſuffrage of the whole Church. *Ergo* the conſent of the people is requiſite in the election of Miniſters.

Bellarmine anſwereth, Firſt, this was done not of neceſſitie, but by toleration from *Peter*.

Contra. Three things are ſet downe, which were done in this action by the whole aſſembly. verſ.23. They preſented two: verſ.24. They prayed; verſe 26. They gaue forth their lottes: if any one of theſe was by permiſſion or ſufferance, then the reſt alſo: if they preſented by leaue, then they prayed alſo by licence, which were very abſurd. Againe, it is too great boldneſſe for them to imagine a licence granted from *Peter*, where the Scripture maketh no mention of any ſuch thing; and to the Apoſtles here aſſembled, which in commiſſion were equall vnto *Peter*.

Secondly, ſaith he, this was not ſo much an election, as a poſtulation or requeſt vnto God, that one might be choſen in *Iudas* place.

Contra. There is both an election and a poſtulation: the election is of two, which were preſented out of the whole number; the poſtulation is, that God would declare his will concerning thoſe two, which of them ſhould haue *Iudas* Apoſtleſhip.

Thirdly, ſaith he: one example doth not proue a thing to be *de iure diuino*: by diuine right. *Bellarmine ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, as one precept of Scripture as well proueth, as many precepts of the ſame thing: ſo alſo one act and example of the Apoſtles is of diuine authoritie, as well as many in the ſame caſe: for their actes proceeding of the ſame ſpirite, are euery one of the ſame power: vnleſſe they will ſay, the Apoſtles erred in ſome of their actes, wherein they were directed by the ſpirit of God, as they were in this, and by the warrant of Scripture. Secondly, if one example out of Scripture proue not the lawfulneſſe of the act; then both Chriſts fact in whipping out of the Temple, and *Paules* reprehenſion of *Peter* may be doubted of, being both but once done; and many other things beſide, whereof we finde but ſingle examples in Scripture: which were a great blaſphemie to ſay. Thirdly, yet to ſatisfie them to the full, we haue more then one example for the election of the people: as Act 6. The Deacons were ſo elected: act.14.23. Elders ordayned by election in euery citie.

Argum.3. But as for the right of elections in the Pope, it hath no ſhew of reaſon: for be it that *Peter* had onely the right of conſecration amongſt the Apoſtles, you doe but flatter your ſelues in thinking, that whatſoeuer right was in *Peter*, it muſt needes be in the Pope: for he is not *Peters* ſucceſſor, as we haue ſhewed before at large. But we will hold you rather to this point: that all the Apoſtles had as full right to ordaine and conſecrate by laying on of handes, as *Peter* had. Looke Act.6.6.& Act.13.3.&.Act.14.23. And if the Pope cannot haue all that which *Peter* had, much leſſe can he be capable of that which *Peter* neuer had.

Argum.4. We haue had good experience in England, of the Popes great diſcretion and wiſedome, in collation of ſpirituall preferments, and ordaining of Biſhops. About *anno.*1253. the Pope wrote a very imperious and commanding letter to the good Biſhop of Lincolne, *Robert Groſt-head*, to beſtow a Canonſhip in Lincolne vpon his nephew, a boy; for ſo Popes call their baſtards: but he ſuffered the repulſe for that time. In the time of *Edward* the third, and *Richard* the ſecond, a certificate was ſent vp into the Chauncerie, of ſuch Eccleſiaſticall dignities, as were poſſeſſed by ſtrangers not inhabiting the land: and there were found aboue fourtie Deanries, Archdeconries Fox.pag.323.

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and prebends, and those not the worst, some worth one hundred, some two hundred, nay some foure hundred pound by the yeere; the Archdeaconrie of Canturburie was valued at seuen hun-
Fox.pag.429. dred Florences by the yeere, which a Cardinall of Rome had: And there were aboue a dozen Cardinall residant at Rome, that had at once the best and richest dignities in the land: beside a great sort of Italian priests, and others, that were beneficed in England. By this it may appeare, what good choise the Pope-holy father of Rome was wont to make in bestowing Church dignities: and it were pittie but he should haue the ordering of them still, he did so wel dispose of them when he had them.

5 Let *Augustine* speake, who growing now old, was desirous to knowe his successor while he liued: he went not to Rome for the matter; but assembling the Church together at Hippo where he was Bishop; in the presence of two Bishops beside, and seuen Presbyters or Elders, *Astante clero & frequenti populo*, The whole Clergie, and a great sort of people standing by: *Augustine* himselfe began first and said, *Presbyterum Eradium mihi successorem volo:* I would haue *Eradius* Presbyter to be my successor. Afterward, hearing how the people did approue and like of his motion, he desired them to subscribe to that which was done, *Rogo vt dignemini gesta subscribere, qui potestis.* And when they held their peace, he vrged them further, saying, *Hic mihi responsione vestra opus est, de hac assensione aliquid acclamate:* I must needes haue you make some answere, and testifie your consent by your acclamation: *A populo acclamatum est, fiat, fiat, dictum vicies quinquies:* The people cryed out, let it be as thou hast said, let it be, and this was repeated fiue and twentie times, *Augustin. Epistol.* 110. By this example it appeareth, though the people made not the choyse, yet their consent was demaunded. And thus a Bishop was elected, and no word sent vp to Rome at all.

Neither was it the custome of the Church so to doe in those dayes: for whereas the Donatists obiected against *Cecilianus* Bishop of Carthage, because he stayed not to be ordained of the chiefe Bishop of Numidia, *Vt princeps Episcopus à principe ordinaretur:* That one chiefe Bishop might be ordained of another: *Augustine* answered, that there was another custome of the Catholike Church,
Breuicul.collation.3.cap.5. *Vt non Numidiæ, sed propinquiores Episcopi, Episcopum ecclesiæ Carthaginis ordinarent:* That not the Bishop of Numidia, but those Bishops that were neerest at hand, should ordaine the Bishop of Carthage. So we see, they were not onely bold to choose an inferiour Bishop, as was *Eradius* of Hippo, without the Popes consent: but they would aduenture to ordaine a chiefe Metropolitane Bishop euen of Carthage, without the Popes leaue.

The testimonie of antiquitie herein is plentifull: *Anacletus epistol.*2. *Electionem summorum sacerdotum sibi Dominus reseruauit, licèt electionem illorum bonis sacerdotib. & spiritualib. populis concesserit:* God hath reserued to himselfe the election or deposition of the chiefe priests, though he hath granted the election of them to good ministers, and faithfull people.

*Concil. Carthaginens.*3. *can.*22. *Nullus ordinetur Clericus non probatus vel Episcoporum examine, vel populi testimonio:* Let none be ordained a Clergie man, vnlesse he be first examined of the Bishop, or approued by the testimonie of the people.

*Leo epistol.*90. *cap.*1. *Nulla ratio finit, vt inter episcopos habeantur, qui nec à Clericis sunt electi, nec à plebib. sunt expetiti.* There is no reason, that they should be counted Bishops, which are neither chosen of the Clergie, nor desired of the people.

*Concil. Parrhisiens. can.*8. *Nullus cuiuis inuitis ordinetur episcopus, nisi quem populi & Clericorum electio plenissima quæsierit voluntate:* Let no Bishop be ordained against the will of the people or citizens, but such an one, as the Clergie shall choose, and the people desire. By these testimonies of Councels, and of the Bishops of Rome themselues, and many more, which might be alleadged, it doth and may further appeare; that the interest of election is not in the Pope, but that in former times both the voice of the Clergie and assent of the peoples was required.

We haue here also testimonie of both the lawes: for although tumultuous, turbulent and meere popular elections are condemned, as *Cod. lib.*9. *tit.*30. *l.*2. *Leo* the Emperour made a law, that he which did tumultuously gather voices of the multitude to obtaine any dignitie, should both lose the place he sought, and be seuerely punished likewise. *distinct.*63. *c.*6. *Non est permittendum turbis, &c.* The election of Clerkes must not be left to the multitude. 1. *decret. Gregor. lib.*1. *tit.*6. *c.*2. *Is electus ad clamorem populi, &c.* He that is chosen by the confused noyse of the people must not be confirmed: for the rude multitude may easily be corrupted.

Although then meere popular elections are not to be approued: yet that both the whole Clergie and the people ought to giue consent in the election of their Pastors, it is consonant to both the lawes: *Cod. lib.*1. *tit.*6. *leg.*11. *Arcadius, ad ecclesiam sunt promouendi, &c.* They must be preferred to the gouernment of the Church, that are of the same citie, as (they no doubt) which are best knowne to the people.

Now the Canon law is most pregnant, not onely requiring the presence of the people, and respecting their desire, but their consent also and election. *distinct.*61. *c.*13. *Nullus inuitis detur Episcopus,*

pe: No Bishop ought to be thrust vpon a people against their will; the consent of the Clergie and people must be required: *Celestin. dist. 63. 11. Gelasius, Vniuersi in vnum consentiant:* All must consent to elect one. *cap. 12. Stephan. Conuocato Clero & populo:* The Clergie and people beeing called together, let such an one be chosen &c. and many such Canons there are beside.

The holy Martyrs also consent with vs. *Thomas Bennet:* if the Bishop of Rome would doe all things after Gods ordinance, then would I beleeue him to be a good Bishop ouer his owne Dioces, and to haue no further power. *Fox.* pag. 1039.

Maister *Philpot* holy martyr: *By the word of God the Bishop of Rome hath no more authoritie, then the Bishop of London hath,* pag. 1811. He hath therefore no right to meddle in the election of other Bishops, that belong not to his charge.

THE SECOND PART, CONCERNING the election of the Pope.

The Papists.

They say, that the surest and safest way and simply the best, is that which is now vsed, to choose the Pope by, namely, by the Colledge of Cardinals: That whosoeuer is by two parts of the sayd Cardinals elected, is rightly the successor of Saint *Peter*, and the vndoubted Pope of Rome. 68. Error.

Argum. 1. None can better iudge who is fittest for the papacie, then they which are the Popes Counsellers, and know the affaires of the Church. *Ergo*, the Cardinals the meetest men. *Bellarm. lib. 1 de Clericis. cap 9.*

Answ. First, you take that for graunted, which we instantly deny, that the Cardinals of Rome are alwayes the wisest and most learned: as though a Cardinals hat doth bring with it such aboundance of vertue and learning: nay a title of a Cardinalship is sooner obtayned by fauour then desert, by masses of money, then weight of learning. And good reason, seeing that the Cardinals make a gaine of the papacie: For an Asse loaden with golde shall sooner enter into the Castle of Saint Angell, then any other comming with a cart loade of bookes: they that reade Cardinall *Wolseyes* instructions sent to *Steuen Gardiner* at Rome, what great promises of money and preferment, may easily vnderstand the disposition of the Pope-holy Electors of Rome: Seeing they make a gayne of the Pope, why should he not set Cardinalships to saile? For if *Iacobus* Archbishop of Mentz payed 27000. florences for his pall, what thinke you a Cardinals hat is to be valued at, which is a higher degree, then either Bishop or Archbishop? Fox. pag. 992. Fox. pag. 794.

We say then, that there may be wiser and more learned men of the Clergie in Rome then the Cardinals: and that the whole Clergie may better iudge, then a few ambitious Cardinals, and are free from corruption: And as concerning the affaires of the Church, Bishops are like to know better, what appertaineth to the office of a Bishop, then Priests and Deacons, as most of the Cardinals are.

Secondly, how fit the Cardinals for the most part are, to manage the gouernment of the vniuersall Church, it may appeare by the notable choice, that the Popes haue made of their assistants, *Sixtus* the fourth made *Petrus Ruerius* his nephew a Cardinall, a young man of 26. yeeres; who in ryot and wantonnes in two yeeres spent vpon harlots two hundred thousand crownes, and dyed miserably being wasted and consumed by his inordinate lust. Ex Balæo, Functio & alijs.

Leo the tenth was made Cardinall, being but thirteene yeeres olde, by *Innocentius* the eight: *Paulus* the third made *Alexander Farnesius* his sonne or bastard Cardinall being a very youth, to whom he appointed a Tutor and gouernor. *Iulius* the third brought *Innocentius* a stripling his minion, into the order of the Cardinals, who when they said vnto him, *What doe you see in this young man, worthy of this honor? he answered, what did you see in me, when you chose me to be Pope?* Thinke you not now that these Cardinals, both for their youth, being void of experience, and for their lewd disposition, being without any good inclination, were very meete and fit persons to be employed in the waightie regiment of the Church?

Argum. 2. It appeareth by the continuance to be the best: for it hath now endured foure hundred yeeres: and by the effect, for the See of Rome hath neuer been freer from Schismes, then since this order was taken for the Popes election, *Bellarm. cap. 9.*

Answ. First, how can it be of such long continuance, seeing by your owne confession, it exceedeth not foure hundred yeeres? Nay who will not graunt, that the ancient order of electing the Bishop of Rome by the whole Clergie, and consent of the people of Rome, with the confirmation of the Emperour, which lasted a thousand yeeres, till this new deuice came in place, was farre more ancient and durable? Secondly, how well the Cardinals election hath kept the See of Rome from Schisme, experience of former times teacheth vs: In Pope *Vrbanus* time the sixt, there were two Popes many yeeres together; and one did so deadly pursue the other, that Pope *Vrbane* at once

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cut off fiue of the Cardinals heads: might they not haue great ioy, thinke you, in choosing such a
Fox.pag.434. Pope? In the time of Pope *Iohn* the 23. there were three Popes at once. In the Councell of Basile Pope *Eugenius* was deposed, and counted an heretike. And yet for all this, the Cardinals are the onely preseruers and maintainers of the peace of the Apostolike See.

The Protestants.

THough it doe not greatly concerne vs, what manner of election is vsed at Rome: (for vnto vs the election of the meanest Bishop in the land is as much, yea and more, then the glorious enthronizing of the Pope:) yet it shall not be amisse briefly to shew, how these great antiquaries are become enemies of antiquitie, refusing the ancient manner of election, which was vsed in Rome for 1000. yeeres together, namely, that the Bishop there should be elected by the whole Clergie, with the consent of the People and confirmation of the Emperor.

*Argum.*1. It is a plaine case, that till the yeere 685. in all their elections they waited for the authoritie of the chiefe Magistrate, the Emperour, or the deputie of Italie. But then came in the constitution of *Constantine* the fourth, that their elections should be firme without the consent of the Emperor. Yet for all this constitution, *anno*.810. Pope *Adriane* gaue vnto *Carolus magnus* full authoritie to elect the Bishop of Rome: and *anno*.961. *Leo* the ninth, made the same grant to Otho first Germane Emperour. This continued in force till *Alexander* the second his time, who was elected first without the Emperours consent, but afterward repenting of it, he protested openly, that he would be no longer Pope vnlesse he had the Emperors consent; and thereupon he was deposed by *Hildebrand*, and throwne into prison. This was more then 1000. yeeres after Christ: since that time the Emperour hath been excluded, and shut out from their elections: But all this while notwithstanding, though the Emperours consent sometime was not necessary, yet the Clergie of Rome, and the people retained their ancient priuiledge still. So we see by this new erection
Fox.pag.4.5. of the Colledge of Cardinals, there is great iniurie offered to three estates, the Emperour, the Clergie of Rome, the people.

*Argum.*2. This new forme of election hath not stood continually in force, since it was first founded. For in the Councell of Constance, *sess.*40. they proceeded to the election of a new Pope, not staying for the rest of the Cardinals, but appointing other electors in their roume. In the Councell of Basile, the Duke of Sauoy was elected Pope, by other electors, then Cardinals: Nay there was but one Cardinall, namely *Arelatensis*; the rest were Bishops, Doctors, and others. And though they will say perchance that this Pope was chosen in a schisme, for they hold the Councell of Basile to be schismaticall: yet they cannot, neither doe denie, but that Pope *Martin* the 5. who was chosen at Constance, was rightfully Pope.

Gregorie the 7. was established in the Papacie, and yet not one of the Cardinals consented to his election. *Iohn* the 24. became a Pope after this manner: When the Cardinals were assembled together to chuse them a Pope, they desired him to nominate whom he would to bee Pope, for they feared him: then he made this answere, *Date mihi chlamydem Petri, & ego dabo Pontifici suo*, Giue me S. *Peters* robe or cloake, and I will giue it to him that shall be our Bishop: and so he put it vpon his owne shoulders, and said, Behold your Pope, *ex Balæo, Functio & alijs*. Thus wee see that the Popes and Papists themselues haue been the chiefe ouerthrowers and peruerters of this new forme of election by the Cardinals.

3 In *Augustines* time the rest of the Bishops of Italie neere vnto Rome, should seeme to haue had some interest in the election of the Bishop: *Romana ecclesia Episcopum non ordinat Episcopus aliquis Metropolitanus, sed de proximo Ostiensis Episcopus:* The Bishop of Rome is not ordained by any Metropolitane, but by the Bishop of Ostia that is neere at hand, *Breuicul. collation. lib.*2. *cap.*3.

Other monuments also of antiquitie wee haue for this matter: When as *Syluerius* was made Pope without the Emperours consent, *Sacerdotes secundum morem antiquum non subscripserunt*: The Clergie men, according to the old custome, refused to subscribe to his election: *anno* 537. *Pontifical.*

Hadrianus 1. *anno* 796. gaue vnto *Charles* the Emperour, *potestatem eligendi Papam*, power to chuse the Pope. *Gregorie* the 4. confirmed the same graunt, *anno* 830. and refused to bee Pope, till the Emperour had confirmed his election.

Alexander the 2. who a little before in a Councell held at Mantua, had decreed that the Pope should be chosen onely by the Cardinals; yet afterward repented him, and publikely in a sermon professed, that he would not continue in the Papacie without the Emperours licence. *Gregorie* the 7. the greatest enemie to the Imperiall crowne and dignitie, who vtterly excluded the Emperour from the election of the Pope, yet lying on his death-bed repented him, and desired a Cardinall to goe to the Emperour, and craue pardon of him for all the wrongs he had done him: *Sic Antoninus, Vincentius, de actis huius Papæ.*

We haue also euident testimonie herein of their owne law, that the Bishop of Rome ought not to be elected without the consent of the Emperour, the Clergie, and people.

First,

First, for the right and authoritie of the Emperour in the election of the Pope: *Hadriane*, with the consent of a great Synode, consisting of an 153. Bishops and Abbots, assembled in the palace of Laterane, did giue vnto *Charles* the Emperour, *potestatem eligendi pontificem*, power to chuse the Bishop of Rome, *dist.* 63. *ca.* 22. So likewise *Leo* Bishop of Rome in a Synode at Rome, with the consent of the Clergie and people of Rome, did giue the same authoritie to *Otho* the Emperour, *dist.* 63. *ca.* 23.

And for the consent of the whole Clergie, and not of the Cardinals onely, we reade, *dist.* 79. *c.* 1. *Nicholaus* 2. in this manner, *Si quis Apostolicæ sedi, &c.* If any man be inthronized into the See Apostolicall, without the generall consent of the Cardinals, and of other religious Clerks, he is not Apostolicall, but an Apostata.

And thirdly, the interest of the people together with the Clergie in the election of the Pope, is warranted by their owne Canons: *Canf.* 7. *quæst.* 1. *ca.* 5. *Cornelius* was chosen, *de Clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affuit suffragio, &c.* by the testimonie of the Clergie, and the suffrage of the people, that was present. And *distinct.* 26 *ca.* 1. there is a latter decree of Pope *Nicholas*, that beside the choice of the Cardinals, *reliquus Clerus & populus ad consensum novæ electionis accedat*: the rest of the Clergie and people should giue consent to the new election. Thus wee see that this new deuice of electing the Pope by Cardinals, is against the ancient practise of the Church and their owne Canons.

Iohn Wicklif holie confessor, was condemned for saying, that the election of the Pope by Cardinals, was inuented and brought in by the diuell, *articul.* 40. Seeing then we haue both the testimonie and practise of Popes to the contrarie, against this manner of election by Cardinals, and the truth also sealed by holy men; we haue no reason but to reiect and discommend the same.

THE THIRD QVESTION, CONCERNING THE degrees and orders of Ecclesiasticall Ministers.

This question hath three parts: first, of the seuen degrees of popish priesthood. Secondly, of the difference and distinction of Bishops and other Ministers. Thirdly, of the institution of Cardinals, a new degree of the popish Clergie.

THE FIRST PART OF THE SEVEN degrees or orders Ecclesiasticall.

The Papists.

Though they haue diuers degrees of dignitie in the Church, as Popes, Cardinals, Patriarches, Primates, and such like: yet they make but seuen Ecclesiasticall orders, which are conferred solemnely by certaine rites and ceremonies by their Bishops: And they are these, *Ostiarij*, doorekeepers, *Exorcistæ*, Exorcists, *Lectores*, Readers, *Acolythi*, Attenders, *Subdiaconi*, Subdeacons, *Diaconi*, Deacons, and the highest degree, *Sacerdotes*, Priests; vnto the which all the other are but rises and steps. All these they maintaine to bee ecclesiasticall orders, and to bee retained in the Church, *Bellarm. cap.* 11. *Rhemist.* 1. *Tim.* 3. *sect.* 7. 69. Error.

They haue no proofe nor warrant out of Scripture, for these friuolous orders, but onely a shew of antiquitie, as they alleage certaine Canons out of the 4. Councell of Carthage, where such offices are reckoned vp, *Rhemist. ibid.*

Ans. First, to let passe this, that the Councell may bee suspected for the credit thereof, seeming wholy to be patched out of the Popes decrees. And whereas *Augustine* with other is said to haue subscribed to this Councell, therein appeareth some forgerie: for *Can.* 104. it was thus decreed, *Crimine adulterij notabuntur, &c.* They are touched with the crime of adulterie, that hauing deuoted themselues vnto God, doe afterward runne to secular mariage. Yet *Augustine* is of another iudgement, *Non ipsa nuptiæ talium damnanda iudicantur*: The mariages of such we condemne not or disanull, but their fraudulent purpose, *de Bon. viduit. at. cap.* 9. But he that saith, such are adulterers, disanulleth their mariage: therefore *Augustine* would not against his owne iudgement haue agreed to this Canon. Secondly, we denie not but they had such offices, as Readers, to reade the text of the Scriptures; Exorcists to cast out diuels, which was an extraordinarie gift for the time; Acoluthists, yong men appointed to attend vpon the Bishop for their better instruction; Doorekeepers, that kept the entrie of the Church, that no heathen person or excommunicate should enter. But these were both diuers offices, then are now appointed for them in the popish Church: for they make them now, all or the most, ministers and seruitors for the idolatrous seruice of the Masse, which in those daies was not heard of: neither though there were such offices and seruices in the Church, were they made orders and degrees of the Ministerie. Thirdly, they had other offices beside, which now are not in vse, no not amongst the Papists: for they had also singers, labourers,

bourers, confessors, diggers or Sextons. *Concil. Carthag. 4. can.* 12. there is an eight degree of Psalmists added. *Concil. 1. sub Syluestro* 1. there is another order found out, which are there called *Custodes Martyrum*, keepers of the Martyrs. There were also *fossarij*, diggers and labourers, as appeareth in the Epistle of *Ignatius*. So that if you will make all those offices vsed in time past in the Church, so many orders of the ministerie, you must make ten or eleuen; more, then you doe acknowledge, or vse in your Church.

The Protestants.

THe question is not betweene vs and our aduersaries in this place, concerning the titles and dignities annexed to the Ministerie, as of Bishops, Archdeacons, Deacons, Prouosts, but of the seuerall orders of the Ministerie: For Bishops and other Ministers doe not differ in order, but in office of gouernment. They hold that there are seuen seuerall such orders, which haue their seuerall rites of consecration, and peculiar offices in the Church allotted them. But we content our selues with those orders onely and degrees as necessarie, which the holie Scripture hath commended.

Argum. 1. As for the names and offices of Subdeacons, Readers, Exorcists, Acolythi, Doore-keepers, we haue no such warrant out of the Scripture, to make them orders of the Church: and therefore we condemne them. All necessarie orders for the edifying and building of the Church, the Scripture hath prescribed vs, Ephes. 4. 11. there are all offices set downe needfull for the doctrine, instruction, and edifying of the Church, *Fulk. Ephes. 4. sect. 4.* Wherefore away with these popish orders, inuented by men. But as for other offices and seruices, which shall be thought meete for the affayres and busines of the Church, they may be retained and kept, but not as new orders of the Ministerie.

Argum. 2. These offices are first Idolatrous, as they are now vsed among the Papists: for the Deacons, Subdeacons, Acolythi, were to attend vpon the Priest at Masse. Secondly, some of their offices were ridiculous; as to sweepe the Church, to driue out dogs, and to hold a flye-flap of Peacocks feathers, to keepe the flyes from falling into the Communion cup. Thirdly, they were distinguished, by ridiculous ornaments and attire, which were proper to euery one of them: as it shall appeare now in their description.

Clemens constitut. lib. 8. cap. 15.

From the Priest when he was degraded, they tooke the Chalice, patine, and hoste, that he should haue no power any more to offer sacrifice: they scraped his nayles with a peece of glasse, and so tooke away his annoynting: and lastly, they tooke away his priestly ornaments, the Chesle, which signified charitie; the Stole, that represented the signe of our Lord. From the Deacons at their degradation, they took first the booke of the Gospels, and so all power to reade the Gospell. Then they tooke away his Dalmatike, a signe of his Leuiticall office, and the white Stole behinde his backe that signified innocencie.

From the Subdeacon they tooke the booke of the Epistles, that he should haue no more power to reade them; also the emptie Chalice, and Subdeacons vesture: his office was to serue and minister to the Deacons at the Altar.

The Acolythi did light the candles in the Church, and brought wine and water to the Altar in pitchers and bottels: and in his degradation there was taken from him, an emptie flaggon or bottle, and a candlesticke, with a waxe candle put out.

The order of exorcisme was taken away, by depriuing him from power to reade in the booke of exorcisines.

From the Reader they tooke the booke of Church-lectures or lessons. Last of all, from the Doore-keeper was taken the keyes of the Church: And so was he depriued of all power to open or shut the Church doores, and to ring the bels, *Ex Fox pag.* 2134.

Thus we see, how much these offices are degenerate from the ancient vse: First, they are all but Ministers and attendants for the abominable sacrifice of the Masse, which in those daies was not knowne: for the Acolythus or waiter waiteth vpon the Subdeacon, the Subdeacon vpon the Deacon, and all of them vpon the Priest at Masse. Secondly, whereas then the Exorcists had a peculiar grace of God to cast out diuels: their Exorcists doe but reade certaine exorcisines in bookes: their Readers onely reade the text of Scripture; now they reade the Legends of popish Saints. Then in time of persecution, when Christians assembled in the night, the waiters had the charge to light the candles: but now they doe light them at noone day.

Argum. 3. These offices haue not been in vse these many yeeres among the Papists themselues: for many times the Sexton or his boy, doe execute the charge both of Acolythists, Ostiaries and Readers, yea of Deacons and Subdeacons also, when the Priest with his boy can dispatch a Masse. Neither are these orders retained amongst them, for any speciall seruice or office, but onely as preparatories, and steps and degrees to the priesthood, *Fulk. annot. 1. Timoth. 2. sect. 7.*

Let vs now consult with antiquitie: *Damasus* sometime Bishop of Rome, thus saith: *Nouimus, quam duos ordines, &c.* Wee know but two orders to haue been among the Disciples of our Lord:

Lord: that is, 12. Apoſtles, and 70. Diſciples, *Epiſtol. 4.* And it followeth, *Vnde iſte tertius proceſſit, ignoramus:* From whence this third order hath proceeded, wee know not. And that which is brought in without reaſon, muſt bee rooted out, *diſtinct. 68. ca. 5.* If *Damaſus* miſliked of a third order, much more of ſixe or ſeuen new orders: and theſe being inuented without any cauſe or reaſon, by his rule muſt be extirped and rooted out.

And what is to be thought of theſe popiſh degrees, the Councell of Colen aduiſeth vs: *Part. 3. cap. 31. Iam conuentum eſt, vt 4. illi minores ordines Oſtiarij, Exorciſtæ, Pſalmiſtæ, Lectores, præter nomen tantùm in eccleſia retinerentur, illorumque loco tenues aliquot homines laici per eccleſiæ prælatos minoris cuiuſque gratia ſubrogarentur:* It is now come to paſſe, that the foure leſſe orders of Doore-keepers, Exorciſts, Pſalmiſts, Readers, beſide their name, haue no other office in the Church, and in their ſtead ſome ſillie poore fellowes of the lay ſort are appointed by the prelates, by a more compendious way. How then call you thoſe orders, which haue a name without office, and whereof the lay ſort are capable, as it is now practiſed in poperie?

Let vs further ſee how theſe ſeuen popiſh orders may ſtand by their law: *Cod. lib. 1 tit. 5 l. 3. Honorius. In eccleſia non debet eſſe maior numerus, &c.* There muſt not bee a greater number in the Church, then the goods thereof or reuehewes will ſuffice to maintaine: but few Churches are able to maintaine ſo many orders, nay ſome Churches haue not left ſo much, as to keep one poore Vicar; how then ſhould ſo many vnneceſſarie orders be maintained?

And concerning their owne Canons, beſide the decree of *Damaſus* alleaged before, *diſt. 68. c. 5.* the like decree hath *Innocent. 3 decret. Gregor. lib. 1 tit. 14. ca. 9. Sacros ordines dicimus diaconatum & preſbyteratum, &c.* Sacred orders wee call Deacons and Presbyters, for theſe two the Primitiue Church is found onely to haue had: and in the ſame place he denieth Subdeacons to be numbred amongſt the ſacred orders. The very like words hath the Maſter of Sentences, *lib. 4. diſt. 24. I.* That the Primitiue Church had but two orders: *& de his ſolis præceptum Apoſtoli habemus:* and the Apoſtle giueth charge concerning no more, &c.

Now concerning theſe orders in particular: Firſt, that the office of Doore-keepers is not now neceſſarie, but had then ſome vſe, when as Iewes and Gentiles dwelt amongſt Chriſtians: ſee the iudgement of your owne writer, *Eſpenc. 1. Tim. p. 226 g.* And in the ſame place he ſheweth out of *Chryſoſtome*, how it belonged to the office of the Deacon, to admit into the Church, and ſhut out. Alſo your owne Maſter of Sentences ſaith, that Chriſt tooke this office vpon him, when he whipped the buyers and ſellers out of the temple: and that Chriſt, when he ſaid, *I am the doore*, ſhewed himſelfe to bee the doore-keeper, *lib. 4. diſt. 24. f.* But if Chriſt were a doore-keeper, what reaſon haue they to make it the leaſt office in the Church?

The ſecond degree is of Readers; which is not a diſtinct office in the Church: for in ſome places it was the office of the Deacon, in ſome of the Miniſter, in ſome it belonged to the Biſhop to reade the Scriptures, eſpecially on Feſtiuall daies, *Hiſtor. tripart. lib. 9 cap. 39.* And Chriſt, whom your Maſter ſaith did fulfill the office of a Reader in his owne perſon, after he had read in the booke did interprete and expound it: ſo that to reade Scripture and expound it, doth belong to the ſame office. And though we denie not, but that it is lawfull, and many times conuenient, for one to reade, and another to preach, as Saint *Paul* did, Act. 13. 15. yet for this cauſe they need not bring in a new office into the Church of onely Readers.

The third degree is of Exorciſts: whoſe office was to exorcize infants in baptiſme, that were vexed of euill ſpirits, by adiuring them. Firſt, we ſay that this miraculous gift is now ceaſed in the Church, and the bare name and title thereof onely remaineth. Secondly, this office of exorcizing, S. *Chryſoſtome* ſaith belonged vnto Deacons: *ſic Eſpenc. 1. Timoth p. 227. i.* ſo that a ſpeciall office needed not for that ſeruice. Thirdly, and *Origen* ſaith, *Iudaicum eſt adiurare dæmonia:* It was a cuſtome among the Iewes to adiure ſpirits, *Tract. 35. in Math.* And your owne gloſſe ſaith, that *Salomon* found out a certaine kinde of exorcizing, *diſtinct. 21. c. 1.* then can it not bee an office of the Goſpell. Fourthly, *Iſidore* ſaith, it belonged to Exorciſts to looke to the fabrick and ruines of the Church, *de Eccleſiaſt. offic. cap. 13.* So that they themſelues are vncertaine what the office of Exorciſts ſhould be.

The fourth degree is of Acolythiſts, which are interpreted followers: for ſo the Greeke word ἀκόλουθος ſignifieth, whoſe office (they ſay) is to attend vpon the lampes or lights of the Church. Firſt, whereas your Maſter ſaith, that they in the old Teſtament did ſhew a forme of this office, that dreſſed the lampes in the temple, *lib. 4. diſt. 24. f.* then can it not bee a calling in the new Teſtament, being inſtituted in the old. Secondly, he ſaith in the ſame that Chriſt did beare this office, where he ſaith, *I am the light of the world:* by the ſame reaſon the Apoſtles alſo were *Acolythi*, to whom Chriſt ſaid, *you are the light of the world.* Who ſeeth not what ſimple grounds they haue of their ſuperſtitious and ſuperfluous offices? Thirdly, theſe *Acolythi*, or Miniſters or attendants, were ſuch as waited vpon the Biſhop in his domeſticall offices, both for greater honour, and to auoide further ſuſpition, they being alwaies witneſſes of the Biſhops acts: which function of the

Acolythi, *Bellarmine* saith, that *Caluin* found out of his owne braine: yet is the same alleaged by *Esserne*. out of the Canons, 1. *Timoth.* p. 215. *b.*

Fiftly, concerning the office of Subdeacons: first it is certaine, that they were employed as carriers of letters vnder the Bishops, by whom they sent their epistles and messages, as *Esserne.* sheweth out of S. *Cyprian. Comment. in* 1. *Timoth.* p. 214. *a.* But this was no Ecclesiasticall function, and therefore they were no Ecclesiastical officers. Secondly, I haue shewed before out of the decree of *Innocentius*, that Subdeacons in times past were not counted amongst the sacred orders.

Thus we see what small warrant the Church of Rome hath for these fiue superfluous orders: as for the other degrees of Deacons and Ministers, wee refuse them not, though wee deny them to haue any such office to serue at the Masse Altar: whereof I shall haue occasion to speake afterward in the Controuersie as touching the Sacrament of Order: and therefore of purpose I doe forbeare in this place.

What the holy Martyrs their opinion was of these popish orders, and their ridiculous apparell, it appeareth by Doctor *Taylor* holy Martyr, who when the Bishop came to degrade him, vtterly refused to put on the popish priestly garments, calling them apish toyes, and toying trumperie, fit for boyes to laugh at, *Fox* pag. 1324.

Bishop *Ridley* Martyr, in the like case also refused, calling the aforesaid vestures, whereby the popish orders are distinguished, foolish and abominable, and too fond for a vice in a play. pag. 1768.

Bishop *Cranmer* also, as *Bonner* was busie in degrading him from the highest degree to the lowest, he mildly said, All this needed not, I had my selfe done with this geare long agoe, pag. 1111. Wherefore together with these holy Martyrs, wee condemne these deuised degrees of popish orders, with their foolish appurtenances, as superstitious, abominable, and Antichristian.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE DIFFERENCE of Bishops and other Ministers.

The Papists.

70. Error. WE differ from them in two points: First, they say, that Bishops are not onely in a higher degree of superioritie to other Ministers, but they are as Princes of the Clergie, and other Ministers as subiects, and in all things to bee commaunded by them. Secondly, they affirme that Bishops are onely properly Pastors, and that to them onely it doth appertaine to preach, and that other Ministers haue no authoritie without their licence or consent, to preach at all, and that not principally or chiefly, but soly and wholy to them appertaineth the right of consecrating and giuing orders.

For the first, for the princely authoritie of Bishops, whom they would haue obeyed in al things, they wrest these and such like places of Scripture, as 2. Cor. 1. 9. I write vnto you, to know whether you will be obedient in all things: *Ergo*, they must be absolutely obeyed.

Anſ. The Apostle challengeth onely obedience in such things, as he should commaund agreable to Gods word: For if I my selfe (saith he) preach another Gospell, hold me accursed, *Gal.* 1. *Fulk annot.* 1. *Cor.* 2. *fol.* 3.

Argum. 2. Against an Elder receiue no accusation vnder two or three witnesses, 1. Tim. 5. 19. *Ergo*, the authoritie of Bishops is absolute and princelike: *Videmus Episcopum iudicem esse presbyterorum, proinde verum principem:* We see the Bishop is the iudge of the Elders: *Ergo*, a prince ouer them, *Bellar. cap.* 14.

Anſw. First, it followeth not, Bishops haue iurisdiction and authoritie ouer other Ministers: *Ergo*, they are princes ouer them. Can there be no preeminence and superioritie in the Church, but it must needes be princelike? Is euery iudge a prince ouer those, which are brought before him to be iudged? 2. *Timothie* had no such princelike authoritie, for here it is restrained and limited, a rule is set downe by the Apostle which he must obserue: *Ergo*, his authoritie was not absolute. Thirdly, S. *Paul* was so farre offe from making *Timothie* a prince in the Church at Ephesus, that he would rather haue him not to rebuke, but to exhort the Elders as fathers, the younger men as brethren, chap. 5. 1. Where now is his princely authoritie become, whereas he maketh his subiects (as our aduersaries call inferior Ministers) his fathers and brethren?

71. Error. For the second, they reason thus: the Apostles properly had the preaching of the word committed vnto them, Act. 6. For other were chosen to attend vpon tables: the Apostles also onely had the right of laying on of hands, Act. 14. 23. *Ergo*, It is proper onely to Bishops to preach, and to ordaine, who are the Apostles successors, *Bellarm. cap.* 13. & 14.

Anſw. First, *Bellarmine* denieth that Bishops doe properly succeede the Apostles, *de pontifices lib.* 4. 25. because he would magnifie the Pope his ghostly father aboue all Bishops: but now forgetting himselfe, he saith, *Episcopi proprie succedunt Apostolis*, Bishops doe properly succeede the Apostles,

poſtles, chapter.14. and ſo by this reaſon euery Biſhop hath as full authoritie as the Pope. Secondly, euery godly and faithfull Biſhop is a ſucceſſor to the Apoſtles, wee deny it not, and ſo are all faithfull and godly paſtors and Miniſters: for in reſpect of their extraordinarie calling, miraculous giftes and Apoſtleſhip, the Apoſtles haue properly no ſucceſſors, as maſter *Bewbridge* Martyr ſaith, that hee beleeued not Biſhops to bee the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, for that they bee not called as they were nor haue that grace: *Fox. pag.1046. artic.6.* That therefore, which the Apoſtles were eſpecially appointed vnto, is the thing, wherein the Apoſtles were properly ſucceeded; but that was the preaching of the Goſpell: As Saint *Paul* ſaith, *hee was ſent to preach, not to baptize*, 1.Corinthians 1.17. This alſo the prophet *Eſay* ſheweth, where hee ſaith in the name of the Lord: *My words, which I haue put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeede, nor of thy ſeedes ſeede.* Eſay 59.verſe 21. The promiſe of ſucceſſion, wee ſee, is in the preaching of the word, which appertaineth as well to other paſtors and Miniſters, as vnto Biſhops, as afterward ſhall bee declared. Againe, ſeeing in the Apoſtles time *Epiſcopus*, and *Preſbyter*, a Biſhop, and a Prieſt, were neither in name nor office diſtinguiſhed, as Maſter *Lambert* Martyr proueth by that place of Saint *Paul, Tit.1.* where the Apoſtle calleth them Biſhops, verſ.7. whom before verſ.5. he had named Presbyters, Prieſts, or Elders. To this agreeth the Councell *Aquiſgranenſ. cap.8.* collecting thus out of this place: *Paulus Apoſtolus Preſbyteros, vt verè ſacerdotes, ſub nomine Epiſcoporum adſeuerat:* Paul the Apoſtle *doth affirme the Elders or Preſbyters to be true Prieſts or Paſtors vnder the name of Biſhops.* It followeth then that either the Apoſtles aſſigned no ſucceſſion, while they liued, neither appointed their ſucceſſors, or that indifferently all faithfull Paſtors and Preachers of the Apoſtolike faith, are the Apoſtles ſucceſſors. Fulk.Annot. Ioh.20.ſect.3. Fox.pag.1111.

Thirdly, at that time when the Deacons were elected, the congregation was at Ieruſalem, neither were there as yet any other Paſtors ordained; and therefore the Apoſtles onely attended vpon preaching of the word: but afterward when they had ordained Paſtors in other Churches, to them alſo fully was committed the word of reconciliation, Epheſ.4.11. Chriſt hath giuen ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Paſtors and teachers: So that Paſtors and teachers, though ordained firſt by the Apoſtles, yet had their calling of God: and together in their calling, authoritie and commiſſion to preach; neither being once ordained, needed they to expect any further licenſe from the Apoſtles.

And as for the right of ordayning and impoſition of hands, though it were chiefly in the Apoſtles, yet the Paſtors and Elders together with them layde on their hands, Act.13.4. Yea the Rhemiſts confeſſe as much, that when a Prieſt is to be ordered, the reſt of the Prieſts together with the Biſhop do lay on their hands, *Annotat.1.Timoth.4.18.* What doth this elſe ſignifie, but that they haue ſome entereſt in ordayning together with the Biſhop?

The Proteſtants.

Firſt, though we doe admitte, that for auoyding of Schiſme, the Church hath thought it meete, there ſhould be difference in degree and ſuperioritie among Miniſters, yet your princely dominion which you doe vrge, is no wiſe muſt be admitted.

Argum.1. It is contrarie to the rule of Chriſt, Luk.22.25. *The Kings of the nations are Lords ouer them, and they that beare authoritie ouer them, are called benefactours.* Here our Sauiour forbiddeth, that there ſhould be any ſuch princelike and pompous preeminence among eccleſiaſticall perſons, as there is among ſecular and ciuil gouernors. A ſuperioritie may be graunted, but not as the Prince is ouer his ſubiects: it was ſo in time of poperie, that the people were halfe ſubiects to the Prince and halfe ſubiects to their ſpirituall gouernours: But though we acknowledge other eccleſiaſticall fathers and paſtors, yet we are ſubiects onely to our Prince.

Argum.2. S.Peter alſo is flat againſt this princely rule and dominion, Feede the flocke, (ſaith he) not as Lords ouer Gods heritage, but that you may be enſamples, 1.Pet.5.3. But are not they, I pray you, Lords ouer the flocke, that challenge to be Princes?

Let vs ſee what antiquitie ſaith: *Concil. Carthag.4.can.34. Epiſcopus in quolibet loco ſedens, ſtare preſbyterum non patiatur:* Whereſoeuer the Biſhop ſitteth, hee muſt not ſuffer a ſimple priest to ſtand before him: and this canon is confirmed in the decrees: *diſtinct.95.c.9.* Againe, *can.35. Epiſcopus in conſeſſu preſbyterorum ſublimior ſedeat, intra dominum verò collegam preſbyterorum ſe eſſe cognoſcat:* The Biſhop in the aſſemblie of Prieſtes, ought to ſit in the higheſt place; but within the houſe, let him know that hee is but their fellow. This canon alſo is ratified in the decrees. *diſt. 95.c.10.* Theſe ancient Canons, as they gaue vnto Biſhops ouer their brethren ſome preeminence to auoyd confuſion, ſo they allow them not a princely or lordly authoritie, to ſtay their ambition. See alſo for this point, your owne decrees: *diſtinct.95.c.7. Epiſcopi ſe ſacerdotes eſſe noueritis, &c.* Let Biſhops know, that they are Miniſters, not Lords; let them honour their Clergie, as the Clergie, that they againe may be honoured of them, as Biſhops. And againe, *Caus.8.qu.1. c.20. Illud obſeruandum eſt, &c.* This may be alledged againſt thoſe, *Qui de Epiſcopis tantùm ſciunt:*

which do ſwell with pride becauſe they are Biſhops, thinking that they haue gotten not a miniſtriall, but an imperiall office. &c.

Secondly, concerning the power of preaching, we affirme, that euery Paſtor once ordayned, hath ſufficient authoritie to preach in his owne flocke and charge, as *Iohn Huſſe* notably proued to their face out of a certaine gloſſe in the fift booke of the decretals, that when as the Biſhop ordayneth any prieſt, he giueth him alſo therewithall authoritie to preach. We denie not, but when there is iuſt occaſion, this authoritie may be reſtrained by the Church gouernours, and ſo alſo may an euill Miniſter be ſuſpended from his whole miniſterie. But the power before ſpoken of, he hath at his firſt receiuing of orders: We thus ſhew it.

Fox. pag. 454.

Whatſoeuer belongeth to the office of a Miniſter ſet ouer a flocke or charge, hee receiueth the power thereof when he is ordayned: But to preach the word, belongeth to the office of ſuch: for preaching is properly the feeding of the people.

But ſee the abſurditie of the Papiſts: they ſay it is not proper to the Prieſthood to preach, but onely to haue power to ſacrifice the body of Chriſt: But it is proper to the Biſhop, ſay they, to preach. We anſwere: Firſt, then the Biſhop is properly the paſtor of euery flocke and congregation in his dioceſſe, for he that properly feedeth, is properly the Paſtor: And he that is properly the Paſtor, hath the charge of ſoules properly; yea more, then hath the particular Paſtor: for he is improperly their Paſtor, but as it were the Biſhops ſubſtitute and Vicar. But what Biſhop in the worlde is able to beare ſo great a burthen, to haue the eſpeciall and proper charge of all the ſoules in his dioceſſe? It is not to be denyed, but he hath a charge of their ſoules, as a Chriſtian Prince alſo hath in ſome reſpect of his ſubiects: but to ſay, he is the proper Paſtor, and hath the proper and principall charge of ſoules in teaching and feeding of them (for the queſtion is now of preaching, not of gouerning) who is able to abide it? Secondly, but our Rhemiſts tell vs another tale, that many that are not able to preach, are meete enough to be Biſhops. 1. Timoth. 3. *Sect.* 13. *Ergo*, it is not proper to Biſhops neither to preach. I pray you then, for whom is it proper? if neither for Biſhops nor inferiour paſtours, then for none. Thirdly, they make but ſeuen orders of Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, and the prieſthood is the chiefe: for a Biſhop and a Prieſt make but one order, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth chapter 11. But to none of all theſe orders it is proper to preach: for ſeeing it is not proper to the prieſt, none of the inferiour orders can challenge it. See then what goodly orders theſe are, which leaue the very chiefe part of the miniſterie vndone, which is the preaching of the word. I thinke their meaning is, that this preaching is not ſo neceſſary a dutie, but may be well ſpared in the Church.

Argum. 2. That which a man is bound to do vnder paine of the curſe of God, that hee may lawfully performe in due order without the leaue of men: but a woe is layd vpon them that preach not the Goſpell, where they are bound, 1. Corinthians 9. 16. *Ergo*. *Argum. Wicliffi.*

Fox. pag. 453.

Argum. 3. A man is bound to giue corporall almes to the poore, the needie, the hungry, the thirſtie, neither is he to craue leaue of any: *Ergo*, much more to teach the ignorant, to comfort the weake, and doe other dueties appertayning to his charge. *Argum. Wicliffi.*

To theſe agree the decrees of former times: *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. cap. 8. ex Iſidor. Preſbyteris & cui epiſcopi, diſpenſatio myſteriorum Dei commiſſa eſt; præſunt enim Eccleſiæ Chriſti & in confectione dominici ſanguinis &c. conſortes cum epiſcopis ſunt, ſimiliter & in doctrina populorum, & officio prædicandi, &c.* Vnto Prieſts, as well as to Biſhops, is committed the diſpenſation of Gods myſteries, for they are ſet ouer the Church of God, and are partakers with Biſhops, both in the confection of the ſacrament of Chriſts bloud, &c. and in the teaching of the people, and office of preaching.

Conſtantinop. 8. can. 8, 9. It was decreed thus, that whereas *Photius* the ſchiſmaticall Biſhop of Conſtantinople, who did vſurpe that See, did extort writings from the Clergie, vnder their owne hands, wherein they promiſed to cleaue to him, and he againe gaue them writings, authorizing them thereby to preach: the Councell thereupon thus determined, *Vt liceat omnibus idoneis docere libere ſine facultate per chirographa*, That it ſhould be lawfull for all that were fit to preach without licenſe vnder hand writing.

Likewiſe in their owne decrees, *diſtinct. 95. c. 6.* we thus reade: *Nemo hinc Epiſcoporum irraſcatur &c.* Let not the Biſhops from henceforth be offended, if the Presbyters or Miniſters exhort the people, if they preach in the Church, &c. He that wil not haue them to do that, which is commanded of God, let him ſay, is any man greater then Chriſt? if the Miniſter do conſecrate the bodie of Chriſt, and bleſſe the Sacrament, ought he not to pronounce the bleſſing vpon the people? And it followeth in the ſame place. Thus by your commandement (ô vnequall prelates) the Miniſter of God doth looſe his office, is deprined of the vſe of his tongue, he is maymed, he hath onely the name of a Miniſter, but the fulneſſe and perfection thereof, which appertaineth to his conſecration, he holdeth not: much more followeth in the ſame place, which may be applyed againſt

gainst popish Bishops, that cut the inferior Ministers short of the better part of their office, which is to preach the word of God.

Againe: *ibid. distinct. 95. c. 7. Pessima consuetudinis est*: It is a very bad custome in certaine Churches, for Priests to hold their peace in the presence of the Bishops, as though they did either enuie, or scorne to heare them, contrary to the Apostle which saith, *If any thing be reuealed to another sitting by, let the first keepe silence.* Thus farre that decree out of S. *Hierome*.

Maister *Lambert* Martyr. It is lawfull for all Priests freely to preach the word, and that at all times, in al places, and to al persons, although they be not sent: for al such are chosen to be preachers, and therefore sent: for of this speaketh *Gregory* in his pastorals, saying, *Praedicationis officium susciput, qui quis ad sacerdotium accedit:* Whosoeuer taketh priesthood vpon him, taketh vpon him also the office of preaching: *Fox.* pag. 1111 *respons. ad articul.* 22.

Maister *Tindall* Martyr, there is but one especiall office that pertayneth to thine orders, and that is to preach the word of God. pag. 1253.

Concerning the power of giuing orders: As S. *Paul* speaketh of the laying on of his hands, 2. Tim. 1. 6. so he maketh mention of imposition of hands by the Eldership, 1. Tim. 4. 14. And the Rhemists vpon that place mislike not the practise of the Church, that their Priests doe lay on their hands together with the Bishop vpon his head that is to be ordayned.

Concil. Carthaginens. 4. can. 3. Omnes presbyteri, qui praesentes sunt, manus suas iuxta manum episcopi, super caput presbyteri ordinandi teneant, Let all the Priests that are present, hold their hands next to the Bishops hand vpon his head that is to be ordained. Againe *can.* 24. of the same Councell. *Episcopus sine concilio Clericorum Clericos non ordinet*: The Bishop must not giue orders, but in the presence and assemblie of the Clergie. By this then it is manifest, that imposition of hands doth not wholy and solie belong vnto the Bishop, seeing the rest of the Elders were wont to lay on their hands likewise, or the Bishop in the name of the rest, *Fulk. annot. Tit. 1. fol. 2.* So that the Elders were not excluded.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, WHETHER THE difference betweene Bishops and other Ministers be grounded vpon the Law of God, and institution of the Apostles.

The Papists.

Bellarmine affirmeth, that the iurisdiction of Bishops, as now it standeth in their Church, and the difference betweene them, and other Presbyters, is, *iure diuino*, grounded vpon the Law of God, and of such necessitie, that he holdeth the contrary to be heresie, and those to be heretikes, that hold this difference to arise rather of a politike constitution of the Church to auoyd Schisme, then of the institution of the Apostles: *lib. 1. de Clericis, c. 14.* Yea they hold them to be no Churches at all, which are not vnder the gouernement of Bishops, but of other ouersees, and superintendents: *Sanè ego, nec ecclesiam ibi intelligere possum &c.* Surely I see not (saith one) how there can be any Church, where there is no Bishop: *Espens. in 1. Tim. 194. b.* And so is it in a late decree of theirs out of the Councel of Paris: *distinct. 93. c. 8. Nulla ratione Clerici &c.* They in no wise are said to be Clerkes, or priests, that are not gouerned vnder the discipline of any Bishop; for such the Church in former time called *Acephali*, men without an head: Which decree if it be so vnderstood, that no Church ought to be without an head, that is, some commendable forme of discipline and gouernement, then may it well be receiued: but if it be taken strictly, that no Church can be without such Bishops, as they haue; this were both to condemne the Churches of Geneua, and Scotland, and diuers in Germanie, which haue Superintendents, and no Bishops at all; as also the Church of England, that hath Bishops, but not such, as theirs are. Let vs see some of their arguments, for the necessary difference and preeminence of Bishops by the law of God.

Argum. 1. In the old Testament, there was the high Priest as chiefe, vpon whose sentence euery matter depended, and other inferior priests vnder his obedience: in the new Testament, Bishops are as the high Priests then; and presbyters now, as the inferior priests then. *Ergo*, by the Law of God there is a difference. *Bellarm.*

Answ. First, the high Priest in the Law was a figure of Christ, who is the high Priest of the new Testament, and chiefe Shepheard. 1. Pet. 5. 4. and therefore this type being fulfilled in Christ, cannot properly be applyed to the external Hierarchie of the Church. Secondly, if euery Bishop be this high Priest, then haue you lost one of your best arguments for the Pope, whom you would haue to be the high Priest in the Church. Thirdly, a difference notwithstanding we grant of prioritie and order, but not of princely dominion, both in the Priests of the old law, and the Ministers of the Gospel. Fourthly, it is vntrue, that all things were gouerned onely at the will of the high Priest, for the other Priests also were his assistants, and did debate matters in Councel with them. And this was that *συνέδριον*, the Sanedrim or Councel, Act. 5. 34. wherein together

with the high Priests were assembled other Elders also, called *Presbyteri*, Presbyters, Act. 4.8. 23. And this one of your owne writers confesseth: *Et Synagoga, & postea Ecclesia seniores habuit, &c.* Both the Synagogue and afterward the Church had certaine Elders, without whose counsell, nothing was done: which Seigniorie, by what negligence it was growen out of vse, S. *Ambrose* modestly confesseth hee knew not; *Esponc. in 1. Timoth. 5. vers. 1.* Fiftly, S. *Hierome* reasoneth thus, that if *Moses, qui potuit solus praesse*: that if *Moses*, who might himselfe onely haue beene Ruler of the people, yet chose vnto him 70. Elders, together with whom hee iudged the people: so should Bishops and Presbyters *in commune regere*; gouerne the Church in common, imitating *Moses*; *Hieron. Euag.* If *Moses* had partners in the gouernement of the ciuill state, there is no question, but the high Priest had likewise in the ecclesiasticall.

Argum. 2. Christ ordayned 12. Apostles, and 70. Disciples beside, betweene whom there was great difference, the Bishops succeed the Apostles, the Priests come in the place of the Disciples: *Ergo.*

Answ. First, *Bellarmine* here disputeth not to the point, for he is not onely to proue a simple difference and distinction, which we graunt: but a Princely preeminence, which hee shall neuer shew. Secondly, not onely Bishops, but all faithfull Pastors and Ministers are the Apostles successors: as *Ignatius* witnesseth *epistol. ad Trallianos. Subditi estote &c.* Be ye subiect to the College of the Presbyters, as to the Apostles of the Lord: though in the same place he compare the Bishops to Christ, the priests to his Apostles, as noting a difference; yet it is sufficient, for that purpose we alledge it, that they also are resembled to the Apostles. Thirdly, that Priests succeed in the place of the Apostles, and that Deacons are in stead of the 70. Disciples: and not, as he saith: thou it is euident out of their owne decrees, *distinct. 68. c. 9. Damasus, non amplius, quàm duos ordines, &c.* We reade but of two orders among the Disciples of Christ, that is, of the twelue Apostles and the 70. Disciples: And who are now in the place of those, *Innocentius* sheweth, *decret. Greg. lib. 1 tit. 14. c. 9. Hos soles Primitiua Ecclesia &c.* The primitiue Church onely had these two sacred orders, of Priests and Deacons. Fourthly, his argument concludeth not, Apostles were aboue Disciples: *Ergo*, Bishops &c. vnlesse he do assume thus, but Bishops are Apostles: which is denied by *Ignatius*, who though he were neere to the Apostles time, being the third Bishop of Antioch after *Peter*, and had seene Christ after his resurrection; yet writing to the Antiochians, saith, *Hac non vti Apostolus praecipio*: I do not command these things as an Apostle.

Argum. 3. S. *Paul* saith to *Timothie*: *Receiue no accusation against an Elder but vnder two or three witnesses*: 1. Timoth. 5. Here *Timothie* Bishop of Ephesus, is made iudge of the Priests and Ministers: *Ergo*, in the Apostles time a difference. &c. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, it may be doubted whether *Timothie* were so ordayned by the Apostle Bishop of Ephesus, as now a Bishop is set ouer his diocesse: for then the Apostle would neuer haue called him so often from his charge as he doth, and employed him in the seruice of other Churches; as he sendeth him to Corinthus, 1. Cor. 6. 10. to the Thessalonians to confirme their faith, 1. Thess. 2. and to other Churches beside. It is most like, that *Timothie* had the place and calling of an Euangelist, whose office was to second the Apostles in their ministerie, and to water that, which the Apostles had planted. And that the calling of Euangelists and Bishops, which were Pastors, was diuers, it appeareth by S. *Paul* Ephes. 4. 11. *He hath giuen some Apostles, some Prophets, some Euangelists, some Pastors &c.* And that *Timothie* was such an Euangelist, it may be gathered, for that the Apostle biddeth him do the worke of an Euangelist. 2. Timoth. 4. 5. Secondly, and againe, seeing that *Timothie* was ordayned by the authoritie of the Eldership, 1. Timoth. 4. 14. which they themselues translate the Priesthood; and the Rhemists expound it of the ancient practise of the Church, when the Priests together with the Bishop lay their hands vpon him that is ordained: *ex Concil. Carthag. 4. c. 3.* and so also *Ioban. Gropperus* their owne bird doth vnderstand it; to whom also consenteth *Esponc.* in his Commentarie vpon that place: how then could *Timothie* be a Bishop strictly and precisely taken, being ordained by presbyters? Thirdly, but to admit that *Timothie* was a Bishop, or at the least; which is all one to the matter in hand, greater then a Bishop: yet cannot he conclude from hence the princely preeminence ouer priests as their subiects, and an absolute and plenarie power in them, the other excluded: for he biddeth *Timothie* not to rebuke, but to exhort the Elders as Fathers; which *Epiphanius* vnderstandeth of elder Ministers: whereby he giueth no princely dominion to *Timothie*, but a brotherly superioritie in gentle admonition. Againe, where he saith, *receiue no accusation &c.* though he speake by name to *Timothie*, directing his speech to him as the chiefe, yet he excludeth not the rest: as the holy Ghost writing to the Angels and chiefe Pastors of the seuen Churches, Apocal. 2. 3. implieth the rest of the Ministers and Church there, as may appeare by the matter of the Epistles, wherein the faults of the whole Church are reproued, and their vertues commended. Neither can it be gathered by those words of the Apostle, *Lay hands suddenly vpon no man, &c.* that *Timothie* had this sole power in himselfe: for the Apostle would not giue that to him, which he did not take to himselfe, who

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associated vnto him the rest of the Presbyterie in the ordaining of *Timothie*, 1. Tim. 4. 14. but he speaketh to him as the chiefe. Wherefore whatsoeuer yet hath been alleaged, this champion hath failed in the proofe of the princely Monarch of his mitred Bishops by the worde of God: I will come now to deliuer our owne opinion.

The Protestants.

OF the difference betweene Bishops and Priests there are three opinions: the first of *Aerius*, who did hold that all Ministers should bee equall, and that a Bishop was not, neither ought to be superiour to a Priest, neither that there was any difference at all betweene them: which opinion of his, was counted among other heresies: *Augustin. de heresib. cap. 53. Epiphan. haeres. 75.* The second opinion in the other extreame is of the Papists, as we haue seene, that would haue not only a difference, but a princely preeminence of their Bishops ouer the Clergie, and that by the word of God: and they vrge it to bee so necessarie, that they are no Churches, which receiue not their pontificall hierarchie. The third opinion is betweene both, that although this distinction of Bishops and Priests, as it is now receiued, cannot be directly proued out of Scripture, yet it is very necessary for the policie of the Church, to auoid schisme, & to preserue it in vnitie: Of this iudgement B. *Iewel* against *Harding* sheweth both *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, and *Hierome* to haue been; *Defens. Apolog. pag.* 248. And amongst the rest Saint *Hierome* thus writeth: *Apostolum perspicue docere, &c.* That the Apostle teacheth euidently, that Bishops and Priests were the same: Yet he holdeth this distinction to be necessarie for the gouernment of the Church: *Quod vnus post electus est, qui caeteris praeponeretur, in schismatis fuisse remedium*: That one afterward was chosen, to bee set ouer the rest, it was done to be a remedie against schisme: *ad Euag.* To this opinion of Saint *Hierome* subscribeth Bishop *Iewel* in the place before quoted, and a most reuerend Prelate of our Church yet liuing, in these words: I know these names bee confounded in the Scriptures, but I speake according to the manner and custome of the Church euer since the Apostles time, *Defens. apo. adu. pag.* 383. Which saying is agreeable to that of S. *Augustine*: *Secundum hanc vocabula quae ecclesiae vsus obtinuit, &c.* According to the names of honour, which the vse or custome of the Church hath obtained, a Bishop is greater then a Priest. So that *Augustine* himselfe, who was no Aerian, doth ground this distinction rather vpon ancient custome, then the Scripture. Now then of these three opinions, the two first we reiect, the one of the Papists we haue already confuted; the other of *Aerius* commeth now to be examined; the third followeth by our arguments to be confirmed. Epist. 19. ad Hieron.

That *Aerius* was iustly condemned of the Church for bringing in a popular equalitie of Ministers into the Church (though he deserued not for this opinion onely, to be counted amongst the greatest heretikes) thus we make it plaine.

Argum. 1. There was an order and prioritie amongst the Apostles themselues, though in respect of their Apostleship they were all of one authoritie: much more therefore should there bee an order and degree amongst the Ministers of the Church, who are inferiour to the Apostles.

The first part is thus proued: Act. 1. The prioritie of speaking is giuen to *Peter*, in the election of *Matthias*. Act. 15. The definitiue sentence is pronounced by S. *Iames*. Galath. 2. 7, 8. Saint *Paul* is ordained the chiefe Apostle of the vncircumcision, and Saint *Peter* of the circumcision. And amongst the Apostles themselues, some were counted the chiefe and esteemed as pillars, as *Iames*, *Cephas*, *Iohn*, Galath. 2. 2. 9. We also graunt, that *Peter*, when he confessed Christ for and in the name of the rest, had a primacie of order, and a prioritie at that time, who also for and in the name of the rest first receiued the keyes of the Church. And thus much *Cyprian* acknowledgeth: *Hoc erant caeteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, &c.* The rest of the Apostles were the same that *Peter* was, hauing like fellowship of power and honour: but the beginning is from one, that the Church may appeare to be one, *de simplicit. praelator.* Wherefore if that among the Apostles an order and prioritie may bee graunted, how much more amongst other Ministers is a difference to bee admitted?

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* saith, *God hath ordained in the Church, first Apostles, secondly Prophets, thirdly teachers, then them that doe works miracles, after that the gifts of healing, &c.* The Apostle here assigning to some the first place, to others the second, to some the third, and so to the rest, euidently sheweth, that there was a difference, and a preeminence in the gifts and callings of the Church. And seeing it cannot be denied, but that the Apostles were chiefe and superiour to all other Ministers: it followeth, that the Apostles themselues allowed a superioritie in the Ministers of the Church. And although their calling was extraordinarie, and therefore they were the chiefe; yet after their calling ceased, and they were translated, an order still for gouernment was to remaine in the Church.

Argum. 3. 1. Cor. 14. 33. the Apostle saith, *God is not the author of confusion, or disorder*: but to haue a popular equalitie amongst the Ministers, were the next way to bring in confusion, if none should bee ruled or directed by other. As S. *Hierome* well saith, *Si collis ordinem tollemus*: If you

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take away the order of the tabernacle, if all should be as one mixt bodie, and as the saying is, *Acerua*, one heape of dust, or as we say, an hodgepoch: then to small purpose are Bishops, Priests, Deacons, &c. *lib. 2. aduers. Iouinian.* His meaning is, that like as where a building is not distinguished into the parts, but lieth altogether in a rude heape, it falleth quickly to ruine and dust: so the Church being without order, soone commeth to confusion. Wherefore as the Apostle concludeth, *Let all things be done comely and in order*, 1. Cor. 14. 40: So, whosoeuer goeth about to breake the order of the Church, as *Aerius*, or whosoeuer else, is a disturber. And this may suffice by the way for the confutation of *Aerius* schismaticall opinion. Now for the confirmation of *Hieromes* iudgement.

Argum. 1. S. *Hierome* alleageth diuers places of Scripture, to shew that a Priest and a Bishop in the Apostles times were all one: as Act. 20. vers. 17. those whom the Apostle calleth Elders or Presbyters, vers. 28. he nameth Bishops, or ouerseers. Tit. 1. 5. *I left thee in Crete for this cause, to ordaine Elders or Priests:* and then he sheweth what manner of persons the Elders should be, ver. 7. for a Bishop must bee blamelesse, &c. Likewise S. *Peter*, 1. epist. 5. 1. exhorteth the Presbyters or Priests to feede the flocke, ἐπισκοποῦντες. that is, ouerseeing, from whence the name of *Episcopus*, a Bishop, is deriued. Hence he concludeth thus, *Idem ergo presbyter & Episcopus, &c.* Therefore a Bishop and Priest are all one. *Hieron. ad Euag.*

To these testimonies of Scripture diuers answeres are framed: First, *Epiphanius* answereth, that the Apostle calleth Bishops Priests, because in many Churches, for the want and penurie of sufficient Ministers, there were no Priests but Bishops, who also did the office of Priests.

But *Bellarmine* misliketh this answere: for the Apostle in his epistle to the Philippians, writeth to the Bishops and Deacons there, 1. chap. vers. 1. but in one citie there could be but one Bishop: and it is more like that there might be many Priests, then Bishops, in one citie.

Secondly, *Theodoret* answereth, that in the Apostles time the Bishops were called Apostles, and the Priests Bishops, as *Epaphroditus* is called the Apostle of the Philippians, 2. Philip. 25. and therefore the office of Priests is described vnder the name of Bishops.

Aut. First, it is more probable, that Bishops should bee called Apostles after the Apostles time, then while they liued, because that while the Apostles remained, the calling of Bishops is not thought then to haue been so necessarie as afterward: but yet after the Apostles were departed, the ancient Bishops refused to bee called Apostles, as before I shewed in *Ignatius*. And S. *Cyprian* thus writeth, *Me nullius suadela potest inclinare, &c.* No man can perswade me, that there are now other Apostles, &c. *de singularitate clericor.* Secondly, concerning the instance of *Epaphroditus*, he is called their Apostle, that is, messenger, because he brought the benevolence of that Church vnto S. *Paul*, Philipp. 4. 18. and so this word, Apostle, is taken both in the Ciuill and Canon law, in as much, that letters dimissorie graunted in the cause of appeale, by him, from whom the appeale is made, are called (*Apostoli*) letters of dismissing, or sending the cause to him, to whom the appeale is made, *Decret. p. 2. cauf. 2. quæst. 6. ca. 24. sext decret. lib. 2. tit. 15. c. 1.* Thirdly, we denie not, but that the Ministers and Pastors of the Churches were also called Apostles, in respect of their pastorall office, 1. Cor. 8. 23. but not in that sense, as the 12. Apostles were so called, but in a larger sense and more generall vse of the word: As the word Deacon or Deaconship is likewise taken sometime strictly for a speciall office of the Church, as Act. 6. there were seuen Deacons elected; sometime more largely for any office, or ministerie, as the Apostleship is called διακονία, Act. 1. 25. a Deaconship; and *Timothie* an Euangelist is called a Deacon, that is, a Minister, 1. Thessal. 3. 2. As the Apostles then in a generall acception of the word were called Deacons, so wee denie not but that Bishops and Pastors might bee called Apostles. Fourthly, that none in the Apostles time were vsually and properly knowne by that name, but the twelue onely, to whom were afterward adioyned *Paul* and *Barnabas*, it is manifest out of the Scripture, Luk. 6. 13. *Christ chose twelue, whom he named Apostles:* the name therefore of Apostle, must be of Christs giuing. And Saint *Paul* saith, 1. Cor. 12. vers. 28. Ephes. 4. 11. that God hath giuen some to be Apostles, some Pastors and Doctors: *and all are not Apostles*, vers. 29. If then some were Apostles, not all, some other Pastors, the Pastors were not Apostles. This answere therefore is insufficient.

Thirdly, *Michael Medina* a Papist thinketh, that both *Hierome*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, were in the same heresie with *Aerius*.

This erronious iudgement of his is confuted by *Bellarmine*: and it may easily bee disproued. First, seeing *Augustine* with the rest held *Aerius* to bee an heretike, how could they condemne that for an heresie in him, which they themselues maintained? Secondly, it is not like that the Church, which hath condemned that for heresie in *Aerius*, would tolerate it in the rest. Thirdly, there is great difference betweene *Aerius* opinion, and theirs: for he would haue no difference at all betweene a Bishop and a Priest: the fathers allowed a difference, holding it to be profitable for the peace of the Church: they onely affirmed, that this distinction was rather authorized by the ancient practise of the Church, then by any direct place of Scripture.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, *Bellarmine* alleageth the opinion of one *Delphinus* a popish writer, *lib. 2. de Eccles.* that by the sentence of *Hierome*, in the beginning the same men were both Bishops and Priests, not that the office of both was the same, but that then both were ioyned together in one man; and afterward, some were made Bishops onely, some Priests only.

Bellarmine also confuteth this opinion, and sheweth, that *Hierome* his meaning was, that the office of a Bishop and a Priest in the Scripture are taken to bee all one, and not for that they might be, or were sometime in one man: for thus *Hierome* saith, *epist. ad Euag. Quid facit excepta ordinatione, &c.* What doth a Bishop, beside giuing of orders, that a Priest doth not? And againe, *Communi presbyterorũ consilio, &c.* The Church was gouerned in time past by the common counsell or aduice of the Presbyters. Whereby it is cleere that *Hierome* speaketh not of the persons, but of the office. And yet more plainly, *Episcopum & presbyterum vnum esse, aliud nomen officij, &c.* That a Bishop and a Priest are all one, the one being a name of office, the other of age. So he thinketh the office to be the same, the names diuers.

The fift and last answere to the places of Scripture proposed is *Bellarmines*: who thinketh that in the Apostles time the names of Bishops and Priests were confounded, being common to all Ministers; but that the offices and functions themselues were distinguished.

Aus. First, Saint *Hierome* sheweth out of Saint *Paul*, 1. Timoth. 3. where he describeth the office of a Bishop, that not only the name of a Bishop and a Priest was taken for the same, but the office also: because the Apostle requireth the same properties and qualities in them both: *De presbytero tacetur, quia & in Episcopo presbyter continetur*: There is no mention made of a Priest, because he is contained vnder a Bishop, *Hieron. Euag.* And in the same Epistle he vrgeth that place, Tit. 1. 5. 7. where the Apostle doth not only giue the name of Bishops to Priests, but requireth the same gifts and qualities in them both. Secondly, S. *Chrysostome* vseth the same reason, *Hom. 11. in 1. ad Timot. Inter Episcopum & presbyterum interest ferè nihil, &c.* There is almost no difference betweene a Bishop and a Priest, because that vnto Priests the care of the Church is committed, and that, which the Apostle said of Bishops, doth agree vnto Priests. Thirdly, Saint *Ambrose* also vpon the same ground thus writeth: *Comment. in 1. Timoth. 3. Post Episcopum diaconatus ordinationem subiecit, &c.* He doth place the ordination of a Deacon after a Bishop: why? because there is but one ordination of a Bishop and a Priest: for both of them is a Minister (*Sacerdos*) yet the Bishop is the first among the Priests. Fourthly, likewise *Concil. Aquisgran. cap. 8.* in these words out of *Isidore* they conclude thus: *Vnde ad Timotheum de ordinatione, &c.* Hereupon the Apostle writing to *Timothie* of the ordination of a Bishop and a Deacon, speaketh nothing of Priests, because he comprehendeth them vnder the name of Bishops: *secundus etenim gradus penè coniunctus est primo*: for the second degree is almost all one with the first. Thus by the iudgement of these learned fathers, there was small difference, as betweene the names; so betweene the offices of Priests and Bishops in the Apostles time. And thus much concerning the testimonies of Scripture.

Argum. 2. Archbishops and Primates haue the same right of iurisdiction ouer other Bishops, which Bishops haue ouer simple Priests: but their authoritie and iurisdiction is rather grounded vpon the ancient custome of the Church, then any Apostolical iniunction or institution in Scripture. *Ergo.*

The second part of the reason is proued by the authoritie of S. *Hierome*, or who else was the author of the booke *de 7. Ordinib. Propter hoc est nuper Episcopalis electio, &c.* For this cause also, that is the preseruing of vnitie, the election of the Bishop is referred to the Metropolitane, &c. and now the chiefe Priests begin to endure another Priest aboue them, *non ex iure, sed necessitate*, rather of necessitie, then equitie. Also the decree of *Nicholaus* the Pope, *Can. 3. de Patriarch. Primates vel Patriarchas nihil habere priuilegij, &c.* We doe determine, that Primates and Patriarches haue no priuiledge before other Bishops, *nisi quantum*, but as farre as the sacred Canons doe graunt, and ancient custome of old time hath giuen vnto them. This also is affirmed by that reuerend and learned Prelate B. *Iewell* out of *Hierome, Defens. Apolog. p. 123.* that Bishops are subiect to Primates rather by continuance of custome, then by precept of Scripture.

Argum. 3. Bishops are said to succeede the Apostles, as S. *Cyprian* witnesseth, *lib. 2. epist. 10. ad Cornel. Hoc vel maxime frater, &c.* Brother, wee must chiefly labour for this, that we may retaine vnitie, deliuered by our Lord and his Apostles to vs their successors. But a successor commeth not in place, till the predecessor be gone: *Decret. part. 2. caus. 7. quæst. 1. c. 5. Viuente Episcopo, &c.* As long as the Bishop liueth, no man can succeede him. And *Can. 41. In vna Ecclesia, &c.* There cannot bee two Bishops in one place: *Ergo*, the Apostles could haue no successors while they liued: and they being the chiefe Pastors and Bishops of euery Church, there could be no other beside them. And although they might commit the chiefe ouersight of some Churches to some speciall men in their absence, as to *Timothie* at Ephesus, to *Titus* in Creta: yet could they not then be said properly to be the Apostles successors; and the Apostles yet being aliue, the office of Bishops was lesse needful, as a reuerend Prelate hath written. So then I conclude out of the Councell *Aquisgran. cap. 9. ex Isidor.*

Isidor. Apostolis decedentibus, successerunt Episcopi: The Apostles deceding or departing, the Bishops succeeded. Wherefore it is probable, that while the Apostles liued, Bishops were not in their full office, but after their departure.

Argum.4. If the distinction of Bishops and priests were by the commandement and institution of Christ and his Apostles, it should necessarily be enioyned vnto all Churches: for all the precepts and ordinances of Christ and his Apostles are of necessitie to be kept. 2.Thess.2.15. *Hold the ordinances which you haue beene taught, &c.* But this cannot without preiudice of many reformed Churches, be affirmed, which haue no Bishops, though they haue other Ouerseers in their stead: And although it can not be denied, but that the gouernmēt of bishops according to the vse of the primitiue Church, is very profitable for the preseruing of vnitie; yet dare we not condemne the Churches of Geneua, Heluetia, Germanie, Scotland, that haue receiued an other forme of Ecclesiasticall gouernement: as the Papists proudly affirme all Churches, which haue not such Bishops as theirs are, to be no Churches: Wherefore I cannot conclude that this speciall forme of Ecclesiasticall gouernement; is absolutely prescribed in the word: for then all those Churches, which haue not that prescript forme, whether of Bishops, or other, should be condemned as erroneous Churches. So then here is the difference betweene our aduersaries the Papists and vs: they say it is of necessitie to saluation, to be subiect to the Pope, and to Bishops and Archbishops vnder him, as necessarily prescribed in the word: but so do not our Bishops and Archbishops, which is a notable difference betweene the Bishops of the popish Church, and of the reformed Churches: *defens. answ. admonit. p.*382. Wherefore, as we condemne not those reformed Churches, which haue retained an other forme of Ecclesiasticall gouernement; so neither are they to censure our Church, for holding still the ancient regiment of Bishops, purged from the ambitious and superstitious inuentions of the popish prelacie. Let euery Church vse that forme, which best fitteth their state: in externall matters euery Church is free, not one bound to the prescription of another, so they measure themselues by the rule of the word: for if any Church shal seeme to prescribe vs to an other in those things, wherein they are left free, that saying of the Apostle may be fitly applied against them, 1.Cor.14.36. *Did the word of God spring from you, or came it vnto you only?* God may giue vnto one Church wisedome out of the word, to know what is best for their state, as well as to another. And so I conclude this point, with that saying of S. *Augustine* to the Donatist Bishops: *Tenete, quod tenetis &c.* Hold, that which you hold; you haue your sheepe, I haue my sheepe, be not troublesome to my sheepe, I am not troublesome to yours, *exposit.2 in Psal.*21. So may we say to our sisters the reformed Churches, and they likewise to vs: let them hold that gouernement they haue, we do not molest them in their course, neyther let them molest vs in ours.

Thus hitherto haue I shewed the grounds of *Hieroms* opinion concerning the distinction of Bishops and other Ministers, which is also ratified by their owne decrees, *distinct.*95 *c.5. Olim idem erat &c.* In times past a Priest was the same, that a Bishop: and before that by the instinct of the diuell sectes entred into Religion, *communi presbyterorum concilio*; The Church was gouerned by the common councell of the Presbyters: and *distinct.*93 *c.*24. *quod postea vnus electus est. &c.* that afterward one was chosen to be preferred before the rest, it was done to be a remedie against schisme: likewise that saying of *Augustine, secundum honorum vocabula*; That according to the titles of honor, which the vse of the Church hath obtained, a Bishop is greater then a Priest; is confirmed, *per.*2 *caus.*2 *qu.*7 *c.*34. And so their owne decrees conclude this matter against themselues, *distinct.*95 *c.*5. *Sicut ergo presbyteri &c.* As Priests therefore do know, that they by the custome of the Church are subiect to him, that is set ouer them; so let Bishops vnderstand, that they also by the same custome, rather then by vertue of the Lords dispensation, are greater then Priests &c. But *Hierome* thus writing, giueth no encouragement to inferior Ministers, to cast off the yoke of their superiors: but exhorteth them willingly to submit themselues; *Sta subiectus pontifici &c.* Be subiect to thy Bishop, and receiue him, as thy spirituall father. Likewise he exhorteth Bishops, *Honorent clericos &c.* let them honour their Clergie, as the Clergie, that their Clergie may honor them, as their Bishops, *distinct.*95 *c.*7. And thus the same learned father concludeth with his exhortation to them both: that they not respecting their titles, should labour together for peace, and to profite the Church: *Quomodo in legionibus & exercitu &c.* Like as in the armie, some are Generals, some Centurions, some Tribunes, but the battell being once ioyned, titles of honor cease, onely valour is required: so in this field and battell, wherein we fight against the diuell, not names and titles are to be sought for, but godly endeuour &c. *lib.*1 *aduers. Iouinian.* that whether Bishops as superiors, or Ministers as inferiors, they must ioyne together in the Lords worke, like as the Captaine and souldier fight together, the Master builder and the labourer build together.

Now to conclude this whole question, and to speake distinctly of euery point, that it may appeare how farre this difference in Ecclesiasticall functions is diuine, and wherein humane: this I iudge may safely without any contradiction be affirmed, that in this distinction of the Ministers of the Church, there is somewhat apostolicall, somewhat also politicall: and in the popish Prelacie

cie, something also antichristian and diabolicall: as I will now briefly shew in every point, by particular induction.

First, in the calling of Bishops, as they are now ordained in some reformed Church, there is somewhat diuine and Apostolicall; for it cannot be denied, but that to haue order in the Church, and to haue diuersitie of degrees and ministrations, to auoide confusion, proceedeth from the institution of Christ: And thus farre the preface to the 21. distinction may be receiued and allowed; which thus determineth, *Maiorum & minorum sacerdotum, &c.* The distinction of the greater and lesse Ministers tooke beginning from Christ in the new Testament, who did institute 12. Apostles as the greater and higher sort of Ministers, and 72. Disciples as the lesse. This then we say, is agreeable to the institution of Christ, that there should be not a popular equalitie, but a conuenient superioritie and prioritie in the Ministers of the Gospell, as S. *Paul* also sheweth, 1. Cor. 12. 28. *first Apostles, secondly Prophets, &c.* as I haue proued at large before.

Secondly, there is somewhat politicall: and that of two sorts, as touching the policie Ecclesiasticall, and Ciuill.

To the Ecclesiasticall policie in the aduancing of the dignitie of Bishops these things doe appertaine: first of all S. *Hierome* saith of confirmation committed onely to Bishops, *Discere hanc obseruationem ad honorem potius esse sacerdotij, &c.* Know that this obseruation is rather for the honour of their priesthood, then by necessitie of any law, *Hieron. aduers. Luciferian.*

Secondly, the Councell of *Aquisgrane, ca.* 8. saith, that the ordination and consecration of Ministers is now reserued to the chiefe Minister, *solum propter authoritatem*, onely for authoritie sake, least that the discipline of the Church being challenged by many, should breake the peace of the Church.

Thirdly, the author of the booke vnder *Hieromes* name *de 7. ordinib.* saith, that the consecration of Virgins, which is not now in vse in the reformed Churches, was reserued to the Bishop, for concord sake.

Fourthly, the iurisdiction of the Church, which in time past *Hierome* saith was committed to the Senate or Colledge of the Presbyters, was afterward, to auoide schisme, deuolued to the Bishop: *Distinct. 95. 5. Antequam, &c.* Before sects entered into religion, the Church was gouerned by the common councell of Presbyters. And of this Senate mention is made in the decrees: *Caus. 16. quæst. 1. c. 7. Senatum Romani, &c.* As the Romanes had their Senate, by whose counsell euery matter was dispatched; so we haue our Senate the companie of Elders.

Fiftly, S. *Ambrose* saith, 1. Tim. 3. *Episcopi & presbyteri, &c.* A Bishop and a Presbyter haue but one ordination: for they are both in the Priesthood. Whereby it may appeare, that the speciall consecration of Bishops was since ordained for the dignitie of that calling. And S. *Hierome* saith, That in the Church of Alexandria, the Presbyters did make choise of one, whom they placed in a higher degree, and called him their Bishop; like as if an armie should choose a Generall, or the Deacons should choose an industrious man, whom they make their Archdeacon, *Hieron. ad Euagr.* So it should seeme that the very election of a Bishop in those daies without any other circumstance, was his ordination.

Sixtly, in *Hieromes* time it was lawful for Priests and Ministers to preach without further licence obtained from the Bishop: as it may appeare *distinct. 95. c. 6. Qui non vult presbyteros, &c.* He that will not haue a Minister to do that, which is commanded him of God (that is to preach) would be greater then Christ, &c. And afterward: Wherefore let it bee lawfull for them to doe that in the Churches, which they are suffered to doe at Rome, in Creete, Cyprus, Italie: nay, which is more in heauen. But since, to stay the humour of contentious and schismaticall preachers, it hath seemed good to the Church to referre the allowance of preachers to the Ordinarie: according to the decree of the Laterane Councell, *sub Innocent. 3. cap. 3. Prater authoritatem, &c.* He that preacheth priuately or publikely without the authoritie of the Bishop, let him be excommunicate.

Seuenthly, for the better distinction of the offices, and discerning of their persons, it hath been thought meete by the Church, that Bishops should haue their seuerall habite and attire: *Concil. Aquisgran. c.* 113. out of *Augustine: Offeratur mihi birrhum pretiosum, &c.* If a costly garment bee offered me, it may become a Bishop, though it beseeme not *Augustine*, a poore man borne of poore parents, such a garment as a Presbyter or Deacon may weare, such an one will I haue, &c. Though *Augustine* in modestie refuse to weare a Bishops habite, yet it may bee gathered, that some vesture was seemely in them, that became not inferiour Ministers.

Eightly, diuers other constitutions haue been made in Ecclesiasticall policie, for the maintaining of the dignitie of Bishops: as *Caus. 2. quæst. 5. c. 1.* that an oth should not bee ministred to a Bishop, but in a matter of faith: and whereas one common witnesse was not taken to bee sufficient in any cause: *Caus. 4. quæst. 3. cap. 3.* yet the testimonie of a Bishop was sufficient, *Caus. 11. qu. 1. c. 36.* Likewise two or three witnesses were receiued against a Presbyter, *Caus. 2. quæst. 4. c. 1.* but a Bishop could not be condemned by fewer then twelue Bishops, *ibid. cap. 3.* These and such

like immunities haue been in Ecclesiasticall policie annexed to the dignitie of Bishops.

So also the Ciuill state hath augmented and inlarged the priuiledges and immunities of Bishops, which they haue rather by the munificence of Princes, then by diuine authoritie: and this was the assertion of *Marsilius Paduanus*, that, wherein Bishops are greater then simple Priests, and Primates then Bishops, *illud ex gratuita, &c.* that it proceeded from the franke gift of the Prince, *Prafat. in concil. Senonens.*

As first, the diuision of Prouinces and Cities, vnto Archbishops and Bishops, and the limitation of their iurisdiction was brought in by the consent of Princes: as *distinct. 99. Prouincia &c.* Prouinces were for the most part diuided before the comming of Christ, &c. And where of late the secular Primates were placed, to whom appeales were made, when they could not trauell to the Emperours Court, there now Ecclesiasticall Primates are seated, &c.

Secondly, the reuenewes and lands of Bishoprickes haue been giuen by deuout and religious Princes vnto Bishops and their successors, and diuers imperiall lawes haue been made in fauour of the maintenance of the Church: as *Cod. lib. 8. tit. 54. l. 34. Iustinian.* That a gift exceeding three hundred shillings, being made without insinuation, that is, inrolling and recording of it, should not be good, but to the Church. And *leg. 35.* A simple gift without stipulation, or tradition, that is, vnlesse it were either deliuered, or warranted, was not good, but to the Church. Likewise, *Cod. tit. 5. l. 19.* Whereas the prescription of twentie or thirtie yeeres might bee vrged against a priuate man, the Church might lay claime to the possessions thereof after an hundred yeeres. And thus by the fauourable lawes and bountifull gifts of Princes, the reuenewes of Bishops haue been inlarged.

Thirdly, the titles of honour annexed to Bishoprickes, as that they are created Barons, and made Lords of the Parliament house here in England, haue been bestowed by the liberalitie of the Kings of this realme, not yet aboue 400. yeeres since. And whereas by the Imperiall law Aduocates were made equall to Knights, as may appeare by the law of *Leo: Cod. lib. 2. tit. 7. leg. 14. Nimium prouident, &c.* They which take vpon them the defence of causes, doe no lesse profit mankinde, then if they did defend their countrie by warre and weapons. By the same reason also spirituall Pastors shall bee preferred before both, which doe not defend mens bodies as Captaines, nor their goods as Aduocates, but watch ouer their soules. And as it followeth in the same law: *Nec enim solos vestro imperio militare credimus, &c.* Neither doe we thinke that they onely fight for our Empire, that vse swords and shields, but aduocates also, &c. yea and much more spirituall Pastors doe fight and striue by their spirituall weapons of teares and prayers. So that by the equity of this law, the Pastors of mens soules are not to be held inferiour to Lords and Knights.

Fourthly, the iudgement of matrimoniall and testamentarie causes, and of other such like matters, hath been reserued vnto Bishops by the Ciuill and Imperiall authoritie, as may appeare by these particular graunts:

1 *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. leg. 28. Anthemius* made this law, that if a stranger dyed, giuing towards the redeeming of captiues, if he appointed no executor, the Bishop of the place should take vpon him to execute the Testators will to the foresaid vse, &c.

2 *Cod. lib. 6. tit. 54. leg. 10. authentic.* If a straunger dye intestate, his goods shall be deliuered to the Bishop to be kept for the next heire.

3 *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 7. leg. 1. Valentinian.* It is referred to the care of Bishops, that victuals be not sold at excessiue prices in the time of dearth.

4 *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 7. leg. 10. Honor.* It is committed to the Bishops to call vpon the Iudges, that the prisoners be prouided for.

5 *Ibid. leg. 12.* It belongeth to Bishops, to take order for captiues redeemed, that they bee not wronged, or molested after their returne.

6 *Ibid. leg. 11.* Bishops haue charge to see the bookes of Sorcerie burned, and what other bookes soeuer tending to impietie.

7 *Ibid. leg. 18.* If a man confesse he haue receiued a piece of money, in hope thereof, being promised it onely, and afterward receiue it not, he may make his complaint before the Bishop of the place.

8 *Lib. 3. tit. 1. leg. 14. authentic.* If the Ordinarie Iudge be suspected, the Bishop of the place shall heare the cause together with the Iudge, and so determine it.

9 *Lib. 3. tit. 43. leg. 15. Iustinian.* A law is made against dice-play, and the charge thereof is committed to Bishops.

10 *Cod. Theodosian. lib. tit. de Episcopal. iudic. leg. 1.* It was lawfull to any man in the wager of law, yea vpon the point of sentence, to referre his cause to the iudgement of the Bishop, and they were to stand vnto it, though his aduersarie gainsaied.

Thus wee see also how in Ciuill policie the dignitie of Bishops, by the fauour of Christian Emperours, hath been inlarged: And hitherto I haue shewed, what is to bee iudged politicall in the

distinction

distinction of Bishops from the rest of the Clergie, both as touching the Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall policie.

Now in the last place I will briefly declare, what hath been brought in beside the first institution of Bishops, by ambition and pride into the popish prelacie.

First, the Bishops of ancient time were diligent preachers, *Distinct. 43. c. 5. Nicholaus: Dispensatio, &c.* The dispensation of the heauenly seede is committed to vs; woe vnto vs, if he sow it not, if we hold our peace. But they allow vnpreaching prelates, and say, that want may bee recompenced with other gifts of gouernment, *Rhemist. annot. 1. Tim. 5. vers. 17.*

Secondly, Bishops in times past did shew themselues humble and lowly in their apparell, diet, familie: For apparell, *Augustine* saith, *Fateor vobis de preciosa veste erubesco, &c.* I confesse vnto you, I am ashamed of a costly garment, it becommeth not this profession, *ex concil. Aquisg. ca. 113.* For diet, order was taken: *Lateran. sub Alexand. c. 10.* that Prelates, *tria tantùm fercula haberent*, should haue but three dishes of meate. And concerning their traine, it was decreed, *Concil. Basilens. append. ca. 4.* That Cardinals should haue but tenne Patriarches, eight Archbishops, sixe to goe before them in the streete, whether they went a foote, or on horsebacke. But now who seeth not, how farre the ambition of popish prelates hath exceeded these ancient rules: for costlines of apparell, their Clergie hath been so wanton, that they were constrained to decree, that none of the Clergie should weare any guilt spurres, or buttons, or shoe bands of gold; *Concil. Lateran. sub Innocent. 3. cap. 16. Ruarius* the Cardinall vnder *Sixtus 4.* did weare cloath of gold, and vsed bed couerings of gold, and had siluer basons for his priuie vse: And their statelines was such, that vpon festiuall daies, the Bishop comming forth in procession, would be carried vpon mens shoulders; against the which vse there is a decree extant, *Concil. Bracarens. 3. can. 5.* And thus hath the popish prelacie degenerated from the ancient simplicitie.

Thirdly, in former time Bishops depended not as seruants and subiects one vpon another, but were as the chiefe Pastors in their seueral Churches and charges. *Distinct. 93. ca. 24. Vbicunque fuerit Episcopus, &c.* Whersoeuer a Bishop is, whether at Rome, Eugubium, Constantinople, they are all of the same merite or worthines, and of the same priestly authoritie. But now popish prelates are all subiects and slaues to the Pope, being bound vnto him by oth of obedience and fealtie.

Fourthly, Bishops of former times had their singular circuites and dioceses allotted them in such sort, that they might themselues haue the ouersight of them: for they were bound by the Canons to visit euery parish Church euery yeere in their dioceese, *can. 10. quæst. 10. c. 11. ex concil. Toletan. 4.* And againe, *Extravag. communi. lib. 1. tit. 6. c. 1. Ioann. 22.* sheweth a reason why he diuided certaine dioceses some into two, some into more, *Quod in earum singulis singulorum vultus nequibat, vt decerat, vnicus pastor inspicere, &c.* Because one Pastor or Bishop, was not able to know the face of euery one: that is, to haue a particular knowledge of the parishes in his dioceese. But since those times, popish prelates haue ambitiously sought to inlarge their dioceese, and to incroach vpon the limits of others, respecting more the largenes of their iurisdiction, then the discharge of their Episcopall dutie. This enormitie misliked some of their owne Popes and chiefe patrones: and therefore *Iohn 22.* diuided the Bishopricke of Tholouse into fiue dioceses, *Extrau. communi. lib. 3. tit. 2. c. 5.* giuing this reason thereof, *Quia durum erat & difficile, &c.* Because it was an hard and difficult matter, that in so large a dioceese recourse should be had to one man, &c.

Fiftly, the Bishops of the Primitiue Church were readie to forgiue, and were full of mercie, and did make intercession to the Magistrate for offenders, yea for schismatikes; as *Caus. 23. quæst. 5. c. 1. Augustine* is a mediatour to *Marcellinus* for the Donatists: *Sic succense iniquitati, &c.* So punish iniquitie, as you forget not humanitie. And *Cyprian* excellently saith, *lib. 1. epistol. 3. Remitto omnia, &c.* I remit euery thing, I dissemble many things; yea sinnes committed against God, I doe not strictly examine; yea in remitting of offences I my selfe do almost offend. But popish prelates are of a contrarie spirit, who were most cruel suckers of the blood of the Saints, condemning them to death, and deliuering them ouer to the secular power to be executed, as the high priest did Christ to *Pilate* to be crucified: contrarie to their owne Canons, *Caus. 33. qu. 3. dist. 1. c. 23. Qui hominem tradidit, &c.* He that deliuereth or betraieth a man, killeth him, as our Lord saith, *He hath the greater sinne that hath deliuered me vnto thee.*

Sixtly, in the former ages of the Church, Christian Bishops did not hold themselues exempt from the secular power; *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. leg. 34. Omnes, &c.* All, of what condition soeuer, whether Bishops or Clerkes, or Monks, are subiect, *iurisdictioni præsidali*, to the iurisdiction of the president. But now popish prelates challenge a priuiledge to be freed from the Ciuill iurisdiction, according to the proude decree of *Boniface, caus. 11. qu. 1. ca. 8. Nullus Episcopus.* That no Bishop should bee conuented before a secular Iudge neither in ciuill nor criminall causes.

Seuenthly, in elder times a Bishop could not, *sine concilij examine deijcere presbyterum*, without the examination of a Councel depriue a Priest, *Concil. Hispalens. 2. can. 7. Solus honorem dare potest, &c.* The Bishop may conferre Priesthood alone, but he cannot take it away alone, *distinct. 67. c. 2.*

and the same is ratified by *Innocentius* 3. *decret. Gregor. lib.* 1. *tit.* 7. *ca.* 2. But of late daies popish Ordinaries tooke vpon them, *ex officio*, in their Consistories, by their sole authoritie, to deprive the Ministers of the Gospell both of their liuing and life to, contrarie to their owne Canons.

Eightly, the ancient Bishops did account of Priests as of their colleagues, *distinct.* 95. *c.* 10. And, *Concil. Carthag.* 4. *c.* 34. it was decreed, that a Bishop sitting should not suffer a Presbyter to stand before him. But the popish prelates challenge to be Princes and Lords ouer their Clergie, as wee haue seene before, and call the Clerkes vnder their iurisdiction, their subiects.

Ninthly, the Bishops of former times did admit Priests to sit in councell, and giue voices with them, *Decret. p.* 1. *distinct.* 95. *c.* 6. *Presbyteri interesse sacerdotum concilio, &c.* It was lawfull in times past for Priests to be present in the councell of Bishops, &c. But now the contrarie is practised by popish prelates, who doe proudly exclude their Clergie from giuing voice in their Synodes, and doe iustifie their doing therein.

Tenthly, the Bishops of the Primitiue Church did not take vpon them the iudgement of secular matters: *Caus.* 11. *qu.* 1. *c.* 29. *Neque iudicem, &c.* Christ hath not appointed thee either a iudge, or inquisitor of secular busines. Likewise, *Decret. Gregor. lib.* 3. *tit.* 50. *c.* 4. *Alexander* 3. decreed, *Ne Clericus insticiarius fiat principis, &c.* That a Clergie man should not be administrator of iustice to the Prince. And againe, *ibid. c.* 5. he thus writeth: *Cantuarien. Archiepiscop. Ne quis sacerdotium habeat vicecomitis, aut præpositi secularis, &c.* That no Bishop should beare the office of a Viscount, or of a secular gouernour. But it was an vsuall thing for popish prelates to bee Lord Treasurers and Chancellors vnto Kings, and beare other more secular offices.

Hitherto as I haue shewed, how popish prelates haue swarued from the ancient Canons; so will I briefly declare, how they haue degenerated from that perfect paterne and forme of a Bishop, according to S. *Pauls* description, 1. Timoth. 3.

11 First, S. *Pauls* Bishop might be the husband of one wife: which is not so to bee vnderstood, as though he could bee no Bishop that had been twice married, but not such an one as had two or three wiues at once, according to the corrupt vse of the Iewes, and so S. *Hierome* expoundeth it, as shall be shewed afterward: it was lawfull then in the Primitiue Church for Bishops to be maried. And in the Councel of Gangra, rehearsed also in the decrees, *dist.* 28. *c.* 15. it was decreed vnder paine of anathematisme, that no man should make any difference betweene a maried and vnmaried priest. But the practise of popish prelates is otherwise, who cannot abide honest matrimonie, yet haue been knowne to resort vnhonestly to concubines: as two of their Bishops, that were at the Councell of Trent, were slaine being deprehended in adulterous acts, *ex Protestat. Concion. German. aduers. concil. Tridentin.*

12 Secondly, S. *Paul* requireth, that his Bishop should be vigilant and diligent in his charge: and accordingly the Canons of the Church haue prouided, *Sardicens. can.* 14. *Episcopus, &c.* That a Bishop should not be absent from his Church aboue three Lords daies. And *Concil. Carthag.* 5. *can.* 5. *Placuit vt nemini, &c.* No Bishop shall haue licence, leauing his Cathedrall Church, to make his abode in any other Church, no not within his dioceese. And it is memorable, which is recorded of Pope *Gregorie* 11. that as he admonished a Bishop to goe home to his Church, and he againe replying, said: Why he, that was to giue example to others, did not returne to Rome; for at that time the Pope had his seate in France: the Pope thereupon remoued his Court to Rome out of France, where the Popes had soiourned by the space of 74. yeeres. But now it is vsuall for popish prelates, both Cardinals and others, to follow the Popes Court, and very seldome to visite their Churches.

13 Thirdly, S. *Pauls* Bishop must be giuen to hospitalitie: so likewise the ancient Canons require, *distinct.* 83. *c.* 1. *Episcopus pauperibus*, The Bishop must minister meate and raiment to the poore that are not able to labour with their owne hands, &c. But it hath been the vse of some popish prelates, in stead of the poore and impotent, to keepe Horses, Hawkes, and Hounds: as *William Longchampe*, Chancellor and chiefe Iustice to King *Richard* the 1. is reported to haue brought with him where he lodged, in any Religious house or other, such superfluitie of Horses, Dogs, and Hawkes, that the place was worse three yeeres after, *Fox. pag.* 246. *ex Matth. Parisien.* Likewise *Ludouicus* Cardinal Aquileg vnder *Eugenius* 4. is said of the goods of the Church to haue kept in the stead of the poore, horse and hounds, *ex Balæo & alijs.*

Fourthly, S. *Pauls* Bishop must be *διδακτικὸς*, a man of sufficiencie, apt to teach, both able and willing: but of willingnes and diligence in preaching see before artic. 1. So also their decrees, *distinct.* 36. *c.* 2. *Zozimus: Qui ecclesiasticis disciplinis, &c.* He that is not endued with ecclesiasticall learning, ought not to be preferred to be a Bishop, &c. *Decret.* 49. *c.* 2. *Cæcum offert, &c.* He offereth a blind sacrifice, that admitteth one that is vnlearned. But such ignorant popish prelates did and doe yet abound amongst them; such as the Bishop of Cauaillon was, who thus said to the Merindolians, That it was not necessarie to saluation to vnderstand the articles of the Creede: for there were many Bishops, and Doctors of Diuinitie, whom it would trouble to expound the

Paul

pastor ouer the Creed. *Fox p.949.* Such an one also was the Bishop of Dunkelden in Scotland, who finding great fault with *Thomas Forret* Martyr, because hee preached euery Lordes day to his Parishioners, said vnto him; I thanke God, I neuer knew what the old and new Testament was, I will know nothing but my portous and pontifical. Of these words rose a common by-word in Scotland, yee are like the Bishop of Dunkelden, that knew neither old nor new Law, *pa. 366. ex Registro Scotiæ.* And least that this singular ignorance might seeme onely a personall fault in this Bishop, he saith in the same place; We are not ordained to preach, speaking of the popish prelacie it selfe: and no maruell, that their Bishops were so ignorant; for *Alphonsus* saith, that diuers of the Popes were so ignorant, that they knew not their Grammar. Yet it is contrary to their owne Canons, *decret. Greg. lib. 1 tit. 14. c. 15. Honor.* 3. deposeth a Bishop, *ob defectum Grammaticæ:* Because he knew not his Grammar, neither had read so much as *Donatus.*

Fifthly, S. *Pauls* Bishop must not be *αἰσχροκερδὴς*, giuen to filthie lucre, according also to their owne 15
canons, *Caus. 10. qu. 3. c. 7. In lucris animarum, &c.* Let the Bishops seeke rather the lucre of mens soules, then to pray vpon their goods. But who list to reade the grieuances exhibited by the States of Germanie, at the assemblie of Norenberge, *anno* 1523. shall see how the practises of popish Prelates tended all to this ende, to rake commoditie to themselues: they made gaine of marriages, of pardons, excommunications, hallowing of Churches, christening of belles, burials, licensing of concubines, *Fox. p. 862.* they made gaine of dedicating of Churches, giuing of orders, for the which a *pramisso* was made, they should take nothing, *concil. Cabilonens. sub Carol. cap. 16.* Bishops exacted yeerely pensions of their Clergie, which is prohibited in the same councell, *cap. 17.* they let out their iurisdictions to farme, which enormitie is redressed, *concil. Lateranens. p. 1. c. 13.* And in the councell held at Oxford vnder *Stephen* the Archbishop, it was decreed, that no Archdeaconrie or other spirituall office should be let out to farme: they also made gaine of licences to teach; which is forbidden, *concil. Lateranens. p. 1. c. 18. Pro licentia docendi &c.* That no man should take any thing for a licence to teach &c. In these, and many such like things, their greedie couetousnesse appeareth, contrary to the Apostles rule.

Sixtly, S. *Pauls* Bishop must be, *ἐπιεικὴς*, gentle, courteous, not cruell, and vncharitable in pur- 16
suing euery offence, and that vnto death. But the practise of these bloudie popish Bishops hath been too well knowne in England: their owne law saith, that when a Clerke is degraded, effectual intercession must be made for him, *vt citra mortis periculum, &c.* that he might be punished without danger of death, *decret. Greg. lib. 5 tit. 40. c. 27. Innocent.* 3. And concerning lay-men, they should protest, *quod pœnam sanguinis &c.* That they desire not or intend their bloud, *sext. decret. lib. 5. tit. 4. c. 2. Bonif.* 8. But it is certaine, in the late persecutions here in England, they intended nothing els but blood.

Seuenthly, S. *Pauls* Bishop must be, *ἄμαχος*, a man not giuen to fight, or contend, not warlike: and their canons agree. *Caus. 23. qu. 8. c. 19. Nicholaus, Episcopi non debent militaribus.* Bishops 17
must not be occupied in militarie affaires: but popish bishops haue often, and yet do take vpon them to be Captaines, and Generals of the field; as I haue giuen an instance before in *Hugh Spencer* bishop of Norwich, who was Pope *Vrbans* the 6. his Champion, to warre against the Antipope: and in Cardinall *Ballua*, who was chiefe Muster master vnder *Lodowic.* 11. And a Cardinall at this time, or very lately, was the King of Spaine his Lieutenant generall in the Low countries.

Eightly, S. *Pauls* Bishop must be, *φιλάγαθος*, a louer and patrone of good men; Tit. 1. 8. as your owne Canons also, *dist. 86. c. 14. Primum opereris &c.* First of all do good to the household of faith: it is a great sinne, if a faithfull man do want, and thou knowest of it: but popish Prelates were persecutours of good men, as *Sampsonius* for reprouing one for swearing, was suspected for a Lutherane, and suffered at Paris, *anno* 1551. *Fox p. 904. Tomkins* was a godly man, who, when any man came to him about any businesse, would alwayes begin with prayer, yet was he most cruelly handled of *Bonner*, first his hand burned, afterward all his body, *p.* 1534. And their owne conscience wil tell them that Master *Bradford* was an holy and innocent man, yet by them cruelly slaughtered: by these, and infinite examples more, we may see how well they loued good men.

Ninthly, S. *Pauls* Bishop must be, *δίκαιος*, iust; Tit. 1. 8. But their proceedings were most vn- 18
iust and indirect: first their owne law saith, *Ne iudicium fiat in tenebris &c.* That no Iudgement should be giuen secretly, in the darke &c. *decret. Greg. lib. 1 tit. 29. c. 24.* Yet their Spanish inquisition is all in secret and silence, nothing done openly, till the Innocents are brought forth to execution. Againe, *Caus. 2. qu. 8. c. 7. Euphemian. Qui crimen intendit &c.* He that wil accuse must come openly into iudgement &c. Their owne law in capital matters enforceth an accuser to be produced, but they haue proceeded vnto sentence of death without either accuser or witnesse. Againe, their owne law saith, *Innocentes ad pœnas cum nocentibus*: Innocentes should not haue like punishment to offenders, *extrau. commun. lib. 3 tit. 9. c. 1. Ioan.* 23. But they haue condemned Innocents, as children, madde men, and such as recanted, and submitted themselues, as afterward *Error.* 105. of this first Centurie, it followeth to be declared more at large.

20 Tenthly, and laſtly, S. *Paules* Biſhop muſt not be *αὐθάδης*, diſobedient, or rebellious, Tit. 1. 7. which qualitie, as the Apoſtle requireth in the ſame place in the children of Biſhops, that they ſhould be obedient and dutifull; ſo much more is it requiſite in Biſhops themſelues to be ſubiect to their higher powers alſo, as the Apoſtle teacheth, Rom. 13. 1. And hereunto agree their owne Canons, *can. 11. qu. 1. c. 20. Illud eſt &c.* This is that, which we require of you, that you ſend vnder ſafe cuſtodie *Paulus* Biſhop Aquileienſ. and the Biſhop of Millaine to the moſt gentle Emperour *&c. Gregor.* This Canon ſubiecteth Biſhops to the ciuill Maieſtie: yet popiſh Prelats haue continually ſhewed them ſelues ſtubburne againſt their Soueraignes; as *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of Canterbury did worthily procure the Kings diſpleaſure, which was *Henry* the 2. and thereupon was exiled, becauſe he would not yeeld obedience to the Kings lawes, but conditionally, *Saluo ordine ſuo*, Sauing the priuiledges of his order: ſee the ſtorie, *Fox. p.* 207. Such another ſtout Champion, was *William Longchampe*, Chauncellour and chiefe Iuſtice, and Viceroy to King *Richard* the 1. while hee was at the ſiege of Ieruſalem: who being in his ruffe, regarded not the Kings letters ſent vnto him, but impriſoned, and otherwiſe ſhamefully vſed the Kings brother, cauſing him to be haled and drawne through the myre in the ſtreets. *plur. apud Fox p.* 247.* Like vnto theſe was *Hugo* Biſhop of Lincolne, who traiterouſly ioyned with *Lewis* the French Kings ſonne againſt King *Iohn*, and afterward *Henry* the 3. his ſonne; and therefore was put to a fine of 1000. marks for his Biſhopricke: ſee more p. 258. And other ſuch like trecherous prankes this popelike Biſhop played againſt his Soueraigne, and for his manly actes was canonized a Saint in the Popes kalendar, as trayterous *Becket* was before; and this is that goodly ſaint *Hugh*, that ſhould haue his day the 17. of November, whereat the Papiſts ſtorme, that we plet the Coronation of her Maieſtie, in his ſtead: which ioyfull Day, God graunt we may yet many yeers ſolemnize as we do, to the glory of God. And thus haue I ſhewed how far popiſh Prelats haue departed from the firſt inſtitution of a Biſhop: And thus much concerning the diſtinction and degree of Biſhops, both what therein is diuine and Apoſtolicall, what humane and politicall.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING THE office and title of Cardinals.

The Papiſts.

71. Error. *Bellarmine* would faine haue the office of Cardinals, as ancient as the Apoſtles times: and the name to be worthily appropriated to the See of Rome, that as the Pope himſelfe by his prudence and holines, is, *tanquam cardo Eccleſiæ*, to the Church as the hingell to the doore, vpon the which it is turned and borne vp: ſo his Counſellers and aſſiſtants ſhould be called Cardinals, hauing the care of the Vniuerſall Church: but the Ieſuite, beſide ſome vaine ſhew of mothwome antiquitie, hath not one good argument to proue the name, and office of Cardinals, to be either ancient or commendable. Their eſpeciall office, as they are Cardinals, is to elect and chuſe the Pope, and to be aſſiſtant vnto him in Counſell, for the gouernment of the vniuerſall Church, and in this reſpect the Cardinals are preferred before Biſhops. *Bellarm. cap. 16.*

For the firſt, he ſheweth the office of the Cardinals in being aſſiſtant to the Pope in the affaires of the Church to be moſt profitable and commodious in three reſpects.

First, that by this meanes the Pope hath his ſenate or Councell alwaies readie, with whom he may conſult euerie day if he will for the affaires of the Church: Secondly, for that Biſhops could not be aſſembled without detriment of their Churches, from the which they cannot be conueniently abſent. Thirdly, the Cardinals are more exerciſed and experienced in matters of State.

Contrà. First, for the ſpace of 800. yeares by his owne confeſſion, but as the truth is, a thouſand yeares, the Church of Rome was gouerned by the counſell and aduiſe of the Clergie there without theſe Cardinals; and it was as well gouerned or better, then ſince: why might not the Pope content himſelfe as well with that courſe, as his predeceſſors? Secondly, the Pope buſieth himſelf with more then he need, to entermeddle with other Churches, of which vnneceſſary buſi-
81 nes if he would exonerate himſelf, he ſhuld as little need a Colledge of Cardinals as other Biſhops, if he would holde himſelfe contented with his owne dioceſſe. Thirdly, ſome of your Cardinals are Biſhops, and haue dioces, all of them haue titles belonging to their charge, therefore they can no better be abſent, then Biſhops without detriment of their Churches. Fourthly, and whereas he ſaith Cardinals are exerciſed in State matters: in deede they know too much of Princes ſecrets: neither is it their calling to ſtudie ſuch matters, but ought rather to giue themſelues to preach the Word according to their office: and as for the managing of Ciuill and State buſines, it belongeth to the Senate of Rome: they ſhould onely deale with Eccleſiaſticall affaires.

For the ſecond: though Biſhops in reſpect of their Epiſcopall iuriſdiction are before Cardinals, yet they for the regiment of the vniuerſall Church, and for that they onely elect the vniuerſall Biſhop, are preferred before Biſhops, *Bellarm. cap. 14.*

Contrà.

Contra. First, in that Cardinals meddle with the busines of the vniuersall Church, therein they are but intruders: for euery diocesse should be left to the proper Bishops thereof. Secondly, against, in that they take vpon them to elect the Pope, they are but therein vsurpers, and doe apparant wrong to three states, the Emperour, Clergie, People, as I haue shewed before. Thirdly, it is contrarie to the seuenth Canon of the Trullane Councell, that a Deacon in any office of the Church, should be preferred before a Presbyter, and so consequentlie, not a Cardinall Deacon should in that behalfe be excepted.

The Protestants.

That neither the name of Cardinals, as proper to Rome, is ancient, nor their office, or either of them lawfull or commendable, but vsurped and Antichristian: thus briefly it is shewed.

1 In *Augustines* time it was a common name, vsually applyed, both in the good and euill part, to chiefe and principall men of any place, or sect: as he calleth the ringleaders of the Donatists, *Cardinales Donatistas*, Cardinall or captaine Donatists, *de baptism. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. Surely, if it then had been onely due to the assistants of the Romane Bishop, *Augustine* had been much to blame to applie the name to Heretikes. Also there were not onely Cardinals in the Church of Rome, but in other Churches also, as *dist.* 71. *c.* 5. *Gregorie* giueth licence to the Bishop of Naples, *ad Gratianum cardinandum*, to make one *Gratian* a Cardinall of that Church. And *dist.* 74. *c.* 6. the same *Gregorie* licenceth the Bishop of Syracuse, *constituere presbyterum Cardinalem*, to make one *Cosmas* a Presbyter Cardinall there. *Onuphrius* also a witnesse of their owne, doth testifie for vs in this point, that Cardinall priests, and Cardinall deacons were so called, because they were set ouer other Priests and Deacons of the same Church: *de Cardinal. titulis.* So then this name or title of Cardinalship is not proper or peculiar to the Church of Rome.

2 *Augustine* thus writeth to *Hierome*, *Quamuis secundum honorum vocabula*, saith he, *Episcopatus presbyterio maior sit, tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo, minor est.* Though according to the custome of the Church, a Bishop be greater then a Priest, yet *Augustine* a Bishop in many things is inferior to *Hierome* a Priest. Now *Hierome* was a Priest of Rome, and a Cardinall, as some of our aduersaries thinke, and therefore they picture him commonly in a red gowne and habit of a Cardinall: yet you see *Augustine* as a Bishop was before him, though for his great learning he putteth himselfe behind him. Epistol. 19.

Bellarmine here telleth vs very boldly, that *Hierome* was a Priest of Antioch, not of Rome, though he helped *Damasus* to write letters there: and therefore *Augustine* doubted not to preferre a Bishop in degree before him. c. 14.

Contra. First, whereas he allegeth the 61. epistle of *Hierome*, to proue him a Priest of Antioch, there is no such thing: but he onely saith, *Ego Antiochiam deserui, &c.* I left Antioch. Secondly, herein *Bellarmine* is contrarie to the common opinion and tradition of their Church: for they vse commonly to picture *Hierome* with a red Hat and gowne, like a Cardinall of Rome. Thirdly, this bold assertion of his without ground is contrarie to *Hierome* himselfe, who thus writeth, *Praefat. ad Paulinian. Dum in Babylone versarer, & purpuratae meretricis, &c.* While I was conuersant in Babylon, and a tenant to the purple whore, I began to mutter somewhat of the holy Ghost: but the whole Senate of the Pharisees gainsaid me, &c. and I straighteway returned to Ierusalem, &c. By this it appeareth, that *Hierome* was not onely a young scholler at Rome, but then began to bee a professor, and disputer, and most like to haue entered into orders: for without a calling he would not haue offered himselfe to publike conference and disputation; and when he left Rome, immediatly he went to Ierusalem, and there continued: It is not like then he could bee a Presbyter at Antioch. Fourthly, *Hierome* himselfe condemneth that disorder at Rome for Deacons to bee preferred before Priests; *Quid mihi profers vnius vrbis, &c.* What doe you tell me of the custome of one citie? *Hieron. Euagrio.* Fiftly, *Augustine* also in another place complayneth of one *Falcidius* a Deacon of Rome, *qui duce stultitia*, saith he, *diaconos presbyteris coaequare contendit:* Who being led or caried away with folly, did goe about to make Deacons equall vnto Priests. Is not the same folly now generally practised in Rome, or a greater? for they doe not onely preferre Cardinall deacons before Priests, but euen before Bishops and Archbishops: in *Augustines* time this was counted a great follie. Quaest. vet. & nou. Testa. 101.

Lastly, if we looke backe into former times, we shall find, that neither the office, nor dignitie of the Cardinals, nor any part thereof, is of any great antiquitie.

As concerning their office, it is to be assistant to the Pope in the regiment of the vniuersall Church, and to make choyce of a new when the See is voyd: As for the first it was impugned, an. 402. by the sixte Councell of Carthage, who writ thus to *Celestinus* Bishop of Rome concerning the sending abroad of his legates: *Executores vestros Clericos quibusq; potentibus nolite mittere, nolite concedere, ne fumosum typhum seculi in ecclesiam Christi videamur inducere:* They of the Clergie your agents, we pray you send not, neither grant at euery great mans request, least the secular vain-

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glorious pompe should be brought into the Church: Their meaning is, that it was not seemely for a Bishop to send foorth his legates and messengers, as temporall princes haue their ambassadours.

Anno 1159. *Fredericke* that famous Emperour sent this message to *Adriane* the fourth: *Cardinalibus vestris ciuitates nostra non patent, quia non videmus eos prædicatores, sed prædatores; non pacis corroboratores, sed pecunia raptores, &c.* We shut vp our cities against your Cardinals, because we see that they preach not, but pray vpon the people; they doe not ratifie peace, but rake together pence. *Non orbis reparatores, sed auri insatiabiles corrosores.* They doe not repaire the world, but empaire their wealth.

Now concerning the other part of their office in electing the Pope, it is but an vsurpation, and that of no great antiquitie: for in times past the Clergie and people of Rome were wont to choose their Bishop and the Emperour confirmed him. But afterward as the ambition of the Popes increased, so also by degrees the ancient forme of election was altered: First, *anno.* 817. the Emperour was excluded by *Stephanus* the fourth, from the election of the Pope, but not from his consecration: then came *Paschalis* the first, who depriued the Emperor of all right either in electing, or consecrating the Bishop of Rome. For by his subtill allurement the Emperour *Ludouicus* resigned his interest in such elections to the Romanes. After him *Adrianus* the third, *Leo* the ninth, *Alexander* the second, *Gregory* the seuenth, *Calixtus* the second, did one after another as by violence thrust the Emperour from hauing any authoritie in electing the Pope: thus was the Emperour excluded. As for the consent of the people it was cleane cut off, *anno.* 1000. by Pope *Iohn* 19. The Clergie yet had their voice, which was empaired at the first, when *Nicholas* the second made a decree, that the Pope should not be chosen without the consent of the Cardinals *an.* 1060. but afterward it was altogether taken away by *Alexander* the second, who decreed, that the Pope should be chosen onely by the Cardinals: And about this time the Cardinals began to growne credite.

Concerning the dignitie of the Cardinals, and their priuiledges, they are but very young: *An.* 1245. it was first deuised by *Innocentius* the fourth, that Cardinals should weare red hats and robes, and ride vpon their footeclothed and strapped horse. *Anno.* 1538. when *Paulus* the third held the papacie, a complaint was made to the Pope about some abuses of the Cardinals, and one chiefe was this, that the Cardinals did hold certaine Bishopricks, whereas *Cardinalatus officium & Episcopi officium incompatibilia sunt*, the office of a Cardinall, and of a Bishop are vnmatchable: *Sic Contarenus. Sadolet. Polus, Cardinales. suggestion. ad Paulum.* 3.

Now whereas the Cardinals though they be but Deacons, do sit aboue Priests, Bishops, and Archbishops: this also doth ouerthrowe the seuenth Canon of the sixt generall Councell *Trullane*, which determineth thus, *Statuimus vt diaconus, in quouis sit ecclesia officio ante presbyterum non sedeat*: We enact, that a Deacon, in what place or office of the Church soeuer, doe not sit before a Priest.

Lastly, that the office and calling of Cardinals, as it is now currant in Rome is altogether vnlawfull, and against all antiquitie, I will produce their owne witnesses, that haue found out their seuerall faults in the Cardinals.

First, that they busie themselues altogether with state matters, neglecting the office of preaching, to the which they are called. *Espenc.* thus writing to the Cardinall of Lorraine, saith: *Va ei mali tibi futurum*: Woe and euill shall be vnto you, if you doe not proceed to preach the Gospell. But some man will say, auaunt with this thy necessitie of preaching? and not much better one said vnto me of a mitred Bishop, now an hatted Cardinall: Wouldest thou haue a Bishop, or Cardinall preach? I pray you, who else, &c. and yet this prelate was of their number, that would be called reuerend Fathers, Vicars of Christ, successors of the Apostles: *sic Espenc. præfat. ad Carol. Lotharing.*

Secondly, they are reproued for haunting the Courts of Princes, and leauing their owne charges: and they take vpon them, *ad instar proconsulum*, like to the old Romane Proconsuls: for so is the decree of *Clement* 4. *extr. decret. lib.* 1. *tit.* 13. *c.* 2. to haue their circuites and prouinces. Of this matter thus freely the same author vttereth his minde: *Sicut me misit pater, &c.* As my father sent me, saith Christ, so send I you, not gouernours of politicall, but reformers of ecclesiasticall matters; Pastors, not theeues; not Potentates, but Euangelists; not law-makers, but law-keepers; not Captaines of souldiours, but fishers of men, *Espenc. ibid.*

Thirdly, he findeth fault, because many beardlesse youths were made Cardinals: as alleaging an ancient Canon of *Sylvester*, he thus inferreth: *Ecclesia Romana &c.* In times past the Church of Rome had no Cardinals vnder 60. yeeres old: which Canon would now be reuiued, there being in these daies so many beardlesse, or but yong bearded Cardinals, *Espenc. commentar. in* 1. *Timoth. p.* 238. *b.*

Fourthly, the Cardinals of Rome are some them, no fewer alwaies then sixe Cardinall Bishops by

by which meanes the Churches, whereof they are Bishops, are neglected: which also is contrarie to their owne Canons, *Decret. Gregor. lib. 1. tit. 5. c. 3. Innocentius 3.* would not suffer a Cardinall of Rome to be Bishop of Rauenna, though he were desired of the Clergie there, *quia presentia eius vtilior &c.* because his presence is more profitable to the Church of Rome, then Rauenna.

Fiftly, another notable abuse in Cardinals is this, that whereas some of them are but Deacons, yet they sit and take their place before Priests and Bishops. Hereof complained *Bernard* in his time to *Eugenius* the Pope, *de consideratione lib. 4. Ridicule ministri vestri, &c.* It is very ridiculous, that your Ministers or Deacons take vpon them to be preferred before your Priests. To this effect also their owne decrees, *dist. 93. c. 15. Non oportet, &c.* It becommeth not a Deacon to sit in the presence of a Priest. *Ibid. c. 17. Diaconi,* Let Deacons know that they are the Priests ministers, as well as the Bishops. But least it might be here answered, that all Deacons of other Churches are tied to this rule, but the Cardinall deacons of the Church of Rome are exempted: it followeth, *dist. 93. c. 26. Precipimus, &c.* We commaund, that no Deacon, in what dignitie or office soeuer he is, shall sit before a Priest. So likewise, *part. 2. caus. 2. qu. 4. c. 2. Presul non damnabitur, &c.* A Prelate shall not be condemned but with 72. witnesses; a Cardinall priest with 44. a Cardinall deacon of the citie of Rome with 27. witnesses. By this Canon a simple Prelate or Bishop is preferred before a Cardinall priest or Deacon. Thus wee see how enormous, vnlawfull, and repugnant to the Canons the office of Cardinals is: but I haue staied too long in this argument, I will therefore proceede.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, CONCERNING THE keyes of the Church, committed for the execution to the pastors and gouernours thereof.

THis question hath foure parts. First, wherein the authoritie of the keyes consisteth: secondly, to whom they are committed: thirdly, whether there is absolute power of binding and loosing in the Church, or ministerially only: fourthly, whether they that haue the dispensation of the Keyes, doe alwayes necessarily bind and loose before God: of these in order.

THE FIRST PART, WHEREIN THE AVTHORITY and power of the Keyes consisteth.

The Papists.

BY the Keyes and power of binding and loosing, they chiefly and principally vnderstand the censures of the Church, as Excommunications, Anathematisines, suspensions, Degradations, and the whole Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, *Rhem. Annot. Matt. 16. sect. 14. Bellar. lib. 1 de pontif. cap. 13.* Secondly, they tye remission and retayning of sinnes to their imagined and deuised sacrament of penance, saying, that where Christ gaue authoritie to remitte sinnes to his Apostles, Ioh. 20. 23. he instituted the sacrament of penance, *Rhemist. Iohn 20. sect. 3.* The sacrifice also and sacraments of the Church, say they, are ministred for remission of sinnes, *Rhemist. 2. Corinth. 5. sect. 3.* Thirdly, they seeme to grant in words, that by preaching also of the Gospell, sinnes are retained, and remitted, *ibid.* but they make small account thereof: for as we haue heard, they make it not of the essence of their priesthood to preach, neither doth it properly appertaine vnto that office: yea, say they, absolution cannot be rightly sought for at the priests hands, but by confession of our sinnes, which is done in penance. *Rhem. Iob. 20. sect. 5.* This then is their opinion, that by their deuised ceremony and Sacrament of penance, sins are properly forgiuen, and that the preaching of the word is not thereto necessary. 73. Error.

Their chiefe argument is, by abusing that place, Iohn 20. 23. where they say Christ instituted the Sacrament of penance, when he gaue power to his Apostles to remit and retaine sinnes.

Answ. First, your Sacrament of penance, is neither grounded vpon this, nor any other place of Scripture: here in the words of Christ there is no institution of a Sacrament, because there is no visible element giuen, whereunto the word being added, may make a Sacrament. Secondly, here the commission is but renewed, which was granted before to his Apostles, and their successors, Matth. 18. 18. *Fulk. Annot. Iohn 20. sect. 3.*

The Protestants.

THe keyes of the Church, that is, the power to binde and loose sinners, to open or shut vnto them the kingdome of God, consisteth both in the external discipline and gouernment of the Church lawfully executed according to the word of God, as also in preaching of the Gospell, by assuring in Christs name all faithfull and penitent persons remission and forgiuenes of their sinnes, and in denouncing and threatning the wrath of God against the disobedient and impenitent: Also as the Sacraments are ioyned to the word, as seales and pledges of the promises there-

of,

of, ſo by the right adminiſtration of the Sacraments together with the preaching of the word, ſins are retained or remitted.

The Rhemiſts therefore doe vs great iniurie, in falſely charging of vs, that we ſhould hold that the ſpirituall power of the Church ſtandeth onely vpon the preaching of the word; whereas we grant, that it is exerciſed alſo in the Eccleſiaſticall gouernment of the Church, both in puniſhing, excommunicating and cenſuring of offenders, which is the binding of them, and in releaſing and abſoluing them againe, which is the other power of looſing: *Rhemiſt.2. Corinth. cap.10. ſect.1.* Leauing now this part of ſpirituall power in Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, which is not in this place in queſtion betweene vs, we muſt touch that other part, which is exerciſed in the word and ſacraments.

1 That the Sacraments doe bind and looſe, it is proued out of the word of God: they doe binde, Whoſoeuer eateth and drinketh vnworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, 1. Cor.11.29. They doe alſo looſe, As oft as ye ſhall eate this bread, and drinke this cup, you ſhew the Lords death till he come, verſ.26.

But here is a double caution and condition to be annexed. Firſt, that all Sacraments worke not this effect, but onely thoſe of Chriſts inſtitution, which are but two, baptiſme and the ſupper of the Lord: for *Paul* ſaith, I haue receiued of the Lord, that which I deliuered vnto you, 1.Cor. 11.23. If the Apoſtles would not, neither might deliuer any Sacraments, but thoſe which were inſtituted of Chriſt, what great preſumption is it in any other to doe it? Secondly, we muſt not thinke, that remiſſion of ſinnes is neceſſarily tied to the Sacraments, as though there could be no remiſſion without them, for the grace of remiſſion may be effectuall in the name of Chriſt, by the preaching of the word without a Sacrament, *Iob.20. ſect.4. Fulk.* For the word may be preached without a Sacrament, but the Sacrament cannot be miniſtred without the word: for that were is though a man ſhould deliuer a ſeale without a writing. Neither is it our meaning, that as the Rhemiſts cauil with vs, the Sacrament cannot be adminiſtred without a ſermon of the death of Chriſt: for though that were alwayes to be wiſhed, yet where it cannot be had, there muſt and ought to be a briefe ſhewing and declaration of the death of Chriſt out of the word, ſo oft as the Sacrament is adminiſtred, as it is obſerued in our Church, *Fulk.annot.1.Corinth.11 ſect.25.*

And as touching this conueniencie, and in ſome ſort neceſſitie of hauing ſermons and admonitions before the Sacraments, our aduerſaries haue no cauſe to miſlike our opinion, ſeeing it hath been of late yeeres by themſelues in ſome of their Councels ſo decreed: As in the Councell of Colen, *anno.1549. Parochus ſub adminiſtrationem cuiuſlibet ſacramenti ſacra concione breuiter populum admoneat, quid ea in re agatur:* Let the pariſh Paſtor in the adminiſtration of euery Sacrament briefly admoniſh the people, what is done therein. Likewiſe, *Synod. Auguſtenſ. anno.1548. Volumus populum, quid in cuiuſque ſacramenti collatione agatur in concionibus et ſacramentorum adminiſtratio frequenter doceri:* We would haue the people taught often in ſermons, and in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, the meaning thereof: now to returne to the matter.

2 We muſt take heed, we conceiue not thus, as though the Sacrament gaue grace by the worke wrought, and that by the very vſe, forme, and externall act of the Sacrament we obtaine remiſſion of ſinnes, as the Rhemiſts would beare vs in hand, *1.Corinth.11.ſect.15.* But the Sacraments are onely effectuall to the worthy receiuers, and to the worthy receiuing, faith is requiſite, as S. *Paul* willeth all men to examine themſelues, 1.Corinth.11.28. which is, as he himſelfe interpreteth, to proue whether they be in the faith, 2.Corinth.13.5. Theſe conditions then being obſerued, we deny not, but that there is an exerciſe of the keyes euen in the Sacraments.

But chiefly and principally, is this power diſpenſed by the preaching of the word, as S. *Paul* ſaith, We are the ſauour of death vnto death, vnto ſome: there is the binding: And to other the ſauour of life vnto life: there is the looſing, 2.Corinth.2.16. So our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, He that refuſeth me, the word that I haue ſpoken, ſhall iudge him in the laſt day, Ioh.12.48. Here is the power of binding. Againe, the truth ſhall make you free, Ioh.8.32. Here is the power of looſing. Who therefore can doubt of this, that the preaching of the word is the moſt proper and principall way and meane, for the exerciſing of this Eccleſiaſticall power? for ſeeing faith is the key of heauen, thereby we haue free acceſſe vnto the throne of grace, Rom.5.2. and faith commeth by hearing, Rom.10.17. and hearing by the word: It remayneth that by the word the keyes are diſpenſed.

Auguſtine alſo ſubſcribeth vnto this: for ſpeaking of reformation of life and repentance with remiſſion of former ſinnes, thus he ſaith, *Quid emplaſtra quæſturus? ecce cùm loquor, muta cor, & factum eſt, quod tam ſæpe & tam diu clamatur, vt fiat. in Pſal.63.* What medicine or plaiſter wilt thou buy to heale thy ſinne? Behold euen now, while I preach vnto thee, change thy heart, and it is alreadie done, which we ſo often call vpon you to be done. See then by the preaching of the word our heart is changed, our life amended, and our ſinne remitted.

Thus alſo it was decreed *Concil. Colonienſ. part.10. cap.6. Nihil gladio illo ſpiritus, qui eſt verbum*

Dei

Dei potentius ad deijciendas, ac vicissim consolandas animas nostras, &c. Nothing is more mightie or powerfull either to cast down, or againe to comfort our soules, then the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God: to cast downe is to binde, to comfort, that is to loose.

Their owne Canons also here helpe vs: *Can. 33 distinct. 1. c. 50. Verbum dei dimittit peccata, &c.* The word of God doth forgiue sins, &c. And *distinct. 20. c. 1.* There were two keyes giuen to *Peter*, *clauis scientiæ*, the key of knowledge to discerne, *clauis potestatis*, and the key of power to binde or loose. And this is confirmed, *Extrau. Ioann. 22. 14. c. 3. Restat quod ad aliquid de sententiam, &c.* It remaineth, that to determine the busines of the Church, both keyes are necessarie, the key of discerning, and the key of determining, &c. that like as the materiall eye doth direct the materiall key, so the spirituall eye of knowledge, &c. Whereupon I conclude, that if spirituall knowledge bee one of the kyes, and true knowledge cannot be had without the word; *For the not knowing of the Scriptures is the cause of error*, Mark. 12. 24. then it doth necessarie follow, that the keyes consist in the knowledge of the word.

The holy Martyrs haue sealed this doctrine; *Walter Brute*: The keyes of the kingdome of heauen are not knowledge to discerne, and power to iudge, because these nothing auaile in baptisme, by the which the kingdome of heauen is opened: therefore in my iudgement it seemeth, that the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, are faith and hope; for by faith in Iesus Christ, and hope in him for remission of sinnes we enter the kingdome of heauen, *Fox* p. 492. But faith commeth by the word: *Ergo*, in the power of the word doe the keyes consist.

George Wisehart holy Martyr: I say, that an vnlearned man not exercised in the word of God, &c. whatsoeuer state or order he is of, hath no power to binde or loose, seeing he wanteth the instrument, by which he bindeth or looseth, that is to say, the word of God, pag. 1270.

THE SECOND PART, TO WHOM THE authoritie of the keyes is committed.

The Papists.

THe authoritie and power of excommunication, say they, is not in the whole Church, but only in the Prelates: neither was the power of binding and losing giuen vnto the whole Church: but in their owne name, not in the name or right of the Church, doe the Pastors and Prelates exercise this power, *Rhemist. 1. Corinth. 5. fol. 3. Bellarm. lib. 1. de Clericis cap. 7.* The Church is said to binde and loose, because the Prelates doe binde and loose, as a man is said to speake, and see, though he onely speake with the tongue, and see with the eyes. 74. Error.

Argum. 1. They seeme to proue it by S. *Paul* example, 1. Cor. 5. *I absent in bodie, but present in spirit, haue decreed*: Saint *Paul* vseth here his Apostolike power, in sending his letters and *Mandatum*, to haue the incestuous person excommunicate: *Ergo*, the right was in him and not in the Church, and so consequently in the Bishops his successors.

Ans. First, Saint *Paul* sendeth no *Mandatum*, but sheweth his Apostolike power, in decreeing the incestuous person worthie of excommunication, and requiring the same to be executed by the Church, *Fulk. 1. Cor. 5. fol. 2.* Secondly, though *Paul* gaue the sentence, yet was it done both in the power of Christ and the name of the whole Church: for he had decreed onely that he should be excommunicate: it was not actually done: but to the due performing thereof there is required the congregating of the Church in Christs name, the presence of *Paul* in spirit by his Apostolike power, and that it should be done in the name of Christ. All this sheweth, that *Paul* gaue sentence in the name of the whole Church. Thirdly, the words of the text are plaine, that the power was giuen to the whole Church: for that power, whereby he was deliuered to Sathan, was the power of Iesus Christ, 1. Cor. 5. 4. but the power of the Lord Iesus was committed to the whole congregation: *When ye are gathered together and my spirit, in the name of the Lord Iesus Christ*: that is, in the power of the Lord Iesus. So that this place which they vrge for themselues, affordeth a better argument for vs.

Argum. 2. Paul (they say) by the preeminent power of his ministerie, pardoneth the incestuous person whom he had excommunicate, *Rhemist. argument. in 1. ad Corinth.*

Ans. The text is plaine, that he consenteth the Church should pardon him, 2. Corinth. 2. 10. *To whom you forgiue any thing I forgiue also.* Here not *Paul* onely, but the whole Church pardoneth.

Againe, the Iesuites *smile* may be returned vpon his owne head: for as the eye and tongue in the bodie are but instruments of the life and power of the soule, which quickeneth the whole bodie: so the gouernours of the Church doe execute the discipline of the Church by the spirit of Christ, which is giuen to the whole bodie.

The Protestants.

THe authoritie of excommunication pertaineth to the whole Church, although the execution and iudgement thereof, to auoide confusion, bee committed to the gouernours of the Church

Church, which exercise that authoritie, as in the name of Christ, so in the name of the whole Church, *Fulk, retidem verbis, annot. 1. Cor. 5. sect. 3.*

Argum. 1. Matth. 18. 17. *If he will not heare thee, tell the Church:* This place prooueth, that although the exercising of the keyes be referred to the gouernours of the Church; yet the authoritie and right is in the whole Church: for the keyes were giuen to the whole Church. The Pastors and gouernours, though they bee excellent and principall members of the Church, yet are they improperly called the Church, *Argumen. Illyric.*

Their answere here commonly is, that *dic ecclesiæ*, tell it to the Church, may bee vnderstood of the Prelates of the Church: yea *Bellarmine* will haue it beare this sense, that to tell the Church, is to referre it to the sentence of the Pope: So that in effect he maketh the Pope the Church.

Ans. First, that the Prelates and Pastors of the Church, haue the administration of the keyes committed vnto them for order sake, wee denie not: yet the right and power thereof resteth in the whole Church: and to them offences are to bee brought, as the ministers and officers of the Church. Secondly, how ridiculous a glosse that is, that, *dic ecclesiæ*, should be all one as to say, *dic Papæ*, tell it to the Pope, as though one man should bee the Church. Saint *Hierome* sheweth in the like case concerning a great man in his time, *Iohn* Patriarch of Ierusalem: *An tu solus ecclesia es?* Are you onely the Church, that whosoeuer offendeth you, is straightway excluded from Christ? *ad Pammach. aduers. Iohann.*

Argum. 2. We conclude the same also out of S. *Pauls* words, 1. Cor. 2. 21. *All things are yours, whether Paul, Apollo, or Cephas, whether things present, or things to come, and ye are Christs, and Christ Gods: Ergo*, whatsoeuer power is in the Church, it is the Churches, not onely the common vse and the benefit thereof, (because it may be answered, that although the keyes be onely granted to the Prelates, yet they vse them to the good of the Church) but the right also and possession thereof, euen as the Church is the inheritance and proper possession of Christ.

3 *Augustine* consenteth: *Ecclesia, quæ fundatur in Christo, claues ab eo regni cælorum accepit in Petro. Tract. in Iohann. 124.* The Church, which is founded vpon Christ, receiued in *Peter* the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: But the whole Church, and not onely the Pastors, is founded and builded vpon Christ: *Ergo.*

Interreling. Cæsarea cap. 9. Ad Ecclesiam pertinet verbum dei, pertinent sacramenta, pertinent claues ligandi & soluendi: Vnto the Church appertaineth the word of God, the Sacraments, the keyes also of binding and loosing. From hence we reason thus, to whom the word and the Sacraments belong, to the same also appertaine the keyes: but they belong to the whole Church! *Ergo.*

And yet more euidently out of their owne decrees: *Caus. 24. qu. 1. c. 6. Petrus quando, &c.* Peter, when he receiued the keyes, signified the whole Church: *Si hoc Petro, &c.* for if it were said only to *Peter*, then the Church doth it not: but if the Church binde and loose, &c. And *cap. 20. Dum ecclesia, &c.* The house of the Church receiued the keyes. And your Master of Sentences, *lib. 4. dist. 19. c.* out of *Hierome: Habet omnis ecclesia in Episcopis & presbyteris:* The whole Church hath this power in Bishops and Priests: that is exercised by them, yet the power is in the whole Church.

Walter Brute holy confessor of Gods truth, who liued in the raigne of *Richard* the second, thus testifieth with vs: In the 20. of *Iohn* our Sauiour Christ saith, *Receiue you the holy Ghost, whose sinnes you remit, they are remitted, &c.* Seeing therefore that all Christians that are baptized in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghost, receiue the holy Ghost, it appeareth that they haue power giuen them of Christ, to remit sinnes, *Fox* pag. 492. His argument is this: to whom the holy Ghost is giuen, to them also is giuen the power and right of binding and loosing: but to the whole Church and all faithfull Christians is the holy Ghost giuen: *Ergo*, &c. And therefore the Pastors and Ministers doe execute this power in the name of the whole Church.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER THE PASTORS of the Church haue any absolute power to remit sinnes, otherwise, then as Ministers onely.

The Papists.

75. Error. THey spare not to say, that Priests haue full right to remit sinnes, and are not ministers onely thereof, and dispensers, but haue full power as Christ had, and he that doubteth of their right herein, may as well doubt whether Christ had authoritie as man to remit sinnes, *Rhemist. annot. Ioh. 20. sect. 3.* And againe, they call it an expresse power and commission, yea a wonderfull power which is giuen vnto priests to remit sinnes, and therefore it followeth necessarily, that men should submit themselues to their iudgement, for release of their sinnes, *Annot. Ioh. 20. sect. 5.*

Argum. 1. They reason thus out of our Sauiours owne words, Ioh. 20. 21. *As my father hath sent me, so I send you.* He sheweth his fathers commission giuen to himself, and then in plaine termes most amply imparteth the same to his Apostles: But Christ had full right to remit sinnes: *Ergo*, also

alſo the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors: for they haue the ſame power that Chriſt had, *Rhemiſt. annot. Ioh. 20 fol. 3.*

Anſ. Firſt, it is great preſumption, and ſpoken without any ground, to ſay, that Chriſt, by ſending his Apoſtles into the world, gaue them as full, large, and ample commiſſion, as he himſelfe had: for neither the Pope, in whom remaineth, as they ſay, the Apoſtolike authoritie, by their owne confeſſion, can doe all that Chriſt did, as to ordaine and inſtitute Sacraments: and Chriſt (ſay they) might forgiue ſinnes without the Sacraments, which the Pope cannot doe, and ſo conſequently neither the Apoſtles, whoſe full iuriſdiction he hath, in this behalfe, *Bellarm. de pont. lib. 3. cap. 6.* Secondly, the power here granted to the Apoſtles, is in the name of Chriſt, to declare and pronounce remiſſion of ſinnes, according to the will of God, not properly in their owne power to releaſe or abſolue ſinners.

Argum. 2. He breathed vpon them, and gaue them the holy Ghoſt, verſ. 22. Therefore he that denieth the Prieſts authoritie to forgiue ſinnes, he muſt denie the holy Ghoſt to be God, and not to haue power to remit ſinnes, *Rhemiſt. ibid fol. 4.*

Anſ. What a blaſphemous conſequent is this? The holy Ghoſt hath abſolute power to forgiue ſinnes: *Ergo* the Apoſtles alſo, and all other prieſts haue the ſame power. Firſt, by this meanes they make no difference betweene the fulnes of power in our Sauiour Chriſt, and the communication of that power to other Miniſters: of Chriſt it is ſaid, that the Spirit was not giuen him by meaſure, Ioh. 3. 34. and that the holy Ghoſt dwelleth in him bodily: but it were great blaſphemie ſo to ſay of any man, Apoſtle or Miniſter beſide, which haue receiued of the ſame grace, but not in the like meaſure that Chriſt hath; but the ſpirit is giuen to euery one in meaſure, as they haue need in their ſeuerall places and callings. Secondly, though wee ſhould graunt, that the Apoſtles had the full authoritie of Chriſt actually to remit ſinnes, which they ſhall neuer proue, yet it may bee doubted, whether all Miniſters, whom they call Prieſts (which name we refuſe not, if it bee taken according to the ſenſe of the originall word *Presbyter* and not for a ſacrificing prieſthood) haue as full power, in this caſe, as the Apoſtles had, nay it is plaine they haue not: for the Apoſtles and other in the Primitiue Church, had power to diſcerne ſpirits, 1. Cor. 12. 10. and after a ſtrange manner to exerciſe power ouer their bodily life, as *Peter* did vpon *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, Act. 5. Yet we rather ſtand vpon this point, that neither the Apoſtles nor any other Miniſters haue power actually to remit ſinnes, then onely as diſpenſers and ſtewards in the name of Chriſt.

The Proteſtants.

ALL the power of binding and looſing committed to the Apoſtles and to the Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments, is, by declaring the will and pleaſure of God out of his word, both to pronounce forgiuenes of ſinnes to al, that are truly penitent, and the retaining of them to the obſtinate and impenitent, *Fulk annot. Ioh. 20. fol. 3.* So that Miniſters are not made iudges in this caſe, but onely as the Lords ambaſſadours, to declare the will of God out of his word.

Argum. 1. There is a notable place for this purpoſe, 2. Cor. 5. 18. *God hath reconciled vs vnto himſelfe through Ieſus Chriſt, and hath giuen vs the miniſterie of reconciliation.* So then Chriſt is the onely author of reconciliation, the Apoſtles are but miniſters: how then ſay the Rhemiſts that Chriſt himſelfe is but a miniſter alſo of our reconciliation, yet a chiefe miniſter, whereas the Apoſtle maketh him the author? God was in Chriſt reconciling the world to himſelfe, verſ. 19. We are but ambaſſadours for Chriſt, and pray you in Chriſts ſtead, to be reconciled vnto God. This then is the office of Miniſters, not to reconcile men vnto God, but to pray them to bee reconciled through Chriſt: Chriſt onely is the reconciler, they but miniſters of reconciliation: they are but meſſengers and ambaſſadours, onely to declare their princes pleaſure; their commiſſion is certaine, beyond that they cannot goe. Wherefore that is a blaſphemous decretall, and cleane contrarie to the Scripture, which is aſcribed, but falſely, to *Pontianus* Biſhop of Rome, which ſaith, that God hath Prieſts ſo familiar, that by them he forgiueth the ſinnes of others, and reconcileth them vnto him. But S. *Paul* ſaith, that God onely by Chriſt reconcileth vs vnto himſelfe.

Argum. 2. Auguſtine doth very freely vtter his minde concerning this matter, who putteth this obiection: If men doe not forgiue ſinnes, then it ſhould ſeeme to be falſe which Chriſt ſaith, *Whatſoeuer you binde in earth is bound in heauen.* He anſwereth: *Daturus erat Dominus hominibus ſpiritum ſanctum, &c.* God was to giue vnto men the holy Ghoſt, by whom their ſinnes ſhould be forgiuen them. *Spiritus dimittit, non vos; ſpiritus autem Deus eſt: Deus ergo dimittit, non vos:* The ſpirit therefore remitteth ſinne, and not you: And this is recited in the decrees, *Caus. 2. qu. 1. cap. 82.* the ſpirit is God; God forgiueth ſinnes, and not you. Here is one argument, God onely forgiueth ſinnes: *Ergo*, not man. Againe, *Quid es homo niſi ager ſarcendus? vis mihi eſſe medicus? medicum quære medicum:* O man what art thou that takeſt away my ſinnes, but a ſicke man thy ſelfe? wouldeſt thou be my Phiſition? nay, let vs both together goe ſeeke a Phiſition that may heale vs. Loe, another argument: He cannot be a Phiſition to others, that needeth a Phiſition himſelfe: he cannot reconcile others to God, who hath himſelfe needs of a reconciler. Further, he ſaith: *Qui dimittit*

per hominem, potest dimittere præter hominem: non enim minus est idoneus per se dare, qui potest per alium dare: He that can forgiue sins by man, can forgiue also without man: for he may as well forgiue by himselfe, as he can do it by another. Here is then the third argument: If man doe actually forgiue sinnes, then Christ should not forgiue sinnes without man: for the whole power is committed to man. Yea, the Rhemists affirme the same, that it is necessarie we should submit our selues to the iudgement of the Priest for release of our sinnes: if it be necessarie, then sinnes cannot be remitted without the Priest: then is Christs power limited, he cannot forgiue without man, which is contratie to that *Augustine* affirmeth here.

To this agreeth the Councell *Cabilonens. sub Carolo can.* 33. in these words: *Confessio quæ Deo fit, purgat peccata; qua sacerdoti fit, docet, qualiter ipsa purgentur peccata: Deus enim salutis & sanitatis largitor & author, plerunque hanc præbet suæ potentiæ inuisibili administratione, plerunque medicorum operatione:* The confession which is made to God, purgeth our sinne; that which is made to the priest, sheweth how our sinne should bee purged: for God the author and giuer of health and salvation doth many times saue by his inuisible power, and many times by the worke or labour of the Phisition. Hence we learne, that the Minister doth heale the sinnes of the soule no otherwise then the Phisition doth cure the diseases of the bodie, that is, ministerially onely: and that he actually forgiueth not sinnes, but onely sheweth and declareth how they are forgiuen.

We haue plentifull testimonie from their owne Canons: *Decret p. 2. caus. 11. qu. 3. c. 89. Petrus tenet, &c.* It is the rocke (that is Christ) which retaineth sinnes, the rocke remitteth sinnes. *Par. 1. distinct. 40. c. 141. Nemo tollit, &c.* No man taketh away sinne but onely Christ, which is the Lambe that taketh away the sinne of the world.

Their Master of Sentences alloweth that saying of S. *Ambrose: Ille solus peccata, &c.* He only forgiueth sinnes, that died for our sinnes. *Lib. 4. distinct. 18. d.* And againe, *ibid. f. Sacerdotibus tribuit potestatem, &c.* Christ giueth power to Priests to binde and loose, that is, *ostendendi, &c.* to shew or declare that they are bound, or loosed: like as the Priests in the law had power to discerne betweene leper and leper. And *distinct. 19. c. Sacerdotes non propria virtute, &c.* Ministers doe not bind by their owne power, but as they beare the figure of Christ, that is, represent Christ: *Ergo*, the Ministers of the Church not iudicially, but ministerially onely forgiue, or retaine sinnes, that is, only declare them so to be.

This truth hath been sealed by the blood of holy Martyrs: *George Carpenter* burned in Bathe, *anno* 1527. for this article with others, *that he did not beleeue that a Priest could forgiue a mans sinne:* that is, by any actuall or inherent power in himselfe.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: I say, that onely Christ looseth a sinner, which is contrite, by his word and promise, and the Priest doth nothing but shew and declare that word. And this taketh S. *Paul* in the 2. to the Corinthians, saying, *God hath reconciled vs vnto him through Christ Iesus.* See it is God that through Christ, looseth our sinne. *And he hath* (quoth S. *Paul*) *ordained vs ministers of the same attonement.* See how Christs Apostles called not themselues the authors of binding and loosing, but Ministers, *Fox* pag. 1105.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER STRAIGHTwaies whatsoeuer be loosed or bound by the ministerie of men vpon earth, be so in heauen.

The Papists.

76. Error. AN expresse power (say they) is giuen vnto Priests to remit and retaine sinnes: And Christ promiseth, that whose sinnes soeuer they forgiue, they are forgiuen of God, and whose sinnes soeuer they retaine, they are retained of God, *Rhemist. annot. Ioh. 20. sect. 5.* Whereby this appeareth to bee their opinion, which is manifest also by the practise of their Church, that at the will and pleasure of euery Priest exercising the keyes vpon earth, men are bound and loosed in heauen.

They ground this their opinion vpon the generalitie of the words: Whosoeuers sinnes you remit, they are remitted, Ioh. 20. 23. And Matth. 18. 18. Whatsoeuer you binde in earth, shall be bound in heauen.

Ans. These places are not so to be vnderstood, as though God were bound to ratifie euery decree of men vpon earth: for first this power is giuen to all lawfull Pastors which doe hold the Apostolike faith, not to Idolatrous, ignorant, and blasphemous priests, such as most, if not all, of the popish sort are. Secondly, they must decree in the earth according to Gods will: Wherefore Ioh. 20. 22. first Christ breatheth his spirit vpon his Apostles, and then giueth them their commission: signifying hereby, that they must execute this power as they shall be directed by Gods spirit: and Matth. 18. 20. it followeth, that they must bee assembled in the name of Christ; that is, according

according to Chriſts rule and the direction of his word, they muſt binde and looſe, and not at their owne diſcretion.

The Proteſtants.

THat no ſentence or decree of men bindeth or looſeth before God in heauen, but that which is pronounced according to the will and pleaſure of God, and by the warrant of his word, the Scripture euery where teacheth vs.

*Argum.*1. Prouerbs.26.2. *As the ſparrow by flying eſcapeth, ſo the curſe that is cauſeleſſe ſhall not come.* Iſai.5.20. *Woe vnto them that ſpeake good of euill, and euill of good. He that iuſtifieth the wicked and condemneth the iuſt, they are both an abomination to God,* Prou.17.15. Wherefore a Prieſt binding a penitent man, and looſing a wicked man, doth flatly tranſgreſſe the law and rule of Gods word: neither ſhall his ſentence be ratified in heauen.

*Arg.*2. In ſaying that whoſoeuers ſins the Prieſt bindeth or looſeth, his ſentēce ſtandeth in effect before God, they muſt needes admit one or both of theſe abſurdities: either to grant, that a Prieſt cannot erre in diſpenſing of the keyes, which were too ſhamefull a ſaying, to giue ſo great a priuiledge to euery ignorant and ſimple prieſt, (ſuch as their Church hath great ſtore of) which no mortall man can haue; Saint *Paul* giueth warning to *Timothie*, who was more then a common or ordinarie Miniſter, that he lay not his hands ſuddenly vpon any, *ad 1.Timoth.5. verſ.22.* But if *Timothie* ſo excellent a man, had been free from erring in executing his function, this exhortation of S. *Paul* had been needleſſe and ſuperfluous:

Or elſe they muſt ſay that the iudgement of mens ſoules is committed vnto them: for if, looke, how they pronounce vpon men on earth, euen ſo it fareth with them before God; then the ſaluation and damnation of men dependeth of their ſentence. But the Scripture ſaith, *Doe not iudge thy brother for we ſhall all appeare before the iudgement ſeate of Chriſt,* Rom.14.10. Men therefore are not iudges to pronounce who are ſaued or damned, but the iudgement muſt bee committed to Chriſt.

But who knoweth not that the popiſh Church doth arrogate vnto themſelues this power, to define who are Saints in heauen, and whoſe ſoules are tormented in hell? Thus they deale with *Iohn Huſſe*, hauing condemned him, they ſet a crowne of paper vpon his head pictured with diuels, ſaying vnto him: Now we commit thy ſoule to the diuell. At the burning of that worthie ſeruant of God and bleſſed Martyr *Iohn Frith*, one Doctor *Cooke*, a foule mouthed Papiſt, bid the people to pray no more for him, then they would for a dogge. And thus they take the Lords office out of his hand, in taking vpon them to be iudges of men. Fox.pag.1036

*Argum.*3. I will conclude with *Auguſtines* words, he ſaith, that ſinnes are forgiuen, or not forgiuen: *non ſecundum arbitrium hominum, ſed ſecundum arbitrium Dei, & orationes ſanctorum:* not after the will and pleaſure of men, but according to the will of God, and at the prayers of deuout and holy men.

With *Auguſtine* accordeth all antiquitie, *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. cap.*17. *Tunc vera eſt abſolutio præſulis, cum æterni arbitrium ſequitur iudicis, vt Lazarum prius Chriſtus mortuum viuificauit, qui viuus erexiſſus poſtea à diſcipulis ſolutus eſt:* Then the Rector abſolueth aright when he followeth the will of the eternall iudge, as Chriſt firſt did reuiue *Lazarus* being dead: and then bad his Apoſtles looſe him.

Nicholaus 1. epiſt. ad Michaelem: Qui ligati ſunt ligare, & qui ipſi mortui ſunt alios mortificare non poſſunt: They cannot binde others that are bound themſelues, nor mortifie others being dead themſelues. But many prieſts themſelues are dead and bound in their ſinnes; how then can they binde others?

*Leonis. epiſtol. cent. Paſchal.*2. *Dicimus cum Gregorio ligandi & ſoluendi poteſtate ſe priuat, qui ſubiectos pro ſuo velle, non eorum merito ligat, aut ſoluit:* We ſay with *Gregorie*, he doth depriue himſelfe of the power of binding and looſing, which doth binde or looſe his inferiours after his owne fancie, not according to their deſert.

This alſo is the ſentence of their decrees; *Cauſ.*11.*qu.*3.*c.*46. *Gelaſius: Nemiuem poteſt iniqua grauare ſententia:* An vniuſt ſentence can hurt no man: therefore he needs not deſire to be abſolued from that ſentence, wherewith he is not bound. *Cap.*62. *Gregor. Tunc vera eſt abſolutio, &c.* Then the abſolution of the Preſident or Prelate is good, when he followeth the will of the internall iudge.

Likewiſe the Maſter of Sentences, *diſtinct.*18. *lib.*4. *b. Interdum qui foras mittitur, &c.* Sometime he that is thruſt out of the Church is within, and he that is within is out of the Church.

Walter Brute holy confeſſor, ſheweth how that Prieſts taking vpon them to bee iudges of men, doe more then Chriſt did in the daies of his fleſh, who would not take vpon him to be a iudge, or to puniſh ſinners according to the quantitie of their ſinnes, but hath reſerued that for his ſecond comming: And againſt ſuch he applieth that ſaying of S. *Paul*, 1.Cor.4. *Iudge not before the time, vntill the comming of the Lord, who ſhall diſcloſe the ſecrets of hearts, &c.* Fox pag.492.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: The declaration or ministerie of the Priest doth not any thing auaile to loose any person, vnlesse he that should bee loosed giue credence vnto the word ministred or shewed by the Priest, *Fox* pag. 1105. *Ergo*, the sentence of the Priest doth not absolutely binde.

THE FIFT QVESTION, CONCERNING the lawfulnes of mariage in Ministers.

THis question hath three parts: first, whether it bee expedient or requisite that all Ministers should be tyed vnto single life. Secondly, whether men twice married are to be admitted into the Ministerie. Thirdly, whether Ministers hauing entered into holy orders, ought to renounce the societie of their wiues before married.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER IT BE lawfull for Ministers to marrie.

The Papists.

77. Error. *Bellarmine* confesseth, that single life is not imposed vpon Ministers by the law of God, for there is no precept either in the old or new Testament, that forbiddeth Ministers to marrie, but it is a positiue law of the Church, most ancient and most iust, kept and obserued euen since the Apostles time. And therefore it is not now lawfull for Ministers to marrie, *cap. 18. lib. de Clericis.*

Argum. 1. 1. Timoth. 2. 3. The Apostle saith, that no man that warreth, entangleth himselfe with the affaires of this life: But to bee married and to haue care of household, are counted amongst the affaires and busines of this life: *Ergo*, a Minister who is the Lords Souldier, ought not to entangle himselfe therewith, *Bellarmine.*

Ans. First, the Iesuite before confessed, that they had no Scripture against Ministers mariage, how is it then, that now he pleadeth Scripture? Secondly, we must put the Iesuite in minde of his owne exposition of this place, *lib. 5. de pontif. cap.* 10. where, this place being alleaged against the temporall dominion of Ecclesiasticall persons, he answereth, that this place onely forbiddeth *negotiationes*, and *mercimonia*, merchandise and trafficke in the world, not *regimen politicum*, politicall regiment. If then the politicall care of a Citie, Prouince, or Common-wealth bee no impediment, in his iudgement, to the spirituall warfare: much lesse without all question is the domesticall care of one familie, the charge of wife and children. Thirdly, we vtterly denie, that mariage is an hinderance or let to the calling of Ministers: nay, we say, that it is an helpe and comfort to those that haue not the proper gift of continencie.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* would not haue women admitted to be widowes of the Church, that had a purpose to marrie, 1. Timoth. 5. 11. much lesse they that are married should bee admitted to minister the Sacrament, *Rhemist. annot. ibid.*

Ans. First, the reason is not alike: for such women as had no husbands were fittest for the seruice of the Church, because they were free from other domesticall attendance, as wiues are not, which must waite of their husbands: but mariage in this behalfe is no impediment to Ministers, but rather an helpe, while they haue one at home that careth for their domesticall affayres. Secondly, if the maried estate be not fit to minister or receiue the Sacrament, then in those churches where they receiued the Sacrament euery day, there should haue been no mariage at all. Thirdly, Saint *Paul* would haue no widow chosen vnder 60. yeeres, in which age, the heate of lust being abated, there is no neede of mariage: but the case is otherwise in Ministers, who in the strength of their age are admitted, and had neede of that remedie, if they be not endued with the gift of continencie. But if it were so, that a Minister should not bee admitted before 70. or 80. yeeres, which in a man is no more, in respect of procreation, then 50. or 60. in a woman, the iniunction then of single life would not seeme streight. Thus then is this argument answered.

Argum. 3. The Iesuite giueth diuers instances, wherein mariage is a let and impediment to Ministers: As, it hindereth their prayer, their preaching, their almes and liberalitie to the poore, for they haue wife and children to care for, *Bellarmine.*

Answ. First, belike you esteeme of marriage, as of an vnholy and vnpure thing, that a man can neither pray, nor do the office of a Christian, perfourming the dutie to his wife: and indeed one of your companions calleth mariage a prophanation of sacred orders. *Greg. Martin Apostat. cap.* 15. *fol.* 11. Whereas the Apostle calleth it an honourable state, Hebr. 13. And it was instituted in Paradise, whereas before the fall of man there was no vncleane thing. Secondly, we denie not, but that abuse of mariage both in Ministers and other lay-men, is an impediment to all holy actions: and therefore S. *Paul* giueth generall counsell to all, both Ministers and others, that they which haue wiues should be as though they had none, 1. Corinth. 7. 29. that is, should liue soberly

ſoberly in mariage, and not gitte themſelues to the wantonneſſe of the fleſh. Thirdly, neither doth mariage hinder hoſpitalitie: for S. Paul requiring that a Miniſter ſhould be harborous, 1. Timoth. 3. giueth alſo rules concerning the gouernement of his familie, his wife and children. verſ. 4. 11. For to whom may he better commit the care of houſhold affaires then to his wife? And that familie which is guided by a carefull and godly huſwife, wee ſee by experience, to yeeld more relefe to the poore, and giue entertainement to ſtrangers, then thoſe houſes which haue none. And where it is obiected, that Miniſters will care altogether for their children: It hath bin ſeene that ſingle prieſts in time of Poperie, haue been more couetous and greedie to enrich their kindred, then maried Miniſters haue cared for the prouiſion of their children. And hereupon diuers Canons were made to reſtraine their couetous deſire to aduance their kinred; as *Conſ.* 12. *qu.* 1. *c.* 27. *Pelag.* 2. *Nulli Epiſcopo &c.* It ſhall not be lawfull for any Biſhop, to conuert the moueable or immoueable thinges of the Church to his owne vſe. *Conſ.* 16. *qu.* 7. *c.* 5. *Gregor.* 7. decreeth againſt ſuch Biſhops, as did conferre oblations vpon their ſeruitors, and kinſmen. And as for a moderate care to be taken to make prouiſion for wife and children, your owne Canons allow it, *Conſ.* 12. *qu.* 1. *c.* 19. *Epiſcopi de rebus propriis &c.* Biſhops may leaue to their heires, their owne gotten goods: and *c.* 21. *Poteſtatem habet moriens &c.* A Biſhop dying hath power to diſpoſe of his proper goods to whom he will; *Parata ſis vxorem habere &c.* It may be he hath a wife, children, kinſmen, or ſeruants &c.

Argum. 4. Single life by the Apoſtle is preferred before the maried eſtate, and therefore fitteſt for Miniſters: for hee that is married careth for the things of the world, 1. Corinth. 7. 33. *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. Firſt, ſingle life is preferred before mariage, in all men, and not onely in Miniſters: And therefore as lay-men are not bound to ſingle life, though it be in it ſelfe more conuenient; ſo neither ought miniſters to be. Secondly, though a thing in it ſelfe be beſt, yet is it not vniuerſally beſt for euery man: as riches are better then pouertie, becauſe they are Gods bleſſing; yet is it not beſt for euery man to be rich; God ſeeth it good, that ſome men ſhould be poore: So ſingle life is the beſt for thoſe that haue the gift of chaſtity, that can with a quiet conſcience liue ſingle: otherwiſe patrimony were much better: for Saint *Paul*, that wiſheth that euery one would liue ſingle as he did, yet afterward ſaith, It is better to marry then to burne. So that by the Apoſtles iudgement, to marrie is beſt for him that hath not the gift of continencie, *Iewel* pag. 232. *defenſ. Apolog.*

Argum. 5. *Winchoſter* reaſoneth thus, As a father may forbid certaine of his children to marrie, ſo may a King in his kingdome forbid certaine of his ſubiects to marrie, that is, all the Prieſts of the Realme, *Fox* pag. 1793.

Anſw. Firſt, the father hath no ſuch power to keepe his child from mariage, if neede require: for the fathers will herein dependeth vpon the neceſſitie which his childe hath to marrie, as S. *Paul* teacheth, 1. Cor. 7. 37. Secondly, that which the word of God hath left free for all men, by the law of the prince cannot be reſtrained; and if the King may forbid marriage to any, he may as well enioyne laymen ſingle life, as prieſtes: but ſuch a law to reſtraine the lay ſorte from mariage, were manifeſt tyrannie, and therefore the other reſtrainte would ſeeme hard and vniuſt. Thirdly, by this argument it appeareth, that theſe cruell prohibitions of marriage, are buile vpon the lawes onely and ordinances of men, neither warranted by Gods word, nor allowed by the ancient practiſes of the Church, as our aduerſaries would beare vs in hand.

Bellarmine here counteranceth out this matter with great ſhew of antiquitie; and firſt he produceth diuers Canons of Councels, which I will briefly take a view of. Firſt, *Ancyran. concil.* 10. it was decreed, that Deacons in their ordination not proteſting that they would marrie, ſhould not be ſuffered afterward; but if they did proteſt to marrie, they might, for they are therein diſpenſed with by the Biſhop.

Anſw. Firſt, this Canon maketh more againſt them for Miniſters mariage, which is here vpon proteſtation permitted, which is not ſuffered now in the popiſh Church. Secondly, if the Biſhop may diſpenſe with mariage of Miniſters, then is it not a diuine or apoſtolicall, but an humaine and politicall deuiſe. Thirdly, it is not the diſpenſation of the Biſhop, that maketh mariage free, but the liberitie granted by the Apoſtle, which is not to be abridged; as *diſtinct.* 27. *c.* 1. is priuiledged out of the Toletan councel, that ſubdeacons being aſked in their ordination, of their diſpoſition or purpoſe of mariage, ſhould not be denied, *conceſſum eſt Apoſtolo licentiam*; the licence granted vnto them by the Apoſtle. Fourthly, Marriage was then free by proteſtation, but now, *velint nolint*, will they, nill they, the decree of Pope *Martin* is in force, a man is not left to his choiſe, *decret. Martini Conſ.* 27. *qu.* 1. *c.* 8. Why do they then alledge antiquitie, and yet take away the priuiledge of antiquitie?

Secondly, he obiecteth the councell of Neocæſarea. *Can.* 1. *Preſbyter ſi vxorem &c.* If a Presbyter marrie a wife, he ſhall be depoſed from his order.

Answ. First, this Canon may be suspected, for how is it like that the Greeke Church would decree against the mariage of priests, seeing that *Stephanus* before this affirmeth in his decrees; *Alia se habet Orientalis &c.* The East Churches haue an other tradition then the Romane Church: for their priests, deacons and subdeacons are coupled in marriage: either *Stephanus* must be accused of vntruth, or this Synode of forgerie. Secondly, though this Synode permit not priests to take new wiues, yet they forbid them not to retayne their old, *can.* 8. He that keepeth an adulterous wife, must not minister: they might then keepe a wife, not an adultereſſe. Thirdly, this Synode *can.* 7. seemeth to condemne second mariage: they forbid the Minister *consentire*, to consent to second mariage, or to be present at the marriage feast. Fourthly, this Synode was prouinciall, consisting of 17. Bishops, and seemeth to be of no great authoritie.

Thirdly, he vrgeth the Nicene councel 1. which was generall, *can.* 3. *Interdixit sancta Synodus*: The sacred Synode forbiddeth a Bishop, Priest or Deacon, to haue any woman in their house, beside their mother, sister, Aunt: a wife is not here mentioned.

Answ. First, this Synode forbiddeth them to haue, *mulierem extraneam, vel subintroductam*, any strange woman, secretly or by stealth brought in, beside those, which are named: now, the wife is no strange woman, and therefore not forbidden. Secondly, if the Councell had concluded against marriage, they had done contrarie to the ancient tradition, which was, and is yet in force in the Greeke Church, as *Stephanus* saith in his decree, which is not like. Thirdly, *Socrates lib. 1. c. 8.* reporteth how that the Synode would haue decreed against the mariage of Ministers, but was stayed by *Paphnutius*, who shewed the inconuenience thereof, whose sentence the whole Synode commended: and therefore it cannot be, that any such thing was decreed. Fourthly, the Canons of the Nicene councel may be suspected, that they are not the right Canons; for *Athanasius* sayth, there were 70. canons of this Synode, *distin. 16. c. 12.* but now there are but 20. And *ep. 13. Stephanus* saith, that many of them are lost: and beside it appeareth to be so, because there is not one Canon extant against the Arrian heresie, for the which the synode was chiefely assembled: as also another notable thing concluded in the Nicene, was as touching the vniforme obseruation of *Easter*, whereof there is not any mention in these 20. Canons: so that it is very like that these ancient Canons are changed and altered, and as some haue been left out, so other are put in their stead

Fourthly, the Trullane Synode being the 6. generall, *can.* 6. decreeth, that neither Bishops, priests, deacons or subdeacons, should after their Ordination take them wiues.

Answ. First, this Synode *can.* 13. permitteth Priests and Deacons to haue the companie of their wiues, whom they married before, and those that would separate them, they decree to be deposed: and this the Synode agreed vpon, though they knew the custome of the Romane Church to be contrary; so that this Synode maketh as much for the mariage of Ministers, as against it. Secondly, *Bellarmine*, though he now be contented to vrge this Councell against vs, yet at other times, taketh to himselfe great libertie to confute and reiect it: And indeed it seemeth to be of no great authoritie: for *can.* 2. they allow the Canon of *Cyprian* for rebaptizing of heretikes: And this Synode hath beside some ridiculous Canons, as *can.* 56. they forbid the eating of cheese and egges in Lent; *can.* 67. *Damnamus eos &c.* Wee do condemne them, that do by any kind of art dresse the bloud of beasts, and so eate it: they forbid the eating of puddings. Thirdly, *can.* 55. this Synode prescribeth a law to the Romane Church, that whosoeuer should fast Saturdayes, should be deposed: if this Synode serue their turne against mariage, it serueth our turne as wel against their saturday fast. Fourthly, *can.* 12. this Councel forbiddeth Bishops the companie of their wiues, contrary to the 5. Canon of the Apostles; and they take vpon them in direct words, to correct the Apostles Canons: *Non diuinis Apostolis &c.* We do not contrary the Apostles, thus decreeing, but willing to bring the Church to a better order, &c. They do take vpon them to make better orders for the Church, then the Apostles, which is great presumption. We see then, what is to be thought of this Councell, yet it maketh as much for vs, as against vs.

Fiftly, hee obiecteth *Carthag. 2. can. 2. Carthag. 3. can. 3. & concil. African. can.* 37. in all which Canons, Bishops, priests, deacons, are enioyned to abstayne from their wiues.

Answ. Whether shall we take to be of greater authoritie, the Canons of the Apostles, or the canons of councels, generall Synodes or prouincial? The 6. Canon of the Apostles decreeth Bishops and Priests to be excommunicate if they refused their wiues: *Trullan. 6. generale can.* 13. decreeth them to be deposed, that forbid Priests or Deacons the companie of their wiues: they only restrayne Bishops. But these Africane councels make a generall restraint for Bishops, priests and deacons. Secondly, they notwithstanding giue libertie to all other degrees, subdeacons, and other; as *African. can.* 37. *Caeteros autem Clericos &c.* But other of the Clergie we will not haue compelled to forbeare their wiues, but let the custome of euery Church be obserued: this afterward subdeacons also were restrayned. Thus we see how these Councels are contrary one to an other.

Sixtly.

Sixtly, hee produceth *Concil. 1. sub Siluest. can. 11. Arelatens. 2. can. 2. Turonens. 2. can. 20. Agathens. c. 9. Aurelianens. 3. cant.* in all which Canons it is not permitted, that any of the Clergie from subdeacons vpward, should either marrie wiues, or companie with their wiues, if they had any.

Ans. First, some of these Synodes are thought to be depraued and corrupted: as first, the councel held at Rome vnder *Siluester*; first, it beginneth with a lie, *can.* 1. that *Constantine* was baptized by *Siluester*, whereas other stories say, that he was baptized by *Eusebius* Bishop of Nicomedia. *Theod. lib. 1. c. 32.* Secondly, this Councell is said to haue been celebrate the very same time, that the Nicene councel was held; and that *Constantine* was present, and subscribed to this councel, and 153. Bishops of the Greeke Church beside: but how could they be there, and here to at the same time? Thirdly, *c.* 1. it is decreed, that none of the lay sort should be present, and yet *cap.* 16. *Caluarius* President of the Citie, was present and subscribed. Fourthly, this Synode beareth date *cap.* 20. 3. *Calend* of Iune, when *Constantinus* and *Priscus* or rather *Crispus* were Consuls: the Nicene beareth date when *Paulinus* and *Iulianus* were Consuls, which was the yeere after: so that this synode by this account, should go before the Nicene, which is vntrue, for that was the first generall, and the Epitomizer of the Councels confesseth in these words, *In exemplaribus &c.* In the copies of this Romane synode there is *intolerabilis depranatio*, an intolerable depravation: *Baribal. Cranca.* Fiftly, if there were so many Bishops of the Greeke Church present, it is not like that they would agree to any such Canon contrary to the custome of their owne Church. Sixtly, *can. 2. Siluester* approueth all the acts of the Nicene Councell, whereof this was one, that they would not prescribe single life to the Clergie at the motion of *Paphnutius*, how then is it like that he would decree the contrary in this Romane Synod? Seuenthly, the inhibition for the mariage of subdeacons was not generall, no, not in the Latine Church, till *Gregorie* his time: for in Sicilie til then they had a custome for their subdeacons to marrie: as it may appeare *distinct. 32. c.* But such a custome contrary to a decree of a generall Councel at Rome could not haue so long continued.

Concerning the second Councell of Arles: first, I answere, that many things therein may bee thought to be forged; for it is said to haue been celebrate in the time of *Sylaester*: yet *Can.* 8. mention is made of the Vasensian Councell, which was held vnder *Leo* 1. about an hundred yeere after. Secondly, *Can.* 3. this Councell onely inhibiteth the companie of women, *a gradu Diaconatus*, from the degree of Deaconship and vpward: so that Subdeacons are exempted. Thirdly, it giueth leaue, that they may haue, *in solatio suo*, for their solace in their house, their mother, sister, daughter, neece, *& vxorem conuersam*, and their wife conuerted: But what solace should they haue in their wiues, if it were not lawfull to enioy them as their wiues.

Now to the Councell of Turone we answere: First, it doth mitigate certaine Canons made before against the mariage of the Clergie. *Can. 2. Vt sacerdos, vel Leuita, &c.* That a Priest or Deacon, that begetteth children, should not be barred from the Communion, as our predecessors haue decreed: but we willing to moderate the strictnes of this constitution, doe decree, that such bee not promoted to a higher degree. Thus it doth appeare to be but an humane constitution, which they did sometimes mitigate, sometimes aggrauate as they thought good. Secondly, in the decree against Ministers mariage, they doe abuse that place of Scripture, *qui in carne sunt*, They that are in the flesh, cannot please God: which hath no such meaning: and in their sense then, none that are maried, that is in the flesh, can please God. They also call maried Ministers, *coinquinatos, & contaminatos*, defiled and contaminate: but contrarie the Apostle calleth, the mariage bed vndefiled, Hebr. 13. 4. I thinke the Papists themselues are ashamed of such stuffe. Thirdly, it was but a prouinciall Councell of eight Bishops, and of no great authoritie.

Concerning the Councell of Agatha, we answere: First, it hath diuers Canons against some superstitions of Poperie: as *Can.* 19. they admit no women to professe single life before 40. yeeres. *Can.* 36. they condemne the idle life of Monkes. *Can.* 61. they count it incest for a man to marrie his cosine germane, or brothers wife, contrary to the practise of the Church of Rome. If this councell serue their turne against vs in this poinct of mariage, we will oppose it against them in the rest. Secondly, they onely enioyne Priests and Deacons to abstaine from their wiues, no mention is made of Subdeacons. Thirdly, *Can.* 10. they allow Ministers to haue their neece with them in the house, and by the Popes law a man may marrie his neece, though the woman cannot marrie her nephew. Now, who seeth it not how vnreasonable a thing it is, that a strange woman should bee receiued into a Ministers house, and his owne wife excluded? it is euident that superstition was working then in those daies.

In the seuenth place, he alleageth, *Concil. Eliberti. c. 33. Toletan. 1. cap. 1. Toletan 4. cap. 26. Toletan. 8. cap. 6.* in all which Canons both Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons are forbidden the vse of their wiues.

Ans. First, concerning the Elibertine Councell, we answere: first, it is not like, that this Councell being kept not long after the Nicene, which at the motion of *Paphnutius*, would decree nothing

thing concerning the abstaining of Clergie men from their wiues, *sed hoc in voluntate cuiusq; voluit ea dimisit*, but left euery man to his owne will: as *Gratian* witnesseth, *distinct.* 31. can. that this prouinciall would decree against a generall. Secondly, whereas the 6. Canon of the Apostles doth excommunicate them of the Clergie, that separate their wiues from their companie, as the 6. generall Trullane expoundeth that Canon: how dare any prouinciall conclude against the Apostles, whose Canons, they say, they are? And this answere may serue in generall to the rest of the Spanish Councels vrged by *Bellarmine*. Thirdly, this Synode seemeth to bee contrarie to it selfe: for *can.* 65. He of the Clergie, that doth not *proijcere*, cast off his wife, de mittting adulterie, shall bee put from the Communion: for whereas, *can.* 33. they would haue them refraine their wiues companie, what is that else, but to giue them occasion to commit adulterie? and what need they now cast off their wiues for dishonestie, whereas they are commaunded before to cast off their honest wiues? these things agree not. Fourthly, this seemeth to be an erronious Councell, and may bee thought to condemne Magistracie as a prophane thing: for *can.* 56. the Magistrate, during the yeere of his office, is forbidden to come to the Church: as though the Church were by his presence prophaned.

Secondly, the second Toletan Councell maketh nothing against the mariage of Ministers, but onely forbiddeth the familiaritie of women, *cap.* 2. and *cap.* 1. it decreeth rather the contrarie, that both Clergie men which were ordained to that profession by their parents in their infancie, and Monkes also at eightéene may marrie, if they will.

Thirdly, the fourth Toletan, *cap.* 43. decreeth against those Clerkes that doe marrie, *sine Episcopi consultu*, without the leaue or aduice of the Bishop: so that with his leaue it might be lawfull for them to marrie. And *cap.* 26. which is alleaged by *Bellarmine*, Priests and Deacons are required, when they are ordained to make profession to the Bishop, *vt caste & pure viuant*, to liue chastly and purely, which may be done in mariage. And then it followeth, *vir dum eos talis professio obligauerit*, that their profession may binde them: so then their promise onely and profession bindeth them, not the law of God. Therefore by this Canon, where no such promise or profession is made by Ministers at their ordination, they may lawfully marrie.

Fourthly, to the eight Councell Toletan our answere is this: First, wee doe not greatly force of this Councell, being after the yeere of our Lord 640. when as superstition began to gather strength. Secondly, as it may appeare by this, that this Synode seemeth to make the mariage of Ministers worse then fornication: *can.* 6. *Relatum est nobis*, It is told vs, that certaine Subdeacons are not onely defiled with the vncleannes of the flesh, but also (which is a shame to speake) are coupled to new wiues. This parenthesis, *dictu nefas* (it is a shame to speake) and the other clause, but also, being referred to their mariage, and not to their fornication, doe serue to aggrauate the first, and extenuate the other. So *Toletan.* 9. c. 10. they call the mariage of Ministers *detestandum, detestabile*, and their children, *proles pollutione nata*, borne in pollution, or vncleannes: which is a foule assertion, and not farre from blasphemie. I marueile *Bellarmine* would conceale this stuffe, that maketh for him. Thirdly, this Synode, *can.* 7. imposeth single life vpon Clerkes against their will, contrarie to all ancient Canons: as *cap.* 7. it decreeth against those, *Qui quoniam, &c.* Who, because when orders were imposed vpon them, they pretended it was against their will, therefore they will not forsake their former mariage: the Synode decreeth thus; That as baptisme is imparted to many both vnwilling, and not knowing what is done vnto them, and yet it holdeth; so orders also, will they, nill they, should hold. It is against all reason, that either orders or single life should be imposed vpon any against their will: as for the comparison of baptisme, the case is not like. First, baptisme is Gods ordinance for all both men and children; so is not single life for Ministers. Secondly, children are baptized, not knowing any thing because they are infants, and yet vnderstand not, but orders are not so for children. Thirdly, that any against their wils are baptized, it can no way be iustified: if they meane children, it is an improper speech, so say they are vnwilling, hauing as yet no vse of their will: if they speake of men, none are to bee baptized, but vpon confession of their sinnes, and profession of their faith, Matth. 3. which sheweth they are willing. And herein this Councell is directly contrarie to the 2. Toletane, *cap.* 1. which giueth liberty to Subdeacons, if they protest, at the time of their ordination, that they will marrie, they gaue them leaue so to doe: and this is ratified in your owne decrees, *distinct.* 28. *c.* 12. And *Gregorie* also is more equall, who thus writeth of certaine Subdeacons in Sicilie, that were married: *Decreuimus & incompetenter &c.* It seemeth to me an hard and inconuenient thing, that he, which neuer promised chastitie, should be compelled to be separated from his wife, *distinct.* 31. *c.* 4. Wherefore this decree is hard and intolerable, that imposeth single life, where they protested the contrarie. Fourthly, I doe oppose against this 8. Councell Toletane, the first Toletane, which as it was more ancient by more then two hundred yeeres, so is it of greater authoritie: there in the preface of the Synode, *Patronus* the President thus protesteth; *Mihi placet &c.* I thinke it meete that wee keepe the statutes of the Nicene Synode, and depart not from the same. But the Nicene decreed

nothing

nothing as touching the ſingle life of the Clergie, but left it free. Againe, in the 21. Canon, *Qui dixerit coniugia hominum, &c.* He that ſaith the mariages of men, which are lawfull by the diuine law to be execrable, accurſed bee he. But the mariages of Miniſters are lawfull by Gods law; this our aduerſaries doe confeſſe, making it but a conſtitution of the Church: *Ergo*, they which condemne their mariages, are vnder this curſe. And thus I thinke wee haue ſufficiently anſwered the Ieſuites oppoſitions out of the Councels: which I haue ſhewed either to bee forged, or elſe erronious, or contrarie one to another, or concluding directly againſt Scripture. Now it followeth for further anſwere, that the Canons alſo which doe eſtabliſh and ratifie the mariage of Miniſters, be likewiſe produced, which I haue inſerted in the end of our arguments that here follow.

The Proteſtants.

THat it is not onely lawfull but conuenient, that all men both Miniſters and others, that haue not receiued a proper gift of continencie, ſhould marrie; and that it is agreeable and conſonant to the word of God: thus we ſhew it.

1. The Scriptures are moſt playne for the mariage of Miniſters. 1. Tim. 3. 2. S. *Paul* ſaith, a Biſhop and generally euery Miniſter, may be the husband of one wife: and verſ. 11. their wiues are deſcribed how they ought to behaue themſelues: Let their wiues be honeſt: *Ergo*, it is lawfull for them to be married. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of the wiues which they had before their calling and ordayning, not thoſe, which they ſhould marrie after. But there appeareth no ſuch thing out of the text, but rather the contrarie. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith verſ. 2. *Oportet Epiſcopum eſſe, &c.* A Biſhop muſt be the husband of one wife: he ſheweth not what he hath been, but what he is, not of the wife which he had, but now hath. Secondly, verſ. 11. He deſcribeth what manner of women their wiues ought to be, indued with like qualities to their husbands: but if they were not ſtill as their wiues, what are they more to them, then other women? neither ſhould they neede to be otherwiſe qualified, then all other Chriſtian women. Thirdly, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of hoſpitalitie, of bringing vp of Children, of well gouerning his houſe, and of Biſhops wiues; howthen can he be otherwiſe vnderſtood, but that their wiues ſhould be with them, as helping toward all thoſe domeſticall duties? Fourthly, S. *Paul* alſo ſheweth in another place, that he had libertie as well as others, To leade about a ſiſter a wife, euen after he was an Apoſtle, 1. Corinth. 9. Wherefore it is as lawfull afterward as afore. *Bellarmine* anſwereth: We muſt thus reade, a Siſter a woman: and it is like they were women, that did miniſter vnto the Apoſtles and followed them. We replie: Firſt, the word Siſter, doth implie a woman, and therefore it had been an improper and needleſſe ſpeech, to ſay, a Siſter a woman: therefore we muſt rather reade, a Siſter a wife. *Bellarmine* replieth: Firſt, if the Apoſtle vnderſtoode a wife, he would haue ſet downe the greeke worde with an article, τὴν γυναῖκα. *Anſw.* This is a falſe obſeruation, for the Apoſtle, 1. Timoth. 3. 2. 11, 12. making mention of Biſhops wiues, leaueth out the article. Secondly, S. *Paul* ſaith, a Siſter a woman, inuerting the order, for a woman a Siſter, as *Peter* Act. 1. ſaith, *Viri fratres*, Men and brethren. *Anſw.* In deede your latine tranſlation hath preſumed to correct the text, reading thus, a woman a Siſter: but what boldnes is this, when you haue no other ſhift, to take vpon you to amend the text, and ſeeing the Apoſtle ſaith, a Siſter a wife, or as you would haue, a woman, in the ſingular; it muſt needes implie a wife: for they had other women, more then one, that miniſtred to them. Secondly, if they were other women which miniſtred of their ſubſtance, what neede the Apoſtles to be maintained of the Churches? If they miniſtred but in their ſeruice and attendance, who were more fit to doe it and to follow them from place to place then their wiues? And beſide, if the Apoſtle did meane other women beſide wiues, how could he alleage this inſtance to ſhew that he departed from his right? for he himſelfe refuſed not the miniſterie and beneuolence of other women; as of *Phœbe*, Rom. 16. 1, 2. Wherefore this libertie, which the Apoſtle vſed not, was as concerniug wiues. Thirdly, the phraſe of leading about a Siſter, importeth a ſuperioritie and authoritie, ſuch as the husband hath ouer his wife. *Bellarmine* replieth, the Apoſtles had this power ouer theſe women, not as husbands ouer their wiues, but as teachers ouer their Diſciples. *Anſw.* Firſt, the Apoſtle vſeth the ſame word, 1. Cor. 7. 4. *The woman hath not power ouer her owne bodie, &c.* The vſe of the word ſheweth, what power he meaneth. Secondly, the Apoſtle onely had not power, but in deede did vſe that power ouer both men and women, as his Diſciples, as it may appeare, Act. 16. 13. but here he ſpeaketh of a power, which he vſed not. Laſtly, S. *Hieroms*, though in other places he varieth from himſelfe, yet giueth this rule for the vnderſtanding of this word: *Tom. 3. ad Oceau. Mulierem autem, &c.* A woman (which word is ambiguous in the Greeke tongue) in all theſe places vnderſtand a wife. S. *Ambroſe* alſo, *Comment. in 1. Tim. 3.* vpon theſe words, *hauing children*, expoundeth it of Biſhops ioyned in mariage: *Ideo inferiorem poſuit, &c.* The Apoſtle put the caſe of the inferiour order, that is, ſuch as were maried; that no man might doubt of the ſuperiour, that is, ſuch as were not coupled in mariage. Another place we haue, Heb. 13. 3. Mariage is honorable among all men: *Ergo*, amongſt Miniſters. *Bellarm.* If it were meant of all mariages, then to marrie within the degrees of Conſanguinitie, were alſo honorable. *Anſ.* This is a ve-

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ry childish cauill: First, he might haue read further, And the bed vndefiled: S. *Paul* therefore speaketh of lawfull mariage. And indeede the other ioyning and coupling of men and women together contrary to Gods law, is not to be counted Matrimonie or Wedlocke, but Incest rather and Fornication, as the brother to marrie his brother a wife, and such like. Secondly, S. *Paul* saith, not all mariages are honorable, but mariage is honorable for all men; the generalitie is not of the thing, but of the persons: wherefore we doe fitly conclude out of this place, that mariage is lawfull and commendable euen among ministers, *against Caluin.*

Further, Saint *Paul* saith, For auoyding of fornication, let euery man haue his owne wife, 1. Cor. 7. 2. Here is no restraynt for Ministers. *Bellarmine*, this is to be vnderstoode of those that haue not made a vow of continencie. *Answere.* Fifth, our Sauiour Christ commandeth no such vowes: it is a cruell Antichristian yoke layd vpon Ministers, to binde them, when they receiue orders, to vowe single life: and therefore your Antichristian decree ought not to abridge the generall libertie granted by the Apostle. Secondly, the ende of mariage is generall, to auoyde fornication, and therefore the remedie also is generall: for euery man hauing not a proper gift of continencie, may be in danger of that inconuenience, if he be denyed the ordinarie helpe. *Melanthon.*

Secondly *Bellarmine:* This is not a precept of the Apostle, but a permission and libertie, that they which feared to fall into fornication, should be ioyned to their wiues.

Answ. If then the Apostle gaue libertie to marrie, where fornication is feared; how dare you abridge that libertie, which God hath made common and free for all? as it is recited in your owne decrees, *distinct.* 28. *c.* 5. out of the second Toletan Councel, *Concessam ab Apostolo licentiam, &c.* The licence to marrie graunted by the Apostle, we cannot take away. And the Councell there speaketh of the mariage of Ministers, confessing that this libertie to marrie is generall to all, both Ministers and others.

Againe, 1. Tim. 4. to forbid mariage is called a doctrine of diuels: but the Popish Church forbiddeth mariage. *Bellarm.* We do not forbid mariage to any, but we require single life of all that are entred into orders, which, it is at their owne choyce to receiue or to refuse. *Answ.* First, it is necessary that some should receiue orders, and be consecrate to the Church ministery: wherefore requiring this condition of all such to liue single, though particularly you prohibite not this man or that to marrie, yet generally you prohibite the whole calling, which is worse. Secondly, if you say you doe not forbid mariage simply to all: no more did the *Manichees*, for they suffered their schollers and auditors to marrie. And Saint *Augustines* words are generall: *Ille prohibet matrimonium, qui illud malum esse dicit:* He forbiddeth mariage, that thinketh it is euill: you therefore forbidding mariage, must needs hold opinion that it is wicked and euill. The Councell of Turon, *Can.* 2. calleth married Ministers, *contaminatos*, contaminate, or defiled. *Toletan.* 8. 9. 20. *Detestandi connubium*, saith their mariage is detestable. The Papists allow these Councels, and so consequently condemne mariage in this case as euill, counting that vnholy and vncleane, which the Lord hath made holy and honourable. There is a seuere decree against such, *Toletan.* 1. *can.* 21. *Qui dixerit coniugia hominum &c.* He that shall say that the mariages of men, which are lawfull by the diuine law, are execrable, is accursed. But so do the Papists count the mariages of Ministers prophane and vncleane, which are lawfull by the word of God: *Ergo*, they are accursed.

Cont. Faust. lib. 30. ca. 6.

Argum. 2. This restraint of the mariage of Ministers hath not been of auncient time in the Church, but imposed vpon the Church of late, 1000. yeares after Christ: *Polycrates* Bishop of Ephesus *anno.* 180. had seuen of his progenitors before him Bishops of the same See. In the *Nicene* Councell *Paphnutius* stoode vp, and stayed the decree that should haue past, for restrayning of the mariage of Ministers, and it is said, *Synodus laudauit sententiam Paphnutij:* The Synod commended *Paphnutius* sentence. *Sozomen. lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. *Bellarmine* here setteth a good face vpon it, and stoutly denieth the storie, and maketh the author a lier that reporteth it. Thus, when they haue no other shift, they will refuse, authors, bookes, antiquitie. But *Gratian* doth report it for a true storie, *distinct.* 31. 12. who is of better credit, I thinke with Papists, then any of this vpstart popish sect.

Gregorie the Father of *Gregorie*, was Bishop of Nazianzum. *Symphorosa*, which was put to death with her seuen sonnes vnder the persecution of *Adrian* the Emperour, was the wife of one *Getulius* Minister in the citie of Tyber, *Fox.* pag. 45. *Cheremon* Bishop of Nilus, vnder the tyrannie of *Maximinus* fled with his wife into the mountaines of Arabia, and was neuer seene againe. *Eusеb. lib.* 6. *cap.* 42. *Fabianus* Bishop of Rome and Martyr was a married man. Saint *Cyprian* maketh mention of one *Numidicus* a presbyter, that was married; *lib.* 4. *epistol.* 10. Likewise *epistol.* 6 *ad Cornelium*, he reporteth thus of *Nouatus* a priest, *vterum vxoris, &c.* Hee strooke his wife with his heele being with child, and killed the child, that she went with: yet hee findeth no fault with him, for being married, but for abusing his wife. Diuers of the Bishops of Rome beside were Bishops and priests sonnes: *Bonifacius* the first, the sonne of *Iucundus* a priest:

Felix

Felix presbyter, the father of *Felix* the third: *Agapetus* the first, *Gordianus* his sonne a priest: *Syl-*
uester the sonne of *Hormisda* Bishop of Rome: *Theodorus* Pope, sonne to *Theodorus* Bishop of Ie- Ex pontif.
rusalem: *Hadrianus* second sonne to *Talarus*, Bishop *Benedictus* the eight, and *Iohn* 21. his suc- Damasi.
cessor both sonnes to *Georg. Episcop. Portuens.* And diuers other of them beside. The Iesuite can
answere here nothing els, but that these sonnes of priests were borne before their fathers priest-
hoode: But this is their vaine surmise and coniecture, seeing no such thing is mentioned in the
storie. And this surmise is taken away by the direct words of *Gratian. distinct.* 56. c. 2. where after
he had rehearsed the names of the foresaid Bishops of Rome, concludeth thus: *Quamplures etiam*
alij inueniuntur, de sacerdotibus nati, &c. And many beside are found to haue gouerned the Apostoli-
like See, being borne of Priests or Ministers: which is more then to haue said, sonnes of Priests, for
they might be Priests sonnes, though borne before their priesthood: but to bee borne of Priests,
implieth, that they were at the time of their birth, Priests.

The Greeke Church neuer yet receiued this popish decree of single life, and their Bishops are
maried at this day. *Bellarmine* saith, that the Church of Rome hath dispensed with them, *cap.* 18.
Ergo: if the Pope would dispence with the Latine Church, it might be lawfull enough then for
Ministers to marrie: wherefore it is but a humane constitution. Againe, it is false that they haue
dispensed with the Greeke Church: they care not for their dispensations, but vse their owne
Christian liberty: neither was the Greeke Church euer subiect to the Bishop of Rome. This also
may appeare by the 13. Canon of the Trullane Synode the 6. generall, where it was decreed, that
notwithstanding the contrarie custome of the Church of Rome, Priests and Deacons might enioy
the companie of their wiues. And *Innocent.* 3. saith, *Orientalis ecclesia votum continentiæ non admisit*:
The East Church hath not admitted or receiued the vow of continencie, *decr. Greg. lib.* 3. *tit.* 3. *c.* 6.
Wherefore it is vntrue that the Greeke Church alloweth the mariage of their Ministers by vertue
of the Popes dispensation, they doe it without and beside his leaue. And we shall finde few ages,
wherein some Priests, notwithstanding so many prohibitions, were not married. In *Gregorie* the 7.
his time, who by excommunication forced Ministers from their wiues, there were 24. Bishops with
their Clergie that stood in defence of their mariage. *Anno* 1191. the nation of the Danes gaue li-
cence to their Ministers to marrie, and were for that cause excommunicate by *Clemens* the 3. *ex*
Balæ. Anno 1372. the Archbishop of Colen was married: *sic Praemonstratens. Paulus* 2. is said to
haue taken aduice about the restoring of the mariage of Ministers, *ex Balæo.*

Thus we see, that in times past mariage was lawfull for all men, vntill Pope *Nicholas* the second,
Alexander the second, and *Gregorie* the seuenth, that notable sorcerer and adulterer: for these
three comming together, one not long after another, began by publike decree to restraine priests
mariage: not long after them, *Anselme* began to play the *Rex* here in England, *anno.* 1104. who Fox. pag. 1166.
stoutely proceeded in his vngodly purpose, and enacted that maried priests should either leaue
their wiues, or their benefices. At which time 200. Priests at once came barefoote to the Kings pa-
lace, to make complaint: and for all *Anselmes* Pope-like and outragious proceedings against ma- Fox pag. 1167.
ried priests, yet they continued maried well nie two hundred yeares after *Anselmes* time, do what
he could: and thus it is manifest, that the restraint of Ministers mariage is no ancient thing, but
then began most to bee vrged, when Antichrist fully was reuealed to the world, when as the
orders of Friers came in and were confirmed and priuiledged vnder *Boniface* the eight about
anno. 1300.

Argum. 3. What better argument can we haue against this Popish decree, then the great vn-
cleannes, and foule enormities that haue been brought, by the meanes thereof, into the Church?
In the time of *Gregorie* the first, who enioyned his Clergie to liue single, commanding on a time
his seruants to catch him some fish, out of his Motes and Pondes, in stead of fishe they brought
vnto him fiue thousand heads of young children: whereupon, he fetching a great sigh with him-
selfe, commended then the saying of the Apostle, It is better to marrie then to burne. *Bellarmine*
hath no better answere then to deny the storie, which notwithstanding is found in the Epistle of
Huldericus Bishop of Augusta, which he sent to Pope *Nicholas*, *Fox.* pag. 1155.

In *Anselmes* time, after the restraint of Ministers mariage, great rumors, and complaint was Fox. pag. 1165.
brought to him, of the execrable vice of Sodomitrie, which began to raigne in the Clergie. Pope
Pius the second said, he saw many waighty causes, why wiues should be taken away from priests,
but he saw more why they should be restored to them againe. The same Pope *Pius* also dissolued
certaine houses of the Brigidines, bidding them to goe forth of their celles, *ne amplius vererentur*,
that they should no longer burne in lust, *ex Balæo. Bernard* saith, *Tolle de Ecclesia honorabile conuiga-* Sup. Cant.
tium, &c. Take from the Church honorable Matrimonie, shall you not replenish it with incestuous Serm. 66.
persons, concubinaries, Sodomiticall vices? Hereupon the popish Catholikes seeing their owne Iuel. p. 231.
infirmitie, began thus to salue vp the matter, *Si non casté, tamen cautè*: If thou deale not chastly, Fox. pag. 785.
yet deale charily. Yea they are not ashamed thus to write, If any of the priests should be found
imbracing of a woman, it must be expounded and presupposed, that he doth it to blesse her.

Reade

Reade Master *Bales* preface to his booke entituled, *De actis Romanor. pontificum*: there you shall finde how that the Kinges visiters appointed to visite the Abbeyes, *anno.* 1538. found in some irreligious houses fiue, in some ten, in some twentie Sodomites and adulterers: whereof some kept fiue, some seuen, some twentie harlots. O filthie vncleannes vnspeakeable! Who would not now thinke, that it had been much better for these professed votaries to haue maried? This was well forseene of that good man D. *Collet*, founder of Paules schoole, who wished that the Master and Vsher of the schoole should be rather of maried men, then single priests. *Fox.* pag. 139.

Among the Heluetians it was an ancient vse and custome, that when they receiued any new priest into their Churches, they would premonish him to take his concubine least he should attempt any misuse with their wiues and daughters: *Fox.* pag. 866. these things considered, who can not but approue and highly commend the saying of Pope *Pius* before alleadged, if he had done so he said?

But (saith *Bellarmine*) these are the abuses of single life, will you condemne a good thing, because of the abuse? by the same reason (saith he) *celum & terra vollenda sunt*, Heauen and earth must be taken away, because they were abused of the heathen and taken for Gods. *cap.* 21.

Answ. First, we say not, that these be the fruites of single life, which S. *Paul* commendeth in all those that haue the gift, but of this coacted and constrained Popish Virginitie, which is inposed indifferently vpon all, and cannot haue any good vse. Secondly, when you can proue that restrayning of Ministers mariage is of Gods ordinance, as it is certaine Heauen and earth are of his making, then we will grant vnto you, that it may haue a right vse, and for the abuse ought not vtterly to be abolished.

De sanct. Virgin. cap 34. Saint *Augustine* also saith, *Que nubere volunt, & ideo non nubunt quia impunè non possunt, malim nuberent, quam vrerentur, id est, quam occulta flamma concupiscentia in ipsa conscientia vastarentur.* Those Virgines, which would marry, but cannot, because of restraint, and reproch, might better marrie then burne, that is to say, then with the secret flame of concupiscence to be wasted and consumed in their conscience. Wherefore it followeth, that all they, both Ministers, votaries and Virgines, that haue not power to abstaine, should doe better, for all their profession and vow, to marrie, then to burne.

Argum. 4. The testimonie of antiquitie is very full and plentifull for the lawfulnes of Ministers marriage: *Stephanus* Bishop of Rome, *Decretal. Aliter se habet orientalis Ecclesia traditio, aliter Romana Ecclesia: Nam illorum sacerdotes, diaconi & subdiaconi Matrimonio copulantur*: The tradition or custome of the East Church is diuers from the vse of the Romane Church: for their Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons are maried. See then, how is this like to be an Apostolike tradition, that Ministers should liue single, seeing it was neuer vniuersally receiued? And Cardinall *Campian* is here found to be a lier, who was not ashamed openly to say in the assemblie at Noremberg. *ann.* 1524. that the Greekes did not permit their Priests to marrie, *Fox.* pag. 865.

Bellarmine answereth, first, that this Canon of *Stephanus* is of no authoritie, being not found in any of his Epistles, &c.

Contra. Thus he taketh to himselfe great libertie in denying of authorities alledged, refusing his owne authors; as he denieth the storie of Pope *Ioan*, witnessed by 13. authors of account, as I haue shewed before: he giueth no credite to *Sozomene* his report of *Paphnutius*: the Epistle also of *Huldericus* Bishop of Augusta written to Pope *Nicholas*, is of him refused: and now he giueth *Gratian* the lie, the compiler of their owne decrees; these are but beggerly shifts.

Secondly, saith he, the Canon is to be vnderstood according to the practise of the Greeke Church, that it is not lawfull for their priests to marrie new wiues, but onely being married before, to vse and exercise that mariage, which custome notwithstanding the Church of Rome condemneth.

Contra. First, the wordes of this Decree are plaine, *Matrimonio copulantur*: The Priests, deacons and subdeacons in the East Church, are coupled or ioyned in marriage: which sheweth a libertie as well to take wiues as to vse wiues. Secondly, the same also is affirmed by *Clemens* 3. *decret. Greg. lib.* 3. *tit.* 38. *c.* 7. *Sacerdotibus Græcis legitimo matrimonio vtilicet*: The Greeke priests may vse lawful mariage: If marriage be lawful, then both before their priesthood and after. Thirdly, *Concentius* 3. thus testifieth; *decret. Gregor lib.* 3. *tit.* 3. *cap.* 6. *Orientalis in minoribus &c.* The Easterne Churches do contract matrimonie in the lower degrees, and in the higher degrees they vse matrimonie alreadie contracted. Wherefore it is vntrue that *Bellarmine* saith, it is not lawfull in the Greeke Church for any, *in sacris existentes*; that are in orders, to marrie wiues. Fourthly, neyther do they contract mariage in the lower degrees onely, but in the higher also: as deacons are counted amongst the greater orders, for whom, by the Ancyrane councel, it was lawfull to marrie, *can.* 10. as it is alledged in the decrees, *distinct.* 28. *c.* 8. If the 6. Canon of the *Trullan* be obiected, that maketh it vnlawfull for Deacons to marrie; wee answere, first, that the Ancyrane councel is more ancient by more then 300. yeere, being celebrate *anno.* 308. the other about 670.

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and therefore to be preferred. Secondly, the Ancyrane is confirmed *can.* 1 of this Trullane Synode, and therefore therein the Synode is contrarie to it ſelfe. Thirdly, as this Synode prohibiteth deacons to contract marriage, ſo *can.* 12 it forbiddeth Biſhops to vſe marriage contracted, contrarie to the generall vſe of the Greeke Church.

Concil. Ancyran. ann. 308. *can.* 10. *Diacoui, ſi in ordinatione proteſtati ſunt, ſe non poſſe continere, & velle Vxores ducere, hi poſtea, ſi ad nuptias venerint, maneant in miniſterio, &c.* Deacons, which when they are ordained doe proteſt, that they cannot containe, but doe purpoſe to marrie, if afterward they marrie, let them continue ſtill in their miniſterie.

This Canon is alſo alledged by *Bellarmine*, to proue that marriage is not lawfull for Miniſters, vnleſſe they be diſpenſed with by the Biſhop; becauſe it followeth in the Canon, *Quia Epiſcopus &c.* Becauſe the Biſhop gaue them leaue, that is, Deacons, to marrie, they may be ſuffered ſo to doe.

Anſw. Firſt, if the Biſhop may diſpenſe with the marriage of Miniſters, then is it no Apoſtolicall conſtitution; for then it were not in the Biſhops power to diſpenſe. Secondly, the marriages then of the Miniſters of the Goſpell by your owne Canon are lawfull, becauſe both they and their Biſhops are enabled to marrie by the law of the Prince; which is more then the diſpenſation of a Biſhop. Thirdly, it is not the diſpenſation of the Biſhop, but the libertie of the Apoſtle, that maketh the marriage of Miniſters lawfull, as *diſtinct.* 27. *c.* 5. *ex Toletan.* 2. *cap.* 1. *Conceſſam ab Apoſtolo licentiam, &c.* We can not take away the licence, or libertie of mariage graunted by the Apoſtle.

Concil. Gangrenſ. cap. 1. *qui mulierem fidelem cum viro ſuo dormientem, abominandam crediderit, anathema eſto:* He that abhorreth a faithfull woman becauſe ſhe ſleepeth with her husband, accurſed be he. And more apertlie chap. 4. the Councell approueth the marriage of Miniſters, decreeing thus: *Si quis diſcernit Preſbyterum coniugatum, tanquam occaſione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, & ab eius oblatione ideo ſe abſtineat, anathema:* If any man make queſtion of a married Prieſt, that by reaſon of his mariage, he ought not to Miniſter, and therefore refraineth from his oblation and ſeruice, let him be accurſed. This Canon alloweth as well of the ſeruice of a married miniſter, as of a ſingle: And although this were a prouinciall Councell, yet is it confirmed *concil. Roman.* 6. *ſub Symmacho*, and in the ſixt generall Trullane Councell. Can. 1.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that they are condemned, which condemne mariage in Miniſters as ſimply euill, as *can.* 1. and this Canon ſpeaketh of him, *Qui habuit vxorem*, that had, not hath a wife.

Anſw. Firſt, the firſt Canon of this Synode condemneth thoſe that diſpraiſe mariage as euill, but in this 4. Canon, it alſo decreeth againſt them, that miſlike mariage in Miniſters: ſo that theſe being two diuers Canons, they can not be thought to decree one and the ſame thing. Secondly, the words are plaine, *Tanquam occaſione nuptiarum*, If by occaſion of mariage, they ſay not as euil, a man diſcerne betweene a prieſt married and vnmarried; they ſay not, condemne, but preferre one before another, for that onely, that he is married: but thus do the Papiſts, *occaſione nuptiarum*, by reaſon of mariage, put Miniſters by from miniſtring: *Ergo*, they are *anathema*. Thirdly, the right tranſlation is, *Preſbyterum coniugatum*: as *Peter Crab* readeth, a married Presbyter, which impleth the preſent time, not one, which had a wife, which is your owne gloſſe, and contrary to the cuſtome of the Greeke Church, who ſuffered their Miniſters to hold their wiues. Alſo your owne decrees do thus reade, *diſtinct.* 28. *cap.* 15. *Si quis diſcernit preſbyterum coniugatum*: If any man diſcerne a prieſt married, the Greeke word is γαμικὸν, married or ioyned to a wife, not which had a wife: ſo that the reading in their owne Canons, doth ouerthrow this new tranſlation of theirs.

Concil. Lateranenſ. ſub Alexandro. 3. *part.* 18. *cap.* 4. *Si ſubdiaconi contraxerint matrimonium, eos, dummodo ante tales fuerint, quod timendum ſit, ne pro vna pluribus abutantur, diſſimulare poteris cum ſuis vxoribus remanere, quia tolerandum eſt malum, vt peiora vitentur:* If Subdeacons marrie, if they were ſuch before, that it is to be feared, leaſt in ſtead of one, they would abuſe many, you may winke at them, and ſuffer them to enioy their mariage: for an inconuenience muſt be ſuffered to preuent a miſchiefe.

Ibid. cap. 4. *Nullus veſtrum cum à contracto matrimonio prædicti ordinis obtentu, prohibere præſumat, nec ſibi propter hoc moleſtiam, aut grauamen inferat:* Let none of you hinder him (meaning a certaine Subdeacon) from his mariage contracted, vnder colour and pretenſe of his orders, nor for that reſpect moleſt or grieue him any way. Farre off were thoſe times, though euill enough, from ſuch crueltie and outrage, as of late many haue ſeene and felt, when the mariage of Miniſters was made felonie, by that bloodie act of the ſixe articles, *Fax.* pag. 1135.

Argum. 5. In the fift place, that the impoſition of ſingle life vpon the Clergie is no Apoſtolike inſtitution it may appeare, both becauſe the authors and firſt deuiſers of this hard conſtitution may be aſſigned, as alſo, for that the obſeruation thereof is diuers, and not vniformely kept.

For the firſt, *Syricius* is held to haue been the firſt impoſer of this yoke, who was Biſhop of Rome

almoſt foure hundred yeere after Chriſt: which although it bee ſtoutly by *Bellarmine* denied, *cap. 19 lib. 1 de Cleric.* yet is it by *Cleonardus*, a popiſh writer of great credit amongſt them, affirmed, and by *Innocentius* the 3. who, although the other bee by *Bellarmine* reiected and confuted, ought to beare more ſway with him: he thus writeth, *diſtinct. 82. c. 2. Si ad aliquos forma illa eccleſiaſtica vitæ &c.* If that forme of Eccleſiaſticall conuerſation and diſcipline, which was ſent from Biſhop *Syricius* to the prouinces, doe appeare not to haue come to the knowledge of ſome, to thoſe that are ignorant, pardon ſhall not be denied. By this it is euident, that this iniunction of ſingle life firſt proceeded from *Syricius*, both becauſe he is ſaid to haue preſcribed a certaine forme of life, and for that, many were ignorant thereof: whereby it is manifeſt, that it is not Apoſtolicall, for then no Church could haue pretended ignorance.

This *Syricius* onely inhibited Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons to marrie; for Subdeacons it was yet free, till *Pelagius* the 2. his time, who was Biſhop of Rome about the yeere 580. as *Gregorie* the firſt thus teſtifieth, *diſtinct. 32. c. 2.* We haue heard by the relation of many, that your Subdeacons doe companie with their wiues: which thing that no man ſhould afterward preſume to doe, it was prohibited, by the authoritie of our predeceſſor; which was this *Pelagius*. And the ſame decree againſt the mariage of Subdeacons is againe reuiued by *Gregorie, diſtinct. 31. cap. 1.*

Again, it ſhould ſeeme that the mariage of Presbyters was not generally inhibited till the firſt Toletan Councell, which was celebrate about *anno* 407. in the which Synode, *Can. 1.* it is thus decreed: *Si quis preſbyter ante interdictum:* That if any Presbyter, yea before the interdiction, had begotten children, he ſhould not bee preferred, &c. So that it ſeemeth, that mariage began then firſt to be interdict, or forbidden.

Secondly, the diuerſitie hath been very great, and much alteration in the vrging of this inhibition.

1 The Greeke Church alloweth their Clergie to enioy their wiues before married, but ſome of them are not permitted to marrie againe: the Latin Church inhibiteth both the one and the other: So witneſſeth *Innocent. decret. Gregor. lib. 3 tit. 3 c. 6.*

2 The Greekes alſo differ much in their opinion and practiſe: firſt, Deacons were ſuffered to marrie after their ordination, if they made ſuch proteſtation, when they receiued orders: *concil. Ancyran. can. 10. ann. 308.*

3 Biſhops were firſt inhibited in the Greeke Church the companie of their wiues before maried; in the Trullane Synode, *Can. 12.* whereas it was lawfull before: which Synode was celebrate about the yeere 673.

4 In the Latin Church Subdeacons were not a long time prohibited to marrie, as it may appeare *concil. Carthag. 5. c. 3.* which was about the yeere 438.

5 At the firſt they were not enforced to make profeſſion of ſingle life at the receiuing of their orders, but it was left free, as it is extant, *concil. Toletan. 2. c. 1.* about the yeere 530. but afterward it was decreed, that Prieſts and Deacons ſhould make ſuch promiſe and profeſſion, *Toletan. 4. 12. anno* 680.

6 Mariage was free in the Latine Church for all the inferiour orders and degrees of the Clergie, vnder Subdeacons, more then a thouſand yeeres, as it is extant in the decree of *Leo* the 3. *anno* 1049 *diſtinct. 32. c. 14.* But about an hundred yeere after, *Alexander* the 3. decreed, that if any of the lower degrees did take a wife, he ſhould be depriued of his benefice, *decret. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 3. cap. 3.*

Thus, as we ſee, there hath been great difference in the Church, concerning the degrees of the Clergie, which of them ſhould bee reſtrained mariage: firſt, Biſhops were inhibited, after that Prieſts and Deacons, then next Subdeacons, and laſt of all the inferiour orders alſo, as of Readers, Exorciſts, and the reſt: Whereby it appeareth, that this inhibition of mariage was not Apoſtolicall, for then it ſhould haue been knowne at the firſt, to whom the inhibition did appertaine. And as the diuerſitie hath been great concerning the degrees, ſo the cenſures alſo of the Church in touching the mariage of Miniſters haue been as diuers.

7 Firſt, they that were married, and had children after their ordination, were but forbidden to aſcend to a higher degree, as *concil. Taurinat. c. 7. anno* 400. or thereabout.

8 Afterward, *anno* 438. in the 5. Councel of Carthage, *Can. 3.* Clergie men, not abſtaining from their wiues, were decreed to be remoued from their office: but yet they were not ſuſpended from the Communion, *Aurelianenſ. 3. cap. 4.*

9 Then the cenſure was aggrauated, and Miniſters, that were married, were depriued of the Communion: which heauie decree is reuerſed: *Concil. Turonenſ. 1. c. 7. anno* 480. or thereabout, they decree, that they ſhould not bee kept from the Communion, but onely depriued of their office.

10 As yet Miniſters, though they were enioyned abſtinence, yet were not forbidden cohabitation with their wiues: as *concil. Arelatenſ. 2. can. 3.* it was lawfull for a Miniſter to haue his wife

with

with him in the houſe, as well as any other kinſewoman: but afterward they were commaunded to be ſeparated from their wiues, *anno* 680. in the 4. Toletan. Can. 43.

11 Yet was it put to the Miniſters choiſe, whether they would leaue their wiues, or bee ſuſpended from their office: as *Gregor.* 1. maketh mention of one *Speciosus* a Subdeacon, that was content to leaue his calling, rather then to forſake his wife, and ſo maintained himſelfe being a Notarie, *diſtinct.* 32. *c.* 2. and this was *an.* 600. or thereabout: But afterward *Gregor.* 7 *an.* 1070. did enforce Miniſters by excommunicatiõ to leaue their wiues, not leauing them to their choiſe at al.

12 All this while they only proceeded againſt the mariage of Miniſters by Eccleſiaſticall cenſures, as yet no ciuill or corporall puniſhments were deuiſed, till *Vrbanus* 2 *anno* 1086. who decreed, that it might bee lawfull for the Prince, *mancipare ſeruituti, &c.* to make Miniſters wiues bondwomen, *diſtinct.* 32. *c.* 10.

13 But hitherto the life of married Miniſters was not touched, till of late it was made felonie, by the bloodie act of the ſixe articles, *Fox* pag. 1135. ſuch was the crueltie of Papiſts. Thus wee ſee how variable and diuers the conſtitutions of former times haue been concerning the mariage of Miniſters: whereby it is euident, that the Apoſtles haue not impoſed this yoke of ſingle life; for their conſtitutions are generall, and ought vniformely to bee kept of all Churches.

Now becauſe *Bellarmine* taketh vpon him to iuſtifie this laſt heauie cenſure of the mariage of Miniſters, which doth ſuſpend them not from their liuings only, but from their life, I cannot paſſe ouer with ſilence ſo great impietie, that it may appeare how this blood-ſucking generation of vipers intendeth nothing but crueltie.

His reaſons, for the iuſtifying of this cruell law, are two: the firſt, that married Miniſters are worthie to die, becauſe they doe breake their vow: the ſecond is taken out of the ſaying of *Hieron.* that a Biſhop begetting children, *quaſi adulter damnabitur*, ſhall be condemned as an adulterer, and not reputed as an husband: but adulterie (ſaith he) in *Hieromes* time was death: *Ergo*, maried Biſhops and Miniſters are worthie of death, *cap.* 21. *reſp. ad vltim. argument. Philippi.*

Anſ. To the firſt reaſon our anſwere is this: firſt, if not the mariage of Miniſters, but the breaking of the vow be worthie of death, then haue you dealt moſt cruelly with many Miniſters of the Goſpell, which were neuer votaries, and yet haue been condemned, and put to death for their mariage. Secondly, mariage after a vow made is permitted both by the Ciuill and Canon law, and therefore the ſentence of death is vniuſt, and againſt law in this caſe. Firſt, the Ciuill law permitteth, that if a widow haue taken a ſolemne oth that ſhe will not marrie againe, may notwithſtanding that oth, goe vnto ſecond mariage: *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 35. *Valentin. Theodoſ. In optione huiuſmodi nulla cogatur*: Let no woman be compelled, but left to her choiſe. If this be lawfull after an oth, there is the ſame reaſon of a vow: for a vow doth not more binde before God, then an oth.

2 Your owne Canons alſo doe warrant mariage after a vow, as *decr. Gregor. lib.* 4. *tit.* 6. *c.* 5. *Alexander* the 3. thus reſolueth concerning a woman, that had made a vow not to marrie, *Nos attendentes, &c.* We conſidering, that it is more ſafe for the woman after a vow ſimplie made to contract mariage, then incurre the guilt of fornication, &c. It will here bee anſwered, that after a ſimple vow mariage may be tolerated, but not after a ſolemne: they call that a ſimple vow, when the partie neither changeth habit, nor place, profeſſing to liue ſingle.

Contra. Firſt, *Celeſtinus* the 3. of this matter thus decreeth: *Simplex votum non minus, &c.* A ſimple vow doth no leſſe binde before God, then a ſolemne, *decr. Greg. lib.* 4. *tit.* 6. *cap.* 6. Wherefore if mariage be lawfull after the one, then after the other likewiſe: for they both binde alike before God. Thus it appeareth, that to marrie after a vow made, is agreeable to your own Canons; and authorized alſo by the Ciuill law: and therefore cannot be iudged worthie of death.

To the ſecond reaſon collected out of S. *Hierome*, our anſwere is: firſt, he doth not directly affirme, that a maried Biſhop is an adulterer: *ſed quaſi adulter*, but as an adulterer. Secondly, there is no great heede to be taken what *Hierome* ſaith, for he many times in his heate is ſo caried away with the commendation of virginitie, that he miſliketh not onely the mariage of Miniſters, but condemneth generally both firſt and ſecond mariage; as of the maried eſtate he thus ſpeaketh: *Famina maritata tumentibus vteris præferunt fœditatem: epiſtol. ad Latam.* Married women with their great bellies bewray their filthines. And writing to *Furia: An vereris ne ex te parens tuus non habeat puſionem, &c.* Art thou afraid leaſt thou ſhouldeſt not bring to thy father a little dwarfe, to creepe vpon his breaſt, *& cervicem eius ſtercore linas*, and to beray his ſhoulder? Thus vnreuerently hee ſpeaketh of children which are the fruite of mariage: and yet I doe not tranſlate his words as they are ſet downe. And againe, *ad Gaudentium: Seruos carnis, &c. Paul* calleth them that are married, ſeruants of the fleſh. Thus he wreſteth Scripture to ſerue his turne; thus hee counteth mariage, filthines, vncleannes, fleſhlines. And hee is no more equall toward ſecond mariage, as thus he noteth vpon theſe words of the Apoſtle, 1. Timoth. 5. *I will younger widowes to marrie, for certaine are turned backe after Satban: Maritum potius accipiat, quam diabolum*: Let younger widowes rather chooſe an husband, then the diuell: a goodly mat-

ter, and much to bee deſired, that is receiued in compariſon of the diuell, *ad Saluinam*. If *Hierome* had this conceit of ſecond mariage, making it in the next degree to the diuell, I doe not marueil, that he calleth the mariage of Miniſters adulterie. But *Herome* himſelfe hath giuen vs a rule, what we ſhould doe in this caſe: *Non conſueui eorum inſultare erroribus, quorum miror ingenia*: I doe not vſe to reioyce in their errors, whoſe wits I commend, *Pammach. & Ocean.* That libertie then, which *Herome* had in iudging of others, is not denied to vs in diſcerning of him.

Thirdly, *Hierome* ſaith thus of himſelfe in another caſe, *Imitatis eſtis errantem, imitamini & correctum*: As ye followed me when I erred, ſo imitate me now being corrected. So I would wiſh *Bellarmine*, as he is readie to take hold of this vnequall ſentence of *Hierome* pronounced of the mariage of Miniſters: ſo to giue him the hearing, where he ſpeaketh in fauour, as he thus writeth: *Qui dixit vnius vxoris virum, ipſe mandauit, &c.* He that ſaid, a Biſhop muſt be the husband of one wife, he alſo ſaid, he muſt be without reproofe, ſober, wiſe, apt to teach, &c. *Ad hæc omnia, &c.* We winke at all this, onely we can ſee their wiues: they paſſe by that, which they ought not, *& obijciunt quod conceſſum eſt*, and they obiect that which is granted, *Hieron. Ocean.* Here he directly affirmeth that it is granted vnto Miniſters to haue wiues.

Fourthly, he vrgeth the cuſtome of *Heromes* daies, when adulterie was puniſhed with death, which cannot be denied: but he is not able to proue that the mariage of Miniſters was then puniſhed by death: *Ergo*, it was not reputed for adulterie. And I would aske him this queſtion, whether he approue that law or not that iudgeth adulterers worthie of death: if he doe, why is it not practiſed in Poperie? if he doe not, how can it ſerue his turne againſt the mariage of Miniſters Againe, and doth this popiſh champion ſpeake as he thinketh? would he haue maried Miniſters put to death? what then are adulterous and fornicating Prieſts worthie of? doth he thinke mariage a greater ſtaine to orders, then fornication? But your fornicators, inceſtuous, or adulterous Prieſts, were not adiudged to death: the heauieſt cenſure againſt them, was to bee depoſed from their office, *diſtinct.* 81. *c.* 12. and afterward this cenſure was thought to be ſomewhat too hard, and therefore was mitigated, and chaunged into certaine yeeres penance, *diſtinct.* 82. *c.* 5. If then by your owne law adulterous and fornicatorious Prieſts are not to die; how much leſſe maried Miniſters? for they doe tranſgreſſe Gods law, the other breake but a conſtitution of your Church. Thus we ſee, how by the practiſe of the popiſh Church, in puniſhing more cruelly the honeſt mariage, then the vncleane conuerſation of Miniſters, they do preferre the one before the other: and thus, as S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Lupanaria thalamis præferuntur*, Brothel-houſes ſhall be preferred before the mariage bed. And thus much by the way for the anſwere to *Bellarmines* vniuſt defence of their cruell proceedings againſt the mariage of Miniſters euen vnto death.

Fifdly, and laſtly, I will ſhew the conſent both of the Ciuill and Canon law, for the lawfulnes of Miniſters mariage.

Firſt, *Cod. lib.* 5 *tit.* 27 *leg.* 1. *Conſtantin.* That they, *quos ſacerdotij ornamenta condecorant*, which are honoured by the Prieſthood, ſhould not marrie any abiect or vile perſons: they are not forbidden ſimply to marrie, but preſcribed of what condition. But if it be anſwered, that this word, *ſacerdotium*, Prieſthood, is here taken for an office or place of gouernment, as ſome thinke; though that vſe of the word cannot be proued in the Ciuill courſe, there are other lawes beſide to ſtrengthen this: as *Cod. lib.* 1 *tit.* 6 *leg.* 2. *Conſtantius: Clerici, coniugia, & liberi immunes, &c.* Clergie men, their wiues, and children, are freed from baſe ſeruices. And *leg.* 20. *Clericorum bona pot liberos & vxorem ad eccleſiam deferuntur*: Clergie mens goods, after their children, and wife, muſt bee giuen to the Church, *Theodoſ.* *Ergo*, by the imperiall law it was lawfull for Miniſters to be maried. It will be here anſwered, that they are called their wiues, whom they had maried before their ordination, but had now left their companie. *Contra.* Firſt, the law ſaith, *coniugia*, not *coniuges*, the mariages or the wedlocke of Miniſters, not their wiues, muſt bee free; ſhewing a preſent vſe of mariage. Secondly, if they had now left their wiues, being maried to the Church, then the Church ſhould haue been preferred before their wiues, to inherit their goods: but now their wiues were preferred before the Church, and ſo they are in the neereſt degree to them that might be: and therefore they are their wiues ſtill, as before. Thirdly, the law being generall of all Miniſters wiues, not excluding them that are maried after, no more then the firſt, it muſt bee ſo vnderſtood, vnleſſe by the law it ſelfe, they could ſhew a reſtraint: for the law muſt be taken according to the letter.

I come now to their owne Canons: firſt, *Innocentius* 3 *diſtinct.* 26. *c.* 3. thus teſtifieth, *Vxorem ducere non eſt crimen, &c.* It is no fault to marrie a wife: if it bee a ſinne, the author of mariage ſhould be in fault. And againe, *Nuptiarum copula Dei mandato perficitur*: The mariage bond is perfected by Gods commandement. If then it be no ſinne to marrie a wife, it is not ſinfull in a Miniſter to take a wife. *Decret.* 9. 2. *cauſ.* 12. *qu.* 1. *c.* 21. *Poteſtatem habet Epiſcopus, &c.* A Biſhop when he dieth hath power to leaue his goods to whom he will, &c. *fortaſſis enim vxorem habet, &c.* it may bee he hath wife, and children: the Canon ſaith not, *habuit*, he had a wife, but he hath. *Sext. decret lib.* 3 *tit.* 2.

Bonif. 8.

Iuſt. 8. Clericus coniugatus, &c. A Clergie man, that is maried, doth enioy the priuiledge of the Clergie, &c. Their mariage then is lawful, for otherwiſe, they could not enioy their Clergie.

We haue alſo direct places of the Canons, that do affirme the mariage of the Clergie, *Legitimum*, to be legitimate, or lawfull: as *concil. Lateranenſ. ſub Alexand. 3. c. 2. In ſacerdotio geniti, &c.* They which are borne in the Prieſthood, may be admitted to be Prieſts: but none which were not borne in lawful mariage, could be preferred to be Biſhops or Prieſts *part. 3. cap. 3. Ergo*, mariage in the Prieſthood is lawfull. Likewiſe *Lateran. ſub Innocent. 3. cap. 14. Clerici, &c.* Clergie men falling into fornication, ought to be more grieuouſly puniſhed, *Cum legitimo matrimonio poſſint uti*, ſeeing they may vſe lawfull matrimonie, *decret. Gregor. lib. 5. tit. 38. c. 5. Clemens 3. Graeci legitimo matrimonio uti ſunt*: The Greekes may ſafely vſe lawfull Matrimonie. In all theſe places, the mariage of the Clergie is called lawfull.

Now I will ſhew in particular, that it hath been lawfull for the ſeuerall degrees of the Clergie, to marie: for Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, Exorciſts, Singers and the reſt: firſt, for the foure inferior orders, of Doorekeepers, Lectores, Exorciſts, Acolythi, that they may take a wife, the decree of *Leo* the 9. is extant, *diſtinct. 32. c. 14.* Secondly, Subdeacons are permitted to marrie, *diſtinct. 84. 4.* out of the Councell of Carthage *5. c. 3.* Thirdly, it was lawfull for Deacons alſo to marrie, *diſtinct. 27. c. 7. Gregorie* maketh mention of one *Ieuinus* a Deacon, *Qui paruulum habuit filium*, that had a little daughter, whom the Citizens of Naples elected to be their Biſhop: the yong infant was begotten in his Deaconſhip: for it is not like they would chooſe one to be their Biſhop, that had bin Deacon but a while. Fourthly, Prieſts alſo were married, *diſtinct. 28. c. 17. Nicholaus* thus writeth to the Balganons, *Deijcere non debetis &c.* I would not haue you to depriue him of his place, ſpeaking of an Elder or a Prieſt that was married. Fifthly, for the lawfulneſſe alſo of Biſhops mariage, we haue a direct Canon, *diſtinct. 28. c. 13.* Where *Pelagius* conſenteth to the election of a married Biſhop elected to Syracuſa, though hee deferred it a whole yeere, yet at the length gaue conſent. Thus haue we the teſtimonie of their owne Canons for the approbation of Miniſters mariage.

Let vs adde the ſeale of Martyrs, M. *Lambert* Martyr out of S. *Paul* thus ſaying, *They that cannot abſtaine let them marrie, &c.* 1. Cor. 7. 9. inferreth thus, this proueth well, that all Prieſts wanting continencie of heart, had need to marrie to auoyde burning luſt, *Fox.* pag. 1104.

M. *Tindal* Martyr: A prieſt ought to haue a wife for two cauſes, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme vnapt for ſo chargeable an office, which hath no houſehold to rule: and againe, becauſe chaſtitie is an exceeding ſeldome gift, &c. *Fox.* pag. 1250.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER ANY OVGHT to be admitted to the Miniſterie after ſecond marriage.

The Papiſts.

THey deny not, but that Biſhops and Miniſters, hauing been once maried, are rightly ordeyned, ſo that afterward they doe not companie with their wiues: but they which haue been either themſelues twice married, or haue married a widowe, which had a husband before, are vtterly vncapeable of holy orders, *Bellarmin. cap. 23. Rhemiſt. Timoth. 3. fol. 4.* And this they call Bigamie. 78. Error.

Argum. 1. They reaſon thus out of S. *Pauls* words. 1. Tim. 4. 2. A Biſhop muſt be the husband of one wife: that is, ſay they, that no kinde of way was *Bigamus*, or had two wiues either at once, or one after another. And they proue their interpretation thus. Firſt, as S. *Paul* deſcribeth a widow of the Church, 1. Tim. 5. 9. that hath been the wife of one husband, ſo here he ſaith of a Biſhop, that he ſhould be the husband of one wife: but that is meant, *ſucceſſiuè*, of one husband after another: for it was neuer ſeene that one woman ſhould haue more husbands then one at once, nor neuer ſuffered either amongſt the Iewes or Gentiles: therefore it muſt be ſo taken here, a husband of one wife, that is, who hath been but once maried, as it is taken there, a wife of one husband, that neuer had more, not onely *ſimul*, at once, but not *ſucceſſiuè*, not ſucceſſiuely one after another, *Bellarm. cap. 23.*

Anſw. Firſt, there were many women both among the Iewes and Gentiles, that had forſaken their firſt husbands, and were vnlawfully coupled to others, and ſo had moe husbands at once; and likewiſe many men alſo had done the like to their wiues, but afterward repented, and were conuerted to the Chriſtian faith, but yet were not admitted to any publike office in the Church, becauſe of their former infamous life. Of ſuch the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in both theſe places, and not of thoſe that maried one wife, or one husband after another. It is therefore great boldnes, and a greater vntruth to ſay, that there were none ſuch heard of in thoſe dayes: for although it were neither lawfull then nor now, yet both many ſuch were heard of in thoſe dayes, and it were no hard matter to finde out ſome now among the papiſts, that haue had more then one wife at once.

Secondly, the Iesuite might haue remembred himselfe, how else where, helping to excuse the Councell of Neocæsarea, which decreed thus, *Can.7. Presbyterum conuiuio secundarum nuptiarum interesse non debere*, That a Priest should not be present at a second mariage feast; hath deuised this shift, *Concilium loqui de eo, qui duas simul Uxores habet*, That the Councell calleth that second mariage, when as a man hath two wiues together, *Bellarm. de conciliis lib.2. cap.8.* Why then should he thinke it strange, that we so vnderstand S. *Paul*, as giuing a caueat against such, as had two wiues together?

Thirdly, S. *Hierome* thus expoundeth the Apostle, writing in this manner, *Hoc, quod dicit unius uxoris uirum, &c.* This, which the Apostle saith, the husband of one wife, may be otherwise expounded: the first Church of Christ did consist of the remnant of Israel: the Apostle did know that it was tolerated in the law to haue children by diuers wiues, yea, the Priests themselues vsed that libertie; wherefore he commandeth, that the Ministers of Christs Church should not challenge the same licence, that they should haue two or three mariages together, but at one time euery man his single wife; *Hierom. Oceanum.* 3.

Fourthly, he is not to be counted *Bigamus* or *Digamus*, that is coupled and ioyned to one wife after another lawfully, but he that vnlawfully at once enioyeth more then one. *Fulk. annot.1.Tim. 5. sect.6. & cap.3. sect.4.*

To this agreeth that decree of *Nicholaus* the first: *Ut Laicus Uxorem simul & concubinam habens non communicet Ecclesiæ*, That a lay man, keeping a wife and a concubine together, should not communicate with the Church. And againe, *Decret. septimo de regibus. An non districta ultione feriendus est, qui in duabus Uxoribus adulteriam & flagitium Lamech imitatus est?* Are you not seuerely to be censured, which haue played the adulterer with two wiues? Thus he writeth to King *Lotharius*, who had two Wiues together, *Teberga*, and *Gualdreda*: And such as these, are truely called Bigami. And thus is this worde taken both in the Ciuill and Canon law: as *Cod.5. leg.2. Diocles. Bigamus habens uxores est infamis*: He that hath two wiues (that is, at once) is infamous. And to this agree the Canons, *decret. Greg. lib.1. tit.21. c.4. Innocent.3. Qui duas simul uxores habet, &c.* Hee is counted infamous, that hath two wiues at once. And in the same place, *Licet in veritate non sit Digamus, &c.* A Clergie man twice married, though in trueth he be not Bigamus; yet incurreth the penaltie of Bigamie. Here in direct termes second mariage is denied to bee Bigamie. So also in the Decrees, *caus.31. qu.2. cap.10. Primus Lamech &c.* First the homicide *Lamech* brought in two wiues; *Fratricidium & Digamium*: But the same punishment of the Deluge, did meete both with his Fratricide and Digamie: Here *Lamech* is called Digamus, hauing two wiues at once. Againe *Innocent* 3. decreeth, that he is not to be counted Digamus, that hath many concubines, one after another, *decret. Gregor lib.1. tit.21. c.6.* How much lesse is he Digamus, that hath had many wiues, one after another? vnlesse they will preferre whoredome before mariage.

Argum.2. Againe say they, the high Priest in the lawe was not permitted to marrie a widow, Leuit.21.13. Which lawe being obserued in the high Priest, ought much more to be kept now, *Rhemist.*

Answ. That law concerning the high Priest, did onely appertaine to himselfe, who was a figure of Christ, neither can it be extended to the Ministers of the Gospell, no more then any other part of his office, that were peculiar to that state and calling. Secondly, in the same place the Priest is enioyned to marrie a Virgine: if then the priesthoode of the lawe is for them against the marying of a widowe, it maketh also with vs for the marying of a Virgine.

The Protestants.

THat it is not by the word of God forbidden, that any man should marrie the second, yea the third time, after the decease of his wife, neither that he is to be counted vnchast or prone to wantonnes in so doing (much lesse he that in his first mariage taketh a widowe,) neither that to haue been twise maried ought to be a barre or a stop from entring into the state and calling of the Ministerie, if otherwise the man be qualified and furnished with sufficient graces for the calling; thus it is proued.

Argum.1. They that cut off such, as haue been twise married, from hauing any calling in the Church, doe sauour of the heresie of *Montanus*, into the which also *Tertullian* fell, who condemned second mariage: for if once mariage be no impediment nor preiudice to him that is to be ordayned, but second mariage be; then doe they disallow second mariage, (because a man is thereby disabled to be a Minister) if not simply, yet they make it lesse lawfull, nay more offensiue, and subiect to obloquie and reproch. But the Scripture maketh no difference betweene first and second mariage: S. *Paul* saith, For auoyding of fornication, let euery man haue his owne wife: he saith not, his first wife; but generally: so that it is lawfull for auoyding of fornication to marrie the second or the third wife, as well as the first.

Argum.2. If it be as lawfull to marrie the second wife, as the first, if it be for auoyding of fornication; then second mariage doth no more hinder the receiuing of orders then the first: but

the antecedent is true: for what ſhould make the ſecond mariage leſſe lawfull? not any dutie that the wife or the husband oweth to the partie deceaſed: for they are free in that reſpect, and ſet at libertie, Rom.7.3. Neither is the end of mariage made fruſtrate more now then before: for he that marieth the ſecond time, may haue as good cauſe to doe it, for auoyding of fornication, as he had at the firſt.

3 Second mariage, make the worſt of it you can, is not ſo great a blot as fornication, or adulterie, or to haue a Concubine: but theſe were no lets of Prieſthood in poperie: Nay, we reade that *Auguſtine* in the purer age of the Church, that confeſſeth he had two Concubines, yet afterward was made presbyter, and at the laſt a Biſhop for all that. Wherefore, there is no reaſon that exception ſhould be taken againſt a twice maried man, ſeeing a fornicator is free. And by this reaſon, if after a ſecond concubine a man may be admitted to orders, but not after a ſecond wife: then as S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Cuningalet ergò fabula, non coitus &c.* Not vnlawful companie, but the mariage bond ſhould be by the Apoſtle condemned: *Imputatur infelicitas vxoris mortua & libido meretricia cernatur:* Then a wife ſhould be counted vnhappie, and whoriſh luſt crowned. *Hieron. Oceau. Tom.3.* Wherefore, if *Pelagius* the Pope admitted one to be made a Deacon, who had a concubine after his firſt wife, *diſtinct.33.c.7.* with how much greater reaſon, may he be admitted, that had one lawfull wife after another? Confeſſ.lib.6. cap.15.

Laſtly, of this opinion *Auguſtine* ſeemeth to be: That it is as lawfull to marrie the ſecond time and the third, as the firſt. *An Apoſtolus, mulier alligata eſt viro, quamdiu vir eius viuit; non dixit primus, ſecundus, tertius, aut quartus:* The woman is bound (ſaith the Apoſtle) ſo long as her husband liueth; he ſaith not, the firſt husband, ſecond, third, or fourth. So the woman is as free after the firſt or ſecond husbands death, as when ſhe was a Virgine. Yet if ſhe can contein her ſelfe with her widowes eſtate, and haue the gift of continencie, ſhe ſhall doe better not to marrie: but if ſhe haue not, it is better to marrie (S. *Paul* ſaith not, the firſt, ſecond, or third time, but ſo often as ſhe hath neede) rather then to burne. De Bon. viduat.c.12.

Concerning twiſe maried Miniſters, though ſome in times paſt thought it inconuenient, yet were they not ſo fierce againſt them, as our aduerſaries now are, to thinke ſuch vnworthie their calling, and to depriue them both of office and maintenance. *Concil. Arelatenſ.2.can.6. Clerici quibus duplicata incluerint Matrimonia non vltra ſubdiaconatum Eccleſiaſticas capiant dignitates,* Clerkes, that chance to be maried twiſe, let them not be capable of any Eccleſiaſticall dignitie more then the ſubdeaconſhip.

Concil. Agathenſ.can.1. Placuit, vt digami, &c. Preſbyteri vel diaconi omnes abſtineant, officium non exequantur: it ſeemeth good to vs, that they which are twiſe maried in the Miniſterie, ſhould reteyne the name of Prieſt, or Deacon, though they execute not the office: yet this is not ſo hard, as to be depriued both of name, office, and dignitie.

But we haue yet clearer teſtimonies: *Innocentius* 1. *Epiſtol.25. cap.2.* reaſoning againſt thoſe, which counted it not bigamie, if a man had one wife before Baptiſme, and another after, *Quia in Baptiſmo inter cætera crimina dimiſſum eſt,* Becauſe it is forgiuen them amongſt other crimes in Baptiſme, ſay they: he thus writeth, *Vxorem ducere crimen eſt, an non eſt crimen? ſi crimen, dubium eſt in culpa qui conſtituit, vt crimen in paradiſo conſtitueretur: quod Deus ergò coniunxit non ſine eſſe appellare, &c.* Is it a ſinne to marrie a wife, or is it none? if it be a ſinne, the authour is to be blamed, who ordeyned ſinne in Paradiſe: therefore that which God hath ioyned together, it is not lawfull to call ſin. Hence we gather thus: ſecond mariage is it a ſin or no? if it be a ſin, then the blame reflecth vpon God, which were blaſphemie to thinke; if it be no ſin, why ſhould it be an hindrance to the calling of a Miniſter? How can he be polluted, and made vnapt for that calling, by an act not ſinfull? *Leo Epiſtol.90.* hath this ſaying: *Ancillam à toro abijcere, & vxorem certa virginitatis accipere, non duplicatio eſt coniugij, ſed profectus honeſtatis:* For a man to barre a bondwoman or concubine from his bed, and to take a freewoman to his wife, is no doubling of mariage, but a proficiencie in honeſtie. Say then, is it an honeſt part after a man hath knowne a concubine, to gette a wife? And is it not like honeſt part, after a man hath had one wife, to marrie, if neede require, an other? If it be then *profectus honeſtatis,* a profiting in honeſtie, to marrie a ſecond wife for neceſſitie, as it is to take a wife after a concubine: for otherwiſe we make marriage worſe then fornication: Why ſhould not a man profiting in honeſtie, that is twiſe married, be admitted to the miniſterie?

Now for the iudgement of the ciuill law concerning ſecond mariage, thus we find, *Cod.lib.6. tit.40.leg.2. Iuſtinian* doth reuerſe the law *Iulia*, which did not permit ſecond mariage, vnleſſe the widow did take an oth, that ſhe did it for procreation ſake: wherefore he giueth libertie for ſecond mariage without any ſuch oth, alledging this reaſon of that law; *Augeri magis noſtram rempublicam, &c.* For we deſire rather our common wealth to be encreaſed, and by many men lawfully borne to be frequented, &c. The reaſon of this law ſtandeth as well for the approbation of the ſecond mariage of Miniſters.

And as for your Canons, they allow the sentence of S. *Hierome*, that he is not counted Bigamus, that had one wife before Baptisme, and another after, *distinct.26.c.1.* and so it was no let vnto orders. And *Hierome* himselfe maketh mention of one *Carterius* a Spanish Bishop, that had had two wiues, one before baptisme, another after: yea, saith he, *Omnis mundus his ordinationibus plenus, &c.* All the world is full of such Ordinations, I speake not onely of Priests, but of Bishops, whom if a man would number, he shall finde such a companie, as may well compare with the Synode of Arimine for multitude: *Hieron. Occam. Tom. 3.* Thus we see, it was an vsuall thing in S. *Hieromes* time, for men twice maried, once before baptisme, and once after, to be receiued to orders: yet afterward *Innocent.3.* decreed the contrary, that such mariage should be counted Bigamie, *distinct.26.c.3.* But we preferre *Hieromes* time as more ancient, and neerer the practise of the Primitiue Church.

Concerning the iudgement of holy Martyrs: it is cleare by their practise, for diuers of them being in orders, were twise married, as Bishop *Cranmer* holy Martyr, see his storie, *Fox.* pag. 1860. *& deinceps.*

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER MINISTERS ought to refraine the companie of their wiues, being entred into orders.

The Papists.

79. Error. THey confesse, that *Peter* and other of the Apostles were maried; but after their calling they had no company with their wiues, *Rhemist. Math.8. sect.3.* And so ought the Ministers of the Gospell (saith *Bellarmine*) be kept from the vse of their wiues, to whom they were maried before their calling.

Argum.1. The Priests of the law were bound to withdrawe themselues during the time of their seruice, while they attended vpon the sacrifice, and to forbeare the companie of their wiues: much more the Priests of the law, that must alwayes offer sacrifices, must be alwayes free from matrimonie, *Rhemist. Luk.1. sect.10.*

Answ.1. The Leuiticall priesthood did represent and shadowe forth the priesthood of Christ, and their legall cleansings, washings, abstinence, purifyings, did shewe forth the holines and perfection of the priesthood of Christ: wherefore the law of their abstinence doth no more binde vs, then other of their legall purifications: they haue their end in the priesthoode of Christ. Thus also saith S. *Hierome, Noster Pontifex secundum ordinem, &c.* But our Bishop according to the order of *Melchisedech*, is without father or mother, without kinred, without marriage, *lib.1 contra Iouin.* 2. We acknowledge no sacrificing priesthood in the newe testament, nor any sacrifice in the Church for sinne, but onely that sacrifice of attonement vpon the Crosse: but our sacrifices are spirituall, of praise and thankesgiuing; therefore the argument followeth not from the Priests of the lawe, to those that are no priests, *Fox.* pag. 1166. 3. Purenes of life, we grant, is as much required now in Ministers of the Gospell, as it was then in the priests of the lawe: therefore they ought as well to haue libertie to marrie, seeing Matrimonie is the best remedie against fornication and vncleannes of life. 4. The Priests of the law did onely abstaine during the time of their seruice, not while they liued: and so was it decreed in the sixt generall Synode, *cap.13.* as it is alleaged, *distinct.31.c.13. Non in perpetuum, sed tempore oblationis, &c.* That Ministers should abstaine from the companie of their Wiues, not for euer, but during the time of the offering onely.

Argum.2. Another argument they picke out of S. *Pauls* words, 1. Cor. 7. 5. Defraud you not one another, vnlesse it be by consent for a time, that you may giue your selues to prayer. If the lay man cannot pray, vnlesse he abstaine from his wife; the Priest, that must alwayes pray, must alwayes abstaine, *Rhemist.*

Answ.1. The lay man is bound to offer prayers alwayes as well as the Priest, and so by this reason, neither ought any lay man to performe his duety to his wife, if it were an hinderance to prayer. 2. S. *Paul* speaketh not here of all prayer, but of a speciall kind, which, to be made more feruent, requireth fasting and abstinence, which kind is not alway necessarie, but vpon some certaine occasion. 3. It is so farre off that a lay man cannot pray, vnlesse he abstaine from his wife, that many times he prayeth more quietly then he that is vnmaried, or abstaineth, if he haue not dominion ouer his lust, *Fulk annot. 1. Cor. 7. 5.*

The Protestants.

NEither the Apostles forsooke the companie of their wiues, after they were called and chosen of Christ, neither ought the ministers of the Gospell to renounce, abandon, and forsweare the societie and fellowship of their wiues: but rather to liue with them in all temperance and sobrietie, for the good example of others.

Argum.1.

Argum.1. It is proued out of the 1. Cor. 9. 5. that *Peter* and the other Apoſtles did leade about their wiues in their companie, and S. *Paul* there ſaith, that he alſo might vſe the ſame libertie. Likewiſe, 1. Tim. 3. 5. S. *Paul* giueth rules concerning the houſe and familie of the Miniſter, his children, the behauiour of their wiues, verſ. 11: But where, I pray you, is it fitter for the Miniſters wife and children to be, then with her husband? By theſe places it is apparant, that Miniſters wiues were not excluded from their husbands company: as a thouſand yeere after and more it was decreed by *Anſelme*, that they ſhould not dwell in houſe with their husbands, nor talke with them without two or three witneſſes, *Fox*, pag. 1167.

Argum.2. It is cleane contrarie to the ſcripture. Firſt, our Sauiour ſaith, whoſoeuer putteth away his wife, except it be for fornication, cauſeth her to commit adulterie, Matth. 5. 32. By this rule, therefore a Miniſter ought not for any other cauſe to put away and diſmiſſe his wife, but for fornication: *Ergo*, it is not lawfull becauſe of his calling, or vpon any other colour to ſend her away. Secondly, S. *Paul* ſaith, They ought not to defraud one another but for a time, and that with conſent, 1. Cor. 7. 5. Therefore if the wife will not conſent, her husband cannot goe from her: nay, though there be conſent, yet they muſt be aſunder but for a time: they cannot by conſent altogether breake off, and diſſolue their marriage, which was made before God, though they would neuer ſo fayne themſelues, vnleſſe it be for fornication, then without conſent the mariage knot is broken.

Argum.3. *Peter* left not the companie of his wife after he was made an Apoſtle: for he had a daughter called *Petronilla*, of whom the popiſh legends write much holines, which muſt needes be borne after he was called *Peter*. And againe, it is proued by her age, for ſhe was ſo young in the perſecution vnder *Domitian*, that *Flaccus* the Countie deſired her in mariage: but if ſhe had been borne before *Peters* Apoſtleſhip, ſhe muſt haue been threeſcore yeere old at that time, or hard vpon, *Fulk, Matth.* 8. *ſect.* 3.

4 *Auguſtine* thus writeth of this matter: *Vna ſola eſſe cauſa poſſet, qua te id quod voniſti, non ſolum non hortaremur, verumetiam prohiberemus implere. ſi forte tua coniux hoc tecum ſuſcipere animi. ſeuerit infirmitate recuſaret, Epiſtol.* 45. There may be one cauſe, and no more, which would make me, not onely to moue you to performe that which you haue vowed, but to diſſwade and forbid you, namely, if your wife by reaſon of her weakenes, ſhould refuſe to beare the yoke with you. Therefore, by *Auguſtines* ſentence, neither ought a Miniſter that is maried, performe the vow of continencie which he made, without conſent of his wife: for he ſpeaketh generally of vowes made by thoſe that are ioyned in Wedlocke: Let vs ſee alſo the decrees of generall Councels.

Trulan ſynod general. 6. Can. 13. It was decreed, *Deponendos eos, qui audeant poſt ordinationem diaconos & ſacerdotes cum ſuis prioribus legitimis vxoribus conſuetudine primere, & ipſos, qui ordinantur vxores ſuas pietatis prætextu expellentes, excommunicandos:* That they ſhould be depoſed, which preſumed to depriue Deacons and Prieſts, after the receiuing of orders, of their lawfull wiues companie, and that they, which after the taking of orders, vnder pretenſe of greater holines, ſhould put away their wiues, ſhould be excommunicate.

Lateranenſ. ſub Alexandro 3. part. 19. cap. 2. & 3. Qui in ſacerdotio geniti ſunt, admitti poſſunt ad ſacerdotium, ſed paternas eccleſias habere non debent, alias tamen eccleſiis præſici poſſunt: They which are borne in the Prieſthoode, may be admitted to the Prieſthoode, but their Fathers Churches or benefices they cannot haue, yet other Churches they may be ſet ouer. And *part. 3. cap.* 3. thus, *Ne quis non de legitimo Matrimonio natus, Epiſcopus fieret,* That none not borne in lawfull Matrimonie, ſhould be a Biſhop. Then we conclude thus, A Prieſts ſonne borne in the Prieſthoode may be made a Biſhop, and ſet ouer Churches, but he that is not borne in lawfull wedlocke cannot: therefore the mariage of Prieſts, and the ſober vſe thereof, euen in the Prieſthood, is lawfull.

Lateranenſ. ſub Innocentio. 3. cap. 14. Clerici, qui ſecundum religionis ſuæ morem, non abdicarunt copulam coniugalem, ſi lapſi fuerint in fornicationem grauius puniantur, cum legitimo Matrimonio vti poſſunt: Clergie men, which after the cuſtome of their profeſſion, doe not abrogate the mariage knot, if they fall into fornication, let them be more ſeuerely puniſhed, ſeeing they may vſe lawfull Matrimonie. The Matrimonie of Clergie men is called lawfull, and made free vnto them in reſpect of the vſe: what clearer teſtimonies can any man require?

We haue alſo the warrant of both lawes, that Miniſters ſhould not leaue or forſake the companie of their wiues: as firſt, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. leg. 19. Honor. Theodoſ. Illas non relinqui, &c.* The affection of chaſtitie doth exhort not to leaue or forſake thoſe women, which before their husbands prieſthood deſerued lawfull mariage: *neque enim Clericis incompetenter adiuncta ſunt, &c.* neither are they incompetently ioyned to Clergie men, which by their conuerſation made them worthie the prieſthood. By this law it appeareth, that Miniſters wiues muſt not be caſt off, but ioyned ſtill to their husbands.

The Canon law alſo alloweth that decree of the Synode, *Gangrenſ. diſtinct.* 30. 3. *Si qua mulier, &c.* If any woman forſaking her husband, will depart, and diſſolue the mariage bond, and ſo condemning

ning mariage, let her be accurſed. This Canon forbiddeth all forſaking or departing of them that are maried one from another: and ſo conſequently neither is any ſuch departure lawful for Orders ſake. It will be anſwered, that this Canon forbiddeth ſuch departure, as condemneth mariage. *Contra.* Mariage is condemned two waies, either abſolutely, as by counting it vncleane in it ſelfe, as the Manichees wickedly taught; or elſe by way of implication, as to thinke any calling diſgraced or polluted by it, as the Papiſts ſay Orders are. This Synode in generall decreeth againſt all condemnation of mariage, both the one and the other: as it may appeare by the 10. Canon of the ſame Synode: *Si quis propter Deum virginitatem profeſſus, &c.* If any profeſſing virginitie for Gods cauſe doth arrogantly diſpraiſe thoſe that are maried, let him be accurſed. So the popiſh votaries doe deſpiſe the maried Miniſters of the Goſpell, and therefore are vnder the cenſure of this Canon. Likewiſe the ſame Synode in the laſt Canon decreeth thus againſt the condemners and deſpiſers of mariage: *Hos condemnamus qui ſe extollunt, &c.* We doe condemne thoſe, that extoll themſelues againſt the Scriptures, and eccleſiaſticall Canons, and bring in new precepts. But the popiſh Church in impoſing ſingle life, bringeth in new precepts contrarie to the Scripture and the Canons. *Ergo.*

I will ſet to the ſeale of the holy Martyrs: Doctor *Taylor* preacher, holy Martyr, when his ſeruant *Iohn Hull* had brought his ſonne *Thomas* vnto him, he put off his hat, and thus ſaid to the people: Good people, this is mine owne ſonne begotten of my bodie in lawfull Matrimonie, and God be bleſſed for lawfull Matrimonie, *Fox* pag. 1525.

Lawrence Saunders preacher, holy Martyr, when his childe was brought vnto him into the priſon, he ſaid thus to the ſtanders by, which praiſed the goodlines of the childe: What man fearing God would not rather loſe this life preſent, then to adiudge this boy to bee a baſtard, his wife a whore, and himſelfe a whoremonger? Yea if there were no other cauſe, for which a man of my eſtate ſhould loſe his life, yet who would not giue it to aduouch this childe to bee legitimate, and his mariage to be lawfull and holy? *Fox* pag. 1497.

THE SIXT QVESTION, CONCERNING THE maintenance of the Church by tithes.

COncerning the maintenance of the Church, there are diuers points, wherein wee and our aduerſaries agree: The maintenance of the Miniſters of the Church is either by temporall poſſeſſions, which haue been beſtowed vpon the Church, by the gift of deuout and religious men; or elſe they haue inheritance from their friends and a patrimonie of their owne; or elſe they liue of the tithes and oblations of the people.

1 We graunt, and agree vnto them, that the Church Miniſters, beſide the portion of tithes, may lawfully enioy temporall lands, which the Church of ancient time hath been endowed withall. But we yeeld vnto them vpon certaine conditions: Firſt, there muſt be a moderation vſed in all ſuch gifts, which are bequeathed to the Church: for eccleſiaſticall perſons ought not to be no greedie and haſtie in receiuing whatſoeuer in ſimplicitie and blinde deuotion any man ſhall giue vnto them: as if they ſee that others are impoueriſhed by the gift whereby they are inriched. Thus the Prieſts offended in our Sauiour Chriſts time, who allured the people to bring their offerings to the Altar, though their parents wanted in the meane time, whom they were bound to relieue by the law of God. This alſo was a common practiſe in time of poperie: So the prieſts might be enriched, they cared not greatly, though all the ſtocke of their patrones and founders were vndone: who becauſe they were vnſatiable, and had no meaſure in entiſing ſimple men, to giue ouer their lands and Lordſhips into their hands, the ſtatute of *Mortmaine* was made, not without iuſt cauſe, to be a rule vnto them, that otherwiſe could not rule themſelues. At the firſt it was lawfull by the Imperiall conſtitutions for any man to giue to the Church, as much as he thought good, as it may appeare by the law of *Conſtantinus, Cod. lib. 1 tit. 5. leg. 1.* when as yet the Church was poore, and newly deliuered from perſecution: but afterward, when as ambitiouſly Clergie men ſought to enrich themſelues, and without meaſure heaped poſſeſſions together, it ſeemed good that a reſtraint ſhould bee made; as *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 5. leg. 16. Iuſtinian* made a law, that no gift made to the Church aboue 500. crownes ſhould bee good, without inſinuation, that is, ſome act done before the Magiſtrate. And there is a law more ancient made by the Heathen Emperours, *Dioclesian, Maximinian*, that a Colledge, not priuiledged, that is licenced, ſhould not be capable of any inheritance, *Cod. lib. 6 tit. 34. leg. 8.* Yea their owne Canons alſo haue made prouiſion againſt the inſatiable deſire of the Church, *Decret. par. 2 cauſ. 12. qu. 2. can. 49. Gregor. Eccleſia rapacitatis ardore, &c.* The Church muſt not greedily inuade the things pertaining to another. And, *Can. 74. Non vltra quinquageſimam partem, &c.* That a Biſhop ſhould not giue aboue the 50. part of the Church goods to a Monaſterie. *Auguſtine* doth highly commend *Aurelius* Biſhop of Carthage, and worthely, for this one act: A certaine rich man of Carthage hauing no children, gaue all his ſubſtance

ſubſtance to the Church, reſeruing onely the vſe thereof for his life time: afterward the man had children: *Reddidit Epiſcopus nec opinanti ea, quæ donauerat:* The Biſhop reſtoreth vnto him that which he gaue, not looking for it, nor making any account of it: *In poteſtate habuit Epiſcopus non reddere; ſed iure fori, non iure poli?* It was in the Biſhops power not to reſtore the gift, but by the law of the court, not by the law of heauen. I pray you how many ſuch examples can ye ſhew me in the time of popiſh ſuperſtition? This then is the firſt thing required, that although it be lawfull for the Church to enioy the bequeſts of their benefactors, yet it ſhould be done with ſome limitation; as the Leuites, beſide their tithes, had cities appointed them: but the number was ſet down, they ſhould not exceede 48. in all: and to euery citie was a quantitie and circuite of ground allotted, which ſhould in length and bredth containe euery way three thouſand cubites, Numb. 35. verſ. 5. 8. Ad fratres in Eremo Serm. 32.

2 It muſt alſo bee prouided, that the gifts and legacies beſtowed vpon the Church, bee for the maintenance of pietie and true religion, and to good vſes, not to nouriſh idolatrie and ſuperſtition; or if they bee giuen through ignorance of the time, to ſuch vnlawfull purpoſes, they ought by the Prince to bee conuerted to better and more godly vſes: As now in England, the lands of Colledges, which were firſt giuen to maintaine that abominable Idoll of the Maſſe, are turned to the maintenance of learning and true religion. So was the law of *Moſes*, that the gold and ſiluer, braſſe, yron, tinne, lead, which the Iſraelites ſhould receiue of the Heathen, firſt ſhould paſſe through the fire, and ſo be made cleane, and fit for holy vſes: Euen thus according to this law, the lands conſecrate to ſuperſtition, hauing now paſſed through the fire of Gods word, and triall of the truth, may ſafely be vſed to the glorie of God, in aduancing and ſetting forward true religion and vertue: As *Cod. lib. 1 tit. 8. leg. 8. Valentin. Martian.* It is made a law that the houſes, wherein heretikes did meete, ſhould bee adiudged to the orthodoxall Church: *tit. 12. leg. 11. Honor.* That the habitations of certaine heretikes called Cælicolæ, ſhould be annexed to the true or right beleeuing Church. Likewiſe, *leg. 17.* The Synagogues of the Iewes are confiſcate to the vſe of the Church. *Theodoſ. Valentin.* Numb. 31. 23.

3 Another thing muſt bee required: that Church-men ought not to abuſe the poſſeſſions of the Church, to maintaine pride, idlenes, and riotous liuing: for in caſe they doe notoriouſly ſpend and waſte the Church goods, the Prince (by whoſe authoritie they were giuen to the Church) may iuſtly take from them their ſuperfluities, not leauing the Church deſtitute of ſufficient maintenance. This is notably proued by *Iohn Huſſe*, in the defence of *Wickliffes* articles: And we haue ſeene the practiſe thereof in England, in the late ſuppreſſion of Abbeyes; wherin (though ſome of thoſe lands might otherwiſe haue bin diſpoſed of) yet the prouidence of God notably appeared in bringing deſolation vpon thoſe Cels of ſin, and vncleane cages of birds. Neither hath this been an vnuſuall and vnaccuſtomed practiſe in the Church, for Princes to correct the miſdemeanour of Prieſts, by cutting them ſhort of their temporalties: for in *Auguſtines* time the Chriſtian Emperors diſpoſſeſſed the Donatiſts of their Churches and poſſeſſions, and gaue them to the Catholike Biſhops. And at that time the Donatiſts cried out, as the Papiſts now doe, *Quid mihi eſt imperator?* What hath the Emperour, the King to doe with our lands? *Auguſtine* anſwereth, *Secundum ius ipſius poſſides terram:* by the law of Princes the Church enioyeth her poſſeſſions: *Recitemus leges imperatorum, videamus ſi voluerint aliquid ab hæreticis poſſideri:* Let vs then rehearſe the lawes of Emperours, and ſee whether they ſuffer heretikes to enioy the Church poſſeſſions. Fox. pag. 457. Tractat. in Iohann. 6.

That it is lawfull for the ciuill Magiſtrate to diſpoſſeſſe Eccleſiaſticall perſons of their liuings and maintenance abuſing them to wantonnes and impietie, ſee *Concil. Colonienſ part. 9. cap 21. Fraternitates, quæ vocantur, &c.* The brotherhoods, as they are called, which are made in the honour of ſome Saints, haue a ſhew indeede of godlines, but as they are now vſed, both Clerkes and lay men doe follow nothing els in ſuch places but ryot and drunkennes, and ſometimes they intend conſpiracies againſt potentates, we thinke it better that they ſhould be cleane taken out of the way, and their reuenewes giuen to the poore.

Now, whereas there is a great complaint amongſt malecontents and ſuperſtitious fauourites of the popiſh profeſſion, that the Abbey lands were taken away from their Cels, confiſcate to the Prince, and conuerted to lay vſes: for the better anſwere thereof, I will briefly ſet downe theſe concluſions. Firſt, that it hath been alwaies lawfull for the Prince, to ſeaze vpon ſuch goods and lands as were abuſed to idolatrous and ſuperſtitious purpoſes, which afterward being in the Princes right, were at his deuotion and diſpoſition to bee employed. See the law of *Conſtantine*, *Cod. lib. 1 tit. 14 leg. 1.* That the goods of ſacrificing Prieſts were confiſcate to the Prince. And *leg. 5. Honor. Theodoſ. Omnia loca, quæ ſacris veterum error deputauit, noſtræ rei inbemus ſociari:* All thoſe places, which haue been in the error of former time appointed to ſacred vſes, we bid to be ioyned to our treaſurie: excepting ſuch things as were beſtowed by the liberalitie of Princes vpon priuate perſons. So S. *Ambroſe* anſwereth *Symmachum*, making the like obiection, for that the Emperours had ſpoyled the Idoll prieſts of their reuenewes, *Sublata ſunt prædia, quia non religioſi vtebantur iis, quæ*

religionis

religionis iure defenderent: Their lands were taken away, because they did not religiously vse those things which they held vnder colour of religion. The same answere may we make our aduersaries in the like case.

Secondly, we say it had been very meete, that a greater part of the Abbey lands had been conuerted to godly vses, as it was religiously by the Prince intended, if his godly purpose had not bin by the couetousnes of some other hindered: according to the law of *Anastasius, Cod. lib. 1. tit. 2. leg. 9.* who decreed that the possessions of heretikes should be confiscate to the Prince, yet so, that the oratories and places of praier be still maintained.

Thirdly, if any were rather led with the expectation of their priuate gaine, then the hatred of superstition in the dissolution and spoyle of Abbeyes, we defend them not, neither hold them excused: as *Augustine* saith to the Donatists, and it is alleaged in the decrees, *Caus. 23. qu. 7. c. 1. Quisquis occasione huius legis, &c.* If any man by occasion of this law, which Kings seruing Christ haue promulgated to correct your impietie, doth greedily couet your goods, he pleaseth not vs.

Secondly, concerning the second kind of maintenance, which ariseth by the proper and peculiar inheritance, which Church Ministers haue: wee also yeeld our consent, that a Minister to whom some inheritance is befallen, is not bound to disclame therefore the maintenance which he hath of the Church: for the Leuites, beside the allotment of the tithes, had their proper houses, which they might sell, and redeeme againe, Leuit. 25. 32. As also that place, 1. Timoth. 3. 2. will beare it, where the Apostle would haue a Bishop to be harborous, and giuen to hospitalitie: which he shall be much better able to performe, hauing some helpe, beside the Church liuing, of his own inheritance. So then it is not to bee doubted, but that Ecclesiasticall persons may, together with spirituall liuings, retaine their owne proper inheritance: referring them both to one and the selfe same end, that is, to countenance their Ministerie, and to be the better able to performe the externall duties thereof, in relieuing the poore, helping the needie, and such like. Yet notwithstanding there was an imperiall law, that he which liued of the Church, should renounce his owne patrimonie: of the which law S. *Ambrose* maketh mention, writing against *Symmachus*: *Nobis etiam priuata successionis emolumenta recentibus legibus denegantur*: We also by a late law are forbidden to reape any aduantage by priuate inheritance. And the same is ratified in the decrees, *Caus. 14. q. 3. c. 6. Clericos illos, &c.* Such of the Clergie should bee maintained by the Church stipends, as haue no goods nor patrimonie from their parents. As then this law, that, whereas a man hath sufficient maintenance beside of the Church, his patrimonie should passe to the next heire, is not of it selfe vniust, nor vnreasonable, where the state of the Common-wealth doth require it: so where there is no such positiue law, it is both lawfull and conuenient, that Ministers together with their ecclesiasticall calling, should enioy their patrimonies, for the gracing and dignifying of their Ministerie.

Bellarm. c. 27.

Thirdly, as touching the proper maintenance, and reuenue of the Church, which is by tithes: diuers points are agreed of and accorded betweene vs. First, that tithes are due onely to the Church, and cannot be alienated to any other vse, nor be turned to the maintenance of lay-men: for there must be, where tithes are paied, a matter of giuing and receiuing, Philipp. 4. 15. *We gaue spirituall, and receiue temporall*: which because lay-men doe not performe, they haue nothing to doe with the tithe: for not keeping the condition, they cannot claime the couenant.

Damasus, decret. 3. thus writeth of this matter: *Qua fronte, qua conscientia oblationes vultis percipere qui vix valetis pro vobis, nedum pro aliis deo preces offerre?* With what face or conscience can you receiue tithes and oblations (speaking of lay-men) seeing ye are neither able to pray for your selues, nor others?

Lateranens. sub Alexand. 3. part. 26. cap. 8. Qui decimas laico in seculo manenti concesserit, & depomendus: He that granteth tithes to a secular lay-man, should be deposed. And many such decrees they haue beside against the appropriating of tithes to lay-men, as *decret. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 30. c. 19. Decima laicis, &c.* Tithes can in no case be granted to lay-men for their inheritance. *Caus. 16. qu. 1. c. 68. Vsus decimarum, &c.* The vse of tithes must in no wise redound to secular men. It may therefore iustly be marueiled at, how contrary to their owne Canons, they made so many impropriate benefices: for it is certaine, that impropriations (which may more fitly so bee called, then appropriations) haue been founded of ancient time in poperie, and by the Popes themselues maintained: for in King *Henrie* the 3. his raigne, suite was made vp to Rome to Pope *Alexander* the 4. by the Bishops of this land, that benefices appropriate to religious houses might bee restored: but they could not be heard, *ex Flor. Histor.*

First, it may bee said, that by the Canons it was not lawfull for the Ciuill Magistrate to make a benefice appropriate, but the Bishop might.

Contra. Caus. 16. qu. 7. c. 1. Periculum animæ, &c. They of the lay sort incurre the daunger of their soule, that receiue tithes either of Bishops or Kings. Secondly, though it be not permitted to euery Bishop, yet the Pope hath authoritie to doe it.

Contra,

Contra. Cauſ. 16. *qu.* 7. *c.* 3. *Gregor.* 7. *Si quis amodo Epiſcopus, &c.* If any Biſhop hereafter do grant the tithes to lay-men, let him bee counted amongſt the greateſt heretikes. This Pope maketh no exception, but includeth all Biſhops, and ſo the Pope to, if he will be a Biſhop.

Thirdly, it will be anſwered, that they made no graunt of tithes to lay-men, but onely to religious houſes and Cathedrall Churches, and ſuch like.

Contra. Firſt, the multitude of Canons made againſt the holding of tithes by the lay ſort, doth euidently ſhew, that it was a continuall practiſe in poperie, to alienate the tithes of the Church to lay-men. Secondly, it is alſo againſt their owne Canons, that benefices ſhould be annexed or appropriate to houſes or Churches of religion. *Decret. Gregor. lib.* 3. *tit.* 5. *c.* 30. *Innocent.* 3. decreeth, that no penſions ſhould be granted out of benefices: which is a leſſe matter, then to alienate all the tithes, and reſerue onely a penſion. Againe, *ibid c.* 33. mention is made of a generall Councel, that would not ſuffer Chappels or Churches to be annexed to Prebends. Likewiſe, *Clement. lib.* 1. *tit.* 5. *c.* 1. *Prælati beneficia non applicent menſis:* That prelates ſhould not employ benefices for the maintenance of their table. Thus if they had obſerued their owne Canons, this pernicious deuiſe of appropriating benefices ſhould not haue found entertainment.

2 The people are bound in conſcience, to giue of their goods vnto their lawfull paſtors, according to the determination of the Church, and the poſitiue lawes of Princes made in that behalfe, the which they are bound to obey: and the tenth being the hire of the labourer and the wages of the Lords workman, Matth. 10. 10. it ſhall be as great a ſinne to defraude the Miniſter of his portion, as to keepe backe the meate or wages from the hireling and labourer, Iam. 5. 4.

Cabilonenſ. cap. 18. *Qui decimas dare neglexerint, excommunicentur:* They that neglect to pay their tithes, let them bee excommunicate. It is no ſmall ſinne therefore which deſerueth excommunication.

3 We vtterly denie alſo, and herein conſent with our aduerſaries, that tithes are not pure almes, as ſome haue been of opinion in times paſt, but are a plaine debt of the people to their Miniſters. Firſt, the wages or reward of the labourer is no almes, but his due, and of right belonging to him: but tithes are ſo vnto Miniſters who labour in the Lords harueſt, 1. Timoth. 5. 16. *Ergo,* no almes. Secondly, almes doe alway exceede the deſert of the almeſman, they ſhew the beneuolence and free heart of the giuer, not any merite or worthines in the receiuer: but tithes and all other temporall gifts, are farre inferiour to the labours of Miniſters: for what are temporal things to ſpirituall, 1. Cor. 9. 11? *Ergo,* no almes. Thirdly, the tenth is the Lords part, and by him it is aſſigned to his faithfull Miniſters, which in Gods ſtead doe teach vs, 2. Cor. 5. 20. But almes cannot be giuen vnto God. Againe, the tenth is as an inheritance to the Church, and to bee counted as the corne of the barne, or the abundance of the winepreſſe, Numb. 18. verſ. 26. 27. it is vnto them as the fruite of the earth, and increaſe of the ground to the husbandman: Therefore to be counted no almes from men, but the bleſſing of God both vpon the paſtor and the people. Bellar. cap. 14.

Concil. Moguntienſ. ſub Arnulpho. cap. 17. *Admonemus, vt decima omnino dari non negligatur, timendum eſt enim, vt quiſquis Deo debitum abſtrahit, Deus propter peccatum ei auferat neceſſaria:* Wee ſtraightly charge, that no man neglect to pay his tithes: for it is to bee feared, that as a man doth withhold from God his due, ſo God ſhould for his ſinne depriue him of things neceſſarie. Tithes therefore are *debitum,* a due debt, therefore no almes.

Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. lib. 1. *cap.* 34. *Attende diligenter lector, quod omnes primitiæ, & quicquid ad ſanctuarium oblatum eſt ſacerdotis ſint, & ad ius eius pertineant:* Vnderſtand diligent reader, that all firſt fruites, and whatſoeuer was offered in the ſanctuarie, was the prieſts, and belonged to him of right. Therefore tithes are more then almes.

Likewiſe, *decret. Greg. lib.* 3. *tit.* 30. *c.* 14. *Cum decima, &c.* Seeing tithes were not inſtituted of men, but of God, *quaſi debitum exigi poſſunt,* they may be exacted as a due debt.

4 We alſo agree, that it is not meete that the maintenance of Miniſters ſhould be voluntarie, or left to the peoples choiſe: but that it is conuenient, iuſt, equall, requiſite, that both by lawes of Princes, and conſtitutions of the Church, prouiſion ſhould be made, as there is, for the neceſſarie, certaine, and competent maintenance of the Church. Firſt, the tenths in the lawe were eſtabliſhed by a perpetuall ordinance: *Ergo,* the maintenance of miniſters ought now alſo to be confirmed by poſitiue lawes, as then tithes were: the argument followeth: for if their Miniſterie deſerued ſuch aſſurance of their maintenance, which did but ſerue at the Altar, much more now doth the Miniſterie of the Goſpell deſerue it. And the Apoſtle alſo ſeemeth ſo to reaſon, 1. Cor. 9. 14. *Ita,* that as they which wayted on the Altar were partakers of the Altar: ſo God hath ordained (ſaith he) that they which preach the Goſpell, ſhould liue of the Goſpell. That is, as then the people did not onely giue tithes voluntarily, but were bound by lawe to doe it: euen ſo God hath ordained, that Miniſters ſhould liue of the people: and by this ordinance of God, the people may as well be bound vnto it now, as they were then. Secondly, if Miniſters, bound in conſcience to feed and inſtruct the people, may alſo be enforced & vrged by the conſtitutions of the Church

and lawes of Princes to doe that, which in conscience they are bound: why may not the people likewise be constrained by publike law, to performe that dutie to their pastors, which their owne conscience doth vrge them vnto? Thirdly, experience teacheth, that men are hardly (euen liuing vnder a lawe) brought to pay their rights to the Church, no not in those places where they can take no exception against their pastors: how much more vnwilling would they be (I speake of those which are not yet wonne to a through liking of the Gospell) if they were left to their owne libertie?

Neither is it safe to giue the people this libertie to detaine their tithes from vnsufficient Clerkes, least vnder this colour afterwards they might deny them to those which were worthie. Sometimes indeede it was put to the peoples choyce to pay their tithes to whom they would, and to withhold them, if they saw cause, for as yet there was no positiue lawe made, but since it hath been otherwise determined by ciuill constitutions of Princes, as *Concil. Ticinens. sub Ludouico Pio: Vt non pro suo libitu Clericis laici decimas tribuerent, &c.* That the lay sort should not pay tithes at their pleasure to the Clergie: *Synod. August. cap. 19. Qui iustas non soluunt decimas, ter moniti, eis negetur communio:* They that being thrise admonished doe not pay their full tithe, let them be denied the Communion. *Anno.* 1538. King *Henrie* the eight of excellent memorie, made this positiue lawe concerning tithes: For as much as by a lawe established euery man is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall by colour of dutie omitted by their Curates, detaine his tithes, or be his owne iudge, but shall truely pay the same, as hath been accustomed without any restraint, or diminution, and such lacke and default as they finde in their Parsons or Curates, to call for reformation thereof at their Ordinaries, and other superiours hands; *Fox* pag. 1006. Such ciuill constitutions of Princes not contrarie to the word of God, doe binde subiects to obedience.

5 We also acknowledge (as *Bellarmine* seemeth to grant, chap. 25.) that to pay precisely the tenth, is not now commanded by the lawe of God: as though that order could not be changed by any humane lawe, as the Canonists hold, but men necessarily were bound to pay tithes. But thus farre forth we hold, that it is grounded vpon Gods lawe: first, in respect of the equitie of the lawe, in paying of tithes, which is this, that the Ministers ought to liue of the people, and to haue sufficient and competent maintenance by them: which equitie and substance of the lawe is
1.Cor.9.6. morall, and ought alwayes to continue, being grounded vpon the lawe of nature: Thou shalt not mouzle the mouth of the oxe that treadeth out the corne. Secondly, in as much as the lawes of the land and of the Church doth confirme this ancient constitution of tithes, (which is left indifferent of it selfe) we are bound to obey such lawes, being agreeable to the word of God: And in this sense also, tithes may be sayd to be due by the lawe of God, because Gods word commandeth obedience to our Magistrates, in all lawfull ordinances.

Synod. Moguntin. cap. 7. 5. Statuimus, vt decima, quæ iure debentur diuino, soluantur sine fraude: We appoynt, that tithes, which are due by the diuine lawe, be payd without any fraude. This Counsel doubteth not to affirme, tithes to be due by the word of God.

6 Though the lawe of tenths be not now necessarie, as it was a ceremonious dutie: but it is lawfull either to keepe that or any other constitution, for the sufficient maintenance of the Church, whether it be more or lesse then the tenth part: yet we doubt not to say, that this prouision for the Church maintenance by paying of tithes, is the most safe, indifferent and equall way, and no better can come in the place thereof. First, it is the most equall way, to haue euery thing in the kinde, according to the Apostles rule: Let him that is taught make his teacher partaker of all his goods, Gal. 6. 6. But this cannot be so conueniently done any other way, as by erecting of a set stipend, or such like, as by paying the tenth in the kind.

2 Whereas S. *Paul* requireth, that the Pastor should be giuen to hospitalitie, 1. Tim. 3. 2. who seeth not, that for the better and more conuenient maintenance of his house, it is the fittest course to receiue the tenth in his owne nature and kinde: being so more able to relieue the poore, hauing sufficient prouision and store of his owne?

3 The tenth is as the corne of the barne, and the abundance of the winepresse Numb. 18. 27. that is, it is more or lesse, as God giueth encrease to the fruites of the earth: which is the most equall and indifferent way: for then the Minister, as God blesseth them, shall be partaker of the blessing; and if they suffer losse, he likewise shall beare the burthen with them.

4 This manner of tithe-paying is farre more safe and sure, then any way can be deuised, because of the long custome and continuance, which without great hazard of the Church cannot be broken. Neither is it possible by any act of parliament, to make stipends so certaine, as this constitution of tithes is: for the people will hardly yeeld to breake their custome: and when an olde custome is broken, a new is not so soone receiued: nay, many yeeres must runne to make a custome. Againe, whatsoeuer may be obiected against tithes, that they breede much trouble, wrangling and contention, may be more iustly feared, in the collection, leuying, imposing, and demanding of stipends.

5 Hitherto

Hitherto we haue ſhewed, that it is moſt naturall, that the Miniſters portion ſhould be payed in the kind. Now, concerning the tenth, though it be not neceſſarie, yet that proportion being firſt appoynted by the wiſedome of God, is verely thought to be moſt equall and indifferent betweene the paſtor and the people, as both affoording competent ſuſtenance for the one, when he liueth of the tenth, rather then the fifteenth, or twentith part, which were too skant allowance; nor yet grieuing or oppreſſing the other, whe the owner hath nine parts referred to himſelfe. And ſo if it be moſt meete, that things ſhould be anſwered in their kind, no proportion can ſerue better, then that which was firſt deuiſed by the Lord himſelfe: yet we hold neither the one nor the other to be neceſſarie.

It hath been an olde obiection, that the owner ought firſt to deduct his ſeede, and of the reſidue to pay his tithe: thus was it articulated againſt one *Thomas Clarke*, *Fox.* pag. 830. But this notwithſtanding, people ought to pay the full tenth, and not to be ſo ſtraight handed, ſeeing God hath giuen them nine parts for that one tenth: See to this purpoſe, *Concil. Triburienſ. cap.* 13. *ex Auguſtino, Da mihi decimam, &c.* Giue me thy tithe (ſaith the Lord,) if thou wilt not giue me the tenth, I will take away thy nine parts: if thou giueſt me the tenth, I will multiplie thy nine: If any man aske why tithes are giuen, let him know, that they are giuen, both that God being well pleaſed therewith, ſhould giue vs things neceſſarie, and that the Miniſters being thereby relieued, ſhould more freely attend their ſpirituall ſeruice, and haue to giue to the poore. Thus we ſee why both the tenth is to be giuen, and why in the kinde.

Hitherto for the moſt part we and our aduerſaries are agreed, both concerning tithes, as alſo other maintenance of the Church: but we differ about tithes in two poynts. Firſt, there is a queſtion betweene vs and the Rhemiſts about the neceſſitie of paying of tithes: Secondly, concerning the right whereby the Miniſters of the Goſpell may demaund their duties, which they ſay, is by reaſon of their Prieſthood: of both theſe now briefly in their order.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE PAIment of tithes be neceſſarie.

The Papiſts.

THe payment of tithes is a naturall duetie, that men owe to God in all Lawes, and to be giuen to his Prieſts in his behalfe for their honour and liuelihood, *Rhemiſt. annot. 7. Hebr. fol. 4.* 80. Error.

Argum. 1. Iacob vowed to pay tithes to God, before the lawe, Geneſ. 28. *Ergo*, it is a perpetuall law. *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. One Papiſt ſhall anſwere another at this time. *Bellarmine* proueth by this example the cleane contrarie, that the payment of tithes is not morall, becauſe it did not bind before the law of *Moſes*: for *Iacob* made a voluntarie vowe to pay his tithes, vpon a condition: but if he had been bound abſolutely to pay tithes, they ſhould haue been payed without any ſuch condition: It was therefore a voluntarie and a franke offering in *Iacob*.

Argum. 2. Chriſt confirmeth the lawe of tithes, Matth. 23. 23. though he preferre the workes of mercie and iudgement, yet he ſaith that the other ought not to be left vndone, ſpeaking of the paying of tithes, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſw. We muſt conſider in what time our Sauiour Chriſt ſo ſpake vnto the Phariſies: for as yet neither the lawe nor the ceremonies thereof were fully abrogated: Chriſt was circumciſed, and Mary his mother purified according to the lawe, Luk. 2. 21. 22. Our Sauiour alſo biddeth the Leper to ſhew himſelfe to the prieſt, and offer a gift as *Moſes* commanded, Matth. 8. 4. Yet none of all theſe ceremonies doe now ſtand in force, though Chriſt did them at that time, and bad them to be done. The ſame anſwere may ſerue alſo concerning his iniunction to the Phariſies as touching their tithes

The Proteſtants.

THe lawe of paying tithes did borrowe part of the morall, part of the iudiciall, and part of the ceremoniall lawe. The morall part therefore, is the equitie of the lawe, which is perpetuall, that as the Leuites then liued of the tenth, ſo the Miniſters at all times ought ſufficiently to be prouided and cared for. The iudiciall part was in this, that as the Leuites were not much leſſe in common account then the tenth part, being one of the tribes, (though in proportion of number, they made welneere the thirtith part: for the reſt of the tribes were numbred to ſixe hundred, three thouſand, fiue hundred and fiftie perſons, Numb. 1. the Leuites made but two and twentie thouſand, Numb. 3.) As I ſay the Leuites made one whole tribe, and were not much leſſe then the tenth part in that account, being in number the thirteenth tribe, for there were twelue beſide: So it was thought reaſonable that the tenth part of their brethrens goods ſhould be allotted vnto them; which being a iudiciall and politike conſtitution of that countrey, doth nei- 603550.

ther necessarily binde Christians now, neither is forbidden, but left in that respect indifferent. Thirdly, the ceremonie of the lawe was in this, because the tenth was due to the Priests and Leuites for their seruice at the Altar, and as belonging to their priesthood: In which sense tithes are neither due now vnto Ministers, nor in any such respect can be challenged, seeing the Priesthood of the lawe is gone, and all the ceremonies thereof: wherefore although it be a wise and politike constitution, that the people should pay their tithes, and may conueniently be retained, yet is it not now of necessitie imposed vpon Christians, as though no other prouision for the Church could serue but that.

Argum. 1. *Bellarmine* thus reasoneth (for herein he is an aduersarie to our Rhemists) (one Iesuite against another) If the lawe of tithes be morall, then the other precept annexed to this law was morall also, that the Leuites, because they lined of the offerings and tithes, should haue no patrimonie or inheritance beside. And by this reason euery Minister now ought to resigne such inheritance and possessions, as are left him by his friends: which is not to be admitted: *Ergo*, neither the other lawe standeth necessarily in force, *Bellarm. cap.* 25.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* saith in flat words, If the priesthood bee changed, of necessitie there must also be a change of the lawe, Hebrew. 7. 12. But the priesthood of the lawe is altered and changed: *Ergo*, also the lawe of the priesthood, and so consequently the ceremoniall dutie of tithes.

3 In *Augustines* time, it was no generall lawe nor custome in the Church, that tithes should be payed. *Praecidite & deputate aliquid fixum ex annuis fructibus vel quotidianis quaestibus*: Defalke, saith hee, and appoynt some certaine portion, either of your yearly fruites, or your ordinarie and daylie gaines. *Decimas vis? decimas eximo*: Will you make choyce to pay tithes? then let that be the portion. And yet this is no great matter: for the Pharisies, whose righteousnesse you ought to exceede, payed their tithes: *Tu vix millesimam das*: Thou scarce payest the thousand part: *Tamen non reprehendo, vel hoc fac. sic fitio, vt adhuc micas gaudeam*: Yet I finde not fault: doe so still: for I so thirst after your weldoing, that I refuse not your very crummes. We see then, that then the payment of tithes was voluntarie: *Augustine* refuseth not the ten hundred, that is *millesimam partem*, the thousand part, which he calleth their crummes.

In Psal. 146.

De tempor. serm. 205.

Concil. Aurelianens. can. 17. *Sicut in arbitrio dantis est, vt tribuere, quod voluerit, debeat, ita si inobedientia vel contumacia, in aliquo accipientis extiterit, in arbitrio sit praesentis, vtrum debeat reuocare*: As it is in the will of the giuer, to giue what pleaseth him, so if he finde him stubborne and froward, which receiueth it, it is in his power to reuoke the gift. Wee see then that the word of God hath layd no such necessitie vpon tithes, for then this Councell would not haue permitted such libertie.

Let vs adde the seale, The professed Bohemians thus deliuer their opinion, who endured much for Gods cause: *They preach and say, that men are bound to giue them tithes, wherein they say falsly, for they cannot proue by the new Testament, that our Lord did commande it, and his Disciples warned men to doe so, neither did they themselues receiue them: exhort. Bohem. articul.* 15. Therefore tithes are not necessarily due by the word of God.

THE SECOND PART, BY WHAT RIGHT tithes are due to the Ministers of the Gospell.

The Papists.

81. Error. Tithes or their equiualent are due to Christ and the priesthood of the newe Testament, Rhemist. *annot. Hebr.* 7. 4. This then is their opinion, that the priesthood of the Gospell being more excellent then the priestood of the Lawe; and their sacrifice, which they offer vp in the Masse, being of greater worthines, they may with better right challenge tithes, then the Priests of the lawe did for their seruice at the Altar: So that tithes are due to the Church onely because of the priesthood, not for any other dutie appertaining to that office, as preaching the word, ministring the Sacraments, or any such.

Abraham payed tithes, they say, to *Melchisedech*, which was the priest of the most high God, in offering the formes of bread and wine, wherein *Melchisedech* did sacrifice: *Ergo*, tithes are now due to the priests of the Gospell and new lawe, which are all after the order of *Melchisedech*, Rhemist. *Heb.* 7. *sect.* 4. & 8.

Answ. First, *Melchisedechs* priesthood consisted not in offering bread and wine to God, but brought them forth to refresh *Abraham*: neither were they formes of bread and wine onely, as you imagine, but very materiall bread and wine: for if *Melchisedechs* priesthood had consisted therein, the Apostle would not haue omitted the chiefe thing, wherein Christs priesthood was shewed foorth, as he doth, making no mention at all of it, Heb. 7. Againe it is great blasphemie to say, that euery popish priest is after the order of *Melchisedech*, nay that the proper act of Christs priesthood

Rhemist. Heb. 7. sect. 8.

priesthood consisteth in the perpetuall offering of his bodie and bloud in the Church: for by this reason euery impure priest doth more properly offer the bodie of Christ in the Masse, then it was offered by himselfe vpon the Crosse: then the which, what greater blasphemie can be vttered? And yet they are not ashamed to speake it: yea the sacrifice of Christ vpon the crosse, (say they) was after the order of *Aaron*; and not after the order of *Melchisedech*; and so they preferre euery popish priest offering in the Masse, before Iesus Christ sacrificing himselfe vpon the Crosse: contrary to the Scripture, which maketh this difference betweene the priesthood of *Aaron* and the priesthood of *Melchisedech*; that the priests of the law were many, because they were taken away by death: but Christs priesthood is eternall, because he dyeth not, Heb.7.23. But if there should be many priests after *Melchisedechs* order, there should herein be no difference at all. Wherefore seeing *Melchisedechs* priesthood onely resteth in Christ, and is not translated to any other; and that there is now no sacrifice left but spirituall, of praise and thanksgiuing, Heb.13.15. it followeth that by *Melchisedechs* right no tithes are now due vnto the Church, neither in any such regard ought to be challenged. Fulk. Heb.7. sect.9.12.

The Protestants.

Tithes, or their equiualent are not due to the Church in respect of any sacrificing priesthood, of which sort there is none in the new Testament ordayned to continue: but for other pastorall duties, and principally the preaching and dispensing of the word, and instructing of the people.

*Argum.*1. If there were any such priesthood, and tithes in that right did appertaine to the Church; it is most like that our Sauiour Christ and his Apostles would haue challenged them: But there is no one precept in the new testament concerning paying of tithes, but onely for a sufficient maintenance for the Ministers of the Gospell, 1.Cor.9.14. Gal.6.6. *Fulk.* Heb.7. sect.14.

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* euery where, so oft as he sheweth the dutie of Christians in releeuing and maintayning their pastors, maketh onely mention of sowing of spirituall things, 1.Cor.9.11. and of teaching and instructing, Gal.6.6. *Ergo*, tithes are due vnto Pastors and ministers onely or especially for their feeding and instructing, and sowing spirituall seede, which is the word of God.

*Argum.*3. There is no such sacrificing priesthood now in the Church, as wee haue partly shewed before, and shall of purpose more fully declare it afterward: for euery where in the new Testament spirituall sacrifices are commanded; and all Christians are made Kings and Priests vnto God, Apocal.1.6. Other priesthood we reade of none. Wherefore in that respect tithes cannot be due.

Lastly, *Augustine* saith: *Si mendicum non contemnis, quanto magis bouem, per quem trituratur area:* If thou despisest not a begger, how much more oughtest thou to haue regard of the oxe that treadeth out the corne on the floore: That is, the Minister that preacheth the Gospell: for so S. *Paul* expoundeth it, 1.Tim.5.17. The Elders, saith he, that labour in the word and doctrine are worthie double honour: and then it followeth, vers.18. for the Scripture saith, Thou shalt not mousell the mouth of the oxe, that treadeth out the corne. Sufficient maintenance therefore to the Ministers is due for their labour and trauaile in the word. In Psal.103. part.2.

Concil. [illegible] *sub* [illegible] *Pio: Vt decimæ Ecclesijs tribuerentur vbi baptismum, prædicationem, & alia Christi sacramenta perciperent:* That tithes should be payed to those Churches, where men receiue baptisme, preaching of the word, and other Sacraments. *Concil. Lateranens. sub Alexand.*3. [illegible] *Illi ecclesiæ decimæ ab his persoluendæ, qui ab ea ecclesiastica percipiunt sacramenta:* To that Church men must pay their tithes, where they receiue the sacraments of the Church. So likewise their Canon law giueth two reasons for the payment of tithes, one in respect of God himselfe; *In signum vniuersalis dominij:* To signifie the vniuersall dominion and soueraigntie, which God hath, *decret. Gregor. lib.*3.*tit.*30.*c.*33. *Innocent.*3. Another reason is in regard of the Ministers themselues, as *eod. libro tit.*28.*c.*1. *Leo* 3. tithes and other rights are due vnto that Church, *In qua cælesti pabulo refici consueuit*; Where a man hath vsed to bee refreshed with the heauenly foode. Tithes therefore are due not in respect of any sacrifice, but for the Sacraments and the word preached.

W. Thorpe holy confessor: *Tithes were due* [illegible] *to the Priests* [illegible] *in the law for* [illegible] *for slaying of beasts, and for burning of sacrifices,* &c. *But* [illegible] *Saint Paul saith* [illegible] *the priesthood is changed, there must also be a change of the law.* [illegible] The argument is framed thus: By what right tithes were payed vnder the law, by the same they are not payable now, because the lawe is changed; but then they were due for sacrificing, &c. they are not so due now.

THE SIXTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING THE SVPERSTITIOVS ORDERS, AND SECTS OF MONKS AND FRIERS.

MOnkes in Latine, called *Monachi*, deriued of the Greeke word, were such as liued solitarilie, and thereupon had they their name: And they were at the beginning of three sorts: some were called Eremites, that liued in woods and deserts by themselues: there were other which were murdred and inclosed in Cels and walles, which had not so much libertie as Eremites had; but kept alwaies in their cages and closets, and so in meditation spent their daies: and these were called *Anchorites*, that is, separated, or apart from all men and liuing by themselues. There was a third sorte called *Cœnobites*, which liued in companies, as it were in Colledges by themselues, and had all things common: and these properly were called Monkes, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de monach. cap. 3.* This controuersie hath many questions.

1. Concerning the beginning and originall of Monkes, and of their diuers sects, two parts.
2. Concerning Counsels of perfection, whether they differ from Euangelicall precepts.
3. Concerning vowes in generall, three parts: First, whether it bee lawfull for Christians to make vowes. Secondly, in what things lawfull vowes consist. Thirdly, whether voluntarie vowes are any part of the worship of God.
4. Concerning Monasticall vowes in particular, three parts. First, of the vow of voluntarie pouertie. Secondly, the vow of obedience. Thirdly, the vow of continencie.
5. Concerning Monasticall persons. First, whether the yonger sort ought to bee admitted to professe Monkerie. Secondly, whether children can professe without consent of their parents. Thirdly, whether maried persons may with mutuall consent. Fourthly, whether either of the parties, the marriage not consummate, may enter into profession.
6. Concerning the rules and discipline of Monasticall life. First, of their solitarie and common kinde of life. Secondly, of their canonicall houres. Thirdly, their habite and apparell. Fourthly, of their maintenance, whether they ought to liue by begging, or labour of their hands. Of this in order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE BEGINning and originall of Monkes, and of their diuers sects.

This question hath two parts: First, of their originall. Secondly, of the diuersitie of their sects.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE ORIGInall of Monkes.

81. Error. *The Papists.*

They make this profession to bee as ancient as the time of our Sauiour Christ, and proue the beginning thereof both out of the new and old Testament.

Argum. 1. *Elias* and *Elizeus* were Eremites, and liued without wiues, neither possessed any riches. *Ergo* this profession of life is most ancient. *Bellarm. cap. 5. Rhemist. annot. in Matt. 19.*

Resp. First, the argument followeth not; they had no wiues, nor riches: *Ergo*, were Eremites: euen amongst the Papists themselues many were kept from wiues (as their priests) and yet were neither Monkes nor Eremites. Secondly, though we reade not that *Elizeus* was married, yet the sonnes of the Prophets were, that liued as it were in the same Colledge with him, 2. *Reg.* 4. which *Bellarmine* maketh a Colledge of Monkes and Eremites: and saith very vntruly, that they all liued without wiues, *cap. 5.* Thirdly, though *Elias* and *Elizeus* were sometime in the wildernesse, yet they alwaies remained not, neither liued there.

Argum.

Argum. 2. *Iohn Baptist* a perfect patterne of Eremiticall life, for liuing in the desert and wildernesse, for his rough apparell, for abstaining from all delicate meate; *Rhemist. annot. Matth.* 3. 1.

Ans. First, *Iohn Baptists* calling was singular and extraordinarie, and therefore cannot bee made an author of any ordinarie profession. Secondly, wee denie not but his life was austere, and that he made his abode in a solitarie place, yet there were houses and villages not farre off: his apparell also was course cloath, made of the hard haires of Camels: his foode was of locusts and wild honie, the vsuall and common meate of that countrey: he was an extraordinarie preacher of repentance, and shewed in himselfe an example of austere life, as it became the forerunner of Christ: but being no minister of the Gospell, but the last prophet of the law, he cannot bee a patterne of an ordinarie profession vnder the Gospell, *Fulk. annot. Matth.* 3. *sect.* 1.

Argum. 3. Nay, *Bellarmine* fetcheth his Monkish order from a more ancient beginning, then from *Elias*, and *Iohn Baptist*; yea from before the flood: for *Enos* (saith he) seemeth to haue brought in some stricter kinde of life, and peculiar manner of worshipping God: whereas the text saith, that he began to call vpon the name of God: that is, after another manner: for *Adam, Seth, Abel*, before this time called vpon the name of God, *cap.* 5.

Ans. First, who would haue thought, that there had bin Monks and Eremites before the flood, if the Iesuite had not said it, or that this text, which he alleageth, could haue proued it? The argument followeth not: *Enos* brought in a peculiar worship of God, therefore was founder of the Eremiticall life: for he brought in the true worship of God: but the other is superstitious and erronious. Secondly, *Tremellius* readeth more agreeably to the Hebrue, *Tum nomen Dei coeptum est inuocando profanari*: Then the name of God began to bee prophaned in calling vpon, that is, his worship began to bee corrupted: for the Hebrue word signifieth, both to inuocate and call vpon God, as also to corrupt, pollute, or prophane. Thirdly, if we reade as they do, The name of God began to be called vpon: it only sheweth a restoring and renuing of the true worship of God, which was polluted by the posteritie of *Cain*, whose stocke and familie is set downe in that chapter, Gen. 4.

Argum. 4. *Bellarmine* also saith, that the institution of Monkes proceeded from the Apostles, who appointed all things to be common, as it may appeare, Act. 4. and the Apostles were the first Christian Monks: So that his argument concludeth thus, Al things were common in the Apostles time: *Ergo*, there were Monkes then, *lib.* 2. *de monach. c.* 5.

Ans. 1. If the Apostles were the first Monkes, how then is *Iohn Baptist, princeps monachorum*, prince of the Monkes, as *Bellarmine* hath affirmed a little before? he cannot bee the first, and the Apostles the first to. 2. If the communitie in vse amongst the beleeuers in those daies, made them Monkes, then the whole congregation was of Monkes: for as many as beleeued had all things common, Act. 2. 44. which were reckoned to the number of three thousand soules, vers. 41. So then by this reason all Christians must bee Monkes. 3. There was a communitie amongst them, but not like the Monkish communitie: for first their communitie was voluntarie, not imposed vpon them; but the other is inforced by vow: secondly, their communitie was not, in relinquishing their goods, and not to meddle with them themselues, as men were perswaded in Monkerie, but an equall distribution of them to as many as needed: thirdly, that communitie was in respect of that present necessitie in the time of persecution; but Monkish communitie is not vpon necessitie, but vpon superstitious curiositie, whereby they thinke to merit heauen. 4. We grant there was such a communitie, as wee say, amongst them, but they cannot shew a profession of single life amongst the beleeuers in those daies, of whom many were married, as *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, Act. 5. and therefore they could not be Monkes. 5. I oppose against them the judgement of their owne *Thomas*, who affirmeth, that there were no Monkes in S. *Pauls* time: *ex citat. Espenc. in* 2. *Timoth. p.* 189. *c.*

The Protestant.

WE see then that this Monasticall and solitarie kinde of life hath no proofe nor ground out of the Scriptures, either by precept or example: Nay, this kinde of profession was not knowne in the Church, for diuers hundred yeeres after Christ; how could then the Apostles bee the founders of this order? And though the name of Monks be of some antiquitie in the Church, yet they were farre vnlike vnto Popish Monkes, that for these many yeeres haue pestered the Church.

1 It is certaine, as *Hierome* witnesseth, that *Antonius*, and his disciples *Amathas* and *Macarius*, were the first beginners of Monkish profession almost three hundred yeere after Christ, *Fulk. annot. Mark.* 9. 5.

Anno 260. when *Stephen* the 2. was Bishop of Rome, *Paulus* began the profession of Heremites, as *Mantuan* writeth:

Illa [illegible] *per* [illegible] *tempora Paulum:*
Nil [illegible] *qui primus eremum*

 Incoluit,

Incoluit, liquisse vrbes, &c.

About this time *Paul* was the first, I gesse,
Who heere to *Nilus* dwelt in wildernesse.

Hierome also reporting diuers opinions of the originall of Monkes, as how some should fetch their beginning from *Elias* and *Iohn Baptist*, which conceit he misliketh, at the last alleageth the common opinion, *Antonium huius propositi fuisse caput*, that *Antonie* was the head or beginning of this profession: to the which he subscribeth, *in vita Pauli*. And he saith of *Hilarion*: *Nec quisquam monachum ante sanctum Hilarionem in Syria nouerat*: There was no Monke knowne in Syria before *Hilarion*. But the Apostles were not vnknowne in those countries.

2 The beginning of Monkes, was not for the more merite, and to doe penance for their owne sinnes and the sinnes of the world; for *Antonius* the first Monke confessed, that Christ onely suffered for the sinnes of the world: But the first occasion was giuen in the time of persecution, when men were not suffered to worship God aright publikely: and therefore they fled into the wildernesse, *Rhemist. Matth. 3. sect. 3.* As *Hierome* reporteth of *Paulus* the Heremite, who being persecuted of his sisters husband vnder *Decius* and *Valerian*, fled to the mountaines, *& sic necessitatem virtutem fecerit*, and so made a vertue of necessitie, *vita Pauli*. But now seeing the Christian faith is openly professed, they haue no such causes to seeke solitarie and secret places.

Fulk. Math. 3. sect. 3.

3 The popish Monkes are altogether vnlike theirs: First, they liued in solitarie places, farre from resort of people: but the popish Mock-monkes liue in cities and the frequencie of the people, *Fulk annot. Matth. 3. sect. 3.* Secondly, the Monkes in times past laboured with their hands: but the popish fat-bellies pampered themselues in idlenes. Thirdly, they are altogether vnlike in life and doctrine, as we shall see more at large afterward, *Fulk ibid.*

Concil. Colonien. part. 10. cap. 1 Vita monastica non multo post Apostolorum tempora capit, quamuis multis persuasum sit, aliam tunc fuisse, quam nunc est monachismi rationem. The Monkish life began not long after the Apostles time, although many thinke, that the profession of Monkes was farre otherwise in those times, then now.

This Councell maketh Monkerie not to bee so ancient as the Apostles, and besides saith, that the Monkish life now, is farre vnlike the life of the ancient Monkes: as it followeth, *cap. 4. Videmus monasteria mulierum in plerisque locis, in suspectat de incontinentia domûs, ne quid grauius dicam, esse commutata*: We see the monasteries of women, to be turned into wanton houses suspected of incontinencie, to say no more. But such were not the ancient Colledges and assemblies of Monkes.

Their owne Extranagant also saith, that the rule of S. *Francis* is not grounded vpon the example of Christ or his Apostles: *Quæ vtique nec Christus, nec Apostoli, &c.* Which neither Christ, nor his Apostles did either teach by word, or confirme by example, *Ioann. 22. Extrau. tit. 14.*

I will adioyne the testimonie of Sir *Iohn Burthwicke* Knight, who endured much trouble for the faith of Christ: What shall I call the cloysters of Monkes in these our daies otherwise then lusthelhouses, swine-styes, and dennes of discord, &c? Wherefore I conclude, that this their kinde of life is wicked and naught, which is not grounded nor established of any certaine calling of God, *Fox* pag. 1265. In the holy mans iudgement therefore, the profession of Monkerie tooke not beginning neither from Christ, nor his Apostles.

THE SECOND PART, CONCERNING the diuers sects of Monkes and Friers.

The Papists.

83. Error.

THey say that imitation of diuers holy men, as of S. *Francis*, S. *Benet*, S. *Dominicke*, which haue brought in diuers sects and orders of Religious men, doe tend all to the imitation of Christ, *Rhemist. annot. Philip. cap. 3. sect. 2. 1. Thess. 1. 2.*

This their assertion they would ground vpon the Apostles words, Philip. 3. 17. *Be ye followers of me brethren, Rhemist.*

Answ. First, Saint *Paul* would haue them no otherwise to follow him, then he did Christ, 1. Corinth. 11. 1. Neither gaue any other rules to his followers, then he had learned of Christ, as the patrones of the Monkish sects haue done. Secondly, neither did S. *Paul* erect a new order of *Friers*, as *Francis* did of *Franciscans*, *Dominick* of *Dominicanes*. Thirdly, S. *Paul* was a perswader of vnitie, not a maker of diuisions among Christians as the Monkes and Friers haue done, euery sort persecuting another for their opinions euen to death. *Fulk annot. 1. Thess. 1. sect. 2. fol. 80.* Fourthly if the rule of S. *Francis*, the best approued sect amongst you, be one other then this, as witnesseth one of your Popes; *Domini nostri sanctum Euangelium, &c.* to obserue the holy Gospell of our Lord, *sext. decr. lib. 5. tit. 12. c. 3. Verum*, then is the rule of S. *Francis* superfluous, seeing euery man is bound, that is called a Christian, to follow the Gospell of Christ.

The

The Proteſtants.

CContrariwiſe wee affirme, that it is a great derogation to Chriſt when the people ſhall ſay, I follow the religion of *Auguſtine*, the religion of *Francis*, another ſaith, I hold of *Dominicke*, another, I hold of Ieſus, as the Ieſuites doe, *Fulk. Phiſop. 3. queſt. 17.*

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* reproueth the Corinthians, becauſe they made the like ſects amongſt themſelues: one ſaid, I am *Pauls*, another, I am *Apolloes*; and concludeth, that therefore they were carnall, 1. Cor. 3. 4. And further, he ſaith, they ſhould not reioyce in men, for all things were theirs, whether *Paul*, *Apollos*, or *Cephas*, vers. 21. 22. That is, they were not maſters of their faith, to inſtitute new religions and ſects, but the miniſters and ſeruants of the Lords inheritance. If therefore it was not lawfull to ſay, I hold of *Paul*, I hold of *Cephas*: neither is it lawfull to ſay, I hold of *Dominicke*, I hold of *Francis*, I hold of Ieſus: for ſeeing they make their ſects, and Ieſus maketh his, it is euident that they are not all referred to the imitation of Ieſus: for then they might all as well be called Ieſuites: So then in the Apoſtles time there was not any ſuch following of ſects, or calling of them by the names of their patrones and authors, as it is now in Poperie; but all that beleeued in Chriſt, were called of his name Chriſtians, Act. 11. 26.

Argum. 2. The number of Monkes and Friers was almoſt infinite, ſects vpon ſects, and new orders daily were deuiſed, as *Auguſtinians*, *Bernardines*, *Carmelites*, *Carthuſians*, *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, and a great ſort more, to the number of an hundred ſects, as they are reckoned by Maſter Perkins pag. 660. And *Tilmanus Heſſus* reciteth downe 65. ſeuerall ſects or rather ſchiſmes of Monkes, *Lucifugus*, 10. This yrkeſome rabble therefore of Monkes is fitly ſhadowed forth by the ſwarme of Locuſts, which came vp out of the bottomleſſe pit, Apoc. 9. 4. And verily as the Locuſts and Graſſhoppers conſume and deuoure the fruites of the earth, ſo the begging Friers, and idle Monks deuoured the goods of the people, and corrupted the doctrine of the Church.

Laſtly, this diuiſion of Monkerie into ſects and ſundrie orders, is of no great antiquitie: they were not knowne in *Auguſtines* time, who knew no other name of them, then Monkes: for he wrote a booke of purpoſe, *De opere Monachorum*; Of the labour of Monkes: But other names of *Carmelites*, *Carthuſians*, *Franciſcans*, or ſuch like, were not heard of in the Church in thoſe dayes; but came in long after in the time of *Innocentius* the 3. about *anno* 1212. many yeeres after *Auguſtine*, *Far. pag.* 259.

The time by peruſing the ancient monuments and records, may eaſily be aſſigned, when moſt of theſe Frierly and Monkiſh ſects began. *Anno* 1100. *Vrbanus* the 2. confirmed the ſects of the *Carthuſians* and *Ciſterſians*: *Anno* 1118. vnder *Paſchal* the 1. began the ſect of the *Templaries*: *Anno* 1119. *Calixtus* the 2. confirmed the order of the *Premonſtratenſes*: *Anno* 1150. *Eugenius* the 3. confirmed the order of the *Gilbertines* in England. *Anno* 1223. *Honorius* the 3. receiued vnder his protection the *Auguſtinians*, *Carmelites*, *Franciſcans*, *Dominicans*. *Anno* 1295. vnder *Celeſtinus* the 5. the order of the *Celeſtines* began. *Iohn* the 23. confirmed the ſect of the *Grandmontenſes*. *Anno* 1371. *Vrban* the 5. confirmed S. *Bridgets* order. *Gregorie* the 12. did approue the ſect of the *Hieronymites* and *Montisliberenſes*, *anno* 1410. *Iohn* the 24. ratified the order of the *Friſmarians*, *anno* 1418. *Anno* 1535. *Paulus* the 3. or thereabout, confirmed the ſect of the *Ieſuites*: *ex Mario, Calo: Vergerio, Balæo & aliis.*

This inuention of Sects and new Profeſſions, hath bin by the Emperiall lawes prohibited. *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 12. leg. 11. Honor. Theodoſ. Calcolarum vanum inuentum, &c.* The ſtrange and vnknowne name of *Calitolites*, that is, Inhabitants of heauen, hath found out a new ſuperſtition: and ſo the law proceedeth, *Niſi ad fidem Chriſtianam conuerſi fuerint, &c.* Vnleſſe they be conuerted to the Chriſtian faith, ſhall be puniſhed as heretikes: this law approueth no name or faith to be vſed, but of *Chriſtians*; the name of *Calicolites* was a goodly title, as the name of *Ieſuites* is; but as that name was made a cloake for ſuperſtition and hypocriſie, ſo is this: and, howſoeuer they are called, if they ſwarue from the name and faith of Chriſtians, by this law they are accounted heretikes.

This innumerable rabble of Monks hath miſliked alſo their owne patrons the Popes of Rome: *Concil. Lateranenſ. ſub Innocent. 3. cap. 3. Firmiter prohibemus, &c.* We do ſtreightly forbid, that no man from henceforth inuent a new Religion, leaſt the too great diuerſitie of religious perſons do bring great offence into the Church of God; but he that will enter into religion, let him chooſe ſome one of them which is alreadie approued: and he that is diſpoſed to erect an houſe of religion, let him follow ſome rule alreadie in vſe. But yet for all this decree, many ſects of religions were afterward inuented. Likewiſe *Gregorie* 10. doth not onely forbid new religions to be inuented, but condemneth, *Ordines mendicantes*, all the orders of begging Friers, begun ſince that generall Councell of Laterane, *ſext. decret. lib. 3. tit. 17. c. 1. Ioann.* 22. doth alſo reuerſe and diſſolue the order of the *Fratricelles*, who were after the order of *Francis*, *extrau. Ioan. tit. 7. c. 1. Clemens* 5. deſtroyed the ſect of the Beguines; which is reuiued notwithſtanding by *Iohn* 23. *extrau. commun. lib. 3. tit. 9. c. 1.* Thus we ſee what good opinion the Popes themſelues haue of their owne Sects.

Adde

Adde the seale of holy Martyrs, *Iohn Wicliffe* holy Confessor; *Benedict, Francis, Dominicke*, with all such as haue been Patrones of priuate religion, except they haue repented, with such as haue entred into the same, are in a damnable state. *Fox.p.450.*

Master *Tindall* holy Martyr, to follow the rules of *Augustine, Benedict, Francis*, and such other, is to leaue the Faith. *Fox.p.1251.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING the Counsels of perfection.

The Papists.

14. Error. THis they say is the very foundation of the Monasticall life, which is the most perfect estate and calling of Christians: for they performe more then Christ hath commanded, not only his precepts, but euen his Counsels also; which, they say, do much differ: for the precepts are inioyned to all Christians, and to leaue a precept vndone, is sinne: but the Euangelicall Counsels are giuen onely to those that are perfect, which they are not bound to keepe, neither do they sinne in leauing them vndone? yet if they obserue them, they do merite more and shall haue a greater reward: Such Counsels of perfection are these; To giue all we haue to the poore; to abstaine from eating of flesh; to vow chastitie and such like, *Bellarm.cap.7.Rhemist.annot.Matth.19.fol.3.*

Argum.1. Matth.19.vers.21. Christ saith, *Goe and sell all thou hast, if thou wilt be perfect.* This was a Counsell of perfection, not a precept giuen to all Christians.

Answ. First, this was both a Counsell and precept, though not to all, yet to this one man, to discouer his hypocrisie and vayne confidence which he had in himselfe, as though he had kept the law, when he was farre from it, *Fulke* Matth.19.9.Mark.10.3. Secondly, it is a generall precept vnto all, to loue the Lord with all the heart, and to be content, when the Lord requireth, for Christs sake, to leaue all we haue, *Calvin.Institut.4.cap.13.sect.13.*

Bellarmine replieth; First, it is not like, that this yong man was an hypocrite, or a vaine boaster of himselfe, because it is said Christ loued him; but he loueth no hypocrites or proud men.

Answ. First, it was prophecied of our Sauiour, as it is alledged, Matth.12.20. that he should not quench the smoaking flaxe; that is, that Christ should accept and approoue the least good things, that he found in men, increasing, and not extinguishing them: as it is also said, Zach.4.10. *Who hath despised the day of small things?* so Christ is said to haue loued this young man, because he saw some beginning and likelyhood of goodnesse in him, though in the rest he approued him not. Secondly, the like example we haue, Mark.12.34. where our Sauiour saith to a certaine expounder of the Law, that had answered him discreetly, *Thou art not farre from the Kingdome of heauen*; which was a great commendation of him: and yet the other Euangelist Saint Matthew reporting the same storie, *cap.22.35.* saith he came to tempt Christ: he was not then void of some dissimulation, yet Christ commendeth him.

Secondly, *Bellarmine* saith, that a man may loue God with all his heart, and yet is not bound to do all, which God counselleth; but, which he commandeth, *Bellarm.lib.2.de Monach.c.9.in argum.5.*

Contra. This is a most grosse answere, and contrary to the Scripture: for he that loueth God with all his heart, is bound to keepe the Counsels of God, and it is damnation to transgresse them: as Prou.1.25.26. *You haue despised all my counsell, and therefore I will laugh at your destruction*: and *Daniell* saith to *Nabuchadnezzar*, 4.24. *Let my counsell be acceptable vnto thee, breake off thy sinnes by righteousnesse, &c.* Will they say now, that the King was not bound to obey this counsell?

Argum.2. Act.2.44. They had all things common. This is not a rule or precept to all Christian men to liue in common, but a life of perfection and counsell followed of the religious, *Rhemist.*

Answ. This liuing in common among the brethren in the Apostles time, is the same that ought alwayes to be among all Christians, that no man accouut that to be his owne, which the necessitie of his brother requireth to be bestowed vpon him: this the rule of charitie requireth, which is one of the great commandements. *Fulke in hunc locum.*

Argum.3. 1.Corinth.7.25. Concerning Virgins I haue no commandement of the Lord, but I giue mine aduice. A precept therefore is one thing, a Counsell of perfection another, *Bellarm. cap.9.*

Answ. First, *Paul* hath no generall commandement from God to impose the yoke of continencie vpon any, because God had left mariage free, and therefore no man is to be barred and kept from it: But the Apostles particular aduice and sentence (being moued by the spirit of God, vers.40.) is not onely a Counsell, but a commandement, that both they which haue the gift of continencie, should glorifie God by that gift, verse 7. and they which haue it not, should marrie rather then burne, and so dishonour God, vers.9. Therefore the Apostle saith, *Let euery man wherein*

wherein he is called therein abide with God, verſe 24. If a man be called to liue ſingle, he ought to obey his calling, hauing receiued the gift: if a man be called to the maried eſtate, he muſt not preſume beyond his ſtrength, to liue vnmarried. Wherefore it is both a Counſell and a precept, to thoſe that haue receiued the gift of ſingle life: for otherwiſe they diſobey Gods calling, which is ſinne. And our Sauiour ſaith, he that is able to receiue it, let him receiue it, Matth.19.12. He that hath the gift, is commanded to vſe it, for in leeſing it he ſinneth. And laſtly, euery man by commandement is bound to the vttermoſt of his power to ſet forth Gods glorie: But God is moſt glorified by the ſingle life of thoſe, which are able to conteine, and therefore they ought in dutie ſo to doe.

Againe, in that the Apoſtle ſaith he had no commaundement of the Lord, his meaning is, that he was not directed in this caſe of virginitie by any generall precept out of Scripture, otherwiſe then by the counſell of the ſpirit ſpeaking in him: but that the aduice of the Apoſtle is of the ſame nature and authoritie with a precept, it may appeare, for that he ſpeaketh not of himſelfe, but by the ſpirit of God, verſ.40. and he had receiued mercie to be faithfull, verſ.25. Wherefore if it bee faithfulnes in the Apoſtle to giue this aduice, it was faithfulnes in them to follow it. Vnleſſe any man will entertaine *Origenes* light conceit, that thinketh S. *Paul* to haue ſpoken of himſelfe, without warrant from God: as he vntruly ſaith of the Prophets, that they ſpake ſome things of themſelues, as namely, when that came not to paſſe which they prophecied: as that of Ionas 3. that within three daies Niniue ſhould be deſtroyed: and that of *Gad*, that ſpake of three daies peſtilence to *Dauid*, 2.Sam.24. whereas it ceaſed the ſame day: So he ſaith S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of himſelfe in this place. But he is both there and here deceiued: for the Prophets ſpake as God bid them, who notwithſtanding vpon their repentance ſeemed to chaunge the decree, as when he ſent the Prophet to tell *Hezekiah* he ſhould die: but this by the way of *Origens* error. Hom.16.in 3. cap.Ionæ.

Thirdly, as Saint *Paul* ſaith here concerning Virgins he had no commaundement, but gaue aduice, ſo he ſaith of mariage, verſ.6. *I ſpeake this by conceſſion, or as giuing aduice, not by commaundement*: that is, that to auoide fornication a man might marrie: but this is a commaundement, as verſ.9. to marrie rather then burne; and yet the Apoſtle calleth it an indulgence, or conceſſion.

Fourthly, verſ.12. the Apoſtle ſaith in the ſame ſenſe, to the remnant I ſpeake, and not the Lord, that is, I giue counſell, hauing no preſcript commaundement in the word; that is, that a faithfull man ſhould not leaue his vnbeleeuing wife, if ſhe be content to dwell with him. But this is a commaundement, and not to be tranſgreſſed; as it may thus appeare: firſt, by the manner of ſpeech, being imperatiue, *let him not forſake her*, verſ.12. Secondly, verſ.15. if ſhe will depart, the man is not in ſubiection: therefore if ſhe will not depart, but abide, the man is in ſubiection, that is, bound to keepe her. Thirdly, verſ.16. The beleeuing man may bee an inſtrument to ſaue his vnbeleeuing wife: but wee are bound to doe all that may further anothers ſaluation: *Ergo*, euen this counſell alſo of the Apoſtle is a commaundement. And thus hath *Bellarmine* gained nothing by this place.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe truely affirme and according to the Scripeures, that it is impoſſible for any man to performe the lawe and commaundements of God, much leſſe to fulfill more then is commaunded: And therefore it is falſe, that beſide the precepts of Chriſt there are Counſels of perfection, which are at a mans choyce to doe or not to do: for whatſoeuer is to the glorie of God, we are bound to doe. We acknowledge then no ſuch euangelicall Counſels, as they imagine, *Caluin.*

*Argum.*1. Matth.5.48. Our Sauiour ſaith: Yee ſhall be perfect, as your heauenly father is perfect. Therefore all Counſels tending to perfection, are commaundements. If there be any thing whereby we may more neerely attaine vnto perfection, that we are bound and commanded to doe: As if a man can better obtaine this perfection of godlineſſe, by liuing ſingle, if he haue the gift, he ought to doe it: for hauing not the gift, and yet preſuming, he burneth in luſt, and ſo is ſet further backe in the courſe of godlines, *Caluin. argument.*

Bellarmine diſtinguiſheth, there are (ſaith he) two kindes of perfection; a leſſe which conſiſteth in the full keeping of the law, which is neceſſarie to ſaluation: ſuch a perfection is commanded, Matth.5. There is a greater perfection, not ſimply neceſſarie to ſaluation, but to obtaine a more excellent degree of glorie, in obſeruing the counſels: and this our Sauiour meaneth, when he biddeth the young man to ſell all he had, to be perfect, Mark.10.21. *Bellar.cap.9.argum.*5.

Contra. Firſt, there can bee no greater perfection, then in the abſolute fulfilling of the law: for the beſt perfection in this life is in loue, 1.Iohn.4.12.16,17. But loue is the fulfilling of the law, Rom.13.10. Wherefore, that which he calleth the leſſe perfection is the beſt, ſeeing it fulfilleth the law. Secondly, the perfection ſpoken of, Matth.5.48. is the beſt perfection, to be perfect as God is perfect: for what greater perfection can there be, then to bee perfect according to the example

of

of God? Thirdly, that thing, to the which Christ exhorteth the young man, to sell all he had to giue to the poore, is not so great point of perfection, as this, whereof Christ speaketh, that we should loue our enemies, and so be perfect as God is perfect: for a man may giue all his goods to the poore, and yet bee without loue, 1. Cor. 13. 3. but he cannot loue his enemies, vnlesse he haue loue: wherefore this point of perfection seemeth to bee greater then the other, and so *Bellarmine* hath lost a good distinction. Wherefore, this remaineth a strong place, notwithstanding all his cauils, that exhortation to perfection containeth not onely a counsel, but a precept also and commaundement.

Argum. 2. We are bound to loue God with al our heart, with al our soule, with al our strength: Therefore whatsoeuer thing there is, whereby we may expresse the loue of God, we are bound by commaundement to doe it; it is not left to our owne will: for not to loue God more then thou doest, if it be in thy power, it is a grieuous sinne, *Martyris argument.*

Bellarmine answereth thus: *Qui deum diligit super omnia, etiamsi eum non tam ardenter amet, quàm forte posset, vel non faciat pro eo omnia, quæ posset; ille habet Deum pro summo bono, cap.* 12. He that loueth God aboue all things, although he loue him not so entirely, as perhaps he may, neither doth all things for his sake that lie in his power: yet for all this, he esteemeth of God as his chiefe good. I pray you see what contradictorie speeches these be: The Iesuite saith, a man may loue God perfectly and aboue all, and yet not loue him so much as he is able, that is, imperfectly: so a man, by his Monkish diuinitie, may loue God aboue all, and yet not loue him aboue all: for if he did, he would refuse to doe nothing for Gods loue that is in his power.

Argum. 3. Luk. 17. 10. When you haue done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are vnprofitable seruants, and did nothing but that which was our dutie to doe: *Ergo*, we are bound to doe all things that are to be done, and we cannot doe that which we ought, much lesse more then we ought to doe, *Martyris argument.*

Bellarmine answereth: First, Christ saith, when you haue done all which I commanded you, not which I counselled you.

Answ. As though the argument followeth not strongly: you cannot doe the lesse, that is, keepe my commandements, therfore you cannot do the more, that is, speaking now (as the Iesuite doeth) the Counsels of perfection, which are more then the precepts. It is a precept of necessitie to dispense our goods to the vse of the poore; it is a counsell of perfection, as they say, to giue all away to the poore: But if a man cannot performe the first, that is, keeping his goods to vse them aright, much lesse is he able with a resolute minde to giue them all away.

Secondly, he answereth: Christ biddeth them to say so, as shewing their humilitie, not that they were indeede vnprofitable seruants. A poore shift, as though Christ enuied the good of his seruants, or would obscure their wel-doing, and doth not rather aduance it to the vttermost, and make the most of the seruiceable workes of his children, as wee see, Matth. 25. 34. And Christ being a faithfull Prophet, would not surely deceiue his Disciples, and tell them one thing, and himselfe know and thinke another. Some answered in *Bernards* time to this place, as the Iesuite now doth: *Hoc (inquies) propter humilitatem Christus monuit dicendum esse*: Christ onely would haue vs thus to speake, namely, that wee are vnprofitable seruants, to shew our humilitie. He answereth, *Plane propter humilitatem, sed numquid contra veritatem*: You say true, for humilitie, but not against the veritie, *de triplici cultu serm.* So likewise was it decreed, *Concil. Milevitan. can.* 6. *Placuit, quod ait S. Iohannes, si dixerimus, quod peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, &c. quisquis se existimandum putat, vt dicat propter humanitatem non oportere dici nos non habere peccatum, non quia verum sit, anathema sit*: Whereas S. *Iohn* saith, If we say we haue no sinne, wee deceiue our selues, &c. Whosoeuer thinketh it is so to be vnderstood, that for humanitie sake it becommeth vs not to say that we haue no sinne, not because the truth is so indeede, let him be accursed. But these Frierlike mists and smoake of Locusts, are not able to dimme the cleere light of this Scripture, which sheweth, that when we haue done all we can doe, we come farre short of our dutie.

Argum. 4. *Bellarmine*, the better to perswade that there are certaine Euangelicall counsels beside precepts, setteth downe certaine differences betweene them, *cap.* 7. which differences if they shall appeare to be none, then precepts and counsels shall be all one.

1 His first difference is, in respect of the matter, precepts (saith he) are more easily kept; but counsels more hardly and with greater difficultie.

Contra. It is an harder matter to loue our enemies, then for a man to giue all his goods to the poore: and therefore the loue of Christ is set forth to be the most excellent kinde of loue, because he died for his enemies, Rom. 5. 8. But the first is a precept of perfection, as *Bellarmine* confesseth, Matth. 5. 48. the other a counsell of perfection, Matth. 19. 21. confessed also by *Bellarmine*: *Ergo*, a precept is more difficult then a counsell.

2 The second difference in respect of the subiect: a precept is generall, prescribed to all; a counsell is particular, belonging onely to some, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra.

Contra. They confesse that single life appertaineth to counsell, as the Apostle saith, he giueth counsell concerning virgins, 1. Cor. 7. 25. but this is generall, vers. 7. *I would that all men were as I am*, that is single. Againe, to marrie to auoide fornication is an indulgence or counsell, 1. Cor. 7. 6. yet generall, vers. 2. *To auoide fornication, let euery man haue his wife*: so these counsels are generall, that euery man hauing the gift of virginitie should vse the same, and euery one not hauing it should vse the remedie.

3 A third difference, a counsell not obserued deserueth no punishment, as a precept doth, being obserued it hath a greater reward.

Contra. First, to marrie rather then burne, is an Apostolicall indulgence or counsell, 1. Cor. 7. 6. but to burne rather in lust then to marrie, is sinne, and deserueth punishment: *Ergo.* Secondly, to feede the poore with all a mans goods is a counsell, Matth. 19. 21. but this counsell may bee obserued, and yet no reward follow, 1. Cor. 13. 3. *If a man giue all to the poore, and haue no loue, it profiteth nothing.* Wherefore seeing the Iesuite can make no sound difference betweene precepts and counsels, we must needes conclude that they are all one.

4 *Augustine*, though sometime he seeme to make some difference betweene a precept and a counsell: *Praeceptum est*, (saith he) *cui non obedire, peccatum est: Consilium, quo si uti nolueris, minus boni adipisceris, non mali aliquid perpetrabis. de Virginit. cap. 15.* A precept is that, which not to obey, is sin: A counsel is that, which if thou wilt not follow, thou doest not commit any euill, yet thou hast the lesse good. Though he seemeth in words, I say, to make difference, yet his meaning is this, That a precept is of things necessarie, as to follow vertue, to eschue vice: A counsell is of things indifferent, as to vse or not to vse, as to eate or not to eate flesh. But yet the occasion may so serue, that euen this counsell is necessarie: for we ought not to eate flesh to offend our brother. *Multa facienda sunt non iubente lege, sed libera charitate*: Many things are to be done (saith he) not by force of any law, but by the rule of charitie; that is, we haue no particular law, but the generall rule of charitie. A counsell then is seene in things indifferent, which are alwaies lawfull, but not alway expedient: and it is nothing else but a particular application of the generall rule of charitie. Charitie teacheth that nothing should be done to offend our brethren, 1. Cor. 10. 32. The Scripture likewise giueth libertie to eate flesh, there is no generall precept or prohibition: yet the Apostle giueth counsell, that is, according to the rule of charitie saith, that although all things are cleane, *Malum tamen est homini, qui per offendiculum manducat*: yet it is euill to the man that eateth with offence, Rom. 14. 20. Here we see the transgression of an Apostolicall counsell is sinne. And though we be not bound by any particular precept, at this time or that to abstaine from flesh; yet, *quae facienda sunt libera charitate*, the things that are to be done in the dutie of loue, doe as well binde vs, as if we had a direct commaundement: for loue is the fulfilling of the commaundements, yea it is one of the great commaundements to loue one another. Yet the counsell or libertie concerning indifferent things, remaineth in it owne nature free still: as the Apostle counselleth to eate, not asking any question: in such a case it is neither euill not to eate, nor good to eate; but if any man bee present that may take offence by our eating, then is it euill to eate. So *Augustine* concludeth: *Multa mihi videntur licere & non expedire, quae per iustitiam, quae coram Deo est, permittuntur, sed propter offensionem hominum vitanda sunt*: Many things are lawfull, but not expedient, lawfull before God, but not expedient because of the offence of our brethren, *de Adulter. coniug. lib. 1. cap. 14. 17.* Thus we see *Augustine* doth nothing fauour the popish distinction of precepts and counsels, for by his sentence, euen counsels, that is, the libertie and freedome of things indifferent, are restrained, and made necessarie in the externall vse, by the rule of charitie.

That precepts, and counsels or monitions are confounded, and both taken for one, their owne Canons doe testifie, *decret. p. 2. caus. 28. quaest. 1. c. 9. Quod iubet Dominus, non est indignum, si etiam monet Apostolus*: That which the Lord commaundeth, it is not vnfit, if the Apostle doe monish the same. *Sext. decret. lib. 5. tit. 12. c. 5. Nonnulla consilia sub verbo praecepti*: Many counsels are contained vnder the word precept. *Clement. in lib. 5. tit. 11. c. 1 Nichol. 4.* there it is determined, That the rules of *Francis* giuen to his disciples, that they should goe barefoote, and not ride but in case of necessitie and such like, are precepts: which notwithstanding according to their definition are but counsels.

This truth the holy Martyrs haue sealed: *Iohn Husse*, There are so many Counsels and determinations of God in the Gospell, as there be lawfull and honest things ioyned with precepts and commaundements of God, binding vs thereto vnder paine of deadly sinne: for euery such thing doth the Lord commaund vs to fulfill in time and place, &c. *Fox pag. 617.*

Claudius Monerius French Martyr; No man can vow to God so much, but the law requireth much more then he can vow. This holy Martyr died in this confession, and was burned at Lyons, *anno 1551. ex Iohanne Crispin. lib. 4.* Thus then it appeareth, that before the Lord, there is no difference betweene his counsels and commaundements; but that we are bound to keepe them both.

THE THIRD QVESTION, CONCERNING vowes in generall.

THis question hath three parts: first, whether it be lawfull for Christians to make vowes. Secondly, in what things lawfull vowes consist. Thirdly, whether voluntarie vowes be any part of the worship and seruice of God.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER VOWES PERtained onely to the old law, and are not now permitted vnto Christians.

The Papists.

85. Error. THey hold it as lawfull, and as free a thing for Christians to binde themselues by vowes vnto God, as it was vsed and practised of the Iewes in the time of the law.

Argum. 1. Isai. 19. 21. *They shall know the Lord in that day, and doe sacrifice and oblation, and vow vowes vnto God and performe them.* This prophecie is concerning Christians, which should in the time of the Gospell make vowes vnto God, *Bellarm. cap.* 17.

Ans. The Prophet doth, by the externall seruice of God vsed in the Church at that time, set forth the spirituall worship of God in the Church of Christ: for Iewish vowes shal be no more then in force, then their sacrifices and oblations. Also vers. 19. the Prophet saith, that an Altar shall be set vp in Egypt: and vers. 18. They shall speake the language of Canaan: But these things were not literally, but mystically performed, neither is it necessarie the other should.

Argum. 2. Psalme 76. 11. *Vow vnto God and performe: Ergo*, vowes now are lawfull, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Ans. It appeareth by the text, that it was a commandement vnto the Iewes, and for that time for it followeth: *All ye that are round about him*: that is, the Leuites and Priests that dwelt round about the temple. *And bring presents to him that ought to be feared.* But now Christians bring no such externall presents and gifts, therefore it cannot be properly vnderstood of them. This appeareth also by the beginning of the Psalme, that this charge appertained to the Iewes: *in vers. God is known in Iudea*, and vers. 2. *in Salem is his tabernacle &c.* Therefore while the tabernacle continued in Salem, and God was worshipped onely in Iudea, so long vowes were in force.

Argum. 3. Vowes did not take beginning from *Moses*, for *Iacob* vowed, Genes. 28. therefore neither are they to cease with *Moses. Bellarm. cap.* 17.

Contra. First, the Argument followeth not, for there were altars and sacrifices before the law, yet they wil not say, that they must remaine still after the law of ceremonies determined. Secondly, such a vow, as *Iacob* made, is lawfull for Christians to make still; for he voweth, that the Lord shall be his God: the vow then of obedience, and of more strict seruing of God is commendable in Christians. And as for the vow of tithes, *Iacob* maketh it, not as it were in it selfe a principall seruice of God, but as a signe of the worship of God and obedience, which he vowed.

The Protestants.

WE doe not condemne all vowes, neither denie, but that a Christian in some case may vow, as presently it followeth to be shewed: but Iewish vowes are vtterly vnlawfull, such as the vowes of the Nazarites were, Numb. 6. as to abstaine from wine and strong drinke, not to shaue their haire, and such like: if we place religion in such vowes.

Argum. 1. Their vowes were ceremonious, and consisted in externall rites, which were shadowes and significations of spirituall things: as not to cut their haire, not to touch any dead thing, to abstaine from wine and strong drinke. But all shadowes are now gone and abolished: and such externall vsages are vnprofitable, as were those precepts of the false Apostles, Touch not, taste not, handle not; which all perish with the vsing, and are the commandements of men, as S. *Paul* saith, Coloss. 2. 21, 22. Such precepts notwithstanding, Monkes and Friers at this day doe binde themselues vnto; for it is not lawfull for them to touch siluer, nor to taste flesh, according to the strict and superstitious rules of their patrones. The Apostles reason standeth thus, religion consisteth not in any thing, that perisheth with the vse: but vowes not to taste, not to touch, not to handle, perish in the vse; *Ergo*, there is no religion in such vowes.

Argum. 2. It was ordained in *Moses* law, Leuit. 27. 26. that no man should vow vnto the Lord the first-borne, for it was the Lords alreadie: From whence this argument may bee drawne, That which is the Lords alreadie, cannot be vowed vnto him: but we are Christs, 1. Cor. 3. 23. and all that we haue, vers. 21. Wherefore it is a superfluous thing to vow any thing, which we haue, as therein placing the seruice of God; seeing alreadie we are deuoted to Gods seruice. If it be here obiected, that by the same reason neither was it lawfull for the Iewes to offer any thing at all, because

cauſe the earth is the Lords, and all things therein, Pſalm.24. they ſhould offer vnto God of his owne. I anſwere, that it is true all the earth was the Lords in right of the creation; but the firſt-borne were due in a ſecond right of their deliuerance and redemption from Egypt: and ſo wee in reſpect of our ſpirituall deliuerance are bound to ſerue God all the daies of our life, Luk.1.74. And therefore it is no more in our power to vow or be vowed vnto God, then it was lawfull for the Iewes to dedicate their firſt-borne.

*Argum.*3. Saint *Paul* ſaith, He that is circumciſed is bound to keepe the whole law, Galat.5.3. He that keepeth any one ceremonie of the law, doth make himſelfe a ſeruant to the whole law: for if after the profeſſion of the Nazarites, they will vow not to drinke wine, not to ſhaue their heads, hereby the better to pleaſe God; why are they not alſo purified, and bring an offering according to the law, as *Paul* did, who becauſe of the infirmitie of the Iewes, was agreed with foure other men which had a vow, to be purified according to the law? But this Saint *Paul* did being amongſt the Iewes, who cried out againſt him as a breaker of the law, leaſt he ſhould bee ſcandalous vnto them. Hence alſo we reaſon thus; that which S. *Paul* did for that time to auoide offence, namely, to be purified with them that had a vow, is not now lawfull for the people of God to doe, as Act.21.23. Wee haue determined concerning the Gentiles, that they obſerue no ſuch thing: *Ergo*, it is not lawfull now after the manner of the Iewes to make a vow.

Auguſtine thus notably writeth concerning this matter: *Sicut defuncta corpora neceſſariorum ſuorum deducenda erant quodammodo ad ſepulchrum, non deferenda continuò, vel ſicut canibus proijcienda:* The ceremonies of the law (ſaith he) were not preſently to be caſt off, but as dead bodies muſt be brought to the graue with ſome ſeemely pompe of their friends, and not to bee caſt vnto dogges. Thus he ſaith, that in the Apoſtles time all Iewiſh ceremonies were not in act aboliſhed, though they were alreadie as dead carkaſſes, that is, by right depriued of life: yet they required ſome ſpace to be honourably laid downe, and as it were buried. But whoſoeuer would now goe about to renew the Iewiſh ceremonies againe (ſaith he) *Tanquam ſopitas cineres eruens, non ijs piis deductor vel baiulus corporis, ſed impius ſepulturæ violator:* He ſhould as it were rake in dead mens aſhes, and not bee a ſeemely bringer of the bodie to the ground; but a wicked violator of Chriſtian buriall: Euen ſo *Auguſtine* maketh it as wicked a part, to bring in vſe any Iewiſh rites, as to pull one honeſtly buried, out of his graue.

There is a rule in the Ciuill law, *Cod.lib.7.tit.6.leg.1. Iuſtinian. Abſurdum eſt, ipſa origine rei ſublata, eius imaginem relinqui:* It is abſurd, the originall being remoued, the image or reſemblance to remaine ſtill. According to this rule, ſeeing that the Iewiſh ceremonies are ceaſed, it is not fit that Iudaicall vowes ſhould haue any place in the Church.

The Canon law alſo ſaith, *Vmbra legis euanuit, illuxit veritas Euangelij:* The ſhadow of the law is vaniſhed, and the light of the Goſpel hath ſhined, *decr.Greg.lib.3.tit.47.c.1.* Vpon which ground *Innocentius* 3. decreeth, the law of *Moſes*, concerning the purifying of women, not to be in force: of the which nature alſo is the law of vowes.

To this agreeth the ordinarie gloſſe, *de 4.Concil. Primitiua Eccleſia. Modus colendi Deũ per externos ritus & ceremonias legis, quia hæc fuerunt vmbra Chriſti tum venturi & myſteriorum eius, ideo adueniente veritate Euangelica illicita facta ſunt, & euanuerunt:* The manner of worſhipping God by externall rites and ceremonies of the law, becauſe theſe were a ſhadow of Chriſt to come and of his myſteries, the truth of the Goſpell being come are made vnlawfull, and are vaniſhed away. But vowes are a part of the externall and ceremonious worſhip of God. *Ergo.*

Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr, hath ſealed this truth: Vowes are againſt the ordinance of God: let them ſhew where theſe vowes in all the new Teſtament be ordained of God, eſpecially ſuch vowes of ſingle life and wilfull pouertie, &c. *Fox* pag.1250.col.1.articul.3.

THE SECOND PART, WHAT THINGS MAY lawfully bee vowed by Chriſtians, and whether baptiſme be properly a vow.

The Papiſts.

THey hold that the proper vowes of Chriſtians are voluntarie, not of ſuch things which Chriſtians are bound in dutie to doe, but of ſuch as they may leaue vndone, if they will; ſuch as are their popiſh vowes of continencie and voluntarie, or rather wilfull pouertie. 85.Error.

*Argum.*1. Deuteron.23. *When thou ſhalt vow a vow vnto God, thou ſhalt not bee ſlacke to pay it: it ſhould be ſinne vnto thee: but when thou abſtaineſt from vowing, it ſhall bee no ſinne vnto thee.* By this the Ieſuite proueth, that the vowes of Chriſtians are voluntarie, and not of neceſſarie duties, for it were ſinne to leaue any thing vndone, that we are in dutie bound vnto, *cap.19.* And hereupon he inferreth, that the promiſe made in baptiſme is no vow, becauſe it is neceſſarie.

Anſ. Firſt, we denie not but that the Iewes had voluntarie vowes, and might binde themſelues

by vow to performe many things, which being not vowed, it was no sinne to leaue vndone: As the Nazarites vowes concerning abstinence from wine and strong drinke; which things other might lawfully vse without sinne, if they were not professed Nazarites. But these ceremoniall lawes do nothing appertaine to Christians.

Secondly, it may also be vnderstood of necessarie vowes, which we are bound vnto of duetie, and then the sense is this: If you abstayne from vowing ye sinne not, that is, not so hainously as after the vow made; as Pagans and infidels do sinne in transgressing Gods Law: but a Christian sinneth more after publike profession and promise made of obedience vnto Gods commandements.

Thus our Sauiour Christ saith of the Iewes: *If I had not come, and spoken vnto them, they should haue had no sinne*, Iohn 15. vers. 22. that is, in comparison their sinne of ignorance should haue been none in respect of their sinne, which they haue now: so his sinne, that bindeth not himselfe to the obedience of Gods commandements, is not like to his sinne, that hath bound himselfe, and yet transgresseth.

Argum. 2. The Iesuite would thus also proue the promise made in Baptisme to be no vow. The vowes of children vttered by their parents, are not ratified but by them, in whose name they were made, when they come to yeeres of discretion: but the promise made in Baptisme doth bind children, whether they will or not: *Ergo*, it is no vow.

Answ. First, if this reason proue any thing, it concerneth onely the baptisme of infants, so that the promise made in the Baptisme of those, which are *adulti*, already come to yeeres of discretion, shall be a vow, whatsoeuer *Bellarmine* saith to the contrarie; for they euen when they are baptized are able to giue consent vnto the vow and promise then and there made. Secondly, it is vntrue, that the vowes of the parents made in the name of their children, do not absolutely binde: for vnder the law euen in ceremonial vowes vttered by the parents, the children were bound: as 1. Sam. 1. 11. *Anna* voweth to God, that a rasor shal not come vpon her sonnes head; which vow was accordingly kept in her sonne: Ierem. 35. 6. *Ionadab* inioyned his sonnes, that neither they nor their seede for euer, should drinke any wine, or strong drinke; and they obeyed without any gainsaying or resistance. Thirdly, but concerning necessarie dueties, the children are bound to keepe their parents vowes and couenant made with God: as *Iosua* made a promise for himselfe and his, *I and my house will serue the Lord*, Iosua 24. 15. And if in ciuil matters the parents may bind their children absolutely to the couenant, which they make, as *Ionathan* and *David* made a couenant for them and their seed, 1. Sam. 20. 42. much more this spirituall couenant bindeth, being grounded vpon the ordinance and commandement of God: notwithstanding all that hath been said, the promise made in Baptisme shall be a vow still.

Argum. 3. It is both vnprofitable and superfluous for a man to vow to do that, to the which he is bound already; but in Baptisme we promise obedience vnto God, which we are bound to do by the law: *Ergo*, it is superfluous to seeke to tie our selues with new bonds, and consequently it should be a superfluous vow. *Bellarm. cap.* 19 *argum.* 5.

Answ. First, if this reason proue any thing, it seemeth to conclude, that it is superfluous for any promise to be made in Baptisme, as well as a vow, seeing we are alreadie bound to serue God by the law of Creation. Secondly, neither is it superfluous to vow, more strictly to do that, which we are bound to do; for a double bond bindeth more strongly then one, and as the wise man saith, a threefold coard cannot be broken, Eccles. 4. 4. So Iacob vowed that the Lord should be his God, Gen. 28. which notwithstanding was couenanted before in his circumcision. Thirdly, there is a common bond, which bindeth all men, namely the law of Creation; but as God hath his peculiar people, so is there a peculiar bond to tie them vnto God, namely, their deliuerance by Christ, which is professed in Baptisme: as before the commandements, God doth moue his people to obedience, not because he created them, but for that he brought them out of the house of bondage. Fourthly, if two bonds are superfluous, wherefore then doth the Lord by two immutable things, his word and his oath confirme his promises to vs, Hebr. 6. 18? let him say also that one of them is superfluous.

The Protestants.

WE hold that to vow is not a thing simply forbidden Christians: but our vowes are limited and restrained: for they are either such, as directly or immediatly are referred to the worship of God, whereby we binde our selues more streightly to serue him: and such vowes are onely of such things as are commanded, and necessarily to be done: and in this sense there is but one common vow of all Christians, and that is our solemne promise made in Baptisme, which the Papists deny properly to be a vow, *Bellarm. cap.* 19. There is another kinde of vowes, that directly concerneth not the worship of God, which may be of things not commanded, of the which we will intreat in the next section. Now wee are to proue, that Baptisme is the onely proper vow of Christians, which directly toucheth the seruice and worship of God.

Argum.

Argum. 1. Circumcision was a generall vow of the Iewes, for thereby they bound themselues to keepe the whole law, Galath. 5. 3. *Ergo*, Baptisme is the vow of Christians, which commeth in the place of circumcision. And againe, it appeareth by this, that because Christians transgressing, do deserue greater punishment, then Iewes or Gentiles, that they are more streightly obliged and bound by their couenant vnto God then the others: and not onely, as the Iesuite saith, because they haue tasted more of the goodnesse of God, and so are more vnthankefull; for there are two parts of the couenant betweene God and vs: The Lord saith, Thou art my people, and so inricheth them with knowledge, and euery good thing: The people say, Thou art my God, Hosh. 2. 23. And thus as the Lord doth couenant with them, so they do binde themselues vnto God: The breach of which couenant, is that which stirreth vp principally the anger of God against vs.

Argum. 2. A vow is that, whereby any thing is giuen vnto God; as a *Nazarite* 1. Sam. 1. 11. giues himselfe vnto God, which the Scripture calleth a vow: but in Baptisme we are giuen vnto God; Rom. 6. 13. *Giue your selues vnto God, seeing you are aliue from the dead*: namely, by the power of Christs resurrection represented in Baptisme: as the Apostle sheweth vers. 4. *Ergo*, in Baptisme we doe vow ourselues vnto God.

Argum. 3. An oath bindeth as well as a vow, if not more, before God; (this *Bellarmine* confesseth *cap.* 16. *argum.* 3.) for a vow is but a solemne promise, as *Iephthah* his vow is called a promise Iud. 11. 36. but an oath is more then a promise: but by oath wee may bind our selues to the performance of those things, which notwithstanding are necessarily imposed vs, as Psal. 119. 106. *I haue sworne to keepe thy righteous iudgements*: and Nehem. 10. 9. the people bind themselues by an oath to obserue Gods commandements. *Ergo*, also these things are incident to our vowes: *Augustine* also vpon the 75. Psalme writeth thus: *Vouete & reddite Domino Deo vestro omnes circumcirca eius: Quid debemus vouere & credere in illum, sperare ab illo vitam æternam, bene viuere, secundum eius mandata*: Make your vowes, and pay them vnto God generally altogether; What must we vow? to beleeue in him, to hope for eternall life, to liue honestly, not to steale, not to commit adultery. These then are the common and generall duties of Christians: no other then we promised and vowed in Baptisme.

Concil. Colonien. part. 7. It was decreed, that the Godfathers should be growne in yeeres, not children; *Ne infans infanti offerre aut sponsor pro alio se Deo constituat, qui quod promisit, non impleat*: Least that one child should offer or present another, or vndertake for another before God, not vnderstanding what he promiseth. From hence we reason thus, A vow is nothing else, but *Religiosa promissio Deo facta*: A religious promise made vnto God, as *Bellarmine* himselfe defineth it, *cap.* 14. But in Baptisme there is *religiosa promissio & sponsio*, a religious promise and stipulation made vnto God, as this Councell sheweth: *Ergo*.

Their owne Authors also are against them, that the things commanded of God may properly be vowed: as *Dominicus a Soto lib. 7. de iustitia qu. 1. art. 3. Alphonsus a Castro lib. 1. de leg. penal. cap. 10.*

The Master also of the sentences confesseth, that the common vow of Christians is made in Baptisme, namely to renounce the diuell: and in the same place, he thus expoundeth that place 1. Tim. 5. *They haue broken their first faith*; which *Bellarmine* expoundeth of vowes, *cap.* 17. *argum.* 3. that is, sayth he, *votum, vel fides, quam in Baptismo professa sunt*; Their vow or faith, which they professed in Baptisme.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING VOLVNTARIE vowes, whether they be any part of the worship of God.

The Papists.

86. Error. ALl voluntarie vowes (say they) made by Christians, though not commanded of God, as not to eate flesh, not to drinke strong drinke, or to liue vnmarried; do concerne the worship of God, and thereby men are made more acceptable vnto him, *Bellarmine cap.* 16.

Argum. 1. *Iacob* vowed to pay tithes, Gen. 28. *Dauid* to build a Temple vnto God, Psal. 132. 2. But neither of these two were commanded them, and yet they were properly referred to the seruice of God.

Answ. First, we deny not, as we haue said, but that in the lawe and before, there might be such voluntarie vowes: yet it followeth not, that there should be any such now. Secondly, both those duties were necessarie, and commaunded in generall, though not in particulars. As first, *Iacobs* vow was, that the Lord should be his God, vers. 21. No man can deny, but this was necessarie, and a commaundement: Then seeing the Lord is his God, it is also necessarie that he should acknowledge him by some external worship, as by appointing the Lord an house in that place, and bringing oblations vnto his altars: these are but particular duties, that doe follow that generall commandement.

Secondly, *Dauid* did vow that, which he was bound to doe being King of Israel, namely, to haue a care of the temple of God: for thus he saith to *Nathan* the Prophet, I dwell in an house of Cedar trees; but the Arke of God remaineth within the curtaines, 2. Sam. 7. 2. This belonged to the King of dutie, as it was generally commanded all Israel, Hagg. 1. 4. but that *Dauid* was discharged of this care, by the especiall warrant of God by the Prophet.

Argum. 2. Heb. 13. 16. To doe good and to distribute forget not, for with such sacrifices God is pleased. *Intelligitur* (saith *Bellarmine*) *de eleemosynis non praeceptis*: which is vnderstood of almes not commanded: And if God be pleased with euery vertuous act, yea done without a vow, in things not commanded; much more where a vow is.

Anso. First, it is a most grosse and absurd saying, that there can be any vertuous act not commanded in Scripture: the Apostle speaketh contrarie, 2. Timoth. 3. 17. that the man of God by the Scriptures is made perfect to all good workes: *Ergo*, all good workes are prescribed in Scripture. Secondly, it is also vntrue, that there are almes deedes not commanded, seeing that in the very place, it is an expresse charge and commandement of the Apostle, To do good and to distribute.

Argum. 3. To keepe promise or faith giuen vnto God, is properly to serue God; a vow is promise made vnto God: *Ergo. Bellar ibid.*

Anso. By a vow or promise made vnto God of that which is not lawfull, is no worshipping of God, but rather a dishonouring of him, as may appeare in the vow of *Iepthe*, of the which *Ambrose* thus writeth; *Melius fuit nihil tale promittere, quam promissum parricidio soluere*: It had bin better neuer to haue vowed or promised any such thing, then with parricide to performe his promise. *lib. 1. de offic. c. 36.*

Argum. 4. An oath euen in a thing not commanded, is the worship of God, as to sweare not to drinke wine: and so consequently a vow also. *Bellarm. ibid. c. 16. argum. 3.*

Anso. The consequence or dependance of this argument I willingly yeeld vnto, hauing vrged it before against the Suite himselfe (I would say Iesuite) for an oath and a vow may be well compared together: but an oath, such as the Iesuite speaketh of, is not acceptable to God: First, because an oath is appointed to make an end of strife betweene men, Hebr. 6. 16. not to determine matters betweene God and vs; men sweare by God, not so properly to God. Secondly, neither is it pleasing to God, to bind those things with an oath absolutely, which are not in our owne power, as not to drinke wine, seeing his infirmitie may cause him to drinke it, as S. Paul counselled Timoth. 1. 5. Thirdly, yet an oath in these externall matters, doth not verily or properly belong to the worship of God, though in some sort may be referred vnto it, as now followeth to be shewed.

The Protestants.

WE grant that there are other kinds of vowes then before wee spake of, which doe not directly concerne the worship of God, neither are of thinges commanded vs, nor yet as God thereby the better pleased: but they serue onely as helpes, to make vs more fit vnto Christian duties: As a man that seeth he is by nature giuen to drunkennes, doth vowe that he will take no strong drinke, least he should offend that way: Another purposeth to fast, thereby to tame his flesh, and the more feruently to pray; as *Iob* made a couenant with his eyes not to looke vpon a maide, 31. 1. But these things of themselues, by the outward act, are not the more acceptable vnto God, neither is God by eating or not eating, or looking or not looking, the better worshipped, as these things are considered in themselues. Wherefore by the word of God we condemne all voluntarie and superstitious vowes of men, inuented to serue God by, as vowes of chastitie, of going in pilgrimage, offering to Images, and such like.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* condemneth all voluntarie worship of God which is inuented by man, as vnprofitable, though it haue a shew of wisedome in humblenes of minde, and not sparing the bodie, Coloss. 2. 23. As such are the ordinances of the world in worshipping of Angels, and in abstinence, *Touch not, taste not, handle not*: But such are all popish vowes, a voluntarie seruice of God, euen in the same things which the Apostle taketh exception against; for they make vowes to Angels, to Saints, vowes to keep dayes holy, and to fast in them: *Ergo*, they are vnlawful.

Argum. 2. Rom. 14. 23. Whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sin, that is, grounded vpon knowledge out of the word: *Ergo*, all voluntarie vowes made to serue God by, are to be abandoned, because they haue no warrant out of Gods word. *Bellarm.* answereth, that the place is not so to be vnderstood, but rather, by faith, is meant the conscience of man, and so whatsoeuer is done against the conscience is sinne.

Anso. By faith, is not vnderstood any conscience, but the assurance of a right conscience, which must needes be builded vpon the word: for vers. 22. S. *Paul* saith, If thou hast faith, haue it with God: This cannot be spoken of a corrupt conscience which is not able to abide Gods triall, but a right conscience established out of the word.

Thus

Thus *Barnes* doth expound this place: *De fide verè non falsa quæ dicitur Apostolus, nam quod non ex fide, peccatum, quia fides falsa, fides non est.* I thinke the Apostle spake of a true, not a false faith, saying, what is not of faith is sinne; for a false faith, is no faith: *Ibi de dispensatione.*

Argum. 3. To mortifie the bodie, and to be renewed in the minde, is the reasonable, that is, the true and proper seruice of God: but the mortifying of the flesh, and change of the minde consisteth not in meate or drinke or any such externall thing. *Ergo*, therein standeth not the true seruice of God: And so the Apostle also euidentlie saith, *Meate maketh vs not acceptable vnto God, for neither if we eate haue we the more, or if we eate not haue we the lesse, &c.* 1. Cor. 8. 8. The Apostle reasoneth thus: that, which being vsed bringeth no rewarde, not vsed procureth no losse, doth not make vs acceptable to God: for the neglecting or not vsing of those things, wherein Gods seruice standeth is damnable: but the not vsing of meates and drinkes and such like is not damnable. *Ergo*, therein standeth not Gods seruice.

Argum. 4. Let vs heare *Augustines* iudgement: *Sunt multi qui vouent, &c.* There are many that vowe, one a cloake, another oyle, another a waxe candle, another that he will drinke no wine, another that he will fast, another that he will eate no flesh. This is not the best kind of vowing: God neither careth for thy comely apparell, nor for thy oile, nor for thy fasting: but offer that vnto him which he hath redeemed, that is, thy soule, *De tempor. ser.* 7. We see by this what account *Augustine* maketh of superstitious voluntarie vowes, made with an intent to please God thereby.

Conc. Arausicanum. 2. *can.* 11, *Nemo quicquam Deo vouerit, nisi ab ipso acceperit, sicut legitur quæ de manibus accepimus, damus tibi*, 1. *Paralippom.* 29. 14. Let no man vow vnto God any thing, vnlesse he haue receiued it, as wee reade, *those things which we haue receiued at thy hand, we giue vnto thee.* Therefore no man can make a vowe of chastitie vnto God, nor of any other gift not in his owne power.

See also the rules of your owne lawes: *Decret. Gregor. lib.* 1. *tit.* 7. *c.* 1. *Innocent. Quod non est statutum patrum decreto sanctum, superstitiosum non est adinuentionibus præsumendum:* That which is not established by the decree of the holy Fathers, must not by superstitious inuentions be presumed: If that be superstition, which is not decreed by the Fathers, how much more that, which is not warranted by Scripture: And as it followeth in the same place; *Nonnunquam intelligitur prohibitum, quod non inuenitur concessum:* That we vnderstand to be prohibited, which is found not to be granted. Wherefore by this rule all voluntarie vowes of things not commaunded or graunted in Scripture, are held to be prohibited.

Iames Bainham holy Martyr: *The vowes of chastitie, and all goodnes are giuen of God, by his abundant grace, which no man of himselfe can keepe, but it must be giuen him of God*, Fox. pag. 1028. col. 1.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, CONCERNING Monasticall vowes in particular.

THere are three kinds of vowes which belong vnto Monkerie: the first is the vowe of voluntarie pouertie: the second the vowe of obedience vnto the Monasticall presidents and gouernours: the third is the vowe of continencie: of these three in order.

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING THE vowe of voluntarie pouertie.

The Papists.

THey say it is an acceptable seruice vnto God, for a man to giue all he hath to the poore, and by vowe to consecrate and addict himselfe to voluntarie pouertie. 87. Error.

Argum. 1. Matth. 18. 21. Christ saith, If thou wilt be perfect, goe and sell all thou hast, and giue it to the poore, and come and follow me. This is properly to follow Christ, to lacke proprietie and liue in common; and thus the Apostles followed Christ, *Rhemist. ibid.*

Ans. First, this is a precept not generall to all, but giuen to this one man to discouer his hypocrisie, and vaine confidence that he had in himselfe, as though he had kept the law, which he came farre short of. Secondly, the Apostles themselues had proprietie: *Peter* had a house: *Iohn* had to prouide for the Virgin *Marie*, whom Christ commended vnto him: *Matthew* made a feast of his owne goods, *Fulk. ibid.*

Argum. 2. Act. 2. 44. They had all things common: and Act. 5. *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, after their profession of common life, detaining some part proper to themselues, were reproued and iudged of the Apostles: *Ergo*, it is acceptable to God to liue in common, *Rhemist. ibid. Bellarm. cap.* 20.

Ans. First, that communitie vsed then amongst the brethren, ought alwaies to be among Christians, no man to count that his owne, which the necessitie of his brother requireth to bee be-

stowed vpon him. Thus also witnesseth *Yrhaeus* in his Decretal, *cauſ.* 12. *qu.* 1. *c.* 9. *Scimus vos non ignorare, &c.* We know you are not ignorant that hitherto a common life hath florished amongst all Christians, and yet by Gods grace doth florish. Neither was euery man then bound to giue vp the proprietie of their goods: for they distributed to euery man as they had neede, Act. 4. 35. But if they had giuen vp all the proprietie of their goods, then all should haue needed alike: And *Peter* saith not the contrarie, but that *Ananias* might haue kept the proprietie of his goods, if he had not made publike profession to the contrary, Act. 5. 4.

2. Your owne law giueth another reason of that communitie among the Apostles, *ibid. c.* 14. *Eutuam ecclesiam, &c.* The Apostles did foresee that the Church should bee amongst the Gentiles, and therefore they would not haue any possessions in Iudea, but tooke the price onely for the reliefe of the poore.

3. Concerning *Ananias*, wee doe not reade that he made any vow to giue his goods to the Church: nay the contrarie appeareth, in that Saint *Peter* saith, While it remained with thee, appertained it not to thee? But if his vow were past before, the goods, though yet not sold, could not appertaine vnto him. Againe, the principall and chiefe cause, why *Peter* proceeded against him, was his lying and hypocrisie, not for breaking his vow: for it cannot be proued that he promised all, but that he affirmed that he brought all, whereas he withdrew part.

Argum. 3. Our Sauiour Christ saith, *Blessed are the poore in spirit*, Matth. 5. 3. that is, such as willingly make themselues poore: for so did our Sauiour Christ, who both in action and affection was poore, and did as he taught. And Luke 6. 24. *There is a woe denounced to the rich in this world.* So that by the contrarie the blessing is vpon the poore, *Bellarm. cap.* 20.

Anſ. First, it is euident, that Christ speaketh not of outward pouertie, but of the humilitie of the mind: first, because it is so expressed, *blessed are the poore in spirit.* Secondly, the Prophet *Dauid* in the same sense saith, *I am poore*, Psalm. 26. 16. yet was he King, and abounded in riches. Thirdly, Matth. 11. 5. *the poore receiue the Gospell*; yet were they not all poore in substance that receiued Christ, as *Nicodemus*, *Ioseph* of *Arimathea*, *Zacheus*. Now to answere likewise to his proofes: First, where Christ saith, *woe vnto the rich*, he meaneth not all rich men, but such as trusted in their riches: for such onely are excluded the kingdome of heauen, Mark. 10. 24. Secondly, it is vntrue that Christ did professe voluntarie pouertie, as your owne Extrauagant hath decreed, that it is an heresie so to affirme: for Christ had both money, and a bagge for the almes of the poore, *Ioan.* 12. *tit.* 14. *c.* 5.

The Protestants.

VOluntarie, or rather wilfull pouertie, for a man hauing no vrgent cause, to leaue all he hath, and bequeath himselfe to a poore and needie life, onely for opinion of greater merite, and hope thereby better to please God, is neither a thing acceptable nor commendable before God, nor any where commaunded in the Scriptures.

Argum. 1. 1. Tim. 6. 17. Saint *Paul* giuing counsell to richmen, biddeth them not to cast away their riches: *but charge them* (saith he) *that they be not high minded, nor put their trust in vncertaine riches*, Surely it had been a more compendious way to wish them at once to leaue their riches, so they should not be in daunger, either of pride, or vaine confidence: but the Apostle saith no such thing. Againe, *God giueth vs abundantly all things to enioy*: riches are the gift of God, we ought not to be wearie of Gods blessing. And as *Iob* saith, *The Lord giueth, the Lord taketh*: therefore a man ought not to make himselfe poore, because he made not himselfe rich, but to waite vpon God.

Further it followeth, vers. 18. that they doe good, and be rich in good workes: he that can vse riches well, may bee rich in good workes: but he that is poore, wanteth occasion and meanes to doe good, as the rich man indued with grace may: wherefore he is an enemie to the glorie of God, that changeth his rich estate, wherein he may more glorifie God, for a poore.

Againe, if it were so acceptable a thing to God, and so meritorious to liue in pouertie, what made the Prophet to pray against it? *Giue me not pouertie nor riches, but feede me with foode conuenient*, Prou. 30. vers. 8.

Argum. 2. What better argument can wee haue against them, then their owne practise? for, though in words they much commend voluntarie pouertie, yet it is a rare thing to finde it amongst them: for not one among a thousand of them, if they haue lands, doe giue them to the poore, but to their owne kinsefolkes, or else to the Abbeyes, where they know they shall be wealthily maintained. The Pope also is good to many, and granteth them capacities to possesse temporall goods, contrary to their former vow.

Argum. 3. The Wiseman praieth vnto God, *Giue me not pouertie, least I bee poore, and steale, and take the name of God in vaine*, Prouerbs 31. 8. 9. From this place two arguments may bee drawne: That which may lawfully be praied against, is not willingly to bee desired: pouertie may bee prayed against; therefore it is not to bee purposely sought. Againe, no man is willingly

lingly to runne into temptation; but pouertie is a temptation to steale, and to take Gods name in vaine: *Ergo*, &c.

Augustine saith, *Diuitiæ seculares si desint, non per opera mala quærantur in mundo: Si autem adsint, per opera bona seruentur in cœlo: Epist. 1. posteriorum.* If secular riches be wanting, let not a man seeke to get them by euill doing in the world: but if he haue them, labour, by well doing, to store them vp in heauen. He counselleth not men to cast away their riches: It was the heresie of the Pelagians to perswade rich men to cast away their goods, *Augustin. epistol.* 106. and of the Manichees likewise, *Augustin. contra Faustum lib.* 5. *cap.* 10.

Concil. Cabilonens. sub Carol. cap. 6. *Imputatur quibusdam fratribus, &c.* Certaine brethren are charged, that for couetousnes they perswade men, that renouncing the world, they should giue their substance to the Church, which practise should be rooted out of all mindes: for the pastor should seeke the saluation of mens soules, not earthly commoditie: because Christians must not be compelled to giue their substance, &c. But I pray you, if it were a thing so meritorious and healthfull for the soule to giue all away, why should not men be perswaded and allured thereunto?

Let vs see the Imperiall constitutions: *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 5. *leg.* 11. *Valentinian.* By this law it is made lawfull for women professed (who are now called Nunnes) to make their willes and testaments, and to leaue to what vses they thought good. Likewise, *tit.* 6. *leg.* 42. the sonne, though a professed Monke, may succeede his father in his inheritance, *Iustinian.* It should seeme then, that in those daies the vow of voluntarie pouertie was not practised amongst those ancient Monkes.

Their owne Canons also doe helpe vs in this matter: *Decret. p.* 1. *distinct.* 30. *c.* 16. *Diuites, &c.* We doe not reiect rich men hauing good workes. Againe, *Caus.* 12. *qu.* 1. *c.* 25. *Sine peccato possideant sua, &c.* They that are professed, may without sinne possesse their owne. *Caus.* 16. *qu.* 1. *c.* 68. *In paupertate, &c.* We must not in the poore so much consider their pouertie, as their religion: *Ergo*, pouertie of it selfe by your owne law is not meritorious.

And yet more euidently, whereas the order of S. *Francis* was bound to voluntarie pouertie, it being not lawfull for them to touch any money, nor yet to haue propertie or dominion in any thing, but in the simple vse onely, as may appeare by the constitution of Pope *Nicholas*, *sext. decr. lib.* 5. *tit.* 12. *c.* 3. afterward commeth *Iohn* 22. who determineth the contrarie, shewing that, *in rebus consumptibus*, in things which consume in the vse, as meate, drinke, apparell, the vse could not be seuered from the propertie: for then the vse may be seuered from the propertie, when there ariseth some profit by the vse, (*salua rei substantia*) the substance being preserued, but in vsing of meate and drinke, the substance also is consumed: And so he concludeth, that the said order had not only the vse, but the propertie also in the said things; and so consequently it may be inferred, that where a property remained, there could be no resolute pouertie, *Extrau. tit.* 14. *c.* 5.

The said *Iohn* 22. condemned them for heretikes, who affirmed that Christ and his Apostles had nothing proper, *Extrau. tit.* 14. *c.* 5. If neither Christ nor his Apostles entered into this rule of perfection, nor did betake themselues to voluntarie pouertie, shall any man now striue to bee more perfect then they?

Iohn Lambert (holy Martyr) sheweth what voluntarie pouertie is required of Christians, and how that precept of our Sauiour, *goe and sell all that thou hast, &c.* may be fulfilled, for he hath sold (saith he) all that euer he had, that can finde in his heart to depart from it, when God shall please, or charitie so requireth: *Voluntas reputatur pro facto*, the will is accepted for the deede, &c. *Fox* pag. 1110.

THE SECOND PART, CONCERNING the vowe of obedience.

The Papists.

THey that doe enter into the Monkish profession, doe vow in all things to become obedient to their gouernour, and to follow his rules and iniunctions: as the Franciscans follow Saint *Francis* rule, who in stead of a girdle, put a corde about him, went bare-foote, in winter season couered his flesh with yce and snow. It is acceptable, and gratefull seruice, say they, vnto God, to be thus obedient to their fathers and gouernours. 88. Error. Fox. pag. 259.

1 Ierem. 35. The sonnes of *Ionadab* are commended, for being obedient to their father, who inioyned them to drinke no wine, nor to sow their fields, nor builde houses but dwell in tents: Thus they obeyed their father in things not commanded of God: *Ergo*, so ought religious Monkes to doe, *Bellarm. cap.* 21.

Answ. First, you cannot shew that your monkish Abbots haue such authoritie ouer their Monkes, as the father hath ouer his children: for Coloss. 3. and in many other places, children are commaunded to bee obedient to their parents: but the other haue neither authoritie nor calling out of the word. Also S. *Paul* saith, Coloss. 3. *Sonnes obey your parents in all things*: wherefore *Ionadab*

dabs children did no more, then was commanded. *Bellarmine* answereth, that children are bound onely to obey their parents while they are little ones, and not afterward: as the Apostle saith, that the heire, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a seruant, Galath. 4. 1.

Contra. First, a childe while he is yong is more in subiection, then afterward: for he is then kept in awe as a seruant; but when he commeth to yeeres of discretion, he is still held as a sonne: and this to bee the meaning of the Apostle appeareth by the application of this comparison; that euen so we as seruants, were kept vnder the bondage of the rudiments of the world, and ceremonies of the law, but by the redemption of Christ haue receiued the adoption of sonnes. Secondly, and that sonnes, euen when they come to mens estate, must be obedient to their parents, it appeareth by the sonnes of *Eli*, 1. Sam. 2. who is both punished for not chastising his sonnes, and they likewise for not hearing their father. We see then what goodly stuffe this popish doctrine is, that teacheth children to cast off the yoke of obedience to their parents.

Secondly, *Ionadab* inioyned nothing contrarie to the law of the Nazarites, Numb. 6. And if you say, that it was not the custome of the Nazarites to dwell in tents; you shall finde that the Rechabites did not so streightly obserue this, as the other, namely not to drinke wine: for Ierem. 35. ver. 11. they came vp for feare of the Chaldeans that were in the land, and dwelt at Ierusalem: they dispensed with the voluntarie iniunction of their father, for dwelling in their tents, but kept the other vow of abstaining from wine still, because it was after the law. Wherefore this example maketh not for Monkish obedience, seeing they are inioyned things not commaunded by God, nay contrarie to his commaundements.

Argum. 1. Our Sauiour saith, *He that will follow me, must denie himselfe*, Matth. 16. but this denial consisteth in the vow of obedience made to another: for then a man doth denie himself, when he is bound by vow to obey; and not sometime to obey, sometime not to obey at his pleasure, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Ans. First, then by this reason, none can be followers of Christ, vnlesse they will be Monks: for the words of our Sauiour are generall of all, that will follow him. Secondly, to bee a follower of Christ, and a follower of men, are contrarie: for the Apostle saith, *If I should please men, I were not the seruant of Christ*, Galat. 1. 10. Wherefore they which addict themselues by their superstitious obedience to please men, are not the seruants of Christ, but of men.

The Protestants.

NO obedience to any ruler either spirituall or temporall is to bee yeelded vnto, but for the Lords sake, & in such matters, wherein we haue the warrant of Gods word for our obedience. Coloss. 3. 23. *Seruants bee obedient to your masters, and what soeuer you doe, doe it heartily as to the Lord.* But if any thing be inioyned vs which is not warranted by the word of God, we cannot with a good conscience obey as before the Lord. Againe, S. *Paul* saith, Coloss. 2. 18. *Let no man at his pleasure beare rule ouer you, or beguile you:* or as the Rhemists translate, seduce you wilfully: *Ergo*, no man must impose rules of life beside the Gospell, for this were to rule ouer men at their pleasure.

2 *Augustine* saith, *Cum homo constet anima & corpore, &c.* Seeing a man doth consist both of bodie and soule; in regard of that part, which the affayres of this life concerne, we ought to be subiect to the higher powers: but in respect of that part whereby wee beleeue, and are called to the kingdome of God, wee must bee obedient to none, *August. in 13. ad Rom.* Therefore no man may impose any new religion vpon vs, which altogether toucheth the conscience.

Argum. 3. Saint *Paul* commandeth obedience to the Ciuill authoritie, that beareth the sword, Rom. 13. but obedience cannot be yeelded to the Prince, if another thing be commaunded by the Monkish gouernour, to whom they are tied by the vow of obedience: as there is a Canon of a superstitious Councell, *Triburiense. c. 9. Si Episcopus placitum, &c.* If the Bishop doe canonically decree a Synode, and the Ciuill Iudge at the same time enioyne also a law day, his law day must giue place to the other: *Ergo*, to vow obedience to any which may hinder obedience to the Ciuill Magistrate, is contrarie to S. *Pauls* rule.

Argum. 4. Saint *Paul* also saith, 1. Cor. 7. 23. *Ye are bought with a price, be not the seruants of men:* but they which vow Monkish obedience in things not prescribed in the word, make themselues seruants of men. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine answereth, that the Apostle forbiddeth vs to be seruants vnto men for mens cause, but it is lawfull to serue men for Gods cause.

Contra. First, to serue men for Gods cause, or in the name of God, is not to be seruants vnto men, but vnto God: and therefore in this case they are not the seruants of men, but of Christ; as Saint *Paul* exhorteth seruants to bee obedient to their masters, as the seruants of Christ, Ephes. 6. 6. Secondly, they doe not serue men for Gods cause, which are obedient vnto them in things not commaunded by God, nor warranted by his word: as Monkes that doe vow obedience euen in superstitious fancies, and meere humane inuentions: So that this place of the Apostle is very strong against them.

We

We haue in this case plentifull testimonie from both lawes: first, *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 13. leg. 5.* where the Emperour hath this constitution, That he, which is entred into any profession in a colledge, should be obedient to the gouernour thereof, so that notwithstanding he yeeld obedience also to the President or Magistrate.

To this agreeth the Canon law: *Decret. part. 2. caus. 21. quæst. 3. cap. 21. Euaristus.* Pope thus decreeth, *Si quis Episcopus siue Abbas &c.* If a Bishop or an Abbot commaund a Priest or a Monke to say Masse for an heretike, he must not be obeyed: *Ergo*, the vow of obedience may be broken.

Further, the vow of obedience, which they vrge so strictly, is not obserued amongst themselues: as in the order of the Franciscanes, who by the rule of S. *Francis* should haue but one coate, they ought to labour with their owne hands, they should make no glosses vpon S. *Francis* rule: yet in all these things they are now dispensed with, *Sext. decret. lib. 5. tit. 12. cap. 3.* Againe, they are forbidden by their rule to handle any money by themselues, or others, to haue the execution of testaments, or granaries, or cellers, or vineyards: yet now all these things are permitted them, *Clement. lib. 5. tit. 11. cap. 1.* So that they themselues are the chiefe transgressors of their vowes of obedience.

See also *Concil. Senonense decret. mirum.* 30. *Ex nunc interdicimus &c.* From henceforth we disanull and forbid the oathes which are accustomed to be made in the entrance to certaine friaries and religious houses, for the obseruing of their statutes, that no such oathes should hereafter be made or exacted. This councell, we see, hath decreed against the oth of obedience, which novices were wont to make in their entrance.

Iohn Huss holy Martyr: *Paulus Pharisæus propter veritatem sectæ Christi, suæ veteris sectæ, & hic claustrales omnes quæ sectæ fuerint, debent exire & ingredi sectam Christi*: Paul the Pharisie, for the better sect of Christ, did leaue his owne sect, and therefore all that are professed in cloysters should leaue their sects, and come forth to professe the sect of Christ, as *Concil. Constantiense.* 15. *Ergo*, the vowe of superstitious obedience bindeth not.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING THE VOWE of continencie or chastitie, and whether it be lawfull to marrie after such a vowe made.

The Papists.

THe vowe of chast and continent life is commendable and meritorious, they say, in all that 19. Error.
do take it vpon them, and after the vowe made, they are sure to receiue that high gift of continencie, if they duely labour for it, *Rhemist. anno. 1. Corinth. 7. vers. 7.* But whosoeuer marieth after the vowe made, sinneth damnably, and turneth backe after Sathan, *Rhemist. anno. 1. Tim. 5. fol. 12.*

Argum. 1. Matth. 19. 12. Some haue made themselues chaste, or as the Rhemists do very homely translate it, haue gelded themselues, for the kingdome of heauen: This proueth the vowes of chastitie to be both lawfull and meritorious, *Rhemist. in hunc locum.*

Answ. This is ment onely of those that haue the gift of continencie, who, if they before they haue receiued it, may vowe and purpose single life: but without such assurance no man can vowe continencie lawfully: Neither can euery man receiue this gift that will, for Christ saith vers. 11. *All men cannot receiue this thing*, saue they to whom it is giuen: Secondly, as for meriting heauen it commeth neither by being maried or vnmaried, but it is the free gift of God through Christ, Rom. 6. 23.

Argum. 2. 1. Tim. 5. 12. Hauing damnation because they haue cast away their first faith: that is, the vowe of continencie, which they made to Christ: it cannot be meant of the first faith in baptisme, for that is not lost by mariage, *Rhemist.* And againe, vers. 15. They are turned backe after Sathan: we may heere learne, for those to marie which are professed, is to turne backe after Sathan, *Rhemist. in eum locum.*

Answ. First, S. *Paul* speaketh not here of widowes already chosen, but to be chosen: he would not haue younger widowes to be chosen, because they would waxe wanton and marrie: and therefore it is not like, that by the first faith here is meant the vowe of chastitie, seeing there is no cause that these younger widowes should make any vowe, being excluded by the Apostle from Church seruices. Secondly, vers. 14. S. *Paul* himself counselleth the younger widowes to marrie, therefore it is not like they were votaries. Thirdly, by the first faith is vnderstood the Christian faith, which the younger widowes waxing wanton, and lasciuious, not caring to match with Infidels, were in danger to breake, as the Apostle telleth them of some that had done so already, and were turned backe after Sathan. Fourthly, we say not that the faith of baptisme is broken by bil mariage, but with marying with Infidels. Fifthly, it appeareth what breach of faith *Paul* meaneth, when he saith, They waxe wanton, and idle, and are busie-bodies, goe from house to house, and

speake

speake things vncomely, verse 15. Which is a sliding backe from the Christian faith, when they iarre with our profession, not a breach of any vowe of continencie. Lastly, your Maister [illegible] tenceth, expoundeth it of that faith, *quam in Baptismo professa sunt*, which they professed in baptisme. *lib. 4. distinct. 38. b.*

Argum. 5. We must vow vnto God, that which is the best and most perfect state of life, but virginitie is more excellent then mariage; therefore we ought to vow virginitie vnto God: and it is better and more acceptable to God to do it with a vow, then without. *Bellarm. cap. 28.*

Answ. First, we graunt, that the best things ought to be giuen vnto God, so that it be in our power to performe them, otherwise it is but a tempting of God: such was the vow of *Iephta*, that promised vnaduisedly that vnto God, which by the law he could not performe, namely his daughter: so do they which vow single life, promise a thing, which is not in their power. Secondly, concerning virginitie, though in it selfe it be preferred before mariage, yet in them that haue not the gift, mariage is better: for as the Apostle saith, *It is better to marrie, then burne*, that is, to liue continually and single life in lust and concupiscence. Thirdly, to the proofe of the proposition, that it is better to do any dutie with a vow, then without, because it sheweth greater charitie and loue to God, and it better defendeth against the tentation of Sathan, when a man is bound, &c. We answere: First, loue is alwayes ioyned with humilitie; *For loue doth not boast it selfe.* 1. Cor. 13. 4. but he that voweth, boasteth and presumeth of his owne strength. *Ergo*, to vow a thing not in our power, sheweth not greater charitie. Secondly, for a man to be bound to keepe a vow aboue his strength, doth giue greater aduantage to Sathans tentation; that while they labour to keepe their vow, they are tempted to some greater euill, as fornication, or such like: For now Sathan encombreth a man on both sides; that being weake, he must breake his vow and marrie, or keeping his vow must burne in lust. And this testifieth *Gregorie*, as it is in their owne decrees, *27. distinct. 1. c. Nerui testiculorum Leuiathan perplexi sunt, &c.* Leuiathans stones are wrapped together, that is, his suggestions are folded and linked together: and he putteth this very case of vowes, when a man is tempted and assaulted on both sides.

The Protestants.

OVr sentence then appeareth to be this: that the vowe of continencie cannot lawfully be made of all, neither is indifferently to be required of them, seeing all are not indued with the gift. And that it is better euen for vowed persons, hauing rashly presumed beyond their strength, to marrie, rather then to burne.

The Papists.

Argum. 1. The Scripture euery where commandeth such to vse the benefite of mariage, that haue not the gift to liue single; 1. Cor. 7. 2. For auoyding of fornication let euery man haue his wife: and verse 9. If they cannot abstaine let them marrie. Wherefore they transgresse the commandement of God, and presume rashly, that hauing not the gift, do vow virginitie.

Bellarmin. Answer. First, S. *Paul* wisheth men to marrie, not for euery temptation of lust, but when they are ready to fall into externall workes of vncleannesse, as into fornication: and therefore he saith, For auoyding of fornication let euery one haue his wife. For S. *Paul* felt the pricke of the flesh, that is, the lust of concupiscence, and was buffeted of it, yet married not for all that, *cap. 30.* *Rhemist. annot. 1. Cor. 7. sect. 8.*

Answ. First, we say not that for euery light temptation which by resisting may be ouercome, in those that haue the gift of continencie, a man is to desire mariage, but when he is continually enflamed with lust, so that the will doth consent: though he be not yet so ouercome, that he fall into outward vncleannesse: and this is the Apostles meaning, when he saith, It is better to marrie then to burne, that is, with inward lust when his minde is disquieted: And such a man as doth burne with secret concupiscence, still wrastling with that fire, and not being able to quench it, if he refuse to vse the lawfull remedie of marriage, is in danger also to fall into outward fornication.

2. Concerning *Pauls* example: First, the place is not so to be vnderstood of the lust of concupiscence: for it is not like, that the Apostle being kept vnder with hunger, colde, imprisonment, should be so greatly tempted that way. But either it may be vnderstood of the particular temptation to pride and vainglorie, as he himselfe expoundeth it, verse 7. *Least I should be exalted out of measure, through the abundance of reuelations*: or else generally S. *Paul* vnderstandeth by the flesh, the whole masse of corruption, and whatsoeuer was in him that resisted the spirite. In this sense he crieth out, Rom. 7. Who shall deliuer me from this body of death? *Caluin.*

3. Though we yeeld that S. *Paul* was tempted with this concupiscence, yet he ouercame and subdued it, obtayning from God, after some striuing, grace and power to quench the secret fire: And so we doubt not, but that men ought by fasting and prayer to labour for that precious gift: But if they feele the fire to burne within them still, then are they to vse the remedie prescribed by S. *Paul*, that is, to marrie.

Secondly, saith *Bellarmine*, S. *Paul* giueth libertie of mariage onely to those which were free and had not vowed continencie, *cap. 30.*

Answ.

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtles words are generall: Let euery man haue his wife. I, ſay the Rhemiſts, he ſpeaketh of thoſe that were maried before their conuerſion, that they might ſtill vſe and keepe their wiues. Yea but S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of all vnmaried, in the verſe next before, It is good not to touch a woman: I trow he meaneth not, it is good for a man that is maried not to touch his wife. Secondly, it is a generall libertie, which he granteth to all, verſ. 9. If they cannot containe, let them marrie: but many votaries cannot containe, as it may appeare by the vnchaſt liues of your Monkiſh rabble: therefore hauing the diſeaſe, they may vſe the remedie, that is, marrie.

The teſtimony of antiquitie in this caſe is moſt plentifull, to ſhew that raſh vowes and othes, ſuch as the vowe of chaſtitie is in him, that hath not power to keepe it, may ſafely bee broken, *Concil. Toletan 8. cap. 2. Tolerabilius eſt ſtulta promiſſionis vota reijcere, quàm per inutilium promiſſionum exſolutionem, exhorrendam criminum implere menſuram*: It is more tolerable, to reiect raſh and fooliſh vowes and promiſes, then by keeping vnprofitable promiſes, to fall into horrible ſinnes: As the monkiſh votaries did, who for that they wanted lawfull matrimonie, gaue themſelues to vnnaturall luſts. *Concil. Triburienſ. cap. 21. ex Beda: Si fortè nos incautiùs iurare contigerit, quod ſcilicet obſeruatum priorem vergeat in exitum, liberè illud mutandum nouimus ſalubriori conſilio*: If it chance that we ſweare raſhly, which oth being obſerued, will haue a worſe end, vpon more holeſome aduiſe we may freely change it. If an oth may be changed, much more a vowe, for an oth is greater.

The Ciuill law thus ſaith, *Cod. lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 23. authentic. Illicita rei iuramentum &c.* An oath of an vnlawfull thing is not to be kept, as if one ſweare to continue in the profeſſion of ſtage plaies, &c. By the ſame reaſon alſo, whether it be a vow or an oath, that one taketh not to marrie, if he liue incontinently, it ought not to bind him.

Cod. lib. 5. tit. 35. leg. 2. Valentinian. Theodoſ. A mother could not be admitted to the tuition of her child, vnleſſe ſhe would ſweare not to marrie againe: notwithſtanding ſuch oath, ſhe is permitted by this law to marrie againe: *In optione nulla cogatur*; No woman ought to be enforced to her choiſe. So then after an oath made to continue a widow, which is as much as a vow, yet by the Ciuill law mariage is lawfull.

Cod. lib. 6. tit. 40. leg. 2. Iuſtinian. Whereas the law was, that a man dying and leauing a legacie to his wife vpon condition, ſhe ſhould remaine a widow, the woman could not haue the legacie, vnleſſe ſhe would ſweare not to marrie, but for procreation of children: By this conſtitution it was lawfull for the woman to enioy her husbands gift, and without any ſuch oath to marrie againe. So this conſtitution alloweth not any oath to be taken againſt mariage: but a vow and an oath are of the ſame nature.

Cod. lib. 9. tit. 8. leg. 2. A man ſwearing that he would neuer forgiue his ſeruant, but keepe him in continuall bonds, is not tyed by this oath; *Alexander*: no more is a man bound, that voweth to keepe his body in the perpetuall bonds of luſt and burning without mariage.

Let vs take a view of their owne Canons: *Lateranenſ. ſub. Alexandro 3. part. 5. cap. 2. cap. 10.* this caſe is put: A certaine woman promiſed mariage to a man being abſent, but afterward hearing more of his inhumane nature: *Votum continentiæ promiſit*: Shee vowed and made promiſe of continencie: it is thus determined: *Tutius eſſe ducimus, vt prefata mulier, poſt fidem & votum ſimplex oblatum matrimonium contrahat, quam fornicationis reatum incurrat*: Wee iudge it more ſafe, that the ſaid woman, after her ſimple vowe and faith thus giuen and made, to marrie rather, then to fall into fornication. But it will bee here anſwered, that this woman made but a ſimple or ſingle vowe; *nec veſtem, nec locum mutauit*, ſhee changed neither place nor garment: Marke then what followeth, *Lateranenſ. part. 47. cap. 8.* Pope *Adriane* decreeth thus: *Si quis timore mortis habitum religionis aſſumpſerit & clauſtrum intrauerit, licitè poterit ad ſeculum redire*: If any man for feare of death doth take the habite of religion, and goe into a clauſter, he may lawfully returne to his ſecular eſtate. Here is both a change of place and habite, and yet libertie giuen to diſſolue the vowe. If it be againe anſwered, that it was done of feare: ſo I ſay, that as this is one infirmitie, ſo there be many beſides; and if this infirmitie may breake a vow, why may not alſo other infirmities, as of incontinencie, and ſuch other? Now where as they thinke a ſimple vowe may be broken, which conſiſteth onely in the purpoſe or promiſe of the votarie, but a vowe ratified, by changing of place, habite, and profeſſion, cannot be broken, this alſo is but an idle ſhift: for a vowe vttered onely before God, though there be no ſuch outward teſtification, doth binde in conſcience, as if it were done in the preſence of many: *Iacobs* vowe, Geneſ. 28. was but a ſingle vowe, vttered onely in the hearing of God: and of ſuch vowes ſpeaketh the preacher, Eccleſ. 5. 3. when thou haſt vowed a vowe to God, &c. And herein their owne law helpeth vs; *decret. Greg. lib. 4. tit. 7. c. 6. Celeſtin. 3. Votum ſimplex &c.* A ſimple vow doth no leſſe bind before God, then a ſolemne: And againe, *ſext. decretal. lib. 3. tit. 15. c. 1. Bonif. 8. Voti ſolemnitas &c.* A ſolemne vow was found out onely by the conſtitution of the Church. Wherefore if mariage be lawfull after a ſimple vow, why not as well after a ſolemne?

We haue yet also more euident testimonie out of their law: *decret. Greg. lib. 2. tit. 24. c. 3. Gregor. Propositum non infringit, &c.* He doth not breake his vow or promise, that changeth it into a better: wherefore he that changeth vnchast single life, with chast mariage, doth not breake his vow. *Bonif. 8. regu. iuris. 6. Nemo potest ad impossibile ligari*: No man can be bound to that is impossible: but for him to liue single, that hath not the gift, is impossible; therefore he can not be bound vnto it with vow or without. Againe, *regul. 58. Iuramentum contra bonos mores non ligat*: An oath against good manners bindeth not: and so consequently a vow; wherefore a vow to liue without marriage in sinfull lust, bindeth not, being against good manners.

Other vowes may be altered and changed, as the vow of going in pilgrimage to Ierusalem may be redeemed with almes, *decret. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 34. c. 1.* It may be altered for the benefite of the Commonwealth, *c. 5.* for the necessitie of the Church, *c. 7.* because of sickenesse or pouertie, *ib.* Why then may not the vow of Continencie vpon the like considerations be dispensed with. *Sext. decretal. lib. 3. tit. 12. c. 1.* A vow to be buried in a certaine place, may be altered. *Bonif. 8.* Why may not the like alteration in other vowes be admitted?

Here wanteth now nothing, but the seale of the Martyrs, D. *Taylour* holy Martyr sheweth the vnlawfulnes of such othes and vowes, whereby Priests and others are constrayned to vow chastitie, and forsweare mariage by the like case: *In Iustinian titulo de indicta viduitate*, where it is thus written: That if one would bequeath to his wife in his testament a legacie vnder a condition, that she should neuer marrie againe, and take an oth of her for the accomplishment of the same, yet she may marrie againe if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid condition, and oth taken and made against mariage: and an othe is an other manner of obligation made to God, then a papisticall vowe made to man, *Fox.* pag. 1522.

William Flower, who was first a professed Monke, and afterward maried, protesteth, that therein he beleeueth he did well, and according to Gods lawes, *Fox.* pag. 1575. Rash vowes then and inconsiderate, as of chastitie, single life and such like, may lawfully be dissolued: but let vs now proceede.

Argum. 2. Virginitie, and continent life is onely to be required of those which haue the gift of continencie: But all haue not that gift: *Ergo*, the vowe of Virginitie is not indifferently to be made by any. That the gift of continencie cannot be had or obtained of all, neither resteth in our free will, it is plaine by Scripture.

1 Math. 19. 12. He that is able to receiue this gift, let him receiue it: *Ergo*, all are not able to receiue it.

Bellarmin. First, though they are not able to receiue it yet, yet they may if they will, and aske it by prayer: for the texte is, Some haue made themselues chaste for the kingdome of God: whereby it appeareth that it is in the will of man, *cap. 31. Answ.* He speaketh cleane contrarie to the texte: for Christ saith, None receiue it but to whom it is giuen; and the words are, *qui capere potest*, not, *qui velit*, he that can receiue, not he that will receiue. And they are said to make themselues chaste, not because it is in their owne choyce, but being enabled of God, and hauing receiued power ouer their will, they are said to make themselues chaste, hauing receiued power by the spirit of God: So our Sauiour saith, Come vnto me all ye that are laden, Matth. 11. and yet no man commeth to Christ, but his father first draweth him, Ioh. 6. 44. Wherefore it being a peculiar gift of God, all cannot haue it, neither are sure to obtaine it, though they aske it by prayer, because we haue no promise to be heard.

Rhemist. When a man is bound to abstayne by vowe, or other necessarie occasion, as imprisonment, banishment, sickenes, no doubt, if he labour for the gift of continencie, he may haue it. *Answ.* They that binde themselues to a rash vowe, haue no promise to be heard praying for continencie. Secondly, they that are driuen vnto any such necessitie as you speake of, which they are not a cause of themselues, neither can auoyde, as in long and perpetuall sicknes, it is certaine that God will giue the gift being sought by lawfull meanes: But as for banishment and imprisonment, they are not of such necessitie, but that the husband is bound to follow the wife, and the wife her husband, *Fulk.* 1. Cor. 7. 6.

Neither are many of those meanes commendable, which were vsed in Monkerie: for some of them were superstitious and vnlawfull, as they vsed Phisicke and medicine to correct or slacke, and extinguish nature in them: *Francis* was wont to couer his bodie with yce and snowe; others did whip themselues: This was not to subdue and tame the bodie, but to destroy and kill the bodie, and make it vnfit for other duties. The Scripture prescribeth no other meanes but prayer and fasting, and labour in our vocation. Some of them againe vsed externall exercise of their bodie, as by fasting, by lying hard, by watching, which in themselues were not amisse: but they leaue the chiefe and principall, which is the spirituall meanes: for the outward exercise of their flesh without this, is little worth, Coloss. 2. 23.

Bellarmin. To beleeue is no lesse the gift of God, then to liue chaste, yet we exhorte all men to beleeue,

beleeue, and they doe vowe and promiſe it in baptiſme: why may they not as well vowe continencie, although it be a peculiar gifte? *cap.31.*

Anſ. They are both indeede the gifts of God, but one is neceſſarie to ſaluation, namely, to beleeue, and is promiſed to all that will ſeeke for it: But the other gift is not neceſſarie, neither hath any ſuch promiſe.

Secondly, S. *Paul* calleth this a proper gift: But if all men were capable of it, how could it be called a proper gift? One after this manner, another after that, ſaith the Apoſtle. But if euery man might attaine to that one gifte of continencie, they ſhould not all haue their proper gifte, but all one gifte, and after the ſame manner. And though S. *Paul* ſhould meane, that to liue chaſtly in wedlocke be alſo a proper gifte of God, as *Bellarmine* vrgeth, and we deny not: yet it remaineth ſtill, that the other is a more ſingular and proper gift; and is not therefore commonly, and indifferently beſtowed vpon all.

Thirdly, S. *Paul* ſaith, that a man may marrie his Virgin if neede ſo require, 1. Cor. 7. 37. But if euery one labouring for the gift of continencie, might obtaine it, there ſhould then be no neceſſitie of mariage: which the Apoſtle here affirmeth. *Capitul. Gracar. Synod. 21. collect. à Martin. Bracarenſ. Epiſcop.* and it is alleaged, *decret. part. 1. diſt. 55. cap. 9. Si quis ſanus non per diſciplinam religionis, & abſtinentiæ, ſed per abſciſionem à Deo plaſmati corporis exiſtimans poſſe à ſe carnales concupiſcentias amputari, caſtrauerit ſe, Clericus ne fiat:* If any man being ſound and in health, doth caſtrate or geld himſelfe not by the diſcipline of religion, and abſtinence, but by mangling his bodie framed of God, thinking that it lieth in him to cut off carnall concupiſcence, let him not be a Clergie man. Here their opinion is reproued that thinke euery man hath power to be continent.

Further, the decree of *Martin. Cauſ. 27. queſt. 1. c. 8.* witneſſeth in theſe words, ſpeaking of a certaine widow, *Si ſe continere non poterat, &c.* If ſhe could not containe, ſhe was not forbid to marrie. And againe, *Cauſ. 32. c. 11. Si poſt nubtatem, &c.* If S. *Paul* after nakedneſſe, hunger, faſting, priſon, ſtripes, crieth out, *O vnhappie man that I am, who ſhall deliuer me from this bodie of ſinne*; do you think your ſelfe ſecure? *rectius fuerat hominem ſubiiſſe coniugium, &c.* it had been better to haue entred into mariage with other men, then ſtriuing to climbe higher, to fall downe to hell. Wee ſee by this decree of theirs, what an hard thing it is to attaine vnto virginitie, and that euery one cannot haue it.

Maiſter *Tindall* holy Martyr hath put to his ſeale: If we haue infirmities, that draw vs from the lawes of God, let vs cure them with the remedies that God hath made; if thou burne, marrie: for God hath promiſed thee no chaſtitie, as long as thou maiſt vſe the remedie that he hath ordained: no more then he hath promiſed to ſlake thine hunger without meate: now to aske of God more then he hath promiſed, commeth of a falſe faith, &c. *Fox* pag. 1251. col. 1.

Laſtly, the Rhemiſts ſay, that the mariage of thoſe that haue vowed, is the worſt ſort of incontinencie and fornication, 1. *Corinth. 7. ſect.* 8.

Auguſtine ſaith cleane contrarie: *Non ipſa nuptiæ talium damnanda iudicantur, &c.* The mariages of ſuch are not condemned, but the violating of their vow is condemned; not becauſe they afterward entred into the league of mariage, but becauſe they did breake the firſt faith of continencie. *Auguſtine* ſaith not, that ſuch mariages are no mariages, but plaine adulterie and fornication: but maketh the mariage lawfull, and reproueth their raſhnes before in making, and their vnſtedfaſtnes now in breaking their vowes.

THE FIFT QVESTION, CONCERNING MONAſticall perſons which doe enter into that profeſſion.

THere are foure ſorts of people which the Papiſts doe offer great wrong vnto, in drawing them to the profeſſion of Monkerie: Firſt, vnto the yonger ſort, which haue libertie to marrie. Secondly, to the children and ſonnes whom they make Monkes without conſent of their parents. Thirdly, they ſay, married perſons, by mutuall conſent, may betake themſelues to a Monkes habite. Fourthly, if mariage be contracted, not conſummate or finiſhed, they may one leaue another without conſent firſt had.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE YOVNGER ſort are to be admitted to profeſſe Monkerie.

The Papiſts.

IF they be come to the yeeres of diſcretion, they may, men or women at any age, take vpon them the vow of Monkerie, *Bellarm. cap. 35.* 90. Error.

1. Matth. 19. 14. *Suffer little children to come vnto me: Ergo*, young men and maides may become Monkes, *Bellarm.*

Anſ. Firſt, the text ſpeaketh of little children: but by your confeſſion, they muſt be of yeeres of diſcretion that ſhould enter into your profeſſion: ſo are not little children. Secondly, as though none could come to Chriſt, but through a Monkes cowle: nay, I would they of all men did not goe furtheſt off from Chriſt. It followeth alſo in the text, *Of ſuch is the kingdome of heauen:* ſo by this reaſon, heauen gates ſhould bee open onely to Monkes and Friers: and this is the right hereſie of the Pelagians, and Manichees, that promiſed the kingdome of God not to any, but thoſe that caſt away their riches.

2 *Iohn Baptiſt* liued from a childe in the wilderneſſe: *Ergo*, lawfull for young ones to profeſſe Monkerie.

Anſ. Firſt, *Iohns* example is extraordinarie, as his office and calling was ſingular, and therefore is no more to bee imitated and followed in his ſolitarie life, then in his diet of Locuſts and wilde honie: He ſprang alſo in his mothers wombe; ſo I thinke all Monkes and Eremites doe not. Secondly, it is not certaine at what yeeres *Iohn* entred into the wilderneſſe: for hee was thirtie yeere old when he came and preached in the wilderneſſe, as *Matthew* writeth, 3.1.

The Proteſtants.

THough we ſhould graunt, that a Monaſticall life were in ſome perſons, and at ſome times tolerable among Chriſtians; yet of all other the younger ſort, in whom luſt doth raigne, were moſt vnfit, and not to be admitted vnto that kinde of life.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* would haue no widow to be choſen vnder 60. yeeres, 1. Timoth. 5.9. and I will the younger to marrie, verſ. 16. *Ergo*, it is contrarie to Saint *Pauls* rule, to ſuffer any ſuch to make vowes of continencie.

Rhemiſt. anſwere. Firſt, it was but a rule for that time, when as yet there were no Monaſteries nor diſcipline, but young widowes wandred vp and downe idlely.

Anſ. Firſt, the ſame cauſe that young women had to marrie then, they haue now; and therefore the rule is generall. Secondly, as though the walles of Monaſteries were able to keepe in virginitie: no, it is notoriouſly knowne, that vnchaſt life hath ſcaled the walles of Nunneries, crept in at windowes, and found muſes in the ground.

2 Saint *Paul* (ſay they) counſelleth young widowes to marrie, not young virgins, which hauing not experience of luſt, are not ſo greatly tempted.

Anſ. How chaſte your cloyſter women haue been, and free from theſe tentations, the ſtories of former times make mention; and the examples of ſo many vnchaſte milch-Nunnes, and filthie Monkes and Friers, are a ſufficient proofe, *Fulk. 1. Timoth. 5. fell.* 11. But all theſe ſhifts notwithſtanding Saint *Pauls* rule muſt ſtand, that no widowes muſt be admitted vnder 60. yeere old.

Bellarmine alſo anſwereth, that the Apoſtles meaning is, that the younger women ſhould be refuſed, not from the vow of continencie, but not to bee of the number of the widowes, which were maintained of the Church.

Contra. Firſt, this is flat oppoſite to the Apoſtle, who would haue the younger women to marrie, verſ. 14. how then is it like they were votaries? therfore it is euident, that they are excluded from vow making, ſeeing they are counſelled by the Apoſtle to marrie.

To this he againe replieth, that where the Apoſtle ſaith, I would haue the younger marrie, that it is not a precept, but a counſell.

Contra. Firſt, it is a charge and commaundement which the Apoſtle giueth, that they ſhould marrie, in reſpect of their frailtie, becauſe diuers were turned alreadie after Sathan by their incontinencie, and gaue occaſion to the aduerſarie to ſpeake euill. Wherefore to auoide theſe things he not onely aduiſeth, but willeth and chargeth, they ſhould marrie. Secondly, though it bee but a counſell, yet it will follow, that the Apoſtle gaue counſell to them to marrie, which had vowed ſingle life, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, that the younger women were not barred from vowing continencie.

Secondly, if the younger women are not admitted to bee of the number of the almes widowes for feare of incontinencie, they were as vnfit to enter into any vow or profeſſion of ſingle life. And be it graunted, that it might be a greater offence for publike widowes, then priuate votaries, to breake their vow; yet in the other the offence were great enough: and therefore the Apoſtles rule of their age ought to be obſerued in both.

Argum. 2. The Manichees tooke occaſion hereby to inſult againſt the Catholikes, becauſe they admitted ſo many virgins to the profeſſion of ſingle life: *Certatim ad hanc profeſſionem eas inuitatis ſuaſionibus veſtris, vt iam pene maior in eccleſijs omnibus virginum apud vos, quam mulierum numeroſitas habeatur, Auguſt. cont. Fauſtum.* 30.4. Ye labour (ſay the Manichees) to draw women of euerie hand to this profeſſion by your perſwaſions, that now in your Churches, the number of profeſſed virgins exceedeth the number of women. And hereby the Manichees that extolled virginitie, and condemned mariage, were induced to thinke that the Catholike Biſhops alſo were of their opinion.

The

The Imperiall law enioyneth, that no woman bee admitted to bee a Deaconesse of the Church vnder 40. or 60. yeeres, according to the precept of the Apostle, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. leg. 9. Theodos.*

We haue also for this point very euident testimonie of their owne law: *Clementis epistol. 1.* S. Peter is brought in speaking thus: *Ad presbyteros fiant ista, ante omnia vt pudicitiæ studeant, adolescentes nuptijs iungant, quo calorem feruentis ætatis, coniugali lege præueniant: item iuniores viduas nuptijs copulate:* These instructions concerne the priests, first of all, as men carefull to preserue chastitie, let them ioyne young men in mariage, that the heate of burning youth may by the matrimoniall law be preuented: likewise let the younger virgins be coupled in mariage.

Concil. sub Syluestro, cap. 10. Vt vidua non nisi 72. annorum eligatur: nulla patris schemata monachorum oportet fieri nisi post 25. ætatis annum propter scandala, iam euacuato omni feruore diaboli, vt inueniat sibi mundum vas spiritus sanctus: That a widow bee not chosen vnder 72. yeere: let none take the habite of a Monke before he be 25. yeere old, to auoide offence, that the diuellish heate of the flesh being euacuate, the holy Ghost may finde a cleane vessell.

Concil. Agathens. can. 19. Sanctimoniales, quantumlibet mores earum probati sint, ante annum ætatis quadragesimum non velentur: Holy virgins, though their behauiour bee neuer so much approoued, let them not bee vailed before the fortieth yeere of their age. This is alleaged in their owne decrees, *caus. 20. qu. 1. c. 13.*

And many such Canons and decrees might bee alleadged, against the entring of the younger sort into Monkish profession.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER CHILdren may enter into profession of Monkerie without their parents consent.

The Papists.

IF they be of sufficient age, as the men of 14. yere at the least, the women of 12. and their parents be not driuen to any such necessitie, that they neede their childrens helpe, they may without parents consent enter into Monkerie. 91 Error.

Argum. 1. God said to *Abraham*, Get thee out of thy countrie, and from thy fathers house, Gen. 12. And Christ, Matth. 10. Whosoeuer loueth father or mother more then me, is not worthie of me: *Ergo* children may become Monkes, without their fathers leaue, *Bellar. cap. 36.*

Ans. First, who would haue thought that *Abraham* was a Monke, but that the Iesuite saith it? Secondly, by the same reason a man may not leaue his parents onely, but goe out of his countrie. Thirdly, *Abraham* was 75. yeere old at that time, when he went out of Haran, vers. 4. *Ergo*, we will conclude ỹ none ought to be made Monks before those yeers. Fourthly, whē God calleth any mā to a Monkish life, as *Abraham* had an especiall calling of God, we will giue him good leaue to go.

Concerning the other saying of our Sauiour, it maketh nothing for you. First, Christ speaketh of persecution, when a man ought not for loue of his friends to denie Christ: but, I trow you will not graunt, that your Monkish life is persecution: and yet it is after a sort; for the Locusts, which are none other but Monkes and Friers, Apocal. 9. doe bite and sting like serpents, that is, doe secretly wound mens consciences. Secondly, a man may leaue his parents, as Christ commandeth, though he dwell in the same house with them: that is, by setting his loue and affection on heauenly things. Thirdly, do al go to Christ that come into your Monasteries? nay, I would they went not from Christ: for they liue after another rule, then Christs: *Francis* your great founder erected a new sect of Monkerie, and found out a new rule for them, which he called *regulam Euangelicam*, the rule of the Gospell: as though Christs rule were not sufficient.

Argum. 2. Here the constitution of *Iustinian* may bee obiected, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. leg. 42.* which is, that a sonne, *etiam inuito patre*, against his fathers will, may become a Monke. To the which I answere: first, this same constitution also decreeth, that a sonne against his fathers will professing monasticall life, may succeed him in his testament, & to be his heire, *nullo eis impedimento, &c.* their sanctimoniall conuersation being no let vnto them. If they will haue this law stand in force for the one, why not also for the other? as it seemeth to make with them in one point, so in the other concerning voluntarie and professed pouertie of Monkes, it maketh against them. Secondly, the Constitutions of *Iustinian*, which were last inserted into the Code, more then 500. yeere after Christ, doe somewhat sauour of the superstition which began then to set in foote, and therefore are not of that authoritie which the more ancient Imperials haue. Thirdly, this constitution is contrarie to other Imperiall lawes of greater antiquitie: as *Alexander* made a law, *Cod. lib. 8. tit. 47. leg. 3.* That a father might chastise his sonne if he offended him, and if he so continued, the President, at the appointment of his father, should more seuerely punish him. This law permitteth not the sonne to bee disobedient to his father without due correction: but to enter into a profession to his dislike, is disobedience: *Ergo*, by the law not tolerable. Likewise, *tit. 49. leg. 4. Patre inuitus*

situs non cogitur, &c. The father against his will cannot bee constrained, no not by the Princes letters to set free or manumit his sonne: but he is manumitted by entring into Monkerie against his fathers will. This then is contrarie to the law: and thus euery Abbot and Monke shall presume to doe more then the Emperour himselfe challengeth.

The Protestants.

CHildren ought not by the law of God to make any vow of single and continent life without the consent and liking of their parents, *Luther. Pet. Martyr. lib. de celibat. & voeit.*

Argum. 1. By the law of *Moses* the father had power to disallow the vowes which the daughter made being in his house, Numb. 30. 6. which law was not ceremonious: for it was grounded vpon the Morall law, which commaunded all obedience and dutie of the children to the parents. And that it is not abrogate, it appeareth, because the same law is renued by S. *Paul*, 1. Corinth. 7. vers. 36. 37. where the Apostle referreth the whole matter of keeping a virgin, or placing of her in mariage to the will of the father; yet so, that he must haue regard vnto the necessitie, the estate and condition of his virgin. Both these places doe apertly prooue, that neither the childe can bee bestowed in mariage, nor vowed to virginitie, without the consent and determination of the parents.

Argum. 2. The father hath as great power ouer his sonne, as the master ouer his seruant: but the seruant cannot take vpon him the profession of Monkerie without the consent of his master. *Ergo*, &c.

The second part of the reason is proued both by the Ciuill and Canon law: first, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 3. leg. 16. Honor. Theodos. Rusticus, &c.* A rurall seruant being made a Clerke, is bound to serue his master by a sufficient substitute. But more euidently it appeareth by the constitution of *Anastasius, leg. 34. Iubemus ascriptitiorum, &c.* We will that no seruant make choise of a solitarie life without the consent of his master: if he doe, his master shall haue the same power ouer him, which he hath ouer other seruants.

See also for their owne law the decree of *Gelasius*, That seruants entring into Monasteries without consent of their masters or patrones, should be restored vnto them, *decret. part. 1. dist. 54. 11.*

Likewise, *Concil. Chalced. can. 4. Decreuimus, &c.* Wee haue decreed that no seruant bee receiued into a Monasterie, without the knowledge and leaue of his master.

The first part of the argument is denied by *Bellarmine*, that sonnes to their parents are not in like subiection, as seruants to their masters; and therefore haue more power of themselues, then seruants haue.

Contra. Though children are not in such seruile subiection, for there is one feare of children, an other of seruants; yet the father hath as great power ouer the persons of their children being within age, as ouer seruants: because the law of nature, which bindeth sonnes, is stronger then the law of men, which maketh seruants: and parents haue greater power ouer their owne flesh, then ouer strangers.

Let vs heare what authoritie *Augustine* yeeldeth to the father ouer his children: *Agitorium nostrum in domibus vestris: Episcopus inde appellatus est quia superintendit: vnusquisque ergo in domo sua, si caput est domui suæ, debet ad eum pertinere episcopatus officium, de Sanct. Ser. 51.* You (saith *Augustine* their Bishop) must supplie our stead in your houses: a Bishop or Superintendent, is so called because he ouerseeth: therefore euery householder, being the head of his house, ought to play the Bishop in his house. The father then is a Bishop ouer his children: shall any man then dare to take any out of his house, that is his Bishopricke, or any sheepe out of his fold, without the Bishop and shepheards consent.

The testimonie also of their owne law in this case is very cleere: *Si puella in puerili ætate, &c.* If a maiden in her childhood, or vnder yeeres, doth binde her selfe with an oth in her fathers house, without the knowledge of her father, if her father, so soone as he heareth of it, doth gainsay, her vow and oth is voyd, *caus. 32. qu. 2. c. 14.*

Likewise, *Bonif. 8. sext. decr. lib. 3. tit. 12. c. 4. Filius pro anima, &c.* The sonne can make choise of nothing concerning his soule, without consent of his father, though he may choose sepulture for his bodie.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER MARIED PERsons may with mutuall consent become votaries.

The Papists.

91. Error. WIth mutuall consent the man and the wife may separate themselues, and vow and promise single life for euer, so long as they both shall liue, *Beller. cap. 37.*

Argum. 1. *Maria* and *Ioseph* were perfitly man and wife, yet by mutuall consent they liued continently

tinently all their dayes: *Ergo*, it is lawfull for maried couples to separate themselues for euer, both agreeing thereunto, *Bellarm. cap.* 37.

Answ. 1. It appeareth by the text, that there was no such thing purposed by *Ioseph*, before he was admonished by the Angell in a dreame, but that, as she was already betrothed, so there was an intent on *Iosephs* part, that they should come together, Matth. 1. 18. but that in the meane time *Marie* was found with childe by the holy Ghost: and so from that time *Ioseph* being a iust man neuer knew his wife: there was no such purpose or vow before.

2 That this was an extraordinarie example, who seeth it not? When any man shall be admonished by an Angell as *Ioseph* was, and shall haue the like cause as *Ioseph* had to abstaine, which shall neuer be, he may be bold to doe as *Ioseph* did.

Argum. 2. I will not here conceale a certaine law of *Iustinian. Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 6. *leg.* 42. whereby it is prouided, that if the husband or wife, *Religionis causa à coniugio recesserit, &c.* Do for religion sake depart from marriage, and choose solitarie life, the other shall haue such dower, or gift, as if the partie so departed were dead.

Answ. This law seemeth to allow of the departure of the married parties, euen without consent each of other, for it speaketh of the departure of one of the parties onely: and thus *Bellarmine* interpreteth this law, and refuteth it also, holding it to be a great error, that either partie should depart without mutuall consent: wherefore since that this law is refused by them, I shall not need to refute it.

The Protestants.

They that are once ioyned together in mariage, and haue made a couenant each to other before God, cannot separate themselues though they both consent, there being no other cause, but a purpose of single life for more holynes sake.

Argum. 1. It is flat contrarie to S. *Pauls* rule, 1. Cor. 7. 5. *Defraud not your selues, except it be with consent for a time, that you may giue your selues to fasting and prayer, and againe come together, least Satan tempt you for your incontinencie.* First, the Apostle saith directly: they should but separate themselues for a time. Secondly, we doe thus reason out of his words: There is no cause of separation, but to be giuen to fasting and prayer; but this may be done by a separation for a time: neither is it necessarie we should alwayes be giuen to fasting and prayer, but vpon speciall occasion: therefore perpetuall separation is not needfull. Thirdly, they that are long separated, are subiect to fall into tentation: the same cause therfore that moued them first to marrie, for auoyding of incontinencie, ought to moue them to come together againe: Therefore it is not good nor lawfull they should separate themselues for euer.

Bellarmine answereth, that the Apostle saying, This I speake by way of indulgence or permission, vers. 6. sheweth that he would rather, they should abstaine altogether; yet in respect of their frailtie he permitteth, that they come together againe: so then, they that do separate themselues at once for all, do that which is best agreeable to the Apostles meaning, *cap.* 30.

Contra. First, it is vntrue, that S. *Paul.* had rather the married should be separated altogether: for where he wisheth that all men were as himselfe, he speaketh directly to the widowes, and vnmarried, vers. 8. and not to them, which were married: and againe, he should be contrary to himselfe, vers. 24. *Let euery man, wherein he was called, abide*: and it followeth vers. 27. *Art thou bound to a wife, seeke not to be loosed?* wherefore they that are married, ought to remaine in that estate which they are called vnto. Secondly, this then, which the Apostle speaketh by way of indulgence, is not to be referred to their comming together againe, for the Apostle hath for that a direct commandement, vers. 10. *I command, not I, but the Lord, let not the wife depart from her husband*: and againe, vers. 5. *Defraud not one another*: which is a precept, as *Bellarmine* confesseth; but if they should be separated altogether, they should one defraud another: wherefore this permission belongeth to the second verse, where the Apostle to auoid fornication, granteth the remedie of mariage to euery one, that hath not the other gift.

Argum. 2. That which God hath coupled, no man ought to put asunder: but they that are maried haue made a couenant to God, Pro. 2. 17. as well as to themselues, and are ioyned by Gods law together: *Ergo*, they cannot dissolue their mariage by their owne power and will, the Lord hauing an interest therein.

Bellarmine saith, that by this separation mariage is not dissolued. *Answ.* It is as much dissolued, as by your law in cases of diuorce: for these are their words: For aduoutrie one may dismisse another, but neyther partie can marrie againe for any cause during life, *Rhemist. Matth.* 19. *sect.* 4. So ye allow onely a kind of dismission in the case of adulterie, and so you do in the vow of continencie: and thus you make this cause as forcible as the other, to breake off matrimoniall dutie, which is contrary to the Gospell.

Augustine thus writeth, *Non licet excepta causa fornicationis coniugem à coniuge dirimi, nec sterilem coniugem fas est relinquere, vt fœcunda ducatur, de nupt. & concupiscen. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. It is not lawfull for

maried couples, one to be separate from another, vnlesse it be for fornication: nor to leaue a barren wife to marrie a fruitfull. Therefore if fornication onely be a iust cause of finall separation, there can be no other: If there were any other, it is most like it should be for procreation of children: But neither for that cause is a man to leaue his wife: *Ergo*, for no other.

Nicholaus 1. *de matrimon. can.* 7. *Hi, qui matrimonium sui contraxerunt, &c.* They, which were found when they maried, if afterward one of them chance to be mad or frantick, or hath any other infirmitie: as if hee bee made blinde by his enemies, maymed in his bodie, or cut in his priuie members, for none of these causes is their mariage to bee dissolued. But those are greater lets and impediments to mariage, then mariage is or can bee to the exercise of religion: therefore not for any vowe of continencie is marriage to bee disolued, or any separation to bee admitted.

And yet we haue cleerer euidence out of their owne law, *decret. p.* 2. *caus.* 33. *qu.* 5. *c.* 11. *Vxor abstinentiæ, quæ maluit &c.* The vowes of abstinence, which the wife made by her husbands leaue, if he afterward forbid, she is not bound to keepe. By this Canon it is not lawfull for the wife, no not with the husbands consent to become a Votarie. *Decret. Greg. lib.* 3. *tit.* 24. *c.* 14. This case is put, a certaine man and his wife do sweare each to other, that they would neuer desire one the others company againe: afterward the man would haue receiued his wife, she refused, saying, she would be a Saracene first &c: *Innocentius* 3. thus resolueth the case, that if the man could not be perswaded to liue single, the woman should be enforced by excommunication to returne vnto him. If an oath then do not hold as touching separation of the husband and the wife by consent, no more shall a vow bind.

Likewise *decret. Greg. lib.* 3. *tit.* 32. *c.* 2. *Alexander* 3. this case is propounded: the husband in the presence of diuers Priestes and Monkes, by the licence of his wife professeth Monasticall life: if his wife afterward suspected not to liue continently desire her husband, *Vir potest & debet ad monasterio reuocari*: The man may and ought to be fetched out of his Monasterie. *Ergo*, there can be no finall separation in mariage, no not by consent, by their owne Canon law.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER MARIAGE contracted not consummate, may without consent be broken for the vow of continencie.

The Papists.

93. Error. THeir opinion is, that if the mariage be contracted only and ratified, but not yet consummate, by the parties comming together, it is lawfull for either of them without the others consent to vowe chastitie, *cap.* 38. *Bellarm.*

His reason is, because it is lawfull for a man to passe from a lesse perfect state of life to a more perfect, if it may be done without detriment, as this may be: for yet they haue no children, and the partie may as wel be maried to another, *Bellarm.*

Answ. First, a single life is not alwayes the perfecter state, nor to all, as it is not to them that haue not the gift to containe, as it is most like he hath not, that is contracted, and hath made promise of mariage: for then all this needed not. Secondly, though there be none of those impediments named, yet there is a greater: namely, their faith and promise made each to other before God, which they ought not to violate. Thirdly, S. *Paul* saith, If thou be bound to a wife, seeke not to be loosed, 1. Cor. 7. 27. But they that are espoused one to the other, are bound; vnlesse you will say, that the couenant made by them vnto God, Pro. 2. 17. bindeth not.

Argum. 2. There is a double bond in Matrimonie, a carnall and spirituall, as the carnall is dissolued by the temporall death, so the spirituall is by the spirituall death; such is the Monasticall profession, whereby a man dieth to the whole world, in renouncing his goods, *Bellarm. cap.* 38. *ration.* 2.

Answ. First, if to renounce the goods of the world, be to die to the world, then your Clergie should thus die vnto the world, as well as your Monkes; as your owne decree testifieth, *Caus.* 1. *qu.* 2. *c.* 6. *Quicquid suis, &c.* They that can be maintained by their owne goods, if they liue of the stipends of the Church, commit sacriledge: wherefore your Orders are as able to dissolue a contract of mariage, as Monkerie, which notwithstanding you denie. Secondly, if to be a Monke, is to die to the world, then euery Monke shall be saued: for they that die with Christ, shall also liue with him. Rom. 6. 8. But I thinke they dare not say so of all Monks, seeing they denie not but that the Pope may be a reprobate: and yet S. *Peters* chaire will as soone bring them to heauen, as a Monkes coule. Thirdly, the spirituall death may be euen in mariage, vnlesse *Bellarmine* will say, that in marriage is no saluation (for where there is not dying with Christ, there is no liuing with him:) If a man then that is married, may die vnto sinne, then it is false, that the spirituall death doth dissolue the spirituall bond of mariage.

The

The Proteſtants.

MAtrimonie whether ratified onely by lawfull contract or eſpouſals, or conſummate, ought not any way to be broken with conſent or without, for Monaſticall profeſſion.

*Argum.*1. Our reaſon is, becauſe it is perfect mariage already in ſubſtance and before God, which is ratified by contract onely and ſolemne vowe and couenant made each to other: And being thus betrothed, the one giueth power of their bodie to the other, and now they are no more free. That this mariage is perfect before God, and in ſubſtance, it appeareth by the law of *Moſes*, by the which a man defiling a maide betrothed, was to ſuffer death, as well, as if he had committed vncleannes with a woman already maried, Deuteron.22.verſ.22.23. And Matth.1.18. *Marie* that was but betrothed to *Ioſeph*, is by the Angell called his wife, verſ.20.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that notwithſtanding the contract, the wife is not bound to yeeld the due debt of mariage to her husband, if it be a detriment to her ſpirituall good, as in this caſe it is, when ſhe entreth into Monaſticall profeſſion.

Contra. Firſt, this reaſon maketh as much for the diſſolution of mariage conſummate, as of the contract only: for the temporal good of mariage alſo muſt yeeld to the ſpirituall good. Secondly, we denie that it tendeth to any ſpiritual good, for monaſtical life to violate a contract made before God: firſt, becauſe the partie is not ſure to haue the gift of continencie, hauing ſo lately contracted and agreed to vſe the remedie of mariage, feeling her owne weakenes: and ſo ſhe is more like to fall into a ſpirituall euill, to liue in continuall burning and luſt of the fleſh, as many of their milch-Nunnes did. Secondly, becauſe no ſpirituall good is to bee hoped for contrarie to Gods ordinance, which euen vpon the contract giueth the husband power ouer the wife, and maketh her bound vnto him as long as ſhe liueth; 1.Cor.7.39. *The wife is bound to the huſband, as long as he liueth:* but ſhe that is eſpouſed onely is a wife, as was ſhewed before in the example of *Marie*. Thirdly, the Apoſtle ſaith, verſ.27. *Art thou bound to a wife? ſeeke not to be looſed:* but he that is contracted onely, is bound: *Ergo*, he ought vpon no occaſion to ſeeke to be looſed.

*Argum.*2. The vow of continencie made in the taking of orders, *non eſt efficax*, is not of force to diſſolue matrimonie before contracted, as *Iohn.*22.decreeth, *Extranag.tit.6.c.*1. *Ergo*, neither monaſticall profeſſion.

Bellarmine anſwereth, the reaſon is not alike, becauſe mariage is repugnant to monaſticall life of it ſelfe ſimply: but to orders it is repugnant onely by the decree of the Church.

Contra. Firſt, we take it then as graunted, that by the word of God mariage is not repugnant to orders, but only by the conſtitution of the Church. Secondly, Monaſticall life alſo is an humane inuention, as well as the ſingle life of the Clergie: for S. *Paul* knew no ſuch profeſſion, when he giueth euery man leaue, without exception, to haue his wife, 1.Cor.7.2. Thirdly, though wee ſhould graunt, that Monkerie bindeth more from mariage then Orders, yet the vow making bindeth as well in the one as the other: for to marrie contrarie to vow, is ſimply repugnant in their opinion: wherefore ſeeing that a vow after contract in Orders diſſolueth it not, neither ſhall a vow made in Monkerie.

Concerning the Ciuill law, it may appeare, *Cod.lib.*1 *tit.6.leg.*42. that the law did puniſh ſuch, as being contracted, betooke themſelues to ſolitarie life: the man loſt all his tokens and gifts ſent to his ſpouſe, and ſhe was to render double the value of the tokens receiued: although this law is abrogated by *Iuſtinian* the laſt law-maker of the Emperours, whoſe times ſauoured of ſuperſtition.

Their own law is alſo ſomewhat doubtful: *Decr.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*32.*c.*14. *Innocen.*3. though he dare not ſwerue from the practiſe of his predeceſſors, yet deliuereth this to be his iudgement: *Poteſt non inconſulte videri, &c.* It may with good aduiſement bee thought, that matrimonie contracted by words of the preſent, *in nullo caſu, &c.* in no caſe ſhould be diſſolued as long as the parties liue.

Likewiſe, *lib.*4.*tit.*1.*c.*16. *Alexander.*3. thus determineth, That if a man ſweare to be contracted to a woman within a certaine ſpace, and in the meane time haue a purpoſe to liue monaſtically, he ſhould firſt, to ſaue his oth, performe the contract. If then the vow or promiſe of monaſticall life be not able to diſſolue a promiſe of a contract, much leſſe the contract it ſelfe, which is more then a promiſe of mariage.

The Maſter of Sentences alſo is of opinion, that a contract made, *per verba de præſenti*, by words vttered of the preſent, cannot without common conſent be broken, *lib.*4.*diſt.*27.*l.*

Eſpencæus alſo a reuerent writer among the Papiſts holdeth, that mariage whether conſummate or contracted onely, ought not for any profeſſion of monaſticall life to bee diſſolued, *lib.*6.*cap.*4. *de continent.*

*Concil.Ancyran.can.*11.*ſic. Deſponſatas puellas, &c.* We thinke it meete, that if a maide eſpouſed to one, be defiled of another, that ſhe ſhould be reſtored, to whom ſhe was eſpouſed, although it be certaine, that ſhe hath loſt the flower of her Virginitie by the other. But the looſing of her Virginitie is more forcible to diſſolue the contract, then the vow of chaſtitie, for it is able to diſ-

ſolue

solue mariage consummate, and so is not the other without mutuall consent, as the Iesuite affirmeth: therefore by this canon, if the more forceable cause cannot breake the espousals, much lesse can the other not so forceable.

2 *Augustine* saith, *Coniuges fidem sibi pariter debent: Cui fidei tantum iuris tribuit Apostolus, vt eam potestatem appellaret dicens, Mulier non habet potestatem sui corporis sed vir, &c.* Maried couples doe owe faith and troth one to the other: which mutuall troth the Apostle maketh such account of, that he giueth it the name of power, saying: The woman hath not power of her owne bodie, but the man, and likewise the man, &c. *Augustine* saith, that by the very plighting of their troth each to other, they receiue mutuall power and interest one of anothers bodie. But this troth was plighted before the consummation of their mariage: *Ergo*, they had one interest in another then, and can doe nothing one without the consent of the other: *de bon. coniugal. cap.* 3.

THE SIXT QVESTION, CONCERNING the rules and discipline of Monasticall life.

THis question hath foure parts. First, of the solitarie and seuere kind of life in Monkes and Eremites. Secondly, of their canonicall houres appoynted for prayer. Thirdly, of their habite and apparell. Fourthly, of their maintenance, whether it ought to come by their labour.

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING THE solitarie and austere life of Monkes, and of Eremites.

The Papists.

94. Error. TO liue in solitarie places, to weare sack-cloth, to be giuen continually to fasting, to lie hard, to fare meanely, and by other such wayes to punish and afflict the bodie, they say, are notable meanes to bring the soule to the contemplation of heauenly things.

Argum. 1. *Iohn Baptist* liued in the desart, fared coursely, and was barely apparelled, he ate Locust and wilde honie, and wore a garment of Camels haire: he was a right paterne of true Ermites, *Bellarm. cap.* 39. *lib.* 2. *de Monach.*

Answ. First, *Iohns* life was not so austere, as they make it: for the place where he liued was not so solitarie, but that there were villages and houses not farre off, as it may appeare by the peoples resort vnto him: his apparell was of Camels hayre, and was somewhat course, yet no such thing as sack-cloth, or haire-cloth; for of the finest of the Camels haire Chamblets and Groggrains are made, that are had in price amongst vs: his diet also in eating Locusts and wilde honie was vsuall in that countrey. Secondly, we deny not but *Iohn* liued an austere life, because he was a preacher of repentance, and had a singular office to prepare men for the comming of Christ: Therefore his calling being extraordinarie, he cannot be an author of an ordinary calling among Christians. Thirdly, seeing Christ came eating and drinking, liued amongst men, and was apparelled as others were, why should Christians rather choose to imitate the Baptist, who had no office, or ministerie in the Gospell, Matth. 11. 11. then our Sauiour Christ, whose life and doctrine is for our imitation?

Euseb. Mar. 3. sect. 1.

Bellarmine replieth, notwithstanding this which hath been alleaged, that *Iohn* verely liued in the desart and solitarie wildernesse, where was no resort, nor frequencie of people at all; which he would proue by these two reasons chiefly: first, because it is said, Luk. 1. 80. That he dwelled in the wildernesse, till the time he should shew himselfe to Israel: but if he had been in his fathers house, he could not haue been vnknowne to Israel. Secondly, because they aske if he were *Elias*: but if he had been conuersant in his fathers house, they would not haue doubted, knowing whose sonne he was, *cap.* 39.

Answ. To the first reason I answere, that it followeth not, *Iohn* was not yet knowne to Israel; *Ergo*, he liued in the wildernesse: for our Sauiour was not knowne to Israel, till he was 30. yeere old, when he began to preach; yet liued he not in the wildernesse, but in his parents house, and was obedient vnto them, Luk. 2. 51. To the second, our answer is, that they knew also whence Iesus was, Ioh. 7. 27. yet they were doubtfull who he should be, whether the Prophet, or the Christ, ver. 40. 41: so concerning *Iohn*, though his parents were knowne, yet might they bee doubtfull of his office. Againe, though he had liued in the very wildernesse from a childe; yet his birth was so famous, bruted ouer all the countrie of Iudea, Luk. 1. 65. that his parentage could not be hid.

Now our contrarie reasons, that *Iohn* liued not in such a wildernesse, as where no resort of people was, are these: First, it is said, that he was in the wildernesse, till he shewed himselfe, &c. Luk. 1. 80. but it is not like, that straight after his birth, being yet an infant, he was put forth into the wildernesse, vnlesse they will imagine, that he sucked of some wilde beast: wherefore by the wildernesse here must be vnderstood the hillie and lesse inhabited countrie of Iudea, where *Zacharie*

dwelt,

dwelt, verſ. 39. and where *Iohn* alſo had his education. Secondly, Matth. 3.1. *Iohn* is ſaid to haue preached in the wilderneſſe of Iudea: which addition ſheweth, that it was the leſſe frequented part of Iudea, not ſimply a wilderneſſe, as Chriſt is ſaid to haue been led into the wilderneſſe, Matth. 4.1. without any other addition. Thirdly, it is not like that *Iohn* would begin to preach where there was no people at all, but ſauage and wilde beaſts. Fourthly, *Iohn* preached and baptized in the wilderneſſe, and there was Ieſus baptized of him, and from thence was led into the wilderneſſe to be tempted: ſo that Chriſt was led from *Iohns* wilderneſſe, to another wilderneſſe, which was the very deſart, and not that, where *Iohn* preached. So then, our ſentence is this, that the wilderneſſe, where *Iohn* liued till he publikely ſhewed himſelfe, and where he preached, muſt of neceſſitie be taken for the leſſe peopled countrie of Iudea, which was ſo called in reſpect of the more popular and frequented places of Iudea: yet we denie not, but that *Iohn* alſo did giue himſelfe to a ſtrict and ſolitarie kinde of life, though he kept not in ſuch a deſert, as they imagine, that he ſhould giue occaſion to be called an Eremite.

The Proteſtants.

THat the ſolitarie life of Eremites, in flying the comfortable ſocietie of men, and their rigorous manner in the vnnaturall chaſtiſing of their bodies, is contrarie to the rule of the Goſpell, thus we ſhew it.

*Argum.*1. Heb. 10.24.25. *Let vs conſider one another, and prouoke one another to good workes, not forſaking the aſſemblies of our ſelues together, as the manner of ſome is, but exhorting one another:* Here the Apoſtle ſpeaketh manifeſtly againſt thoſe that ſhun the ſocietie and companie of their brethren, becauſe they muſt needes fayle in the duties of charitie, as in exhorting one another, and prouoking to good workes: theſe duties Eremites cannot performe, therefore their life is vnlawfull: and Matth. 24. it is a note of falſe prophets and falſe Chriſts to liue in the deſarts. Againe, they that loue ſolitarie places, doe offer themſelues to tentation, and fall into the ſnares of the diuell: God ſaw it was not good for *Adam*, no not in Paradiſe, to liue alone: but I thinke their deſarts are farre vnlike to Paradiſe: Chriſt to be tempted of the diuell was led into the wildernes: Therefore ſuch places are fit for Sathans working. The Preacher ſaith, *Two are better then one, for if one ouercome him, two ſhall ſtand againſt him*, Eccle. 4.12. Wee are better able being ayded by our brethren to reſiſt Sathan, then being alone: We ought not then to tempt God, and not knowing our owne ſtrength, to go forth into ſolitarie places, and as it were prouoke Sathan to the Combat. See to this purpoſe, *Conc. Oxonienſ. ſub Stephano: Quia ſerpens antiquus, &c.* Becauſe the olde Serpent, when he found holy men ſolitarie, liuing without any mutuall comfort or conſolation, did ſo much the more eaſily inuade and oppreſſe them, we with good deliberation haue decreed, that Monkes, regular Canons, Nunnes, ſhould ſleepe together in the ſame dorters.

*Argum.*2. That cruell and inhumane kind of chaſtiſing their bodies by faſting and other diſcipline vtterly is vnlawfull. The Monkes, called *Grandimontenſes*, did weare ſhirts of maile next their bodies, the Charter Monkes hairecloth: the Monkes *Flagellants* went bare-foote in linnen ſhirts, leauing an open place in the backe where they did dayly whip themſelues before the people till the blood followed. *Moſes* a certaine Abbot did ſo afflict his body with faſting and watching, that for two or three dayes together many times he had no appetite at all to his meate, neither could ſleepe. Another Eremite (as *Caſſianus* writeth) did purpoſe with himſelfe not to eate meate, vnleſſe he had ſome gueſt or ſtranger with him, and ſo was conſtrained to abſtaine ſometime fiue dayes together: two other Monaſticall brethren, trauailing in the deſart of Thebaide, did vowe not to take any ſuſtenance, but ſuch as God ſhould ſend them; and as they went, a certaine wilde people, contrarie to their cuſtome, offered them meate, the one tooke it as ſent of God; the other refuſed it, becauſe he thought it to bee ſent rather of man then of God, and ſo died.

Baſilius magnus, and *Gregor. Nazianzene*, did ſo plucke downe themſelues by immoderate faſting; that when they were called to bee Biſhops, they were not able to ſuſtaine the labour thereof.

Where in all the Scriptures learned theſe men, thus to puniſh their bodies? This is not with S. *Paul* to ſubdue and bring vnder the fleſh: but to kill and deſtroy it; contrarie to that ſaying of Saint *Paul, No man euer yet hated his owne fleſh, but loueth and cheriſheth it.* See I pray you, how theſe men loued and cheriſhed their bodies?

*Argum.*3. That Religion which conſiſteth in the afflicting and not ſparing of the bodie, hath but a ſhew of wiſdome, and is a voluntarie or will worſhip, ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, Coloſſ. 2.23. but ſuch is the religion of Heremites, which ſay, Touch not, taſte not, handle not, as it is in the ſame place, verſ. 21. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that to afflict and humble the bodie is lawfull, ſo that it be not done ſuperſtitiouſlie, and vnprofitablie, as S. *Paul* ſaith, *I doe chaſtice my bodie, and bring it into ſubiection*, 1. Cor. 9.27. *Bellarm. cap.* 39.

Contra.

Contra. To humble the bodie by fasting for a time, that our prayer may be more feruent, as S. *Paul* did, is a thing both commendable and commaunded, and it is neither superstitious nor vnprofitable: but continuall and immoderate abstinence from such things as are lawfull, such as Eremites are deuoted vnto, is not to keepe the bodie vnder, but to kill it; not to vanquish the affection, but to extinguish it; and is both superstitious and vnprofitable: First, it is superstitious, because it is a will worship according to the doctrint of men, Coloss. 2. 22. So the Lord saith, Zach. 7. 5. *Did you fast vnto me?* Esay. 58. 3. *When you fast, you will seeke your owne will*, and chap. 1. 12. *Who required this of your hands?* wherefore, seeing this strict vsage is but an humane inuention, I conclude it is meere superstition. Secondly, it is also vnprofitable: for a man to redeeme his sinne with the fruite of his bodie, Micah. 6. 7. and so likewise with the bodie it selfe, is not pleasing vnto God: but this doe Eremites, thinking by the punishment of their bodie to satisfie for their sinnes. *Ergo.*

Concerning the rigorous and hard vsage of Monkes, the iudgement of the Imperiall lawes is this, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. leg. 8. authentic.* It is decreed, that Priests, giuing false witnesse, *Monasterijs protormentis tradantur:* Should be deliuered to the Monasteries to be tormented: So likewise *leg. 14. authent.* a seditious Bishop is condemned to the Monasterie, for his correction. What kind of life then and profession cal you this, which is appointed for a torment and punishment to men?

As touching solitarie life also, the Canon lawe saith, *Væ soli*, Woe to him that is alone, *Decret. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 35. cap. 2.* The decree also of *Clemens 5.* in the Councell of Vienna is extant, *Ne Monachi singuli in singulis, &c.* That Monkes should not liue singlie or solitarilie by themselues. And as for their strict diet, and starueing of the bodie, faring courselie and lying hardly: your owne Canons haue decreed, and described the *Seuerians* to be heretikes, that refused to drinke wine: and they reckon vp other heresies, some that, *Nudis pedibus ambulant:* Walke barefoote: some refuse to eate in the companie of men: *Caus. 24. qu. 3. c. 39.* Such heretikes are their Monkes and Heremites.

In Psal. 49. Let vs heare what *Augustine* saith, *Tu deseris res humanas, & segregas te, vt nemo te videat: Cui proderis? tu ad hoc peruenisses, si nemo tibi profuisset? An quia veloces pedes tibi videris habuisse ad transeundi, præcisurus es pontem?* Thou leauest the care of humaine things, and separatest thy selfe that no man should see thee: to whom doest thou good in so doing? Hadst thou come to this perfection of thy selfe if no man had done thee good? because thou hast quickly passed ouer, wilt thou cut off the bridge, that no man else should passe? See then *Augustine* maketh the heremiticall life altogether vnprofitable to men.

THE SECOND PART, CONCERNING the habite and shauing of Monkes.

The Papist.

95. Error. BOth these superstitious customes, for Monkes to bee knowne by their coules and shauen crownes, they receiue and allow as commendable and fit for them to be knowne by. Beside some shew of antiquitie, Scripture they haue none: but their best reason is this: that as Seruants and souldiers, Noble men and rustickes are knowne by their apparell; so it is meete that Monkes should be discerned from others by their habite, *Bellarm. cap. 40.* Our Rhemists vse the same reason for shauen crownes, that it is a note of distinction betweene the Clergie and lay-men, *annot. 1 Pet. 5. fol. 2.* And for priestlike garments, they alleage out of Apoc. 1. verl. 13. how Christ appeared to *Iohn*, vested in a priestlike garment.

Answ. First, we deny not, but that it is conuenient for Ministers to be discerned from others euen in their apparell: which may be done by the grauity and modestie thereof in colour, in plainnes, not necessarie to bring in strange and ridiculous fashions of attire, such as Monkes coules are: yet Ministers are better discerned by other things, then their apparell, as they are described by S. *Paul*, 1. Tim. 3. But as for any such distinction of Monkes we allow not: for the very calling it selfe ought to be abolished. As for shauen crownes and beards, they are but tokens of *Baals* priests, make the best of them you can.

2 Christ appeared in a long garment downe to the feete: which they translate a priestlike garment, as though Christ were then going to Masse: The word is *podere*, which signifieth a long vesture, downe to the feete, which was one of the high priests garments, and hereby is signified the priesthood of Christ: but what is this to the attire of Monkes or priests? We deny not but long garments for their comlines are fit for Ministers, according to the fashion of the countrie, but not as necessarie, representing more holinesse: for in the East countries, short garments were graue and comely enough: as the prophets had their mantles: and S. *Paul* maketh mention of his cloke, 2. Tim. 4. 13.

Argum. 2. The speciall habite of Monkes doth bind them to liue well, for being knowne from all

all other men by their habite, if they ſhould doe amiſſe they ſhould be rebuked of all: *Bellarm. cap. 40. ration. 2.*

Anſw. Firſt, this is right Phariſaicall to doe well onely to auoide the rebuke of men, and to haue their praiſe: as our Sauiour ſaith, Matth. 23. 5. *All their workes they doe to be ſeene of men, for they make their Phylacteries broad, &c.* Wherefore it is plaine hypocriſie rather for feare of men then of conſcience, not to doe euill. Secondly, their habite fetteth not as a ſtreighter bond to doe well, but as a pretenſed cloake of their euill doing: for by this meanes they practiſe knauerie without ſuſpition, maſking vnder the colours of religion: by their Monkes coules they haue entred into the preſence of Princes, and moſt treacherouſlie murdered them, as in our memorie hath been practiſed in Fraunce.

The Proteſtants.

WE condemne both the habite and ſhauing of the Monkes as ſuperſtitious, euen as their whole life and profeſſion is.

Argum. 1. There is no one precepte in the new teſtament concerning formes and faſhions of apparell to be vſed by Clergie men, but onely in generall termes, that they ſhould be modeſt and ſober, and graue in their behauiour, 1. Tim. 3. The Leuites and prieſts indeede in the lawe had rules and precepts ſet them, both for their veſtures in the temple, and their ordinary apparell, Num. 15. 39. that it ſhould be made with fringes in remembrance of the commandements. But who ſeeth not that ſuch ſignifications of apparell were Leuiticall, and meerely ceremonious? Such is the habit of Monkes: for their coules, ſaith the Ieſuite, ſignifie their innocencie, like vnto children that are couered with vailes like vnto coules. But to place any religion or holines in apparell, as they did, (for it was thought a great priuiledge to be buried in a Monkes coule) is abominable ſuperſtition: for ſuch Monkiſh ſuperſtition our Sauiour rebuked the Phariſies, Matth. 23. 5. All their workes they doe, to be ſeene of men: for they make their Phylacteries broad, and make long the fringes of their garments. If the Phariſies did abuſe to vaine-glorie and ſuperſtition, that kinde of apparell which the law commanded: there can be no good vſe of Monkiſh habites, which the Goſpell neither commendeth nor commandeth.

As for ſhauen crownes: they were directly forbidden by the law of *Moſes*, not onely to round the tufts of their beard, as the Gentiles did, Leu. 19. 27. but not to ſhaue their beard, or make bald their head, Leu. 21. 5. And then it was a ſigne of holines not to cut the haire, as in the Nazarites it appeareth, Numb. 6. It was then the cuſtome of the heathen and of their Idolatrous prieſts to ſhaue themſelues: How then dare the papiſts make that a ſigne of holines now, which was a ſigne of prophanenes, and heathennes then? And is their religion ſo beggarly, that they muſt needs borrow their ceremonies of the heathen?

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Leuitic. 21. 5. The Prieſts were not ſimplie forbidden to ſhaue their heads, but not to doe it in the death of their friends.

Contra. Firſt, there is no ſuch addition in the text, but the words are generall, *They ſhall not make bald parts vpon their heads*: Secondly, the prohibition in Ezechiel is generall, chap. 44. 20. *They ſhall not ſhaue their heads.*

Bellarmine replieth againe, that the ſhauing of their heads was not ſimplie forbidden, as euill in it ſelfe; for the Nazarites according to the lawe did ſhaue their heads, Numb. 6. and S. *Paule* alſo, Act. 21. 24. But it was forbidden onely in reſpect of the Gentiles, among whom they dwelt, that they ſhould not be like them, *Bellarm. cap. 40.*

Contra. Firſt, to ſhaue the head as the Gentiles did, was ſimplie forbidden, ſauing where the Lord himſelfe made an exception, as in the vowe of the Nazarites: neither were they forbidden to doe ſo onely, becauſe the Gentiles did the like, but becauſe it was a ſuperſtitious vſe receiued of the Gentiles, and therefore not beſeeming Gods people: And therefore this reaſon is giuen, you are the children of the Lord and an holy people to God, therefore you ſhall not make any baldnes, &c. Deuter. 14. 1. Secondly, the ſhauing of the Nazarites, was a ſpeciall exception, as likewiſe the ſuffering of their haire to grow long, which is ſimplie forbidden, Ezech. 44. 20. yet for a time tolerated in the Nazarites: ſo alſo the Prophets ſhauing of himſelfe to be a ſigne to the people, Ezech. 5. 1. was extraordinarie, and by the Lords direct commaundement. So that if Monkes can ſhew a ſpeciall toleration for their ſhauing, as the Nazarites had, they may doe as they did; but the profeſſion of the Nazarites is now ceaſed, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, where he ſaith, *Touch not, taſte not, &c.* which was the vſe of Nazarites, not to taſte wine, nor to touch any dead thing: that they were *but ſhadowes of things to come*, Coloſſ. 2. 17.

Argum. 2. The great varietie of their habites, and fooliſh ſignifications of their ſhauings, doe ſhew what beginning they had. The Monks of Baſils order went in white; of Benets rule in blacke; the Ciſtercians had white rotchees vpon a blacke coate; the *Grandmontenſes* a coate of maile, with a blacke cloke vpon; ſome ſtarred Monkes; ſome Ieſuites with a white girdle, and a ruſſet Fox. pag. 154.

russet coule: some Celestines all in blew, both cloake, coule and cap. The Franciscans did weare ropes for girdles and treen shooes.

They render also diuers reasons of their shauen crownes: some say, it resembleth Christs crowne of thornes: some by shauing the haire, doe signifie the mortifying of the affections, as cutting off of things that are superfluous: some by baring of the head, the simplicitie and plainnes of life. *Bellarmine* saith, it is a signe of repentance and conuersion. Is not here good stuffe, thinke you? Such rites, such ceremonies, such significations, such humane traditions, I thinke, the Pharisies would haue abhorred. For these are worse then their washing of tables, brasen vessels, pots, cups, and such like: and yet our Sauiour saith of them, that they did lay the commandement of God apart, to establish their owne traditions, Mark. 7. 8.

Lastly, let *Augustine* speake: concerning the habite of ecclesiasticall persons, thus he writeth: *Æquè laicis patet cœli palatium Dei mandata seruantibus quàm sanctimoniali habitu præditis sacerdotibus. De salutar. docum. cap.* 8. The heauenly palace is as well open for Lay men, keeping the commandements of God, as for Priests in their holy attire. What profiteth it then, I pray you, to be buried in a Monkes coule? Againe, *Augustine* found fault with certaine dissolute Monkes in that time, that suffered their haire to growe long: Against whom he vrgeth the saying of Saint *Paul*, 1. Cor. 11. 14. Doth not nature it selfe teach you, that it is a shame for a man to haue long haire? And so he concludeth: *Hoc quò pertinet, quæso, tam aperte contra Apostoli præcepta comari?* What meaning haue you in this, to suffer your haire to grow, contrary to the precept of the Apostle? For this precept did no more belong to Monkes, then all other Christians. Concerning the shauing of Monkes, *Augustine* hath not one word at al, but of polling, and clipping the haire: he speaketh onely against certaine *crinitos fratres*, that nourished their haire and suffered it to grow of length.

Nay, our Rhemists loue shauing so well, that they defend the shauing of Nunnes, and would proue it out of *Hierome*, who indeed speaketh of the cutting off of their haire, not for any religion, but to auoyde certeine little beastes that bred betweene the skinne and the haire, (you know what beasts they are) because they vsed not the bathes, nor oyle, as other women did, *Fulke 2. Thes. 3. sect.* 2. But whatsoeuer *Hierome* saith, it is flat contrarie to S. *Pauls* rule, who saith, It is a shame for a woman to be shorne or shauen, 1. Cor. 14. 6.

Concerning the habite of Monkes, antiquitie thus speaketh, *Si quis virorum putauerit solo proposito. i. continentiæ conuenire, vt pallio vtatur, tanquam ex eo institutum habitus, & indicet eos qui vsu communi vtuntur, anathema sit. Concil. Gangrens. cap.* 12. If any man thinke that to weare a cloke, doth fit his profession, as though thereby he were more iust, and doth condemne or despise that which vse a common vesture, let him be accursed: but the Monkes and Friers doe put holines in their habite, as euen now shall be seene: *Ergo.*

Celestine Epistol. 2. *cap.* 1. *Discernendi à plebe, vel cæteris summa doctrina, non veste; conuersationis habitu; mentis puritate, non cultu.* We are discerned from the people, by our doctrine, not our garments; by our conuersation, not by our habite; the puritie of our minde, not by our apparell.

Colonien. part. 2. *cap.* 26. *Ex veste apud homines opinionem sanctimoniæ prohibuit Christus, &c.* Christ forbad, that men should haue opinion of holines in garments: who first biddeth that to be denied, which is within, denouncing woe to the Pharisies, who to seeme iust, made broad their phylacteries, but within were full of rauening, &c. But Friers and Monkes did aduaunce themselues as more holy, by their habite. Likewise in the Canon law. *Caus.* 33. *qu.* 5. *c.* 4. *expediret ei potius cum docili moribus, &c.* It were better for you to obey your husband, with white and faire condition, then in blacke rament to resist him.

Decr. Greg. lib. 3. *tit.* 31. *c.* 13. *Clemen.* 3. *Monachum facit non habitus, sed professio:* not the habite, but the profession maketh a Monke.

Master *Ridley* holy Martyr, persecuted to death, for this article with others: if to be buried (saith he) in Saint *Francis* coule should remit foure parts of penance, what is then left for our Sauiour Christ, which taketh away the sinnes of the world? This I will iustifie to be a great blasphemie against the blood of Christ, *Fox.* pag. 1001.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr condemneth the superstition of those, which say that a man being buried in a gray Fryers frocke, shall haue the remission of the third part of his sinnes, *Fox. p.* 1127. *ad artic.* 13.

Concerning the superstitious shauing of crownes, we haue also the testimonie of antiquitie: *Concil. Eliberin. can.* 55. *Qui tantum sacrificantium coronam portant nec sacrificant idolis, plenis per biennium communionem accipere.* They which onely beare the crowne of sacrificing priests though they sacrifice not to idols, shall want the communion two yeeres. Behold then it was the fashion of heathenish Idolatrous priests, to haue their crownes shauen.

Concil. Gangrens. cap. 17. which is alleadged in the Canon law, *distinct.* 30. *c.* 2. *Quæcunque mulier propter diuinum cultum crines attondeat quos ad subiectionis materiam Deus tribuit, aut quem præcepta dissoluens obedientiæ, anathema sit:* If any woman for religion sake doe poll her haire, which God hath

hath giuen as a ſigne of ſubiection, as one tranſgreſſing the precept of obedience, let her be accurſed. Yet for all this our *Rhemiſts* commend the ſhauing of Nunnes.

Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr, calleth the Popes ſhauen crowne the beaſts marke, *epiſtol. ad mærum.p.1625.*

THE THIRD PART, OF THE MONKES Canonicall houres.

The Papiſts.

THe 3.6.9.houres, they ſay, are conſecrated and deuoted to prayer, which they call their Canonicall houres: at the 3.houre the holy Ghoſt deſcended: at the 6. houre *Peter* went vp to the top of the houſe: and at the 9.houre *Peter* and *Iohn* went vp to pray in the Temple, Act.3.1. And *Daniel* vſed to pray thrice in the day, Dan.6.10. *Ergo*, thoſe times ought to be conſecrate to prayer, *Rhemiſt. Act.10.ſect.6.* 96.Error.

Anſw. Firſt, we denie that it can be gathered by any of thoſe places, that theſe houres onely ought to be ſet apart for prayer. *Peter* and *Iohn* went vp at the ninth houre, which was the time of the euening ſacrifice, when the religious Iewes went vp to pray. Secondly, *Daniel* prayed three times a day, but at what houres the text ſpeaketh not: yet by this example, and by the other proofes alledged, we do gather, that at the 3.6.9.houre, that is not preciſely at any of theſe times, but in the morning, when men riſe vp to their labours, at noone before their repaſt, and at night when they go to reſt, it is meete and conuenient that men ſhould make their prayers vnto God, and at other times alſo when they finde themſelues fit. Thirdly, the popiſh ſeruice hath nothing but the names of theſe houres: for they are all finiſhed in the forenoone, whereas the ſixt houre is at high noone, the ninth houre is the third houre before the Sunnes ſet. And this toleration, to diſpatch all in the forenoone, is agreeable to their owne ſuperſtitious decrees, *decret. Greg. lib.3.tit. 41.c.1. Presbiter mane, &c.* The Prieſt in the morning muſt performe his ſeruice, the firſt, the third, ſixt, ninth houre; and for the euening, &c. and all this may be done in the morning: for after theſe houres diſpatched, he muſt go forth faſting, *ad rurale opus*, to his field buſines, &c. Thus wee ſee how well they obſerue their houres themſelues.

The Proteſtants.

WE denie not, but that ſet times of publike prayer are commendable, as we haue our forenoone, and afternoone ſeruice: but at vnſeaſonable houres, as at midnight, or the riſing of the Sonne, to call the people together, when they cannot conueniently be aſſembled, is but a ſuperſtitious cuſtome. Againe, it is profitable for men in the morning, noone, euening, though not preciſely at any ſet houres, to direct their prayers vnto God: but ſo to ſtint mens prayers, as that they ought of neceſſitie to keepe their houres, as though their prayers were then more auaileable, it hath no ground out of Scripture.

Argum.1. S.*Paul* ſaith, *Pray continually*, 1.Theſſal.5.17. *Ergo*, it is lawfull to pray at all times, and one time as fit for prayer as another, if a man be prepared. Againe, the ſame Apoſtle ſaith; *I will that the men euery where lift vp pure hands without wrath and doubting*, 1.Timoth.2.8. Out of theſe words we gather two arguments: Firſt, prayers are no more bound to times, then to places: a man may pray euery where, *Ergo*, at euery time. Secondly, a man ought not to pray, but when he is voyd of wrath, and is otherwiſe prepared: but it may be, that at the ſtinted houres, of the 3.6.9. a man may be in wrath, and otherwiſe not fit; therefore hee is not neceſſarily to be tyed to thoſe houres.

2 *Auguſtine* thus writeth: *Cum quiſque orationem quærit, collocat membra ſicut ei occurrerit. Cum autem non quæritur, ſed infertur appetitus orandi: hoc eſt, cum repentè aliquid venit in mentem, quocunq; modo inuenerit hominem, non eſt vtique differenda oratio. Lib.2.ad Simplician quæſt.4.* When any man deſireth to pray, let him diſpoſe his body as he thinketh beſt: But when as it commeth not of his deſire and ſeeking, but ſodainly his affection is ſtirred vp to pray, howſoeuer prayer findeth him (that is, whether ſtanding or ſitting) he muſt not in any caſe deferre it and put it off to another time. This then is *Auguſtines* mind, that a man ſhould pray ſo oft as he hath a diſpoſition thereunto, and not deferre his prayer, as they do, which bind themſelues to Canonicall houres.

Concil.Conſtantinop.6.cap.7. Singulis diebus qui amplius non poteſt, ſaltem duabus vicibus oret, mane ſcilicet & veſpere dicens ſymbolum, ſine orationem dominicam: Euery day, he that cannot oftner, let him pray twiſe, that is, morning and euening, ſaying the Creede, and the Lordes prayer. It appeareth that in thoſe dayes when this Councell was held, which was about the yeere 670. men were not tyed to their Canonicall houres.

Claudius Memertus holie Martyr: To houres and times prayers ought not to bee tied, but whenſoeuer Gods ſpirit doth moue vs, or when any neceſſitie driueth vs, wee ought to pray. *Fox pag.905.*

But who could haue said better of this matter, then *Winchester* doth, if he had been constant in the truth? The obseruing (saith he) of daies, houres, number, time, place, if they bee orderly and publikely commaunded by the rulers, it is but to set the Church in an outward and publike order: but if a man inwardly and priuately be addicted to the same, thinking his prayer otherwise not auaileable, but by obseruing thereof, it is an error, *Fox pag. 1791. ex depositione D. Redman.* I thinke no reasonable man will refuse to subscribe to this sentence.

THE FOVRTH PART, CONCERNING THE maintenance of Monkes.

The Papists.

97. Error. THey neither denie that it is vnlawfull for Monkes to labour with their hands, where necessitie, bodily strength, the order of the Church doth require them; neither doe they confesse, that it is necessarie for them to worke: And so are not ashamed to maintaine their idle, slothfull, and Epicures life, *Bellarm. cap. 41. 42. Rhemists. 2. Thessal. 3. sect. 2.* But they may either liue of the lands giuen to their houses, or else by their religious begging, *cap. 44.*

Argum. 1. Monkes are not now bound to worke, hauing wherewithall to liue beside of lands giuen vnto them, because most of them are priests, and doe serue at the Altar, *Rhemist. ibid.*

Ans. First, wee graunt that Ministers of the Gospell labouring in the Word and Sacraments, ought to be maintained by the Gospell: but such are few or none of your Monkes, who being fit for no other seruice either in the Church or Common-wealth, are thrust into Monasteries by their friends: they are idolatrous priests, and serue little better then at *Baals* Altar. If any of them bee fit for the Ministerie, as we denie not but some haue come out of your Cloysters, as *Luther, Bucer, P. Martyr*, by whom the Church of God hath receiued much good: but they must come first out of your Dennes, and relinquish their Monkish life, and labour amongst the people; so shall they bee no more regular, but secular priests, as you terme them. Secondly, the lands which were bestowed vpon them, were first giuen vpon an euill intent, that by their prayers they should redeeme the soules of their founders, who most of them had committed some notable sinne, and so *pro remedio animarum*, to helpe their soules, they built Monasteries. So King *Ethelstan* for killing his brother *Edwin*, built two Monasteries, *Middleton* and *Michelney* for his soule, *Fox* pag. 151. King *Offa* for killing *Ethelbert* a good Prince, who came peaceably for the despousage of *Ardred* his daughter, being pricked in conscience, gaue the first *Peter* pence to Rome, pag. 114. These lands therefore being giuen first for vngodly purposes, and continued by them for idolatrous vses, ought cleane to be taken from them, and to be bestowed vpon better vses: neither is it lawfull for them in that sort to enioy them.

Argum. 2. They proue the impudent begging of Friers, which they call religious begging, to bee lawfull and commendable, by the example of Christ, who had not a place where to put his head, Luk. 9. and of his Apostles, that were charged not to possesse gold or siluer in their purse, Matt. 10. *Bellarm. cap. 45.*

Ans. First, I pray you where euer did you reade that Christ went a begging? he liued not of almes, but gaue almes, and *Iudas* was the almesman, though he played his part but euill. *Angelus* flatly denieth that you auouch: He saith that Christs bagge was as *Fiscus regis*, euen as the King Exchequer: and that what was giuen him, was as due as tribute money to the Prince: But the King, I trow, is not a begger: *Nisi putetis* (saith he) *quia dominus petebat & indigebat, cui seruiebant angeli, qui de quinque panibus tot millia pauit:* Vnlesse you thinke (saith he) that Christ begged, and wanted, whom the Angels serued, and who fed with fiue loaues not a few thousands, *in Psal. 146.* Secondly, if the Apostles were beggers, then they liued of almes, but that is vntrue: for Christ saith, The labourer is worthie of his hire: but the labourers wages is earned and deserued, it is no almes.

Iohn the 23. defined them to be heretikes, that affirmed Christ and his Apostles to haue had nothing proper of their owne. Then by this determination, *Bellarmine* and the Rhemists are found heretikes, in saying that Christ and his Apostles went a begging: vnlesse they will reuerse the sentence of their holy father, which were also no lesse then heresie. Thus are they intrapped on both sides: let them vnfold themselues as they can.

Notwithstanding all this, yet *Bellarmine* taketh vpon him to proue that Christ was a begger: first, because he had no house, nor possessions of his owne, nor any place where to rest his head: but was entertained sometime in one place, sometime in another, and liued of the almes, that faithfull women ministred vnto him, *Bellarm. cap. 45.*

Ans. All this we graunt, that Christ had no possessions here in earth, because he saith, his kingdome was not of this world; and that he refused not the ministerie of the faithfull: yet this proueth not, that he begged, or liued of almes. First, the women are said to minister to him of their substance,

substance, Luk.8.3. which word of ministration sheweth, that they acknowledged a seruice in their goods vnto Christ, whereas he that giueth almes, hath a dominion in that he giueth, and is a Lord thereof, rather then a seruant. Secondly, almes are giuen to him that needeth: but Christ needed not, that was able of fiue loaues to feede fiue thousand.

Secondly, he alleageth that saying, Psal.40.17. *Ego mendicus*, But I am poore, and a begger: which words are vnderstood of Christ: As the Apostle applieth those words, vers.7. *in the beginning of the booke it is written of me, &c.* to our Sauiour Christ, Heb.9.7. *Bellar. ibid.*

Ans. First, though some part of this Psalme bee prophetically applied to Christ, yet the whole Psalme is not, as that, vers.12. *My sinnes are more then the haires of my head*; let him shew, if he can, how it may be pronounced of Christ. Secondly, *Dauid* in saying, I am a begger, had spoken contrarie to himselfe, Psal.37.25. where he confesseth, that he neuer saw in all his time, the seede of the righteous to begge their bread. Thirdly, the word here vsed signifieth not a begger, but one that is needie, and so your owne vulgar translation, for *mendicus*, begger, noteth in the margent, *egenus*, needie. Fourthly, *Dauid* speaketh not of any want of substance, but that he needed Gods helpe to deliuer him from his enemies: as it followeth in the same verse, *thou art my helper and deliuerer, &c.* So is *Belarmine* answered.

Contra. Now I will insert the reasons of their owne law, as they stand in the Extrauagant of *Iohn* 22. against those that affirmed Christ to be a begger, and that he had no propertie or dominion in any thing, but the simple vse thereof.

First, *Quis simplicem vsurium*: Who can call him a simple vser of a thing without any right or propertie, that hath power to giue it, &c. but Christ gaue almes to the poore; for one of them alwaies carried the bagge: *Ergo*, he had right and propertie, &c.

Secondly, *In rebus consumptilibus, &c.* In things that consume and waste, as meate and drink, there can be no vse without propertie: for then there may be an vse seuered from propertie, when the substance reserued, there ariseth some profit to the vser: but this cannot bee in meate and drinke, which consume in the vsing. *Extrauag. Ioann. 22. c.14. s.3.*

Thirdly, euery vse without a right vnto the thing vsed, is vniust: for that is vniust, where there is no right; and so consequently if Christ had no right in the things he vsed, the vsing should bee vniust, which were blasphemie to affirme.

Fourthly, the contrarie may be proued out of Scripture, that Christ had both the vse and propertie of the things which he vsed: for one alwaies carried the satchell or bagge of prouision for themselues and of almes for the poore, *Ioh.12.c.6.* So vpon these and other reasons he concludeth them to be heretikes, that affirme Christ and his Apostles to haue been without any right or propertie in any thing, and so consequently beggers.

The Protestants.

First we say, that no idle persons ought to be maintained in a Christian Common-wealth, but they that haue not any other necessarie calling, should labour with their hands, and therefore Monkes that are fit for no other seruice in the Church, ought to labour and worke.

Argum.1. Saint *Paul* giueth a generall rule: *He that will not worke, let him not eate*, 2. Thessal.3. vers.10. speaking of those that haue no necessarie calling in the Church: *Ergo*, Monkes must worke, or else by Saint *Pauls* rule, not eate. The Rhemists answere, that this is but a naturall admonition or counsell. Nay, it is a precept and commaundement, that all in their seuerall places and callings should labour, none liue idly: for S. *Paul* saith not, this I counselled you, but this I warned you of, or denounced vnto you, and he calleth those that followed not this rule, inordinate walkers.

Bellarmine answereth: first, that S. *Paul* giueth this precept to labour vnto the secular sort onely, not to Monks, which, saith he, in the opinion of our aduersaries, were not as yet in the Church, *Bellarm. cap.42.*

Contra. First, the Apostle writeth to the whole Church of the Thessalonians, 2. epist. chap.3. v.1. wherefore this precept also bindeth Monkes, vnlesse you will say they are no members of the Church, as indeede they are not of the true Church. Secondly, if you will graunt, that there were no monkes in Saint *Pauls* time, that you may finde out a colourable answere, then haue they not their foundation out of the Scripture, as you beare vs in hand: yet S. *Pauls* rule shall still binde all that belong to the Church.

Bellarmine againe answereth, that Saint *Paul* doth not absolutely commaund to worke, but only to auoide offence, and idlenes: so that they are not bound corporally to labour, which can by other meanes, then labouring corporally, auoide these dangers. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, the Apostle doth giue an absolute charge to all to worke, setting himselfe for an example, who could haue kept himselfe from idlenes otherwise then by working, yet he laboured, vers.7.8. Secondly, if he commaund to worke, onely to auoide idlenes and offence, then is the commaundement absolute, because these inconueniences must needes ensue vpon not working:

king: as the Apostle saith, vers.11. *We haue heard of some that walke inordinately, and worke not at all*: where the reason is giuen of their inordinate walking, euen their not working: so that they must needes walke inordinately, that worke not. Thirdly, they which haue a lawfull vocation, beside bodily working, are not bound to corporall labour: but so haue not your loytering lubberly Friers, that neither preach, nor worke: neither can they keepe themselues from idlenes and offences, by any other meanes, then by working, which they doe not.

*Argum.*2. Neither is it to bee permitted, that Friers should get their liuing by begging: for what are they else but valiant beggers? First, there ought to bee no beggers in the Commonwealth: as Deuteron.15. Though the Lord say, that they should neuer bee without poore or beggers, which should want their helpe, vers.11. yet, vers.5. this charge is giuen, that by them, that is, their default, there should not be a begger in Israel: they should so prouide for the poore, that they neede not goe a begging. There are also positiue lawes, to restraine the number of beggers, and therefore there is no reason, that by a number of idle vagrant persons, belly-god Friers, that begging order should be enlarged.

Bellarmine answereth, that Deuter.15.4. there is no prohibition of beggers: for our Sauiour Christ in all the Gospell findeth not fault with the beggers, that then abounded; but it is a promise onely that they should haue such plentie, if they kept Gods commaundements, that they should haue no beggers, *cap.46.resp.ad argum.*1.

Contra. First, to suffer beggers is a thing displeasing vnto God and forbidden: because begging proceedeth either from the hardnes of mens hearts, and therefore wee are commaunded not to turne away our eyes from our owne flesh, that is, from our poore brethren, Isai.58.7. or else from idlenes; and therefore men are commanded to work, that they be not in want, 1.Thess.4.11. and both these, as hardnes of heart, and idlenes, are displeasing to God and forbidden. Secondly, it is vntrue, that in the Gospell the rich are not rebuked for suffering beggers; as may appeare in the parable of the rich man, Luk.16. who is punished for suffering *Lazarus* to lie crying at his gates: and it is *Iobs* commendation, that he suffered not the eyes of the widow to faile, Iob.31.16. that is, suffered not the poore to waite for their almes, or lie begging at his gates; but he euermore admitted them vnto his table, as it followeth vers.17.

*Argum.*3. Seeing it cannot be chosen, but there must needes be some beggers; they ought not to be young sturdie lubbers, that are able to worke, as most of the Friers were; but such as are described, Luk.14.21. where the King saith to his seruants, Goe out quickly, and bring hither the poore, the maimed, the halt, the blinde: *Ergo*, such lustie fellowes ought to liue by the sweate of their browes, not to eate vp the bread of the poore.

Bellarmine answereth, that in this place alleaged, Luk.14.21. all the poore are not vnderstood, to be blinde, lame, impotent, &c. but it must bee read with a distinction, Bring in the poore, and the maimed: so the poore are called, whether they are maimed or not: and S.*Paul*, Act.24.17. brought almes to the poore at Ierusalem, yet were they not all blinde and lame, &c.

Contra. First, we say not that almes are not to be giuen to any poore, but such as are impotent; but that no poore ought to bee suffered to liue by asking and begging, but such as are impotent, and vnfit to labour. Secondly, wherefore the example of S.*Pauls* bringing almes to Ierusalem is impertinent, seeing the question is of beggers, not of all poore: And beside, we speake of a setled state in the Common-wealth, not of the daies of persecution, when the brethren of necessitie must be relieued. Thirdly, that in the parable impotent poore onely are vnderstood, it may be gathered by the place from whence they were called, namely from the streetes, high wayes and hedges: where in those daies none were suffered to stand and begge, but onely the impotent, as blinde, lame, and such like.

Lastly, in the Sermons, *Ad fratres in eremo*, which are ascribed to *Augustine*, thus we reade: *Ite fratres mei, semper boni aliquid facite; quem tedet orare, vel psallere non desistat; quem tedet orare, vel psallere, manibus laborare non desistat*: My brethren, alwaies be ye doing of some good; if you bee wearie of praying, sing; if of singing, then labour with your hands. And in the same place, olde men onely of 80. yeere old are exempted from working. And in another place *Augustine* sheweth, that the Monkes in his time did so plie their worke, *Vsque adeo, vt etiam naues onerarias in ea loca miserint, quæ inopes incolunt*? That they sent ships laden with necessaries, vnto those places where the poore inhabited, *de morib. eccles. cap.*32. *Ergo*, in *Augustines* time Monkes liued not by begging, but with labour of their hands. Serm.16.

This also is further proued by the generall consent of antiquitie: that Monkes should not meddle with any part of the Ministrie, and therefore had no right to their maintenance. *Chalcedon. Concil.can.*4. *Vt nullus monachorum teneat ciuilia aut ecclesiastica negotia inquietare*: That no Monke vnder paine of excommunication, meddle with ciuill or ecclesiasticall busines. *Leo epistol.*60. *Nullus prater eos, qui sunt domini sacerdotes ius docendi & prædicandi audeat vendicare, siue sit monachus siue laicus, &c.* Let no man, beside the Ministers of God, take vpon them to teach, or preach, whether he

he be a Monke, or a lay man, *Tarraconenſ.can.11. Vt nullus monachorum miniſterium Eccleſiaſticum præſumat agere:* That no Monke preſume to execute the Eccleſiaſticall miniſterie.

Hereunto agree their owne Canons: *Cauſ.2.qu.7.c.54.Pelag. Nec ſecularia, nec eccleſiaſtica negotia monachum, &c.* That a Monke ſhould not enterneddle either with matters ſecular, or eccleſiaſticall. *Cauſ.7.qu.1.c.45. Monachorum vita, &c.* A Monkes profeſſion is to be ſubiect, not to teach, or beare rule. Likewiſe, *Sext.decretal.lib.5.tit.2.c.11. Clement.4. Prædicatores quæſtuarios à prædicationis officio, &c.* Begging preachers muſt be inhibited to preach, for it appertaineth only to them to aske charitable reliefe, &c. Thus Monkes in times paſt, were excluded from the office of the Clergie.

And as Monkes could not become Clerkes, ſo neither was it lawfull for Clerkes to enter into Monkerie. *Concil.Cæſarauguſt.can.6. Clericus qui propter luxum, &c. ab officio ſuo ſponte diſceſſerit, ac velut obſervatorem legis ſe monachum videri maluerit, de eccleſia repellendus:* A Clergie man, which of wantonnes doth leaue his office, and chuſeth rather to bee a Monke, that he may ſeeme an obſerver of the law, let him be expelled from the Church.

Secondly, as there is no affinitie betweene Monkes and Clerkes, for their office, ſo haue they nothing to doe with Clerkes maintenance. Monkes ought to take no tithes, *Lateranenſ.ſub Innocent.3.cap.61. Ne religioſi ſuſcipiant decimas de manu laicali:* Religious men (meaning Monkes) ought to receiue no tithes of the lay ſort. Yet Monkes are commaunded to pay tithes: *Concil.Lateranenſ.part.13.cap.6.ſub Alexandro.3. Ex prædijs ruſticis traditis monachi decimas ſoluant:* Monkes muſt pay their tithes out of their farmes let out to husbandmen. And as for other maintenance by land, it is likewiſe forbidden, *Lateranenſ.part.27.cap.1. Alexander.3. Monachi non debent villas aut eccleſias ad firmam tenere:* Monkes muſt not take villages or Churches to farme.

3 Monkiſh idle life is condemned, *Concil.Toletan.7.can.5. Illos quos in tali propoſito ignauia impulit, quæque nulla vita dignitas ornat, ſed ignorantia fœdat, decernimus à cellulis eijci, &c.* They which entred into this profeſſion for idlenes ſake, who are of no commendable life, but fouly ignorant, we would haue them caſt out of their Cels.

4 Monkes alſo and Friers are forbidden by the ancient Canons to liue by begging, *Concil.Aquiſgranenſ.cap.107. Ipſi pauperes, ſi ſe poſſunt ſuis artificijs & laboribus expedire, non præſumant quod debet infirmis & debilis accipere:* The poore, that are able to helpe themſelues by their labour, muſt not take that, which is allotted for the weake and impotent. *Colonienſ.part.11.cap.3. In hoſpitalia, nulla alia quam miſerabiles perſonæ, quæ aut morbo, debilitate, aut ætate impedita ſunt manibus laborare:* Let none but miſerable poore perſons be receiued into hoſpitals, which are hindred by their ſickneſs, impotencie, or age, from working with their hands. *Cap.5. Stet mendicantibus validis non ſolum hoſpitalia cluſa, ſed & publicè & oſtiatim mendicare interdictum ſit:* Not onely hoſpitals are to bee ſhut vp againſt valiant beggers, but we forbid ſuch to begge from houſe to houſe. Therfore luſtie, ſturdie, lubberly Friers ought not to goe a begging, but to get their liuing with labour.

See alſo to this purpoſe their owne Canons: *Cauſ.16 qu.1.c.18. Pſeudomonachi, &c.* Monks that wander to and fro, are called falſe Monkes. *Cauſ.18 qu.2.c.10. Monachi in ciuitate vagantes, &c.* Monkes wandring vp and downe in cities, doe but make a ſhew onely, they are not true Monkes. *Extrauag.commun.lib.3.tit.8.c.2. Ioann.22. Monachi ad tranſmarina, &c.* Monkes going beyond the ſea, muſt bee taken for Apoſtataes. Theſe Canons forbid the wandring and runnagate life of Monkes.

5 Laſtly then, that there is no meanes left to Monkes for their maintenance, but the labour of their hands, it is thus further ſhewed, *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. cap.96. ex Hieronym. Facito aliquid operis, vt ſemper inueniat te diabolus occupatum:* Be doing of ſome worke, that the diuell may alwaies finde you occupied.

Concil.Carthag.4.can.51. Clericus quantumlibet verbo Dei eruditus, artificio victum quærat: A clergie man, though very well inſtructed in the word of God, may get his liuing by ſome artificiall worke. *Can.53. Omnes Clerici, qui ad operandum validi ſunt, artificiola & literas diſcant:* All Clergie men, that are ſtrong to labour, let them together with letters learne ſome handicraft. If Clerkes in thoſe daies were inured to hand-labour, whoſe office was to teach; how much more did it become the Monkes, who had nothing to doe with Eccleſiaſticall functions?

Laſtly, *Iohn Wickliffe* condemned for this article with others, for ſaying, that Friers are bound to get their liuing by labour of their hands, and not by begging: and that whoſoeuer gaue any almes to begging Friers, is accurſed, *Fox* pag.435.artic.22.23.

Thus by Gods goodnes we haue finiſhed this queſtion, and this whole Controuerſie. One other queſtion remaineth; whether the Monaſticall life be meritorious or not: which we haue referred to another place, when we ſhall come to the queſtion of Virginitie in generall and the priuiledges thereof.

THE SEVENTH GENERAL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING THE CIVILL MAGISTRATE.

MAny things, which *Bellarmine* in this controuersie laboureth to proue, are agreed vpon betweene vs and our aduersaries, and therefore wee will spend no time in them.

1 We teach, as well as they, that there ought to be Magistrates, Princes and gouernours amongst Christians, contrarie to that which the Anabaptists hold, that there ought to be equalitie among Christians. The holy Ghost, Iudg. 17.6. and 19.1. maketh this the cause of all disorder: *At that time in Israel there was no King amongst them, but euery man did that which seemed good in his owne eyes.*

2 We doe hold, that euen wicked Kings and Tyrants haue power ouer the goods and liues of men, neither that it is lawfull to disobey them, but in matters onely belonging to our conscience, where it is better to obey God then men: Ierem. 27.6. I haue giuen, saith the Lord, all these lands to *Nabuchadnezzar*.

3 Concerning the power of Princes, we graunt, that they may make lawes and ordinances to gouerne the people by, Prou. 8.15. that they may punish the offenders of their lawes, Rom. 13. *They doe not beare the sword for nought*: That it is lawfull for Christian Princes, vpon iust occasion, to wage battaile, Luk. 3.14. *Iohn Baptist* doth not condemne the calling of souldiers, but teacheth them to vse it aright.

But here by the way we must a little salute the Iesuite, who findeth great fault with *Luther*, for saying; That to fight against the Turkes, is to repugne against God, visiting our iniquities by them, *Articul. 34. condem. in bulla Leonis.* As though *Luther* should thinke it vnlawfull to wage battell with the Turke. First I will briefly declare, that *Luther* had no such meaning; and then it shall appeare by whom the Turkish warres haue been most hindered.

As concerning the first, *Luther* doth not simply speake against such warres, but onely the abuses among Christians, in such warlike enterprises: the first is, their malice and hatred against the Infidels, whom they seeke by no meanes to conuert or winne vnto the faith, but vse altogether violent and bloodie meanes, whereas the other way ought first to bee attempted, as Master *Tindall* saith; I am bound to loue the Turke with all my might, &c. after the example that Christ loued me, neither to spare goods, bodie or life to winne him to Christ, *Fox* pag. 1248.

The second abuse is their superstition towards the land of Iudea, which they call the holy land, for the recouering whereof principally all those great warres were taken in hand: whereas there are greater motiues, as the propagation of the Gospell, the redeeming of the libertie of Christians. And therefore it is to be thought, that God in his great wisedome, hath giuen ouer those places to the possession of the Heathen, to let vs know, that before God one place is not more holie then another.

A third fault is, for that Christians seeing the mightie encrease of the Turkish tyrannie, doe not enter into consideration of themselues, and repent them of their sinnes, which are the cause why Christians are scourged with the Turkish yron rods. The sinnes of Christians (so called) are very great, and doe farre exceede the manners of the East: As one thus writeth, *Latini licèt adeo, quod sunt fidei, verius adhereant Deo quàm Graeci, tamen quoad mores multò pluribus foeditatibus & sceleribus implicati sunt*: Though the Latines in things concerning faith doe more neerely cleaue to God, then the Grecians, yet are they more polluted in their manners, *Oper. triparsit. lib. 1. cap. 2. tom. 2. Concil.* But as the truth is, the Latines are more corrupt both in life, in manners: this is that therefore that *Luther* misliketh in these warres, that men will not consider, that they are chastised for their sinnes, and so learne to amend their liues: and otherwise he thinketh not. Yea *Bellarmine* himselfe alleageth *Luthers* owne words, whereby he sheweth his great mislike of those preachers, that crie out the Turke ought not to be resisted: *Hic sermo seditiosus est, &c.* This saying is seditious and not to bee suffered. These are *Luthers* owne words in his booke, *De Visitatione Saxoniae*: howsoeuer the Iesuite in other places wresteth his meaning.

Now in the next place I will shew, how that not *Luther*, or any of his part, but the Pope and popelings

popelings haue been the onely hinderers of the Christians couragious enterpriſes againſt the Turke, and the greateſt cauſe of his riſing.

2 The firſt aduauntage which the Infidels had, was by the diuiſion of the Chriſtian Empire, when as firſt *Gregorie* the 3. *anno* 742. began, and *Leo* the 3. finiſhed his deuice, in erecting a new Emperour in the Weſt, *anno* 800. and ſo weakened the power of the Emperour of Conſtantinople. And afterward they tooke vpon them to excommunicate the Greeke Emperour at their pleaſure: as *Clemens* 5. dealt with *Andronicus Paleologus*, excommunicating him, and all the Greeke Church beſide, charging all Princes, Earles, Barons, &c. vnder paine of excommunication, to haue no ſocietie or confederacie with him, *Extrau. commun. lib. 5 tit.* 10. *c.* 3. And by this meanes the Greeke Emperour being forſaken of all helpe, was vnable to reſiſt the cruell Turke.

3 After that the Empire of the Eaſt was thus weakened; by little and little the Weſt Empire began to decay: for the Popes vſurped vpon the Emperours, tooke vpon them to depoſe them, to make them their vaſſals, to hold their ſtirrup, to kiſſe their feete, to receiue their Crowne and dignitie at the Popes hands: And at the length *Gregorie* the 5. *anno* 1000. or thereabout, made a decree, that the Emperour ſhould bee choſen from thenceforth by ſeuen Prince-Electors of Germanie: ſo the maieſtie of the Empire, which before deſcended by certaine inheritance, now began to depend vpon vncertaine and corrupt election. And hereof it came to paſſe, that *anno* 1350. *Carolus* 4. that his ſonne might ſucceede him in the Empire, did lay to pledge vnto the Prince-Electors the free Cities belonging to the Empire, which to this day were neuer redeemed: and thus alſo was the Weſt Empire weakened, and a way made for the Turke to inuade Chriſtendome.

4 A third practiſe of the Pope in weakening the ſtate of Chriſtendome was, by his cruell taxes and impoſitions vpon the Clergy and others, in leuying ſometime the tenths, ſometime the firſt fruites, ſometime halfe the fruites of all Eccleſiaſticall promotions, as *Innocentius* the ſeuenth did. And vnder the pretenſe and colour of the holy warres, gathering great ſummes of money, as in the Lateran Councel *ſub Innocent.* 3. *in fine*: the twentieth part of euery ſpirituall liuing for the ſpace of three yeeres was allotted towards the expedition intended againſt the Infidels: and at diuers other times the like exactions were required. And thus by the Popes Annates, Buls, Indulgences, yeeres of Iubile, firſt fruites, pall money, diſpenſations, *Peter* pence, and ſuch other deuices, all Chriſtendome was robbed and ſpoyled, and left naked to the Turke.

4 Beſide theſe former practiſes, the Popes haue dealt vnfaithfully, and entred themſelues into league with the Infidels: *Alexander* the third *anno.* 1160. perſwaded the Emperour *Fredericke* to goe in battell in his own perſon againſt the Souldane, and ſo betrayed him into his enemies hand, ſending vnto the Souldane the Emperours counterfeit taken by a skilfull paynter: *Alexander* the ſixt, tooke 200000. crownes of *Baiazetes* the great Turke to poyſon his brother *Gemes*, that was fled to him for ſuccour, and ſo he did: *Eugenius* the fourth, *anno.* 1430. perſwaded *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungarie to breake the truce, and violate his faith giuen vnto *Amurathes* the great Turke: whereupon the Turke in great indignation ioyned battell with him, wherein the King himſelfe and the moſt of his Armie were ſlaine: And by this occaſion the Turke entred into Chriſtendome, and to this daye neuer could be driuen out.

5 Laſtly, if the Pope were an enemie indeed to the Turke, and would haue battell waged with him, he ſhould do as his predeceſſor *Innocentius* the third did, *Concil. Lateranenſ.* who proclaming warre againſt the Turke, *Imperauit pacem Chriſtianis ad quadriennium ſub pœna excommunicationis*: Inioyned peace and truce to all Chriſtians for foure yeere vnder paine of excommunication. So ſhould the Pope cauſe the King of Spayne to leaue of moleſting and troubling his neighbours: but now he is ſo farre from this, that the Pope is rather become the chiefe author of diſſention, and ſtrife, and ſower of diſcord among Chriſtian Princes, exciting and ſtirring them vp to warre one againſt another. Did not *Marcellus* the ſecond ſay, not long ſince, *Expeditionem magis fieri debere in Lutheranos, quàm Turcas*? That warre ſhould be made vpon the Lutherans, rather then againſt the Turkes? But as the ſaying is, it is well that a curſt cow hath ſhort hornes, for this *Marcellus* was but a Pope of 23. dayes. *Alexander Farneſius* Cardinall and chiefe Captaine vnder *Paulus* the third, againſt the Lutherans, ſaid, he would ſhed ſo much Lutheran bloud, as that his horſe might ſwim therein: *ex actis Paul.* 2.

Iudge now (Chriſtian Reader) whether by this meanes the Pope hath not greatly decayed the ſtrength of Chriſtendome, in nouriſhing of domeſticall warres: and ſo comparing this, with the other practiſes, you ſhall finde, not *Luther* nor Lutherans, as they are ſlaundered; but the Pope and his popelings, to haue been the chiefe hinderers of the Chriſtians warlike enterpriſes againſt the Turke: let vs now goe forward.

The ſeuerall queſtions, wherein we differ from our aduerſaries, and they from the truth, concerning the office of the ciuill Magiſtrate, are theſe.

1 Concerning the authoritie of the Prince in Eccleſiaſticall matters, three parts of the queſtion.

on. First, whether he haue power ouer persons Ecclesiasticall. Secondly, whether ouer their goods. Thirdly, whether in Ecclesiasticall causes.

2 Whether the ciuill Magistrate may prosecute heretikes to death: and whether he ought to be the iudge of heretikes, with other like questions.

3 Whether the positiue and ciuill lawes of Princes doe binde their subiects and oblige them simply in conscience. This matter we haue discussed before, Controuersie 4. quest. 7. part. 1.

4 Whether the Pope ought or may excommunicate the Prince, or Emperour, or otherwise hath any temporall iurisdiction aboue him: this question also is handled before, Controuersie 4. quest. 8. part. 1.

THE FIRST QVESTION, CONCERNING THE authoritie of the Prince in Ecclesiasticall matters.

THis question hath three parts. First, whether he haue power ouer the persons Ecclesiasticall. Secondly, whether ouer their goods. Thirdly, whether the Prince be chiefe in causes Ecclesiasticall.

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING THE AVTHORITIE of the ciuill Magistrate ouer Ecclesiasticall persons.

The Papists.

1. Error. THe Clergie is not bound to keepe and obserue the ciuill and positiue lawes of Princes, if they be contrarie to the Canons of the Church: neither ought they for any cause to be cited before the ciuill Magistrate, or to be iudged by him, *Bellarm. de Clericis, cap.* 28.

It is absurd (saith the Iesuite) that the sheepe should iudge the shepheard, *Bellarm.* And the Apostle willeth all men to obey their Bishops and ouerseers, Heb. 13. 17. and to submit themselues vnto them, from which rule neither Kings nor Emperours are exempted: Prelates must be obeyed: *Ergo*, not obey, *Rhemist. ibid.*

Answ. First, the obedience here required we acknowledge, that it ought to be yeelded by Kings and Emperours to those that haue the ouersight of their soules: for the Prince is bound to receiue and beleeue all true doctrine which is taught by the Pastors and Bishops of the Church, agreeable to the word of God, vnder paine of damnation: and the Pastors are bound vnder the like paine to obey the Princes lawes, made according to the word of God. Secondly, the spirituall obedience of the ciuill Magistrate to the word of God, taught by the Pastors of the Church, is no exemption of them from their ciuill obedience: for euery soule is subiect to the higher powers, Rom. 13. 1. *Fulk annot.* 13. Heb. sect. 9.

Argum. 2. *Bellarmine* in this place much vrgeth the constitutions of certaine Councels, for the priuiledge of the Clergie: as *Chalced. can.* 9. *Agathens. can.* 32. *concil. Carthag.* 3. *can.* 9. *Toletan.* 3. *can.* 13.

Answ. These Canons do not simply forbid Magistrates to haue the cognisance of Clergie mens causes, or to conuent them before them: but onely, that Clergie men vpon euery occasion, should not draw one another before the ciuill Magistrate, but be contented rather to be ordered by their B. as the words of the Canon of the *Chalcedon* are these, *Si Clericus aduersus Clericum &c.* If a Clergie man haue a matter against a Clergie man, he should referre it to the B. &c. the *Agathensian* saith, a Clergie man without the licence of his Bishop, should not presume to sue to a secular Iudge: so the *Toletane, Vt Clerici Clericos &c.* that Clergie men should not draw Clergie men before the secular Iudge contemning the Bishop. Who seeth not, that here is no limitation of the ciuill authoritie, but a monition onely, that Clergie men in such matters, as belonged to the cognisance of the Bishop, should be ordered by him rather with quietnesse, then to runne to forraine iudgement vpon euerie occasion. And this wee denie not, but it is practised in our Church, which notwithstanding attributeth to the Prince the chiefe Soueraignitie ouer Ecclesiasticall persons.

The Protestants.

THat Ecclesiasticall persons are subiect to temporall gouernours, and are to be iudged by their lawes, the Scriptures speake plainly.

Argum. 1. Rom. 13. 1. Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers: *Ergo*, Bishops, yea the Pope himselfe, if he haue a soule. The like saith S. *Peter* 1. 2. 13. Submit your selues to all manner ordinance. *Salomon* remoued *Abiathar* from the Priesthood, and put in *Sadock*. *Paul* appealed, and submitted himselfe to *Cæsar*. Againe, if Priests offend and commit any grieuous sinne, as of murther, theft, who shall punish them? The ciuill Magistrate onely beareth the sword. They must either grant, that priests are no euill doers, which were to too grosse; or if they be, that they are vn-

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der the ciuill Magistrates power: for he is the Minister of God to take vengeance vpon euery euill doer, Rom.13.4.

In *Augustines* time, the controuersies betweene the Catholike and Donatist Bishops, were committed to the iudgement of the Emperour: *Ait quidam*, saith he, *non debuit Episcopus proconsulari iudicio purgari: Quasi verò ipse sibi hoc comparauerit, ac non Imperator ita quæri iusserat, ad quem maximè de qua ratione deo reddituros est res illa maxime pertinebat.* But, saith one, a Bishop ought not to haue bin purged before the Proconsul, or ciuil Magistrate: As though (saith *Augustine*) the Proconsul did of himselfe intermeddle in this matter, and was not commanded rather of the Emperour so to doe: vnto whose charge that matter principally appertained, and whereof he shal make account vnto God. *Ergo*, by his sentence, the cause of the Bishop principally was to be iudged by the Emperour. Epistol.162.

Agatho Bishop of Rome writing to *Constantius* the Emperour, calleth himselfe, *imperij famulum*, a seruant or subiect of his Empire: and againe, *Pro obedientia, quam debemus*: he confesseth, he oweth obedience to him.

Pope *Leo* submitted himselfe to *Ludouicus* the Emperour, *2.quest.7.* as it appeareth vnder these words: If we haue done any thing incompetently, or haue not obserued the path of equitie among subiects, we will amend the same, either by your owne iudgement, or els by the counsell and iudgement of those, whom you shall appoynt. If the Popes therefore themselues are not exempted from the secular power, I thinke inferiour Clerkes are not?

Epistol. Leodiens. cont. Paschal.2. *Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita, qui hoc omni animæ præcipit, quem à subiectione terrenæ potestatis excepit?* Let euery soule (saith S. *Paul*) be subiect to the higher powers: he that inioyneth this to euery soule, whom hath he exempted from the subiection of the earthly power?

M. Bradford collecteth out of this place, that al men ought to be subiect to the temporall power, *Luce huic qui gladium gestat*: to that power which beareth the sword, which is the temporall power, *Fox pag.1607.*

B. Cranmer holy Martyr: By the Scripture the King is chiefe, and no forraine person in his owne realm aboue him: there is no subiect, but to a King, I owe my fidelity to the Crown, &c. *Fox.1874.*

Now whereas *Bellarmine* maketh shew both of Imperiall and Pontificiall constitutions, as though he could out of them warrant his assertion: I will briefely declare, what plentifull testimonies we haue out of both.

First, for the Ciuill law, whereas *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that the Magistrate can neither punish Clergie men, nor conuent them before them: I will proue the contrarie, concerning both these points. First, that the Ciuil power hath authoritie to censure and punish the Clergie offending, it is euident, *Cod. lib.1. tit.4. leg.3. Martian. Si Clericus erit &c.* If a Clergie man shal seeme to dispute or doubt of the faith, he shall be depriued. *Cod. lib.1. tit.6. leg.14. Arcadius*, a Bishop offending against the Common-wealth, shall be exiled.

For the conuenting of Clerkes, the law is as cleare, *Cod. lib.1. tit.6. leg.24. Mantiana Clericis, &c.* The Clergie men of Constantinople may be conuented before the Patriarke or President of the Citie. *Leg.31. Anthemius, Clerici extranei:* Forraine Clerks, and not of the citie of Constantinople, must be conuented only before the President of the citie. *Ibid. authentic. Id est [illegible] prouinciæ, &c.* In ciuill offences the Ciuill Iudge must beare sway: And there criminal offences are interpreted to be murther, adultery, periury, &c. Likewise *Cod. lib.1. tit.6. leg.24. Anthemius, Præsidali iurisdictioni, &c.* To the Presidents iurisdiction all of what degree soeuer are subiect, Bishops, Clerkes, Monkes, &c.

Now let vs take a view of their owne law, *Caus.11. qu.1. c.20. Gregorius; Paulinum Aquileiensem, &c.* Gregory, send vnder safe custodie vnto the Emperour, *Paulinus* Bishop *Aquileiensis*, and the Bishop of Millaine. This Canon attributeth this power to the Imperiall crowne, to punish ecclesiasticall persons. Also *cap.45. Si quis cum Clerico, &c.* If a man haue a suite with a Clerke concerning a money matter, if the Bishop refuse to heare, *Tunc ad ciuilem iudicem*: Then it may be lawfull to bring the matter before a ciuill Iudge. *Decret. Greg. lib.5. tit.39. c.23. Clemens 3. Clericus à Comite iussus fustigari, &c.* A certaine Clerke for making sedition, was commanded by an Earle to be beaten with a club, and thereof dyed. The Pope himselfe determineth this to be lawfully done. Thus we see, how that in former time, Clerkes were subiect, both by the law of God and man, to the ciuill iurisdiction.

Now then, as by the preaching of the Gospel, Princes are restored to their Imperial dignity, and made Lords of al their subiects both spiritual & temporal, whereas they were but halfe rulers before: so Princes likewise haue prouided great immunities and priuiledges for the Preachers of the Gospel, by whom their Princely authoritie is restored: as *Cod. lib.1. tit.6. leg.1. Constantinus* made a law, that Clergie men, their Ministers and seruants should be free from all new exactions and impositions. Likewise *Constantius, ibid. leg.2.* exempteth Clergy men, their wiues, children, seruants, goods, from all militarie seruices, from cariage, post seruice, and such like. And *Frederike* made

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in excellent constitutions in the behalfe of the Clergie, and especially such as were *Professors sacrarum legum, &c.* Professors of Scriptures, *Ne à vilissimis hominibus, &c.* That euery vile person should not be readie to offer or do them wrong, or conuent them at their pleasures before euery Iudge, but onely such as are there named. And the reason of this constitution is rendred, *Quia illorum sermonibus, &c.* Because the whole world is lightened with their knowledge: *Et ad obedientiam Dei & eorum, &c.* And the Subiects are taught by them to obey God, and vs his Ministers. Then followeth, *Ergo nos regiæ maiestati, vniuersaque speciali dilectione eos ab omni iniuria defendamus.* We haue therefore thought it good, by our especiall fauour to defend them from all iniurie: Cod. *Erudorius Godeb. lib. 4. tit. 15. leg. 5.* A worthie consideration, that the Ministers and Preachers of the Gospell, which teach the people obedience, and would haue none exempted from their regall authority, should themselues be chiefely defended and protected by it. Agreeable to this Constitution, are the Imperial lawes of this nature yet in force, which forbid that any hay, corne, beefe, cattell or any goods of Clergie men, should be taken from them, by any colour of Commission, without their consent: For we do take, (as the words of the law are) the said Clergie men with their possessions, goods and cattels, into our especiall protection and defence: *Anno 14. Edward. 2. Richard. 2. c. 3.* Thus Christian Princes in token of thankefulnesse to the Gospell and the Ministers thereof, haue endued them with excellent priuiledges, if through the enuie and pragmaticall attempts of inferior Ministers and officers they might be suffered to enioy the same. But it is now full time otherwise, that the Gospell with the Ministers thereof are growne in such contempt, that euery vile person is readie to offer them wrong, and to molest them with iniurious suits, and that saith many they find small fauour, neyther are respected according to their calling; a small reward for their labours in the Gospell. And thus we are made a scorne to our aduersaries, who laugh in their sleeues, to see the Ministers of the Gospell, that haue by their preaching enlarged the Ciuill authoritie, to receiue no more fauour from it, and in enlarging other mens libertie, to abridge their owne: which I speake not, as complayning of the soueraigne and sacred Princely Maiestie, or the honourable Ministers thereof; vnder whose comfortable shadow we liue, and haue libertie of conscience; but of some inferior officers, that haue not due regard to the excellent calling and Ministerie of the Gospell, which is fit of all Christians to be acknowledged. But leauing this complaint I will proceed.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THE PRINCE haue power ouer Ecclesiasticall goods.

The Papist.

99. Error. THe goods of the Clergie both secular and Ecclesiasticall, are and ought to be exempted from paying tribute to Princes: yet they haue not this libertie, say they, by the lawe of God, but by the graunt of Princes themselues, *Rhemist. annot. Rom. 13. sect. 5. Bellarmine de Clericis, cap. 28.*

Proofe. Genes. 47. 22. and 27. The lands of the Priests were exempted from paying tribute. Ergo it seemeth that this custome is grounded vpon the law of nature, *Bellarm.*

Answ. First, the Hebrew word signifieth rather Presidents, such as were the Kings officers, as priests, as *Tremellius* sheweth: who were maintained by the Kings prouision, being officers of his household. For Genes. 41. 45. *Ioseph* is said to marrie the daughter of *Potypher* Prince, or priest of *On*. The same word *Cohen* is there vsed: for it is not like that *Ioseph* would match himselfe with an idolatrous priests daughter. Secondly, but be it granted, this was but a politike constitution, that countrie other Princes are not bound to *Pharaos* his law. Thirdly, they gaine nothing by this, but that it is an humane constitution.

Argum. 1. Some of them do thus reason out of our Sauiour Christs words, Matth. 17. when he said thus to *Peter, What thinkest thou Simon? of whom do the Kings of the Nations receiue tribute, of their owne or of strangers?* Simon answered, *of strangers*: the Lord said, *then are their children free.* But Clergie men are the children of the kingdome: *Ergo*, they ought to be free: thus reasoneth *Marsilius de Padua*, and the *Rhemists Matth. 17. sect. 8.*

Answ. To this argument *Bellarmine* answereth: first, by this reason all Christians, as well as Clerks should be exempted from tribute, because they are all the Sons of God, being borne anew in Baptisme. Secondly, Christ speaketh onely of himselfe: that as Kings children are freed from tribute, so much more he, being the Sonne and Heire apparant of the King of kings, should be exempted from all temporall tribute: thus one of them answereth another. Thirdly, to this answere may be added, that Christ standeth not vpon any such priuiledge, as hee might iustly challenge; but notwithstanding least he should offend, yeeldeth to pay tribute: therefore by the words of our Sauiour, it is scandalous and offensiue for any to pleade priuiledge in denying of tribute to Princes.

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The Protestants.

That Princes haue authoritie to punish Ecclesiasticall persons offending in their goods; either by displacing them, or by conuerting the Church possessions by them abused, to better vses, we haue shewed before, *Contr. 5 quæst. 6 part. 1.* And that their goods ought to pay tribute, subsidie, taxe, vnto the prince, thus now it is proued.

Argum. 1. Our Sauiour Christ payed poll money, Matth. 17. 25. Rom. 13. Euery soule ought to be subiect to the higher powers, and there vers. 5. paying of tribute is made a part of subiection: the argument therefore thus followeth: Clergie men are subiect to Princes, therefore they ought to pay tribute.

Argum. 2. Ex concessis, wee reason thus from their owne confession: That which Princes gaue to the Church, vpon good cause they may take away: but this immunitie, not to pay tribute, was first granted, as they confesse, to the Church, by kings and Princes: ergo, they haue the same right, hauing iust occasion, to take it from them againe. What *Augustines* iudgement is, wee haue seene in the place before alleaged.

Concil. Lateranens. sub Leon. 10. sess. 11. there the ancient custome and priuiledge of Parliaments is approued: *Quod habeant iurisdictionem in personas Ecclesiasticas*: That they haue power and iurisdiction ouer Ecclesiasticall persons. And the whole Councell ratified it, sauing onely *Iohannes Dominus Episcop. Terdonens.* But Parliaments haue authoritie to leuie taxes and subsidies vpon Clergie men: so that consequently herein also this Councell doth authorize Parliaments.

Frederick the Emperour writeth well to Pope *Adrian* the 4. *Scis vir, qui regalia vestra tenuit, cui homagium & regalia sacramenta non exigimus, cum ille noster & vester institutor ab homine rogari voluerit, tamen pro se & Petro censum Cæsari persoluit, & exemplum vobis dedit*, or *hoc facientis*: Why should we not require fealtie and other regall rights of those, which doe hold and enioy our regall dignities, he meaneth Bishops, seeing that Christ the founder both of the Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall state, whereas he receiued nothing of any humane King; yet for himselfe and *Peter* payd tribute to *Cæsar*, and gaue you an example so to doe.

This is agreeable to the Ciuil law, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. leg. 3. Constantius: Clerici pro his prædys, &c.* Clergie men, for such possessions as they hold, must be vrged to pay tribute.

Their owne Canons consent: *Decret. par. 1 distinct. 8. c. 1. Noli dicere quid mihi & regi, &c.* Say not, what hath the King to doe with me? for what hast thou to doe with thy possession, which thou enioyest by the lawes of the King? *Decret. par. 2. cauf. 11. qu. 1. cap. 27. Si tributum petit imperator, soluamus*: If the Emperour require tribute, wee denie it not: for euen the lands of the Church pay tribute. But because these Canons are but compiled by *Gratians* out of the fathers, as the first out of S. *Augustine*, the second from S. *Ambrose*; let vs heare the decree and sentence of their owne Bishops of Rome: as *Vrbanus* thus determineth; *Cauf. 2. qu. 3. c. 22. Tributum in ore pisces inuentum est, &c.* Tribute was found in the fishes mouth; for the Church of her externall things paieth tribute: but he was not bidden to giue the whole fish, but onely the piece in the fishes mouth: So the Church and the office of a Bishop must not be yeelded to the Emperour; but that which is found in the mouth of the fish must bee paied for the defence of peace, &c. *Bonifac 8.* indeed decreed al such lay officers to be excommunicate that laid any taxes or impositions vpon the Church, & al Clergie men paying any such, to bee subiect to the same censure, *sext. decr. lib. 3. tit. 23. cap. 3.* But this constitution is reuersed by *Clement 5. Clementin. lib. 3. tit. 17.* and by *Benedict. 11. extrauag. commun lib. 3. tit. 13. c. 1.* where two cases are excepted, namely, of necessitie, and common vtilitie, when it shall be lawfull for Clergie men to pay taxe and subsidie to the Ciuill state.

Doctor *Taylor* holie Martyr, alleageth out of *Chrysostome*, how that the Apostles and Euangelists, and all men in euery realme were euer, and ought to bee euer, both touching bodie and goods, in subiection to the kingly authoritie, who hath the sword in his hand, as Gods principall officer and gouernour in euery realme, *Fox.* pag. 1523.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING THE PRINces authoritie in causes Ecclesiasticall.

The Papists.

THe Prince, they say, hath no authoritie to giue voyce deliberatiue or definitiue in Councels concerning matters of religion, nor to make lawes ecclesiasticall concerning the same: Only they giue them authoritie to execute the Ecclesiasticall lawes made by the Church, *Rhemist. 1. Corinth. 14. 16. Bellarm. de Pontif. lib. 1. cap. 7.* 100. Error.

Argum. 1. Kings and Princes may in their owne persons execute if they will, whatsoeuer their inferiour officers doe, as to heare and determine causes, as the Iudges and other Magistrates doe: but the Prince cannot execute any Ecclesiasticall function, as to preach, baptize: *Ergo*, he hath no

no authoritie in causes Ecclesiasticall: for how can the Prince impart that to others, whereof he is himselfe incapable, as to giue Bishops and Pastors power to ordaine, to preach, and such like? *Bellarm. Rhemist. ibid.*

Answ. First, the authoritie of ciuill Magistrates doth not giue any thing to Ecclesiasticall Ministers, which appertaineth to their office, as to ordaine, preach, baptize; neither is the Prince to deale in these offices; yet may the ciuill Magistrates commaund them to execute their charge and duties according to the word of God. Wherefore it followeth not, Princes cannot execute the offices of all duties themselues: *Ergo*, they ought not to see them executed. *Dauid*, *Salomon*, *Iehosaphat*, *Ezechias*, commaunded the Priests to execute their office according to the law of God, though it was not lawfull for them, neither did they execute any thing proper to the Priests office in their owne persons; neither doth any Christian Prince challenge any such right in Ecclesiasticall functions: wherefore it is an impudent slaunder of *Bellarmine*, which he giueth forth of our Queene: *Iam verò ipsa Caluinistica in Anglia mulier quidam summus pontifex*: And now (saith he) in England the Caluinists haue a certaine woman for their chiefe Bishop, *De notis Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 9.*

2. It doth not followe, that the Prince might as well execute Ecclesiasticall offices, as he may ciuill in his owne person, if he haue authoritie ouer both: no more then it followeth, that because Ecclesiasticall persons doe teach both ciuil Magistrates and Church officers their duties, and may in their owne persons execute the one, that is, spirituall duties, that they may as well intermeddle in the other: But these two offices of Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall gouernment are distinguished and must not be confounded. The Prince, though he haue authoritie to command Ecclesiasticall persons, yet being a ciuill Magistrate, is not to deale with the execution of spirituall duties. Bishops and pastors likewise haue a spirituall charge ouer Kings and Princes, to shew them their duties out of Gods word, yet because they are persons Ecclesiasticall, they ought not to meddle with meere ciuill duties. The Prince hath the soueraignte of externall gouernment in all causes and ouer all persons, yet not alike: for ciuill offices he may both command and execute; Ecclesiasticall duties he commandeth onely: Bishops and pastors haue also a spirituall charge ouer all, prescribing out of Gods word as well the dutie of Magistrates, as of Ministers, but not alike: for the one they may fully execute, so may they not the other. The head in the naturall bodie resembleth the Prince in the common-wealth, in some sense: the head giueth mouing to the whole bodie and all the parts thereof; but to the principall parts in the head the eyes, tongue, eares, it giueth beside the faculte of mouing, the sense also of seeing, tasting, hearing: So in the common-wealth, by the Princes authoritie all persons are kept in order, and vrged to looke to their charge, both ciuil officers and spirituall, as all the parts of the body receiue mouing from the head: But ciuil officers receiue power & authority beside, & their very offices of the King, as the parts of the head receiue sense & their fountaine: but Ecclesiasticall Ministers receiue not their offices from the prince, or any mortall man, but they haue their calling according to the order of ỹ Church of God.

Argum. 2. For the space of 300. yeeres the Church after Christ had no Christian gouernours, but all Heathen and Idoll worshippers, yet then the Church was established, and preuailed: *Ergo* Ciuill Magistrate ought not to deale in Ecclesiasticall affayres, *Bellarm. de laicis cap. 17.*

Answ. 1. Euen then also, the Heathen Emperours had authoritie in Church matters, and if they had commanded any thing agreeable to true religion, they should haue been obeyed: as *Cyrus* in the law which he made for building the temple, Ezra. 1. *Darius* the Median, for worshipping the true God. The Heathen Emperours then had the same power, but they knewe not how to vse it: Christian Princes doe succeed them in the same office, but are better taught by the word of God how to exercise the sword. Secondly, we deny not but that in the time of persecution all things necessarie for the spirituall building thereof may be had, without the Magistrate, as a Vineyard may bring forth fruite without an hedge, but it cannot enioy peace, nor be in a perfect state, in respect of the externall gouernment, but vnder good Magistrates; as the Vineyard may soone be spoyled, the wild bore and the beasts of the field may breake in vpon it hauing no hedge. The child being in the wombe, though it haue as yet small vse of the head, but is fed by the nauell which is in stead of the mouth, hath in it selfe the lineaments and proportion of a humane bodie, yet it wanteth the perfect beautie, till it be borne and come forth, and the head receiue his office: So may the Church haue a being in persecution, and the want of the ciuill head may be otherwise supplied, but it is not beautifull till the head be set vp, and the sword put into the Christian Magistrates hand.

Argum. 3. Princes haue no cure nor charge of soules: *Ergo*, they are not to meddle with Ecclesiasticall lawes, *Rhemist. annot. 1. Corinth. 14. sect. 16.*

Answ. Parents haue charge ouer the soules of their children, for they are charged to bring them vp in the instruction and information of the Lord, Eph. 6. 4. Therefore Princes also haue directly charge of the soules of their subiects according to their place and calling, by prouiding and making good Ecclesiasticall lawes, and compelling them to the true seruice of God: as the Ecclesi-

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stical Ministers in another kind, and more properly are said to haue the cure of soules, in feeding and instructing the people.

Concil. Matisconens. in fine. Guntramus the King being present, saith thus to the Bishops: *Licet sine vestra admonitione, ad vos specialiter prædicandi causa pertineat, &c.* Although without our admonition or charge, the dutie of preaching doth especially belong to you: neuertheleſſe, we, to whom the highest King hath giuen authoritie to raigne, shall not escape his wrath, if we haue no care of our ministerie, that is, concerning their religion. This godly King taketh himselfe to be charged with the soules of his people. Bishop *Ridley* holy Martyr also hath sealed the same truth: Both the false teacher, and the corrupt gouernour, shall be punished for the death of their subiect, whom they haue falsely taught, and corruptly led, yea and his bloud shall bee required at his hands. *Fox.* pag. 1774.

The Protestants.

THe ciuill Magistrate, by the word of God, hath power to make and constitute Ecclesiasticall lawes, and to establish true religion, and see that all persons vnder their gouernment doe faithfully execute their charge: To say therefore that the Church officers are to deuise lawes concerning religion, and the Prince onely to execute them, is to make the Prince their seruant, and doth derogate too much from the princely authoritie. Neither doe we giue vnto the Prince absolute power to make Ecclesiasticall lawes: for first, the Prince is not to prescribe what lawes he listeth to the Church, but such as onely may require the true worship of God. Secondly, that it be expedient and meete, according to the commendable custome of this land, that the godly counsell of the Clergie should be consulted withall, in establishing of Ecclesiasticall ordinances, vnlesse it be in such a corrupt time, when the Church gouernours are enemies to religion: for then the Prince, not staying vpon their iudgement, ought to reforme religion according the word of God, as we see it was lawfully and godly practised by King *Henry* the eight. Thirdly, we doe make exception of all such Ecclesiasticall canons and ordinances, the making whereof doth properly belong to the office of Bishops and gouernours of the Church: for our meaning is not, that it is any lawfull for Ecclesiasticall Ministers, to make Ecclesiasticall decrees, which doe properly concerne their office, as concerning the censures of the Church, excommunication, suspension, absolution, binding, loosing, and such like, which things are incident to their pastorall office: and yet we graunt, that the Prince hath euen in these cases an ouerruling hand, to see that none abuse their pastorall office: But that any lawes ought to be made without the authoritie of the prince, which the prince is bound to execute, we vtterly deny. And so we conclude, that the ciuill Magistrate hath power ouer all persons and in all causes, both temporall and Ecclesiasticall, in such manner as we haue said. Psalm. 13. 9.

Argum. 1. S. *Paul* willeth, that prayers should be made for Kings and Princes, that vnder them we may leade a peaceable life, in all godlines and honestie, 1. Tim. 2. 2. *Ergo*, it is their dutie as well to procure religion by their authoritie, as ciuill honestie. Againe, He beareth not the sword for nought, Rom. 13. 4. He hath power to punish all euill doers: therefore also to correct euill ministers, and to make Ecclesiasticall lawes: for otherwise he should haue no full power to correct the transgressors thereof.

Argum. 2. We reade that *Iosua*, *Dauid*, *Salomon*, *Iosias*, did deale in Ecclesiasticall matters, which concerned religion and the worship of God. *Bellarm.* They did it by an extraordinarie authoritie, not as Kings, but as Prophets. Nay, it was an ordinarie power: for all the good Kings of Iuda beside as *Iehosaphat*, *Hezekiah*, and others, did take care of religion: and this was so properly annexed to the kingly office, that idolatrous Kings also tooke vpon them to command false religion, as *Ieroboam* set vp two golden calues, and *Ahaz* King of Iudah commaunded *Vriah* the high Priest to make an Altar according to the patterne which he sent from Damascus, 2. King. 16. 11. This power also was afterward exercised by Christian Kings and Emperours: as *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, *Marcianus*, made lawes for the Church. *Iustinianus* the Emperour decreed many things concerning Church affayres: as how excommunication should be vsed, how Bishops and Priests should be ordained, concerning the order and manner of funerals: that the holy mysteries should not be done in priuate houses. *Carolus magnus* decreed, that onely the Canonicall bookes of Scripture should be read in the Church: he chargeth all Bishops and priests to preach the word. *Lodouicus Pius* his sonne, and Emperour after him, ordained that no entrie should be made into the Church by Symonie: that Bishops should be chosen by the free election of the Clergie and the people. All these Emperors did lawfully exercise their princely authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters: *Ergo*, other Princes may doe the same still. Fox. pag. 7.

3 *Augustine* saith, *Epistol.* 50. *Quis mente sobrius, &c.?* Who in his right wits would say to the King, It pertaineth not to you, who in your kingdom is religious or sacrilegious; to whom it cannot be said, let it not pertaine vnto you, who in your kingdome will be chaste or vnchaste? And in another place, *Ad fratres in eremo, serm.* 14. *Tunc iustitiæ dicitur gladius ex vtraque parte acutus, quia hominis*

homines defendit corpus ab exterioribus iniurijs, & animam à spiritualibus molestijs: Then iustice is rightly called a sword with a double edge, because it doth both defend the bodie from externall and corporall wrongs, and the soule from spirituall vexation: That is, the sword of the Magistrate serueth as well to prune the Church, and to cut off all errors and heresies in religion, as to destroy the vices and corruptions in manners.

The consent of antiquitie is on our side: *Bonifacius ad Honorium imperatorem: Angeretur plurimum Christianissime princeps, mater ecclesia, nisi apud te suarum esset secura causarum:* The Church your mother, most Christian prince, would bee greatly grieued, if she were not secure and confident in all her causes and matters, which rest in your hand.

Leo epistol. 7. ad Theodosium: Vobis non solum regium, sed sacerdotalem animum inesse gaudemus, quidem præter imperiales & publicas curas, piissimam sollicitudinem Christiana religionis habetis: We doe reioyce to see in you not onely a kingly, but a priestly minde, in that beside your imperiall cares, you are most godly carefull of religion.

Concil. 6. Constantinop. Quid est præsertim imperatori decibilius, &c. quam pra omnibus pietate adornare subiectos. actio. 18. What can bee more comely, especially for the Emperour, then to adorne his subiects with pietie?

Arelatens. sub Carolo can. 26. Hac imperatori præsentanda decreuimus, postentes eius clementiam, ut si quid hic minus est, eius prudentia supplentur; si quid secus, quam se ratio habet, eius iudicio emendetur; si quid rationabiliter taxatum est, eius adiutorio perficiatur: These things which wee haue decreed, we purpose to present to the Emperour, that if any thing be wanting, it may bee by his prudence supplied; if any thing amisse, it may be by him amended; if any thing reasonably inioyned, it may be by his helpe perfited and confirmed. Do not they now go against all antiquitie, that say the Prince ought to haue no voyce in Councell, nor to make Ecclesiasticall lawes: whereas these ancient Canons doe shew, that these things did principally belong to the ciuill Magistrate?

We haue also most euident testimonies out of the Ciuill and Canon law. First, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 1. leg. 1.* A law is made by the Emperours *Gratianus, Valentinianus, Theodosius,* as touching the Catholike faith, and the right beleeuing in the Trinitie. *Leg. 3. Martianus* ordaineth, that no man publikely should dispute of the faith receiued. *Tit. 6. leg. 26. Leo* maketh a constitution against the placing, and carying about of relicks. It is euident then that these Christian Emperours had to doe in the matters of faith.

Likewise for their owne Canons: *Decret. par. 1. dist. 96. Nicholaus* thus writeth to *Michael* the Emperour: *Vbi legistis, &c.* Where haue you read, that any of your predecessors were present in Synodes, but onely where faith was entreated of, which is vniuersall, and common to all, as well the Laitie as the Clergie? This Canon excludeth not the imperiall presence and authoritie even in matters of faith.

Caus. 16. qu. 7. 31. regis auribus, &c. If the Metropolitane take away any thing dedicated to the Church, intimate it into the eares of the King.

Caus. 23. quæst. 5. cap. 20. Cognoscant reges seculi, &c. Let the Princes of the world know that they must render an account vnto God for the Church, which they receiued to defend: *Per terrena regnum sæpe cœleste regnum proficit:* Oftentimes the heauenly kingdome is encreased by the temporall and earthly kingdome. But more euidently, *Can. 21. Leo: Res humanæ, &c.* Humane state cannot stand, vnlesse such things, as belong to the diuine faith, both the priestly and kingly authoritie defend. *c. 34. Iniuria sacramentorum, &c.* The iniurie done to the Sacraments of Christ, must be reuenged of Kings. *c. 40. Rex debet adulteria punire:* The King must punish adulterie. Thus we see how that by the sentence of their owne lawe, Princes ought to beare sway euen in causes Ecclesiasticall.

AN APPENDIX OR FOVRTH PART OF THE QVESTION, whether the Prince in any good sense may be called the head of his kingdome, and consequently of the Church in his kingdome.

The Papists.

101. THey doe appropriate this title, to bee called head of the vniuersall Church, to the Pope of Rome, most blasphemously: for there can be no head of the vniuersall bodie but Christ: But for Princes to bee called the head, that is, chiefe gouernours of the Churches in their kingdomes, they doe abhorre it. Whereupon *Bellarmine* is so saucie as to checke and controule King *Henry* the 8. because he was called the head of the English Church.

Argum. 1. The Heathen Emperours were not heads of the Church, being not so much as members thereof: therefore neither Christian Magistrates, which doe succeede them in that authoritie, *Rhemist. annot. 1. Pet. 2. sect. 6.*

Ans. The argument followeth not: they were no true members of the Church, therefore could not

not bee heads, that is, haue the soueraignetie of the externall gouernment: for wicked Kings and Princes doe keepe their magistracie and gouernment still; who though they be not true members of the Catholike Church, yet ought to be obeyed as Princes. 2. Though the metaphoricall name of head agreed not vnto them, yet were they by Gods ordinance appointed to bee heads and gouernours of his people and protectors of his Church, and should haue been, if they had not abused their authoritie. 3. Christian Princes, though they haue the same authoritie which they had, yet now exercising the sword according to Gods law, and being Nurses of the Church, may vse and retaine those princely titles indeede, to bee called Patrones and defenders of the faith, and head, that is, chiefe gouernours and protectors of the Church: which by right had been due vnto the other, if they had vsed their authoritie as they should.

Bishop *Cranmer* holy Martyr: Euen *Nero* was *Peters* head, and the head of the Church, that is, in worldly respect of the temporall bodies of men, of whom the Church consisteth; for so he beheaded *Peter* and the Apostles: And so the Turke to is head of the Church in Turkey, *Fox* p. 1877.

Argum. 1. Christian Princes are members of the Church: *Ergo*, not heads; for if they were heads, how could the Church stand without them, as it did in the time of persecution?

Ans. First, as though the head is not a member and part of the bodie, though a principall one: so the Prince is a member of the Church, but a principall and chiefe member, not of the inuisible Church, for so Christ is onely head; but of a particular visible Church. Secondly, we deny not but that the inuisible and spirituall Church may consist without the Magistrate: but a visible, flourishing, and wel-gouerned Church cannot want a head or chiefe gouernour, that is as a wall or hedge vnto it.

The Protestants.

TO bee head of the vniuersall Church is proper onely to Christ, and in that sense is not communicable to any creature: for he is to his Church, as the head to the naturall bodie, giuing vnto it influence of grace, spirit and life: he is therefore the onely mysticall head of the vniuersall Church: But in another sense the Prince may be said to bee the head and chiefe gouernour of his kingdome, and of that particular visible Church, where he is King: We make him neither the mysticall head, which is onely Christ, (farre bee that blasphemie from vs) nor a ministeriall head, as they make the Pope to bee as Christs Vicegerent in the Church; but a politicall head, to keepe and preserue the peace of the Church, and to see that euery member doe his office and dutie. But this name we confesse is vnproperly giuen to the Prince, neither were we the first inuentors of it: for the Papists first gaue it to *Henry* the 8. And there are other titles which do sufficiently expresse the office of the Prince, and may bee more safely vsed. If any man thinke it too high a name for any mortall man, and so not to bee giuen to any, we will not greatly contend about it: But if any denie it to the Prince, as thereby to abridge her of her power in Ecclesiasticall matters, wee doe stand stiffely for it; and are bold to affirme, that with much better right is this title attributed to the ciuill Magistrate then it was to the Pope: yea, and that it hath been of old giuen in a modest and sober sense to Kings and Princes, and may with a fauourable exposition be still: and Princes also may reuiue this honour and title at their subiects hands, with protestation of their Christian meaning herein.

Argum. 1. This phrase, for the King to bee called the head, is not vnusuall in Scripture, 1. Samuel 15. 17. *Saul* is said to bee the head of the tribes. Psal. 18. 43. *Dauid* the head of the nations: Esay 9. 15. The Prince or honourable man the head of the people: yea Princes are called Gods, Psal. 82. 1. which is a name of greater soueraignetie, then to be called heads.

Bellarmine answereth: Princes doe rule ouer their subiects as men, not as Christians; and Kings are set ouer the people, not as they are Christians, but politike persons: so the Prince is head of the kingdome, not of the Church, *De pontif. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

Ans. Stephen Gardiner taketh away this cauill very sufficiently, wee will set one Papist against another: It is all one (saith he) to call the Prince head of the Church of England, and head of the Realme of England; for if all Englishmen bee his subiects, why are they not his subiects, as they are Christians? If the wife or seruant bee subiect to the master or husband being infidels, doth their conuersion, or name of Christians make them lesse subiect, then they were before? *Hist. illr.* Fox. pag. 1059. Againe, how farre is this, I pray you, from Anabaptistrie, to say, that subiects, onely as men, not as Christians, are in subiection to Princes? for doth it not follow hereupon, that as Christians they ought to haue no superiour or Magistrate?

Argum. 2. It is sufficient for vs, that this title more fitly and properly belongeth to euery Prince in his owne kingdome, then to the Pope: For the Pope can in no wise bee head of the Church; he is not the mysticall head; neither dare they say so, for Christ onely is the head in that manner: neither can he be the Ministeriall head of the vniuersall Church; for the Catholike Church is a bodie mysticall, and must needes haue a mysticall head: neither is he the politicall head of any particular Church: for no Bishop can be a politicall head; because he that is the head

and chiefe must haue a coactiue power, to binde his subiects to obedience: so hath not any Bishop. The Prince onely beareth the sword, and enforceth obedience. Againe, in a farre diuers sense is the Prince called the head, then the Pope was: for first the Pope challenged to bee head of the vniuersall Church; but the Prince is chiefe onely in his owne kingdome. Secondly, the Pope would be an absolute head, to doe all vpon earth that Christ did, yea and more too, to binde and loose at his pleasure, to depose Kings, to dispense with the word of God, to constitute and make lawes at his pleasure: insomuch that one of his clawbacke flatterers is not ashamed to say of him, *Christum & Papa vnum faciunt consistorium, & excepto peccato potest Papa quasi omnia facere quæ potest Deus*: Christ and the Pope make but one Consistorie, and keepe but one court; and sinne onely excepted, the Pope in a manner can doe all things that God can doe. But wee doe limit the power of the Prince; who is not to impose any lawes vpon the Church, but such as are agreeable to the word of God; neither doe we make him a spirituall officer, as the Pope would be, but a ciuill gouernour, who by positiue lawes is to prouide for the peace and welfare of the Church.

Panormitane.

1. Pet. 2. 13. Lastly, Saint *Peter* saith, *Submit your selues to the King as the chiefe*, ὡς ὑπερέχοντι, or most excelling: what is this else, but as to the head? what is it to bee chiefe but to bee head? But we will not much contend for the name, so they will graunt vs the thing: namely, that the Prince is a commander euen in Ecclesiasticall matters, as *Augustine* saith: *In hoc reges Deo seruiunt, si mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verumetiam quæ ad diuinam religionem. Cont. Cresconium, cap. 5.* In this Kings doe good seruice to God, if they forbid euill to be done, not onely in matters pertaining to humane societie, but in things concerning religion. As for the title, to bee called head, let them cease to call their chiefe Bishop so who hath no right vnto it, and wee will promise also to lay it downe, though in good sense we might vse it, though the Pope had neuer laid claime thereunto.

Concil. Toletan. 8. Recceswinthus the King thus saith in his preface to the Councell: *Regnorum membrorum causa, salus est capitis; & felicitas populorum, non nisi mansuetudo est principum*: The health of the head must be sought, for the better regiment of the members; and the happines of the people, is the lenitie of their Prince. Here the Prince is called the head, the people the members.

Bishop *Cranmer* holy Martyr: The King is the supreame head of all the people of England both Ecclesiasticall and temporall, which are the visible Church: But Christ onely is head of the Church, that is, of the faith and religion thereof, both of the whole vniuersall Church, and of euerie member thereof, *Fox* pag. 1881. And otherwise we hold not.

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING THE authoritie of the Prince in punishing Heretikes.

WE doe willingly graunt, that obstinate heretikes and peruerters of the faith, if they persist in their damnable opinions, and remaine incorrigible, may and ought to bee cut off and punished by death, to make others to feare: So *Seruetus* at Geneua, and one *Valentine* at Berne, both monstrous heretikes, not amongst the Papists, but by the Protestants were worthily put to death. In this therefore wee and our aduersaries agree, that heretikes may bee punished by death by the ciuill Magistrate. If *Luther*, or any other haue held any priuate opinion to the contrarie, let them answere for themselues: but although we varie not in the principall, yet there are certaine circumstances and accessaries greatly materiall, wherein they both dissent from vs and from the truth.

Bellarm. de pontif. lib. 1. cap. 7. 102. 1. They would haue the Magistrate onely to be their executioner, the iudgement of heresie they say, belongeth to the Church: for they cited, examined, iudged, degraded, condemned heretikes; and then gaue them ouer to the secular power: this was the common practise of their Church.

But we hold, that the hearing, iudgement, sentence, and condemnation of heretikes belongeth to the ciuill Magistrate, as well as the execution: because these actions are proper to the ciuill sword, which the Magistrate beareth, Rom. 13. and Deut. 17. 5. The false Prophets and Idolaters were brought to the gates of the Citie where the ciuill Magistrate was wont to sit. *Augustine* is of the same minde, *Cur in venefices vigorem legum inverti iuste fatentur, in hæreticos se non volunt fateri? cont. epist. Parmen. 1. 7.* Why do they graunt, that the vigour of the law may iustly be exercised vpon witches, and not as well vpon heretikes and schismatikes? But the causes of witches are heard, iudged and handled before the ciuill Magistrate: *Ergo*, also the cause of heretikes. *Augustines* reason is out of the 5. Galath. 20. The workes of the flesh are manifest, which are adulterie, fornication, idolatrie, witchcraft, and heresies are also reckoned vp amongst them: All these are workes of the flesh: *Ergo*, the Magistrate being appointed to punish euill doers, hath as full right to deale against them all, as some

Concil.

Concil. Chalcedon. actione 16. Quoties sacerdotum sententia quosdam indignos sacerdotio de sacris sedibus deposuit, totiesimperium cum eiusdem sententia & ordinationis cum sacerdotibus authoritate fuit: As often as any vnworthie persons by the sentence of Ministers were thrust from their seates, so often the imperiall power did concurre with the authoritie of the Prieſtes in the ſame ſentence: the Emperour was ioyned with Clergie men in the iudgement of hereſie.

Thus teſtifieth M. *Philpot* holy Martyr, I ſeeke not to be mine owne Iudge, but am content to be iudged by other, ſo that the order of iudgement in matters of religion be kept, that was in the primitiue Church; which is, firſt, that Gods will by his word was ſought, and thereunto both the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie was gathered together and gaue their conſents and iudgements, &c. *Fox.* pag. 1807.

That the iudgement of hereſie belongeth to the Ciuill power; it is euident by the Imperiall lawes: *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 8. leg. 2. Gratian Valentinian. Hæreticorum vocabulo continentur, &c.* They are to be accounted heretikes, that do erre neuer ſo little from the Catholike faith. *Tit. 12. leg. 11. Theodſ. Cerium eſt &c.* It is certaine, that whatſoeuer doth differ from the Chriſtian faith, is contrarie to the Chriſtian law, therefore Chriſtian lawes do take knowledge of things varying from the faith. *Decret. p. 2. cauſ. 23. qu. 8. c. 30. Ne Clerici, quod morteplectendum eſt, propria ſententia iudicent præſumant*: That Clergy men ſhould not giue ſentence, where the puniſhment is by death. But hereſie is to be puniſhed by death; *Ergo*, Clergie men are not to giue ſentence againſt heretikes.

But if it ſhall be anſwered, that they put none to death, but deliuer them ouer to the ſecular power: this cannot excuſe them, but is flat contrary to their owne Canon, *Cauſ. 33. diſtinct. 1. c. 23. Perniciosè ſe decipiunt, &c.* They do perniciouſly deceiue themſelues, that thinke them onely to be manſlayers, that kill with their hands, and not they by whoſe counſell and encouragement men are killed, &c. The Iewes did not kill our Lord with their owne hands; for ſay they, it is not lawfull for vs to put any to death; yet our Lords death is imputed vnto them, becauſe with their tongue and voyce they killed him, crying out, that he ſhould be crucified: *Qui ergo hominem tradidit &c.* He therefore that deliuereth a man ouer, killeth him. Wherefore the popiſh Phariſees, or phariſaicall Papiſts, in that they deliuer innocents ouer to be killed, are the killers themſelues.

2 We differ about the way and meanes to trie an heretike by: They affirme that he is an heretike onely that is ſo iudged by a generall Councell, or the ſentence of the chiefe Paſtors of the Church: they would haue an heretike tryed by the conſtitutions and Canons of their Church, *Aust. tit. 3. ſect. 2. Rhemiſt.* 103.

Wee ſay that an heretike is to be conuicted by the Scriptures, and that he that holdeth any opinion obſtinately againſt the manifeſt authoritie of Scripture, may be iudged an heretike without a generall Councel: So *Auguſtine* writeth, anſwering the Pelagians, who obiected that they were condemned without a Synod. *Ac ſi congregatione Synodi opus erat, vt aperta pernicies damnaretur, quaſi nulla hæreſis aliquando, niſi ſynodi congregatione damnata ſit.* As though a Synod need to be congregate or called, to condemne ſuch open wickednes, as if neuer any hereſie had bin condemned but in a Synode or Councel: *Cont. 2. epiſtol. Pelag. lib. 4. cap. 12.* This is that heretical opinion, as they call it, which the Councell of Conſtance condemned in *Iohn Huſſe*, and him together with it, becauſe he ſaid, That an heretike, whatſoeuer he be, ought firſt to be inſtructed, and taught with Chriſtian loue, and gentlenes of the holy Scriptures, and by reaſons drawne out of the ſame, before hee ſuffer corporall or bodily puniſhment: *Fox.* p. 610 *articul.* 18. Which his ſaying is grounded vpon that rule of the Goſpell, Matth. 18. 15. That if we ſee one offend, we ſhould firſt tell him priuately; then before two or three: laſtly, declare it to the Church: and if he will not heare the Church, that is, by Scripture conuincing him; then continuing obſtinate, let him be as a publicane. This rule the Papiſts kept not in their bloudie perſecutions here in England: They put many hundreds to death, and were not able to conuince any one of hereſie; but in diſputation were themſelues put to ſilence and made aſhamed: Their onely arguments were the fire and fagot.

That hereſie muſt be tryed out by Scripture, wee haue the iudgement and practiſe of ancient times. *Concil. Aquileiens. contra Palladium Arrianum: Propoſita diuina in medio ſcriptura, præſens eſt Apoſtolus, omnes ſcripturæ præſto ſunt, vnde vis, aſtrue, ſi putas non eſſe filium Dei ſempiternum*: The diuine Scriptures are ſet forth in the middeſt, the Apoſtle is preſent, the Scriptures are at hand: fetch thy proofes, where thou wilt, if thou thinkeſt that Chriſt is not the Sonne of God.

Leo epiſt. 44. Quia Euangelica & apoſtolica fides omnes expugnat errores, hanc regulam memorate ſeruandam: becauſe the faith or trueth of the Goſpel and Apoſtles doth expugne all error, remember to keepe this rule.

Maiſter *Philpot* putteth his ſeale to this trueth: ſhewing how in the primitiue Church after the iudgment of Gods word declared, with the aſſent of the Biſhops and the people, heretikes were condemned, or abſolued, *Fox.* p. 1806. *in alleuat.* 6.

Concerning the other point, that hereſie ought not raſhly to be condemned without ſuffi-

cient triall and examination, and euident conuincing of them, thus it is shewed.

The Councell of Basile for promising to the Bohemians free audience, and libertie to dispute, was therefore reproued by some of the Popes accomplices: The Councell answereth thus, in one of their Epistles Synodals: *Omnis schola Theologorum & canonistarum, affirmat eam disputationem, &c.* The whole schoole of Diuines and Canonists denieth not, but such disputation of faith to be lawfull, which is not the cause of tumult, of distrust, or doubting in faith, but for instruction, and to open the truth, to conuince heretikes, and confirme the Catholikes: for as *Gregory* saith, as vnaduised speech bringeth into error, so vndiscreete silence leaueth them in error, which might be instructed. To this also agreeth the extrauagant, *lib.5.tit.8.c.1. Ioann.23. Nolentes antè credere, quam probare:* We not willing to beleeue, before we proue, haue appointed inquisition and search to be made &c. It is lawfull therefore to dispute with heretikes: which *Winchester* denyeth to Master *Rogers* holy Martyr, who complaineth; that it was not permitted him to trie out the truth by conference, and writing, *Fox.*pag.1485.

Error. 104. 3 Againe, they vsed vnlawful wayes and vniust, in sifting and examining, by cruel torments the poore innocents brought before them, neither shewing accusers nor witnesses: *Iohn Brewes* Martyr appearing before *Warham* and *Fisher*, two bloodsuckers, was burned with hot coales, his bare feete being set vpon them: *Fox.*pag.1292. *Cuthert Symsons* fingers were grated with an arrow, and he himselfe piteously racked, to be made betray his innocent brethren, *Fox.*p.2032. *Tomkins* hand was burned by *Bonner*, till the sinewes sparkled againe, *Fox.*p.1533. And these were the witnesse and accusers that were brought against them.

Which practise of theirs is flat contrarie to the auncient Canons: *Calixtus* the second, *Per scripturam nullus accusare, vel accusari potest, sed propria voce, & presente eo, quem accusare voluerit, suam quisque agat accusationem:* Let no man accuse or be accused by writing, but by his owne voyce, and in the presence of him, who is accused, let the accusation be made.

Fabianus epistol.2. Nullus præsumat accusator simul esse & index, vel testis, quoniam in omni iudicio quatuor personas necesse est semper adesse: Iudices electos, accusatores, defensores, & testes: Let no man presume to be an accuser, and iudge at the same time, or witnesse: because in euery iudgement there must be foure persons, the iudges, accusers, defenders, witnesses.

Concil. Lateranens. sub Innocentio.3.cap.8. Debet præsens esse is, contra quem facienda est inquisitio, &c. He ought to be present, against whome enquirie is to be made, and the seuerall points and articles, which are sought into, must be declared, that he may haue power to defend himselfe: And not onely the words of the accusation, but the persons also must be published, that it may appeare, what, and by whom euery thing is reported. It shall also be lawfull for the partie accused, to take exceptions, and make replication: And all this would be done, lest by suppressing name men should take occasion to defame others; and by cutting off of exceptions, they should not be afraid to sweare falsly.

What clearer testimonie can we haue, against this popish course and manner of proceeding in iudgement, when as without witnesses a man is condemned, whereas the lawe, as we see, alloweth the accused, to vnderstand the articles whereof he is accused, that he may haue time to answer, and to his accuser, that if there be cause, he may take exception against him.

Quæst. ex vtroque mix. 302. This was cleane contrarie to the lawe of *Moses*: At the mouth of two or three witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death die, Deuteron.17.6. *Augustine* saith, *Quis iudex accusanti is sumat personam? &c.* What iudge would take vpon him to be an accuser? Our Lord Christ knewe *Iudas* to be a theefe (saith he:) yet because he was not accused, he did not cast him off. He counteth it a very vnnaturall thing for the Iudge to be an accuser, and to proceede without witnesses: which although in some criminall cases is more tolerable, yet in the cases of life and death ought in no wise to be vsed. The same iudgement also *Augustine* giueth of that cruell custome of tormenting men, to conuince them by their owne mouth, which was inuented by the heathen, but neuer more cruelly practised then among the papists: *Hoc intolerabile est* (saith he) *& rigidum sanctis lacrymarum, cum propterea torquetur iudex accusatum, ne occidat nescius innocentem; & sit periculosum, ut & tortum & innocentem occidat, quem ne innocentem occideret, torsurus est:* How intolerable a thing is it, and to be much lamented, that while the Iudge tormenteth the partie accused, least wittingly he should put an innocent man to death; it falleth out that he adiugeth to death a man both innocent, and beside tormented; whom, least he should slay as an innocent, he before put to torment. His meaning is, that when a man is put to the racke, or otherwise tortured, that he might confesse the truth, and cleere himselfe; it commeth to passe, that through extremitie of the paine, he maketh himselfe guiltie, and so the innocent is both wrongfully tormented, and vniustly put to death. Which kind of forcing men by torture, though in some dangerous cases as of high treason, and such like, where there is great perill in the concealing of the truth, and no other way to sift it out, may be admitted: yet to vse it as an ordinarie course as the papists did, and in causes of religion, it is too shamefull, and of all Christians to be abhorred.

Now as touching these three poines, to proceede without an accuser, without witnesse by the parties oth, and by torments, in matters and causes concerning the life of him that is accused, I will in order shew, how it agreeth, or disagreeth both with the Ciuill and Canon law.

Concerning the necessitie of an accuser in matters of iudgement, the Ciuil law hath thus determined: *Cod.lib.9.tit.2.leg.16. Libellus in criminali, &c.* The libell in criminall causes must containe the name of the accuser, the Iudge, & of the partie accused. *Arcadius, leg.7. Honor. Quisquis crimen intendit in iudicium veniat, &c.* Whosoeuer doth obiect any crime, let him come himselfe into open iudgement, and declare the matter, and let him bee vnder safe keeping, as well as the partie accused, till the matter be examined. Againe, *ibid.leg.14. Arcad. Iudex in publicis criminibus non debet ad rescripta recurrere, sed suffragijs decretorum, &c.* The Iudge in publike crimes, must not bee ruled by the reports of the acts or decrees, but seeke out the truth of the matter. This law chargeth Iudges not to be carried, no nor by the complaints or informations of the Notaries and officers of the court, without due proofe.

Hereunto their owne decrees giue consent: *Caus.2.qu.1.c.10. Nicholaus: Restituendus, qui nec confessus nec convictus:* He must bee restored, that is neither confessed, nor detected. *Cap.7. Gregor. Sine ullo tollatur, aby accusatore, &c. Iudicium non ordinabiliter fit unum:* If that there bee not some witnesse, some accusers, the iudgement is not orderly. Likewise, *Caus.30.qu.5.c.11. Eleuther.* prescribeth this forme of iudgement; That the Iudge should giue licence to each partie, the one to obiect, the other to answere, *vt actio ambarum partium illuminata sit pleniter*, that both parties action may bee fully cleered, and inlightened: But this cannot bee, whereas there is but one partie. Wherefore both the lawes agree in this, that an accuser must bee in euery lawfull iudgement produced: Yet there is a certaine case excepted, wherein an accuser is not needfull: as *Cod.lib.9.tit.1. leg.7. Gordian. Nisi in notorio iudex procedit per viam accusationis:* Vnlesse the matter be notorious, the Iudge must proceede by way of accusation. So also saith the Canon law: *Decret.Greg.lib.5. tit.1.cap.Innocent.3. In notorijs non iuditis, &c.* In a notorious matter, neither witnesse, or accuser is necessarie. And what is to bee counted notorious, or manifest, is further shewed, *ibid.lib.5.tit.40. c.24.Innocent.3.* That is a manifest crime, which is knowne, *per confessionem, probationem, rei euidentiam*, by confession, or due proofe, or the euidence of the thing it selfe. If then in cases onely notoriously knowne an accuser is not necessarie, but in all other cases, he must be produced: then haue the Papists been most iniurious to many conuented before them for heresie (as they call it) and other crimes, who were not suspected, much lesse detected thereof, and so far from being notorious heretikes; & yet they proceeded against them, as they called it *ex officio*, shewing no accuser at all.

I cannot here omit that notable place of S. *Ambrose* to this purpose, *epistol.66.* where he reproueth one *Syagrius* the Bishop of Verona: *Quod virginem, quasi nullus argueret, &c.* For that he drew a certaine Virgin into great hazard and danger of guiltines, without any accuser: where did he learne any such forme of iudgement? if he aske the lawes, they require an accuser; if he referre it to the Church, there in the mouth of two or three witnesses euery word is established. If *Syagrius* for proceeding against a Virgin for incontinencie without an accuser, were much blamed by S. *Ambrose*, what would he haue said, if he had seene this practise vsuall in the popish prelacie euen in the cases of heresie, to which belonged the sentence of death?

Now concerning the second point, whether a man may bee vrged to accuse himselfe vpon his oth, especially in capitall causes, the iudgement of the law is, that, except in certaine cases, none should be enforced to testifie against themselues. First, *Cod.lib.4.tit.20.leg.6. Diocletian. Nemo contra se cogitur testes producere:* No man is compelled to produce witnesses against himselfe: but he that by his oth maketh himselfe guiltie, witnesseth against himselfe. So likewise in the Canon law, *Caus.35.qu.6.c.4 Verbenus: Si negauerint, sibi ipsis relinquendi:* If incest cannot be proued neither by oth of witnesses, nor by confession, the partie must bee charged by their baptisme, their faith, &c. to confesse the truth: but if they denie, they must bee left to themselues. This Canon prescribeth no oth, but an earnest obtestation to be ministred vnto the suspected partie.

But yet certaine cases there are assigned in the law, wherein the partie accused may be brought to his oth: as first, *Propter inopiam probationum:* If the proofe doe otherwise faile: *Cod.lib.4.tit.1. leg.3. Diocles.* So that all other proues must be vsed before the partie be driuen to his oth: that as the law is, for torments, and tortures, that they must not bee ministred in the first place, but other arguments must first bee vsed: *Cod.lib.9.tit.41.leg.8. Diocles.* so likewise the oth of the partie must not be enforced, but other euidences and presumptions first are to be produced.

Secondly, there must by the law a partie bee giuen, and an accuser set forth, where the other partie is vrged to his oth: the reason is this, because the guiltie partie hath 3 things put to his choise by the law: *Reus debet iurare, soluere, vel referre iuramentum:* He may either sweare, or be content to be condemned, or refer the oth to his accuser: that is, vrge him first to sweare, *Cod.lib.4.tit.1.leg.9. Diocletian.* The reason is giuen, *ibid.leg.12. Iustinian: Non debet recusare in persona sua quod placuit in persona aduersarij:* He must not refuse to doe that in his owne person, which he was pleased with in his aduersarie. So then where the guiltie partie was vrged to sweare, the accuser also was by his

oth

oth to iustifie his accusation. And this referring or rebounding of an oth is allowed by their law, *decret. Greg. lib. 2. tit. 24. cap. 36. Greg. 9. Quod in iudicio à parte parti defertur &c.* An oth in iudgment betweene partie and partie may be referred.

Thirdly, where it is agreed by the parties themselues, that the matter shall be decided by the oth of a partie, in that case such oth by the law is allowed: as when there ariseth a question, whether one bee right heire; if they, whom it concerneth, be content to put it to his oth, it shall stand, *Cod. lib. 4. tit. 1. leg. 6.*

Fourthly, the parties oth by the Ciuill law was vsed for the most part in ciuill causes, as in questions of debt, in matters of trust, and such like; where an apparant iniurie did seeme to be offered, or intended by the partie sworne, to the other partie by whom he is impleaded: as *Cod. lib. 4. tit. 1. leg. 5.* The pupill or ward might put his tutor or guardian to his oth, concerning such things as were committed to his trust. *Ibid. leg. 9.* In an action of debt, the debter might bee put to his oth: he must either sweare or pay. *Ibid. leg. 10. In actione depositi, &c.* In an action of a thing committed to ones trust, the partie might he required to take his oth. In these and the like cases ciuill, where the truth is concealed to another mans losse and hinderance, the oth of the partie sued or impleaded, might be demaunded: but in cases criminall, where the offence redoundeth to the hurt and dammage of the partie, rather then to the reliefe of another, it is thought hard to presse him with an oth against himselfe; yet in some criminall cases it is allowed, as now followeth to be shewed.

Fifthly, then in such criminall cases, as where the offence is publike, and the punishment extendeth not to death, where other proofe faileth, the partie may be charged with an oth: as by a new law it is constituted in the Code, that if a Iudge do receiue a bribe in a cause criminall, if it cannot be proued against him, he shalbe put to his oth, which if he refuse, he is held as guiltie, & shall forfeit all his goods and bee sent into exile, *Cod. lib. 7. tit. 49. leg. 3. authentic.* So then in these cases pleas heard, where a partie is giuen, and all other proues beside first vsed, and in Ciuill matters to relieue others from a wrong, and sometime in Criminall, where the offence is publike, and not vnto death, it is lawfull to presse the defendant with an oth: But in the iudgement of heresie, and other crimes obiected, the popish tyranny proceeded without any regard had of the premisses, pressing the poore innocents with their owne oth in causes criminall vnto the execution of death, getting no partie, nor standing much vpon other euidence: Wherefore their proceedings were contrarie to law herein.

The third point followeth to be discussed, of inquisition to be made by torments; where I will out of the law briefly declare these three points: first, in what cases tortures are to bee vsed: secondly, in what manner: thirdly, what persons are priuiledged and exempted from torture. For the first, though that bondslaues might bee put to torture, vpon diuers occasions, as if they were fugitiues, *Cod. lib. 6. tit. 1. leg. 4.* to know the right heire to their master, *Cod. lib. 9. tit. 41. leg. 9.* and whether it be a forged will or not, *ibid. leg. 10.* Yea, *Seruus potest de suo falso torqueri*, A slaue may be examined by torture of his owne act in embeasselling of his masters goods, *ibid. leg. 15. Diuersum.* Though I say bondslaues were vpon sundrie occasions subiect to tortures: yet others but only in graue and waightie matters, were put to torture; as in case of treason against the Prince, *Cod. lib. 9. tit. 8. leg. 3.* Falsifiers of coyne might be examined by torment, *lib. 9. tit. 24. leg. 1.* A woman suspected for poysoning her husband may be tortured, *lib. 9. tit. 41. leg. 3.* They that are accused of witchcraft also may be put to the racke, *tit. 18. leg. 7.* Where the woman is suspected of adulterie, the seruants may bee enforced by torture, *tit. 9. leg. 3.* Likewise in the murder of the husband or the wife, the seruants may likewise bee vrged, *tit. 16. leg. 9.* In these and the like waightie and vrgent causes, the question by torments hath been allowed: But the practise of Papists, in tormenting of men and women, to wrest from them their faith and conscience, being persons of honest and innocent life, not guiltie of treason, murder, witchcraft, or such like, was neuer heard of in times past, but is most cruell, and contrarie to law.

Secondly, as touching the manner to bee vsed in inflicting of torments, there are certaine rules set downe in the law. First, *Cod. lib. 9. tit. 2. leg. 13. Accusatus non debet torqueri, &c.* The guiltie partie must not be tortured, vnlesse the accuser doe binde himselfe to endure the like, if he proue not his accusation. So then by this law, where torments are ministred, an accuser should be produced. Secondly, *Cod. lib. 9. tit. 22. leg. 17. Non incipiendum à tormentis, &c.* The Iudge must not begin with torments, but be induced by other arguments to doe it. Thirdly, *lib. 9. tit. 2. leg. 17. Honor. Qui torquetur non debet interrogari de sociis:* He that is tortured, must not be vrged to bewray his fellowes. And in their owne law it is thus decreed: *Caus. 5. qu. 5. c. 4. Nec illi credendi, &c.* They must not be beleeued that of themselues do appeach others, but let the religious tormentor fetch out the truth by putting him to paine, &c. Thus we see what moderation the law would haue obserued in tormenting. But the popish tormentors contrarie to these rules haue applied torments, without any accuser, hauing no other euidence to induce them; and onely to this end, to cause them one to betray another. See the storie of *Anne Askew, apud Foxum.*

In the third place, let vs see what persons are exempted from torments by the law. First, *lib. 9. tit. 41.*

tit.41. leg.7. *Diocles.* The seruant must not be tormented against his master; not yet souldiers, *ibid.* leg.8. *Diocles.* nor Noblemen, *leg.*11. nor innocents, *leg.*17. *Honor.* Clergie men must confesse the truth, *extra iniuriam quæstionis*, without torture, *Cod. lib.*1. *tit.*3. *Theodos.* But the Romish tormentors in their crueltie haue violated all good lawes; tormenting not onely seruants to confesse against their masters, but children against their parents, as *Tyrrell* burned *Rose Allins* hand with a candle till ỹ sinewes burst, *Fox* p.1006. They haue not spared most cruelly to handle noble men, much more souldiers: see the storie of Sir *Iohn Oldcastle* Lord *Cobham*, *apud Foxum*. They haue vexed with their torments iust and innocent men: as *Thomas Tomkins* a godly and denout man, well reported of all his neighbours, had his hand so scorched with a candle by *Bonner*, that the water sparkled out of the sinewes, *Fox* pag.1534. Lastly, they haue exercised with torments Ministers and Deacons of the Church: as *Adam Damlip* at Calice, *Fox* pag.1229. And *Cuthbert Simson* a Deacon of the congregation, was thrice racked in one day, stood three houres in an yron engine, had his fingers grated with an arrow, and all to betray the congregation: See the storie pag.2031. Thus it is euident how cruelly, contrarie to the ancient imperiall lawes, those cruell persecutors haue tormented the poore professors of the Gospell: yea and contrarie to their owne lawes; *Cauf.*23. *qu.*5. *c.*1. *Scelerum confessionem non extendere oportet, non fustibus vigilis, aut eculeo fumoue:* The confession of faults must not bee wrested out, by stretching out vpon the racke, or fining or grating with engines, scorching with flames, &c. And thus in euery of these points in proceeding against Christians without witnesse, or accusing, in tyrannizing against them vnto death euen by their owne oth, in vexing of them with vnspeakable torments, they haue transgressed and violated both diuine & humane lawes. But now I will proceed to the rest.

In the fourth place; Where haue they learned so hotly and fiercely to pursue simple men and 103.
women to death, for none or very small offences, which they notwithstanding falsly called heresie? Was it heresie for *Iames Brewster* to heare one *Sweeting* to reade many good things vpon a certaine booke? or for the same *Sweeting*, when as the said *Iames* should say, Now the sonne of the liuing God helpe vs, to answere: Now almightie God so doe? yet for these heresies were they both condemned and burnt in Smithfield, *anno* 1511. *Fox* pag.818.

A woman of Auspurge had like to haue been burned, for asking a priest that carried the Host to a sicke man with Taper-light, what he meant to goe with a light at noone day, if *Mary* the Empe- Fox. pag.894.
rours sister had not made sute for her, *anno* 1550.

Anno 1525. a Monke burned in France, because he had forsaken his abominable order and maried a wife, pag.896.

Iohannes de Cadurco, being at a feast, where it was agreed that euery one should bring forth his posie or sentence, because he brought forth this; *Christ reigne in our hearts*, and prosecuted it out of the Scriptures, was burned, *anno* 1533. pag.897.

A Taylor burned at Paris *anno* 1549 for working vpon an holy day, *ex Iohan. Crispin. Fox.* p.903.

Ralfe Hare constrained to abiure for saying before the Bishop of Winchester, *The Lord truly meant*: It is *Symbolum Hæreticorum*, saith Winchester, a marke to know heretikes by, to say the Lord, the Lord, pag.1225.

One *Thomas Sanpaulinus* Martyr, because he rebuked a man for swearing, was thereupon suspected to be a Lutheran, examined, condemned and burned at Paris, *anno* 1551. pag.904. Many such like examples might be produced of holie Martyrs, which for these and such other great heresies were put to death. And as the offences were very small, as wee see, so their manner of proceeding was most cruell, voyd of all humanitie. They spared not women with child: We haue not forgotten that famous example of their crueltie, which shall be remembred to their perpetuall shame and infamie: How they burned three simple women in the Ile of Garnsey, *anno* 1556. which had submitted themselues to their mercie, one of the three was great with childe, which braste out of her wombe in the midst of the fire, and was throwne in againe, pag.1944. They had no compassion of the tender age of children: In the towne of Byrbroke, while *Richard Chapman* did penance in the Church, being inioyned to kneele barefoote, and bare legged all the sermon while vpon the cold steps of the Church; a little boy for giuing him his hat to kneele vpon, was had into the Vestrie and pitcously scourged, pag.1047. Cruell *Bonner* burned *Richard Mekins* a child of 15. yeeres, for speaking against the sacrament of the Altar, who notwithstanding at the stake was taught to speake much good of the Bishop of London, and so did, pag.1202. *Iohn Ferne* his childe being of eight yeeres old, for saying to one of the Bishops Chapleins, that he had *Balaams* marke, was scourged so cruelly, that within 14. daies he died. Nay, such was their crueltie, they condemned to death men that were bestraught of their wits: as *Collins* and *Cowbridge* were burned being both franticke: see their storie, pag.1131.

Where is now that lenitie and compassion, which ought to be in the Ministers of the Gospell? Such crueltie was not heard of, no not amongst the Heathen. Yea they breake their owne law; which suffereth a man once to abiure his heresie, but if afterward he be detected, he dieth without mercie, *Fox anno* 1511. *William Carder* and *Agnes Grebil* were condemned, though they submit-

ted

ted themselues, and promised to be conformable to their religion. p. 1277. Yet this law of theirs is most vniust, and contrary to the Gospel, which saith, that if thy brother sin against thee seuen times in a day, & seuen times in a day turne again, and say, *It repenteth me, thou shalt forgiue him*, Luk. 17. 4. Yet these men will forgiue but once, and not that neither. But S. *Paul* saith, *An heretike after once or twice admonition reiect.* Tit. 3. 10. *Bellarmine* his best answer is by denying the text, saying, that it was not to be read in former times: but thus, after once admonition. *De laicis cap.* 22.

This popish rigor is much contrary to the ancient lenity, that was vsed in former times: *Afric. Conc. can.* 33. it was decreed, *Vt cum Donatistis leniter & pacifice agatur. Ne forte sicut dicit Apostolus nobis in mansuetudine corripientibus diuersa sentientes det Deus illis pœnitentiam, &c.* 2. Tim. 2. That the Donatists should be gently and peaceably handled, if perhaps, as the Apostle saith, while we with all gentlenes correct those that are otherwise minded, God may giue them repentance.

Leo Epist. 13. *Sedis Apostolicæ moderatio hanc temperantiam obseruat, vt seuerius agat cum obduratis, & veniam cupiat præstare correctis:* This Apostolike See hath alwaies kept this moderation, to deale more seuerely with the obdurate and obstinate, and to shew mercie to the corrigible: This moderation is now quite banished from this See, as in these former examples is to be seene. There was more clemencie vsed in *Augustines* time: for then Bishops did not prouoke the Magistrate to execute whom they had condemned, but did entreate the Magistrate to shew compassion vnto Heretikes; not straightwaies to punish them with death: *Ne sic vitam istam finiant* (saith *Augustine*) *per supplicium, vt ea finita non possint finire supplicium.* Least they should so end this life by punishment, that the life being ended, they should neuer end their punishment. *Epist.* 54. And in another place: *Sic eorum peccata compesce, vt sint, quæ pœniteat peccasse. Epist.* 159. So restraine their sinnes, that they may yet remaine to repent them of their sinnes. In those dayes therefore, men were not by and by punished with death to preuent their repentance, as in time of poperie, but their repentance was expected, to deliuer them from the sentence of death.

Certaine notes touching the Spanish Inquisition.

NOw in the last place I will briefly shew how their cruell proceeding against the professors of the Gospell, and chiefly in their Spanish Inquisition, as it is called, is contrarie to their owne Canons. First, to extort faith by stripes and torments, is termed in their law, *Noua & inaudita diuinatio*, A new and strange learning, *dist.* 45. *Gregor. c.* 1. yet vsed altogether by them in their Inquisition. Secondly, their vse hath been to intreate for offenders to the secular power, *Vt citra omne periculum sententia moderetur*, That the sentence might be moderated without the perill or punishment of death, *decret. Greg. lib.* 5. *tit.* 40. *c.* 27. *Innocent.* 3. And againe, *Sext. decr. lib.* 5. *tit.* 11. *c.* 1. *Innocent.* 4. *Medicinalis sit excommunicatio non mortalis:* Excommunication should be medicinall, not mortall. But their excommunications were vnto death: for whom they did for heresie (as they falsely called it) excommunicate, the secular power did execute to death. Thirdly, their Inquision is made in secret, the Martyrs were priuily condemned, and neuer publikely produced, till they were brought forth to execution: contrarie to the decree of *Innocent.* 3. *decr. Greg. lib.* 1. *tit.* 29. *c.* 24. *Ne ecclesiasticum iudicium fiat in tenebris, quia iuxta testimonium veritatis, Qui male agit, odit lucem.* That ecclesiasticall iudgement should not bee done in the darke, or in corners: for according to the testimonie of the truth it selfe, He that doth euill, hateth the light. So then it is manifest, that their doings were euill, seeing they sought into corners. Fourthly, they in their pharisaicall proceedings suppresse the names of the accusers and witnesses, though there bee no danger at all feared in the publishing of them: contrarie to the decree of *Bonif.* 8. *sext. decr. lib.* 5. *tit.* 2. *c.* 20. *Cessante periculo, publicanda, &c.* Where there is no daunger, the names both of the accuser and the witnesses must be published. Fiftly, diuers constitutions haue been made concerning the person, qualitie, and condition of accusers: as *Cod. lib.* 9. *tit.* 1. *leg.* 12. A woman is not admitted to be an accuser. Likewise in their decrees: *Caus.* 2. *qu.* 1. *c.* 14. One brother is not to accuse another. *Cod. lib.* 9. *tit.* 1. *leg.* 13. nor he that is nourished his patrone or nourisher. *Ibid. leg.* 17. nor the seruant his master, *leg.* 20. No infamous person can be receiued to bee an accuser, *Ibid. leg.* 15. And in their owne law, *Caus.* 2. *qu.* 7. *c.* 23. Yet notwithstanding they contrarie to these ancient prouisions, haue admitted women to accuse their husbands, children their parents, seruants their masters; yea infamous, adulterous & periured persons haue not bin refused. I need not giue an instance here in particular, their cruell practises are full euery where of such examples. Sixtly, concerning the vsage of such, as were imprisoned for religion, the Popes owne decree is this: *Clemen. lib.* 5. *tit.* 3. *c.* 1. *Vt subtiter & absq; diminutione, &c.* That such things as are offered to ỹ prisoners by their friends, should faithfully and without diminution be ministred vnto them. But their practise was contrary: see the storie of *Rob. Samuel*, who was allowed but 3. mouthfuls of bread, & 3. spoonfuls of water by the day, till his body was so dried vp, ỹ he could make no vrine at al, which he oft desired to drink. For p. 1704.

Thus much of this question, as likewise of the whole controuersie: and thus far also concerning such controuersies, as are moued about the church militant here vpon earth; which we haue hitherto prosecuted by the Lords gracious assistance: In the next place wee are to deale in those controuersies, which concerne the other part of the Church triumphant in heauen.

The end of the first Booke, or Centurie.

THE SECOND BOOKE OR CENTVRIE, CONTAINING THE SECOND HVNDRED OF POPISH ERRORS AND HERESIES:

CONSISTING OF THREE GENERALL CONTROVERSIES CONCERNING THE STATE OF THE CHVRCH Triumphant in Heauen, the interceſſion of Chriſt, and the Sacraments of the Church Militant vpon earth in generall.

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ILLVSTRISSIMO ET INCLYTISSIMO DOMINO COMITI ESSEXIO, NON TAM GENERIS CLARITATE, QVAM

virtute sua nobili de re literaria, studiosisque omnibus semper optimè merito, Dominoque mihi multis nominibus colendissimo.

E res mira vel insolens cuipiam videatur (illustrissime Domine) quod cum opusculum hoc sacra reginea maiestati totum consecratum voluerim, tuo nomine hanc paginam insci ipserim: vt suspicione hac graui liberem me, & exonerem accusatione tam molesta: hoc primò exemplo non caret, nec sine ratione à me factum est; vt quod aliorum exemplo fecerim, me insolenter non fecisse putem, & quod rationem habet, mirum videri non debeat. Sicut enim regiæ maiestatis alis tecti, authoritate freti, auxilio aduti, veram religionem profitemur, atque ideo vniuersam religionis nostræ defensionem libris hisce comprehensam, illius nomini primò deuotam oportuit: pari ratione cùm tua cum iuuentute coniuncta prudentia regiæ voluntati ad religionis conseruationem vt vigiles administræ percommodè subseruiant, tibi etiam partem istius operis, vt propriam dicari, æquum fuit: Quemadmodum domus columnas habet, quibus tota moles incumbat, & innitatur; sic trabes & paxilli in ædificio sunt, quibus Fabrica compaginetur: Regia maiestas columna est, qua omnes sustinemur; vestri honores paxilli sunt, à quibus pars pendet salutis nostræ.

Sic iam præfatus breuiter, id, quod reliquum est, paucis expediam: Ita me monuit qui dicit, Negotiosissimum in republica virum, nec deserere debemus alloquio, nec occupare procœmio: *Patere igitur (nobilissime Domine) dum consilij mei propositum non multis exposuero. Tibi igitur, (Domine mi colendissime) pars aliqua laboris mei ritè debetur, & iure cedit: tum, quia nobilis es, vt authoritate defendas, literatus, & iudicio polleas, humanus & benignus, qui nec huiusmodi pauperum manuscula soles spernere, nec datorem negligis. Nam primò, cum meipsum, dum in hoc opere desudarim, hostium telis exposuerim, atque conatus hos nostros linguarum morsu quidam iam corrodere ceperint, vestro mihi patrocinio opus est, quod tanquam clypeum telorum ictibus obiciam. Non ea nunc rerum facies est, nec tam æqua conditio, qua Phocionis tempora claruerunt, qui cum à suis reprehenderetur, quòd hominem improbum in iudicio defendisset, factum sic respondens excusat,* Nemo bonus (inquit) patrocinio indiget: *Mos nunc planè contrarius inualuit, & ordo totus inuersus est. Eo enim insaniæ temporũ iniquitas iam prouecta est, vt malis faueat, bonis inuideat mundus, & quò quisque melior, eò magis amicis & patronis opus habeat. Sed nihil moror, quid de me homines leues senserint, quidue loquantur, dum in tutelam vestra dignitas nostra hæc suscipere dignetur: Ecce ille,* Satius est minus quemque habere, quod à Deo petat, quàm plus habere, quod sibi tribuat: *Sic omnibus si probarentur labores nostri, tumorem metuo, nunc siqui secus de nobis iudicauerint, timorem sentio: timere, quam tumere mallem. Bene iterum ille,* Si te rectè facientem non laudauerint, illi in errore sunt; sin autem laudauerint, tui in periculo es: *leuiter alios errare malim, quam me grauiter periclitari.*

Augustin. epist. 54. ad Macedon.

Bruson. lib. 5. cap. 18.

Augustin. epist. 88.

August. lib. 2. de serm. cap. 1.

Secundò, sicut te illustrem nobilem, vt patronum & vindicem inuoco, sic literatum te nobilem, vt iudicem appello. Id tibi iam ferè hac ætate proprium est (nobilissime Comes) quod cum pleruná, nobiles ex gentis suæ insignibus & stirpis generositate æstimentur, atque ita aliena atauorum, non sua virtute commendentur; tibi non tam gloriæ est, illustri familia natum esse, quam insitæ & ingenitæ virtutis laude clarere. Alios virtus illustres dedit bellica, alios pietas sublimes fecit religiosa, alios eruditionis nobilis euexit fama: Te speramus, atq; etiamnũ scimus ex omni parte verè nobilẽ. Pacis primò amans es, non vt bellũ promoueas, sed bello das operã, vt in pace viuatur, vt optimè Augustin. Pacem habere debet voluntas, bellum necessitas, vt liberet Deus à necessitate, & conseruet in pace. *Sacram militiam tuam secundet Deus, quam cum suscipias non tam hostes vlciscẽdi animo, quã religionis propugnãdæ studio, de bono successu securus esse potes, nec est, quòd de fœlici exitu dubites. Bene ille:* Miles Christi securus interimit, interit securior; sibi præstat, cũ interit, Christo, cum interimit: Cum occidit malefactorem Christi vindex est, cum occiditur ipse, non periisse, sed præuenisse cognoscitur: Mors ergo, quam irrogat, Christi est lucrum, quam excipit suum.

Epistol. 1. posteriori.

Bernard. ad milites templi cap. 3.

Virtute porro, & pietate vera nascitur & crescit nobilitas: vt Antisthenes dixit, τὴν ἀληθῆ εὐγένειαν, τὴν ἐκ λογισμοῦ; *Eosdem genere clarere & virtute præditos esse. Atque hinc etiam (Domine) aliud nobilitatis tuæ emergit ornamentum: Liceat enim mihi te Paulinis verbis affari: vt ille ad Timotheum:*

Laert. lib. 6.

2. Timoth. 1. Reuocans in memoriam fidem illam non simulatam, quæ priùs habitauit in auia, & matre, & mihi persuasum est, quod in te etiam habitat: *Ita auitæ & paternæ virtutis & pietatis, te imitatorem verum, & iustum hæredem optamus omnes, atque etiam agnoscimus. Nobilis Cromwellus, anteces-sor tuus, & inclytissimus Dominus Denorosus pater tuus, Essexij comites, tale pietatis & virtutis suæ posteris reliquerunt exemplar, quod nulla vnquam ætas obliuisci possit, aut vetustas abolere: Eiusdem nunc virtutis & pietatis te premere vestigia, & memoriam renouare gratulamur omnes: Illi maiores tui fide præditi sunt,* Martyrio quidem non interrogata, (*vt ait Bernardus*) sed Martyrio idonea. *Quos ego, siue fidei puritate siue pietatis Zelo, siue animi constantia facile antiquis illis Nobilib.* Apollonio, Iulio, Zenoni, Azadi, Hormisdæ, *comparauerim, qui Martyrio pro Christi fide coronati sunt: Istæ statuæ, imagines & insignia sunt vestræ familiæ (optime Comes) quæ tibi ob oculos semper proponas, ad quorum te componas exemplum, quorum iam vera in te reuiuiscit & repullulat imago.*

*Epist. 77. Apollonius nobilis Romanus, sub Commodo martyrio donatus.

Iulius Senator Romanus sub eodem Commodo.

Zenon nobilis sub Adriano.

Azades nobilis Persa sub Sapore rege.

Hormisda nobilis Persa sub Isdigerde.

Ad hanc naturæ bonitatem & virtutis studium, accedit literarum iucundus amor quæ nobilem te omnibus numeris absolutum reddent. Bruta illa & inhumana Licinij *vox est, qui vt ipse omnis artium culturæ rudis & imperitus fuit, & principatu, quem gerebat indignus: ita de alijs iudicauit:* Nihil, *dixit,* minus decere principem, quam artium scientiam. *Istam non hominis, sed belluæ vocem vt dignitas vestra fastidit & auersatur, ita* Aristippi *magis eruditi Philosophi, tibi (vt scio) placet sententia, qui interrogatus vtri rei plus se debere fateretur, libris an armis?* Ex libris inquit & arma & armorum iura didici. *Quod iam Philosophus iste mentis contemplatione tanquam ex arcis specula ipse arma nunquam expertus, verum sensit, id tu (Comes) cui non intentata castra, nec acies formidabilis est, reipsa compertum habes, quanta ex veterum monumentis admiratiæ peritiam exornandam adiumenta comportaueris: Te igitur quem pro authoritate patronum mihi elegi, pro scientia & cognitione iudicem constituo:* Tua (*Domine*) sicut pluuia in vellus expectatur vel sera sententia, in meo ministerio dixit Deus, (*vt Augustini verba mutuer*) fiat & factum est, in tua approbatione vidit Deus, quod bonum est: *Tibi scilicet (Domine Comes) si nostra hæc non multũ displicebunt, quid cæteri senserint, nihil est, quod multũ simus solliciti.*

Eusseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Eras. Apophtheg. 8.

Bernard. epist. 125. Lib. 1. ad Simplician.

Nec tacitè humanitatem tuam præterire possum (clementissime Domine) qui benigno & hilari vultu studiosos omnes excipere soleas, nec eorum munuscula, (quæ vulgus nullo loco habet) suæ excludi sinis. Iusta hac ætate literatorum omnium querela est, libros & lucubrationes suas passim contemni, easque oblatas plerosq; fastidire & respuere. Multis lucrum sapiens multò gratius est donũ, magisq; acceptum quod commodi aliquid apportet, quam succum & sanguinem spirans cum vita salutisq; dispendio elucubratum opusculum. Perijt iam antiquus ille honos, qui candidato studiosorum gregi famulari solebat: Vetus illud verbum iam obsoletum est: Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria. Socrates *olim videns quendam facile omnibus gratificantem illa verbis eum corripuit,* quod gratias virgines, vt scorta omnibus prostitueret: *qui si nunc viueret, hominumq; ingratos animos persentisceret, exulari magis gratias, quam prostitui quereretur. Non temerè à Romanis Honoris templo, Virtutis templum olim coniunctum fuit; ad quod nisi per Virtutis templum non patebat aditus: quo facto innuebant, per virtutis viam solum ad honoris fastigium connitendum esse. Templorum iam superstitiosus cultus abolitus est, res ipsa tamen si iam in vsum reuocata esset, quam prosperè res literaria succederet.* Theophrastus *interrogatus, quamnam communis hominum societas conseruari posit, respondit,* Si pœna mali coercerentur, & boni inuitarentur præmijs. *Id sentiens prudentia tua, communi huic malo mederi cupiens, facis ingenuè, quod nobilem decet, dum non perire sinis studiosorum spem, quin languescentibus animis nostris fauore & benignitate succurris & opitularis.*

Laert lib. 6. cap. 1.

Te ergo nobis Mecenatem *facimus, ad te vndique confluunt studiosi, in tuum sinum querelas nostras exponimus, tibi studiorum nostrorum fructus seruntur, tibi Musarum messis caditur. Pro ingenti bonitate vestra nos vicissim amorem rependimus: Et ego vestro honori pro singulari humanitate, omni officio me deuoueo deuincioque:* Et doleo, quod plenum affectum, *vt bene ille,* exili cogor designare stylo, & breui chartula latam comprehendere charitatem. *Veniam iam precatus priùs, si sermone præceps alicubi lapsus fuerim:* Festine enim ista dicta, *vt iterum ille,* & ob hoc minus festiue; *tibi vicissim, omne virtutis cum Honore incrementum precor in Christo Iesu:* Et ipse sit epistolę finis, qui finis est ad iustitiam omni credenti.

Bernard. epist. 96.

Epistol. 307.

Epistol. 108.

Tuo Honori in perpetuum deditissimus,
ANDR. WILLET.

HERE FOLLOW THE CONTROVERSIES CONCERNING THE CHVRCH TRIVMPHANT.

THey are two in number: The first is as touching the condition, office, and ministerie of Angels: The second of and concerning the Saints departed.

THE EIGHT CONTROVERSIE concerning Angels.

THis Controuersie containeth three questions. First, of the Hierarchie and degrees of Angels. Secondly, of their ministerie and office. Thirdly, of the worship and inuocation of Angels.

THE FIRST QVESTION, CONCERNING THE celestiall Hierarchie, or degrees of Angels.

THis question hath likewise two parts: First, how many degrees there be of Angels. Secondly, whether *Michael* be the prince of the Angels.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE DIVERS orders and degrees of Angels.

The Papists.

THey doe boldly affirme, that there are nine orders of Angels: and those that doe doubt of it, they charge with infidelitie and blasphemie. There are first Principalities, then Potestates: thirdly, Powers: fourthly, Dominations, Eph. 1. 21. fiftly, there are Thrones, Coloss. 1. 16. vnto these 4 other, Cherubim, Seraphim, Angels, Archangels: so haue we 9. in al, *Rhem. annot. Eph. 1. sect. 4.* 1. Error.

The Protestants.

AS of the diuersitie of names we gather, that there are diuers orders, as *Hierome* saith, *Sine causa diuersitas: est nominum, vbi non est diuersitas meritorum:* There is no reason to haue diuersitie of names, where there is no diuersitie of merit: that is, vertue: So to enquire of them more subtilly, to define their number, and appoint their degrees: it is a point not onely of foolish curiositie, but also of vngodly and dangerous rashnes, *ex Caluino. Fulk. ibid.*

Argum. 1. That the Scripture alloweth no such difference or distinction of orders or degrees amongst the Angels it may thus appeare: first, Ephes. 6. 12. the Apostle giueth two of the names of these orders to euill angels, namely, *Principalities*, and *Potestates*: from which place I reason thus: If these be names of orders and degrees, then they may be found amongst the euill angels as well as amongst the good: and if some of these degrees are amongst the euill angels, then why not the rest also? and so wee shall haue *Seraphim* and *Cherubim* amongst the euill and reprobate angels, which were blasphemie to affirme.

Againe, they that hold those nine orders of Angels, doe make *Cherubim, Seraphim*, and *Thrones*, the three highest: saying further, that, *Superiora agmina ab intimis nunquam recedunt*: The superiour orders doe neuer depart from the presence of God, and that the angels of the inferiour orders, are sent in embassage from God: *Mag. lib. 2. distinct. 10. a.* But contrarie to this assertion, Esay. 6. we reade, that the Seraphims also are sent vpon Gods message: and so wee conclude, that Seraphims are not of the highest and superiour order.

Further, *Michael* and *Gabriel* are spirits of the highest nature and office, as appeareth by their names: the first, signifying one that is equall to God; the other, the strength of God: and yet they are called Angels. Wherefore those orders are confounded in Scripture, and no such precise difference amongst the Angels can there be found: and the Apostle saith, *they are all ministring spirits*, Heb. 1. *administratorij spiritus*: therefore not commaunding spirits one ouer another.

Likewise *Origen* taketh the two Seraphims mentioned Esay. 6. for Christ and the spirit, saying, *That none are able to comprehend the beginning and end of things, which he would haue signified in that place, by couering their face and feete with their wings*, but onely Christ and the holy spirit. Wherefore in his iudgement the Seraphim are not a distinct order of Angels.

Augustine saith, *Quid inter se distent quatuor illa vocabula, throni, dominationes, principatus, potestates, dicant qui possunt si tamen possunt probare quod dicunt, ego me ista ignorare confiteor*: What differe-

rence there is betweene these foure words, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Powers, let them tell vs, that be able, so they can proue that they tell vs: for my part, I confesse I know it not, *August. Enchirid. cap.* 58. With *Augustine* therefore wee confesse, that as it appeareth by these seuerall names, there are distinct orders of Angels: so how many there be, and how they are distinguished, the Scripture hath not reuealed vnto vs: and it were curiositie for vs to enquire: wee shall then know, when we shall be like vnto the Angels.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER *MICHAEL* be the prince of Angels.

The Papists.

2. Error. THey say, that in heauen beside God himselfe, there is another commaunder and captaine of the Angels, euen *Michael* the prince of the Angels: which place the diuell had in the beginning before his fall. For as the Scripture saith, *the diuell and his angels*, meaning, that all euil angels are subiect vnto him: so by *Michael* and his angels, we vnderstand all good angels, that are likewise subiect to him, *Apocal.* 12. 7. *Rhemist. Bellarm. de pontif. lib.* 1. *cap.* 9.

The Protestants.

FIrst, *Michael* in that place signifieth Christ, who is Lord of the Angels: for the Angels cannot be said to be any other *Michaels* Angels, but onely the Angels of God and Christ, *Fulk. ibid.* This is also proued by the text, vers. 10. *Now is come saluation, the kingdome of our God, and the power of his Christ, for the accuser of the brethren is cast out.* Here hee is called Christ, which before is named *Michael*. *Augustine* also so expoundeth it, *Michaelem intellige Christum*: By *Michael* vnderstand Christ: *Homil.* 9. *in Apocalyps.*

Secondly, it followeth not, that as there is a chiefe and captaine of the euill Angels, so amongst the good there should bee a chiefe Angell aboue the rest, beside Christ: for it is sufficient that there is one Lord and prince of the Angels, euen Christ. Againe, neither is it proued out of scripture, that amongst the diuels there is one captaine and great diuell to whom the rest were subiects: for whereas the Pharisees obiected, that Christ cast out diuels through *Beelzebub* the prince of the diuels, Mark. 3. if either the Pharisees did then so meane, or any shall now gather vpon their words, that there is a great master diuell that ruleth and commaundeth the rest, it was them but a pharisaicall dreame, and in the other a popish collection. We deny not, but that there may be degrees in power and angelicall gifts, both among the good and bad angels, as there shall be degrees in glorie among the Saints: yet the Saints shall not be princes one ouer the other, so more are the Angels now. Thirdly, marke the answere of our Sauiour in that place, *If Sathan cast out Sathan*, Mark. 3. Here Sathan is made a common name to all euill spirits. But Apocal. 12. when mention is made of the diuell and his angels, the text saith, *The great dragon, the old serpent, called diuell and Sathanas*, vers. 9. Here the name *Sathanas*, is giuen to the prince of the diuels: so there is not one *Sathanas*, but many. And where our Sauiour calleth the diuell the prince of the world, Ioh. 14. Saint *Paul* calleth them all principalities and powers, worldly gouernours, and princes of the darknesse of this world, Ephes. 6. 12. so there is not one prince of the diuels, but they are all princes. Thus *Augustine* expoundeth that place: *Draco pugnauit & angeli eius: id est, diabolus & homines voluntati eius obtemperantes*: The dragon fought and his angels, that is, wicked men obeying his will, *Apocalyps. Hom.* 9. So by *Augustines* sentence the diuels are not subiects to the great diuell, but they are all princes and commaunders of wicked men.

Argum. If *Michael* be the prince of the Angels, then it must needes be graunted, that he is of the highest order of Angels, which are Seraphim, and Cherubim: for so these Angel-makers do place them: These three, Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, make the highest ranke: Dominations, Principalities, Potentates the middle order: Powers, Archangels, Angels the lowest region, *Magist. lib.* 2. *distinct.* 9. *a.* But *Michael* being an Archangell is in the lowest order, and therefore cannot be the chiefe and commaunder of the rest.

Further, the Apostle saith, They are all λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα, ministring spirits, Hebr. 1. 14. *Ergo* not commaunding spirits one ouer another.

Homil. 6. in Ios. *Origen* thinketh, that there is no other prince of the Angels, but Christ: *Omnis cæli militia &c.* All the host of heauen, whether Angels, Archangels, Powers, Dominions, &c. were made by him, and serue vnder him their prince.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE ministerie and function of Angels.

THis question hath two parts: first, of the externall ministerie of Angels, in the protection and defence of the Church. Secondly, of their spirituall office about the praiers of Gods seruants.

THE

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING THE defence and protection of Angels.

The Papiſts.

Michael (ſay they) is the protector and keeper of the whole Church of Chriſt, Dan.10.21. And as earthly kingdoms haue their ſpeciall Angels for their protectors; ſo alſo haue particular Churches, *Dan.*10. *Rhem. annot.*1. *Apoc. ſect.*9. 3.Error.

The Proteſtants.

THe whole Church hath Chriſt himſelf, who is the true *Michael*, for her protector & defender: And ſo is that place in *Daniel* to be vnderſtood. *Auguſtine* alſo by *Michael* vnderſtandeth Chriſt: the name alſo ſignifieth as much: *Michael*, that is, one like vnto God: ſee more of this before: *Contro.4.queſt.*1. The Scripture ſaith, All power is giuen to Chriſt, and he is with his Church to the ende of the world, Matth.28.18.20. He therefore is the chiefe patrone and protector of his Church.

Secondly, it cannot be proued out of Scripture, that kingdomes haue their ſpeciall Angels protectors, for Dan.10. The Princes of the Perſians and Grecians, were not Angels but earthly Princes: for Angels doe not reſiſt Chriſt and his Angels defenders of the Church, as the Prince of Perſia did, verſ.13. *Fulk ibid.* but all the Angels of heauen are readie to ſerue the Lord at his pleaſure, for the defence of his Church, without any limitation of place, Zachar.1.10. Theſe are they whom the Lord hath ſent, to go through the world. The Angels execute their meſſage, not in ſeuerall countries, but in the whole world.

The Papiſts.

EVery one hath from his Natiuitie an Angel for his cuſtodie and patronage againſt the wicked, before the face of God, Gen.48.16. *Iacob* ſaith, The Angell that hath kept me from my youth vp: Act.12.15. It is his angell, *Rhemiſt ibid.* Matth.18.10. Their Angels behold the face of my Father: *Ergo*, euery man hath his proper Angell. 4.Error.

Anſw. 1. *Iacob* by the Angell vnderſtandeth Chriſt, to whom it is proper to bleſſe Gods children: the Angell bleſſe thy children, ſaith he, Gen.48.16. This Angell appeared vnto him in Bethel, and is called the God of Bethel, Gen.31.13. with this Angell *Iacob* wreſtled, 32. which was God, as it appeareth by the name of *Iacob*, he is called *Iſrael*, becauſe hee had preuailed with God, and the place is called Peniel, I haue ſeene God face to face: Other proper Angell *Iacob* had none, for all the Angels of God were appointed for his defence, Gen.32.1. He met an hoſte of Gods Angels, and accordingly called the place Mahanaim.

2. Neither of the other places proue that men haue proper Angels, Matth.18. The children of God are ſaid to haue their Angels: not theirs, as euery man his proper Angell, but theirs in common, becauſe they were deputed for their defence: Act.12. *Peter* at that time was deliuered by one Angell, but it followeth not, that therefore he was his proper Angell.

The Proteſtants.

WE nothing doubt of the protection of Gods Angels: but that euery one hath a proper Angell appointed for his protection from his Natiuitie, out of Scripture it is not proued.

1. Sometime one Angell hath the charge of a multitude, Exod.23.20. The Lord ſaith to all the people of Iſrael, I ſend mine Angell before thee, to keepe thee in thy way.

2. Sometime many Angels are readie for the defence of one man: Gen.32.1. an hoſte of Angels met *Iacob*, Pſalm.91.11. He ſhall giue his Angels charge ouer thee, to keepe thee in all thy waies: *Ergo*, euery man hath not his particular proper Angell.

3. Luke.16.22. The poore man is ſaid, being dead, to be caried not by one Angell, but by the Angels, into the boſome of *Abraham*. But if he had one Angell appointed to be the preſident of his life from his Natiuitie, it had been alſo part of that Angels charge, to haue conueyed his ſoule into heauen. So *Auguſtine* writeth: *Si bene vixerimus, vbi à carnis vinculo anima liberata fuerit, nec in occurſum noſtrum Angelorum chorus occurret. De ſalutaribus.document.cap.*39. If we liued well here, when as the ſoule is gone from the bodie, the holy company of the Angels are readie to meet vs: he ſaith not one Angell, but the whole chore or company.

Laſtly, they that hold, that euery man hath a good Angell appointed for his cuſtodie at his Natiuitie, doe alſo affirme, that euery wicked man hath alſo an euill Angell waiting vpon him. But this cannot be, for ſeeing it is confeſſed that the good Angels are more in number then the bad, *Magiſt.lib.*2. *diſt.*11. *b.* but wicked men doe contrariewiſe exceede the good in number, it muſt needs follow, that there is not for euery euill man an euill Angell, or elſe that there are more good Angels, than for euery man one: the Maſter of the ſentences anſwereth, that one Angel may ſerue diuers men ſucceſſiuely, for men die, but Angels die not, and ſo notwithſtanding euerie man ſhall haue his Angell.

Answ. 1. Yet the obiection is not answered, for in euery age the good men are feweſt, and the euill men moſt, and not onely in reſpect of the whole age of the world, and yet the good Angels are more then the bad: 2. To admit this diſtinction, yet ſeeing the number of good men is ſometime more, ſometime leſſe, as toward the end of the world, when faith ſhall faile, but the number of the Angels is alwaies the ſame, it cannot be that euery man ſhould haue his Angell, and euery Angell his particular charge of ſome one man.

THE SECOND PART, WHAT OFFICE the Angels haue about our prayers.

The Papiſts.

Herel. 5. THeir opinion is, that the Angels doe offer vp our prayers vnto God. And they would proue it by that place, Apoc. 8. 2. An Angell ſtood by the Altar, with a golden cenſer, and much incenſe was giuen vnto him to offer with the praiers of the Saints, *Rhemiſt. in hunc locum.*

Anſw. *Auguſtine* vpon this place ſaith, that this Angell is Chriſt: *Thuribulum aureum eſt corpus eius ſanctum*, the golden cenſer is his bodie; *ex quo Deus odorem ſuauitatis accepit*, out of the which God ſmelt a ſweet ſauour. *Homil. in Apocalyp. 6.* And in another place he ſaith, *Vt altare ſanctificat dona, ſic Chriſtus preces noſtras*, as the altar ſanctifieth the gift, ſo Chriſt doth our praiers, *quæſt. in Euangel.* 34. Firſt, therefore this place is vnderſtood of Chriſt, not of any Angell.

2. If this place might be vnderſtood of Angels, that they haue ſome miniſtery about our praiers, it maketh nothing notwithſtanding for popiſh inuocation of Angels: for the Angell here commendeth not the praiers of the Saints by his merit, but by the much incenſe giuen vnto him, to adde to the praiers of the Saints to make them acceptable, which is the ſweet ſmell and ſauour of the precious death and merits of Chriſt. *Fulk in hunc locum: Auguſtine* indeed ſometime aſcribeth ſuch an office vnto the Angels to carry vp our praiers to heauen, as their charge is to carry vp our ſoules: not as mediators or interceſſors, but as the Lords meſſengers and agents here vpon earth, to report vnto him our affaires: *dicuntur Angeli preces noſtras, & vota Deo offerre, non vt Deum doceant, qui omnia antequam fiant, nouit, ſed vt ſuper his Dei voluntatem conſulant.* The Angels are ſaide to offer vp our praiers and vowes vnto God, not to informe or inſtruct the Lord, but only to conſult and know his pleaſure: *tom. 9. de dilection. cap. 3. & in Pſal. 74.* for the Angels haue two offices, the one, to execute the commandement of God in the world, and to attend vpon him to mine their charge, Matth. 18. 10. the other, to returne vnto God as faithfull meſſengers the ſucceſſe of
Fulk. Apoc. 8. ſect. 2. their buſines in the world, Zach. 1. 10. Now whether the Angels be appointed of God to report vnto him our ſayings and doings, as other affaires of our life, the Scripture no where euidently ſheweth. Neither, if it were granted, would it any thing helpe their popiſh inuocation of Angels.

Rhemiſt. alleage Tob. 12. 12. to proue the offering of our praiers by Angels.

Anſw. It is neither Canonicall Scripture, nor agreeable vnto it: *Fulk. annot. Coloſſ. 2. ſect. 3.*

The Proteſtants.

THe Scripture alwaies maketh Chriſt our only Mediator, neither Angels nor Saints, by whom our prayers and all other ſpirituall ſacrifices are offered vnto God.

1. Hebr. 13. 15. Let vs by him offer the ſacrifice of praiſe alwaies to God, 1. Pet. 2. 5. You are an holy Prieſthood, to offer vp ſpirituall ſacrifices acceptable to God, by Ieſus Chriſt: *Ergo*, Chriſt Ieſus is our onely Mediator.

2. Galath. 3. 19. The law was ordained by Angels in the hand of a Mediator: *Ergo*, the Angels are one office, and the Mediator another. *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Quod non aliquem ex Angelis dicit Mediatorem, ſed ipſum Dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum habes alio loco: Vnus (inquit) Deus,*
1. Tim. 2. *& vnus Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Chriſtus Ieſus.* That the Apoſtle calleth not any of the Angels, but onely Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, Mediator, we haue in another place: There is one God, ſaith he, and one Mediator of God and man, the Man Ieſus Chriſt.

AN APPENDIX OR THIRD PART OF THIS Queſtion, whether Angels or Saints know our hearts.

The Papiſts.

Herel. 6. THe Angels and other Celeſtiall ſpirits doe know our hearts and inward repentance: And betweene the Angels and the bleſſed ſoules of Saints, there is no difference in this caſe, the one being as highly exalted, and neere God, as the other, in whom and by whom onely they ſee and know our affaires, Luk. 15. 10. There is ioy in heauen, in the preſence of the Angels ouer one ſinner that repenteth: *Ergo*, they know our repentance: *Rhemiſt. Luk. 15. ſect. 2.*

Anſw. 1. Our hearts and inward repentance are not knowen to the Angels, but by the fruits, and the true effects thereof.

2. Although

2 Although the elect, after the reſurrection ſhall be like in glorie to the Angels, yet it followeth not, that they ſhall be like in all things, much leſſe that their ſoules now in heauen, be in all things like vnto the Angels, whoſe preſence and miniſterie God vſeth in the preſeruation of his cholen.

3. That all things done in the world may be ſeene in God, as in a glaſſe, is but a prophane ſpeculation, and the deuice of an idle braine, *Fulk. ibid.*

Argum.2. Abraham had knowledge of things in earth, which were not in his time, as that they had *Moſes* and the Prophets bookes, which he neuer ſaw, Luk. 16. verſ. 29. *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. Firſt, in this narration many things are ſpoken parabolically, out of the which we muſt not ground any doctrine not taught elſewhere in Scripture: for you may as well ſay, that ſoules haue fingers and tongues, and that elementall water will quench hell fire, as that *Abraham* knew what bookes were written after his death.

Secondly, albeit that the doctrine of the Church comprehended in the Scriptures, might be reuealed to *Abraham* after his death, yet it followeth not, that he knew all things, as you affirme the the Saints doe, by beholding the maieſtie of God.

The Saints therfore in heauen know ſo much as the Lord thinketh good to reueale vnto them, they know not all things.

The Proteſtants.

WE deny not, but that as Prophets and holy men in this life, may know many ſecret things reuealed vnto them by the ſpirit of God, as *Peter* found out the ſecret fraude of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*: *Eliſeus* being abſent found out *Gehezi* his corruption; yea, hee could tell what was done in the King of Syria his chamber: ſo the Lord may reueale vnto the Saints in heauen at his pleaſure, ſome things done vpon earth. But that they receiued any ſuch gift of God, to know all things done vpon earth, it is a great vntruth, and cleane contrarie to the Scriptures.

Firſt, *Salomon* ſaith in his prayer vnto God: *Heare thou in heauen in thy dwelling place, and giue vnto euery man according to his wayes, as thou knoweſt his heart: for thou onely knoweſt the hearts of all the children of men.* 1. King. 8.29. Out of this place we thus reaſon: he onely knoweth the heart, that is the iudge of all men, and a rewarder of them according to their wayes: But the Lorde onely is iudge: *Ergo.* Againe, the words themſelues be plaine, that God onely knoweth the heart: ſo that what knowledge of ſecrets the Saints haue, it is by reuelation, not by ſearching the heart.

Againe, S. *Paul* ſaith, *No man knoweth the things of man ſaue the ſpirit of man which is in him:* ſo the things of God knoweth no man, but the ſpirit of God, 1. Cor. 1. 11. The Rhemiſts anſwere, that no man knoweth the ſecrets of the heart naturally, but by extraordinarie gift he may, as the Prophets did. *Anſw.* No man euer had or can haue a generall gift to know the heart, but when God ſeeth it good to reueale it: for otherwiſe the compariſon holdeth not. The ſpirit of God onely knoweth the things of God: which alſo is giuen to men to know, but not by receiuing any gift, to ſearch and looke into the nature and heart as it were of God (for then ſhould they know all the ſecrets of God, which neuer any did:) but onely by reuelation of the ſpirit, which openeth Gods ſecrets vnto them, ſo farre as it is conuenient and needfull.

Euen after the ſame manner the ſpirit of God may reueale the ſecrets of the heart of man, not by giuing them a generall gift themſelues to looke into the heart, as into a glaſſe, but by reuealing ſuch things, when the Lord ſeeth it expedient.

Neither had the Prophets an inherent gift and dwelling in them, to know ſecrets, but the word of God was inſpired into them at times, as they had neede, as we ſee in *Nathan*, 2. Sam. 7. 3. 4. in *Eliha*, 2. King. 2. 15. in *Iſaiah*, 2. King. 20. 4. And though *Paul* was taken vp into heauen, and ſawe many ſecrets, yet he knew not all: for thus he ſaith of himſelfe, *If I knew all ſecrets*, 1. Cor. 13. 2. *Ergo*, no man euer receiued this gift, to ſearch the heart: but it is proper vnto God, who will not giue his honour to another.

2 *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Neſcire mortuos quid hic agatur dum hic agitur:* That the dead know not what is done here, while it is in doing. But they vnderſtand either by relation of thoſe that depart this world, or elſe by the Angels; *Non quidem omnia, ſed qua ſinuntur indicare: ſicut Prophetæ, nec hic omnia cognoſcebant, ſed qua illis eſſe reuelanda dei prouidentia indicarat. de cura pro mort. cap.* 15. Neither doe they know all things, but what God ſuffereth to be knowne; as neither did the Prophets know all things while they liued, but what God in his diuine prouidence thought good to reueale vnto them. I note out of this ſaying of *Auguſtine* three things.

Firſt, what great vncertaintie of opinion here is: How the dead ſhould come by the knowledge of humane affaires, the Papiſts thinke they haue it by Gods gift: otherwhile they ſay, they ſee all things in God, as in a cleere glaſſe. *Auguſtine* ſaith, they know them by the Angels, or by men newly departed this life: ſo that it appeareth to be but a meere conceit and imagination, that they haue any ſuch knowledge, whereof there is no ſurer ground. Secondly, *Auguſtine* ſaith, they know not things preſently done, but afterward, contrary to the Papiſts. Thirdly, they know not al things, as

the

the Prophets also did not, but what the Lord reuealeth vnto them: wherein also he is contrarie to our aduersaries.

The holy Martyrs haue sealed this truth: that God onely is the knower of the hearts, and that he hath not giuen this houour to any other.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: *God knew all things before the beginning of the world, and is euery where to see, not onely our outward dealing, but also all the secrets of all mens hearts, so that he needeth no mediator, to informe him of our desires, pag.* 1109. But Angels and Saints were not from the beginning, neither are they euery where: *Ergo*, they know not our thoughts.

Paul Luther confessor: *Saints in heauen cannot helpe vs, neither know no more what men doe in this world, then a man in the North countrie knoweth what is done in the South countrey. p.* 1040. *col.* 2.

THE THIRD QVESTION CONCERNING THE worship of Angels, first in generall, then in particular, of inuocation.

The Papists.

Hæref. 7. THey say that the diuine honour and adoration due vnto God alone, is not to be giuen to Angels: But there is a religious reuerence, honour and adoration, which is not to be denied to Angels and Saints, *Rhem. annot. Apocalyp.* 19. *sect.* 4.

Argum. 1. *Iosua* fell downe before the Angell and worshipped, *Ios.* 5. *Rhemist.*

Answ. He worshipped not an Angell, but the Lord Christ himselfe the captaine of the Lords armie: for it was a diuine worship: He is bid to put off his shooes, as *Moses* was, when God appeared out of the fierie bush, Exod. 3. But a diuine worship (by your owne confession) is due onely to God, *Fulk. annot. Coloss.* 2. 3. And thus *Origen* expoundeth this vision: *homil.* 6. *in Ios. Iosua non adorasset, nisi agnouisset Deum, &c. Iosua would not haue adored him, if he had not knowen him to be God, for who else is the Prince of the armie of the power of God, but our Lord Iesus Christ?*

Argum. 2. 1. Timoth. 5. 21. I charge thee before God and the Lord Iesus Christ, and his elect Angels, that thou obserue these things: *Ergo*, Angels may be adored and reuerenced, *Rhemist.*

Answ. Saint *Paul* maketh heere the Angels witnesses of his waightie charge: so *Moses* calleth heauen and earth to witnesse, Deut. 30. 19. may we therefore conclude, that he yeelded any religious worship to heauen and earth?

The Protestants.

AS for due reuerence, which is of loue, not of any seruice, there is no question, but we ought to yeeld it vnto the Angels. But all religious seruice or worship is due onely to God, and whosoeuer man or Angell, requireth, or receiueth any religious worship or seruice, vsurpeth that which is due vnto God. *Fulk. Apocal.* 19. *sect.* 4.

Argum. 1. Apocal. 19. 10. and 22. 9. *Iohn* fell downe to worship the Angell: but the Angell suffered him not: See thou doe it not, (saith hee:) for I am thy fellowe seruant, and of thy brethren, worshippe God: *Ergo*, Angels are not to be adored with any religious worship.

Rhemist. First, he forbiddeth him onely to worship him with diuine adoration.

Answ. The words are generall: he saith not, worship God, with this kinde of seruice; but worship God: and the word here vsed, προσκύνησον, properly signifieth in falling downe to worship: by which word also Act. 10. 25. *Cornelius* manner of worshipping *Peter* is expressed: vpon which place the Rhemists doe note, that euery falling downe to worship, is not diuine, or proper onely to God, and that *Peter* did refuse it for humilitie sake: the Angell then in this place refuseth that falling downe, or worshipping, which they say was giuen to *Peter*, and is not onely dew to God; and so doth *Peter* in the other place, not for humilitie, but alleaging hee was a man, and therefore of pietie, because hee woulde not haue God robbed of his honour.

Rhemist. Secondly, you say, that *Iohn* so worthie an Apostle was not ignorant of that point, that Angels were not to be worshipped as God: we may reply also, that if *Iohn* had knowne that this other kind of seruice was vnlawfull, he would not haue done it.

Answ. *Iohn* sinned not of ignorance, but of forgetfulnes, in this ecstacie of his mind, while he beheld the glory of the Angell, as likewise through his frailenes and forgetfulnes he committeth the like againe, cap. 22. which *Iohn* would not haue done, being once before admonished, had he not presently forgotten himselfe. But the other error of worshipping the creature for the Creator, was too grosse an error for the Apostle.

Rhemist. Thirdly, he was deceiued in the person, taking the Angell for Christ, and therefore was not culpable at all in this fact, in giuing diuine honour to the Angell, for he sinned onely materially not formally.

Answ.

Anſw. Firſt, *Iohn* was not ignorant, that he was an Angell, and not Chriſt; for he ſaith, he was one of the ſeuen Angels that had the ſeuen vials. Secondly, though he ſinned of ignorance, yet was it a ſinne: for the Prophet, which beleeued the old Prophet, ſinned grieuouſly, as it appeared by his puniſhment, though he did it ignorantly, 1. King. 13. Wherefore it is a groſſe error of your Schoolemen, that ſay, a man ſinneth not, if he worſhip the Diuell in the ſhape of an Angell ignorantly.

Rhemiſt. Fourthly, the Angell would not receiue this worſhip at *Iohns* hand, whom he knew to be in great fauour with God, and greater then ſome Angell.

Anſw. Firſt, though hereafter the children of God ſhall be made equall to the Angels in glorie, yet in this mortall life they muſt needs be inferiour, ſeeing Chriſt himſelfe, in reſpect of his paſſion, was inferiour to the Angels, Hebr. 2. 9. Secondly, the Angell would not haue taken this homage at any other mans hands, beſide *Iohns*: for he giueth a reaſon, that he is not onely his fellow ſeruant, but alſo of his brethren. So for all their ſhifts and cauils, we ſtrongly conclude by this example, that no religious honour ought to be giuen to Angels.

Honorem Angelis, charitate non ſeruitute (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *nec eis templa conſtruimus*: Wee honour Angels with the dutie of loue, not of ſeruice, neither doe we build temples vnto them. *Quodcunq; enim ſummus Angelus, id colendum etiam eſt ab homine vltimo.* That therfore which is worſhipped of the higheſt Angell, the man of loweſt degree ought alſo to worſhip, *De vera religion. cap. 55. Ergo*, no worſhip due vnto Angels, but all vnto God.

Idem. 1. Epiſt. ad Conſtantin. Imperator. Qualis eſt iſte adorationis honor? profectò non alius, quam is, quo inuicem proſequimur, ſalutantes nos inter nos per honoratiouē & dilectionem: What manner of worſhip is this (he meaneth the reuerence to be giuen to Angels and Saints) ſurely no other, then that, which we ſinners amongſt our ſelues doe giue to one another, by a mutuall ſaluation of honour and loue. The argument out of theſe words may be framed thus: No other worſhip is due to Angels & Saints, but that which we giue one to another: but that is no religious worſhip: *Ergo.* Your owne decrees alſo do reckon the heretikes called *Angelici* in the number, *becauſe they worſhip Angels: decret. p. 2. cauſ. 24. qu. 3. c. 39.* wherefore it is hereſie euen by your owne law to worſhip Angels.

Iohn Lambert holy martyr, ſheweth out of *Auguſtine*, that we ſhould worſhip no men departed, be they neuer ſo good, or holy, no nor yet no Angell, ne honour the ſame, but onely the imitation of them, following their good acts in our liuing: the Angels refuſe all honour, ſauing that which is called *honor charitatis*, that is, to be loued, &c. *Fox p. 1108. reſpons. ad articul. 14.*

THE SECOND PART OF THE INVOcation of Angels.

The Papiſts.

They hold, that it is lawfull to direct our praiers vnto Angels, *Rhemiſt. Coloſſ. 2. ſect. 3.* Yea, and Herz. 9.
becauſe they for vs, and deale with God to procure mercy for vs, they may iuſtly be called our aduocates.

Angels are deputed for our protection (which is nothipg, but aduocation.) Dan. 10. 13. Matth. 18. 10. *Rhemiſt. annot. 1. Iohn. 2. ſect. 5.*

Anſw. Firſt, the argument followeth not: for the Angels at the appointment of God, may ſerue for our protection and defence, though they be not aduocates for vs, to obtaine remiſſion of our ſinnes. Secondly, the places alleaged proue no ſuch aduocation of Angels, but onely defence and protection. Dan. 10. 13. The Angell was readie at the firſt praiers of *Daniel*, but he was letted a while. This proueth, that Angels may know our praiers when it pleaſeth God, and be miniſters of his helpe vnto vs, which we denie not: not that they are our aduocates. And concerning the other place in *Matthew* our Sauiour only ſaith, *that their Angels doe behold the face of his father*; that is to know his pleaſure, and what ſeruice God wil command them for the good of his Church: this text maketh nothing for the aduocation of Angels. So then theſe two Scriptures doe ſet forth two offices of the Angels: the one their deſcending from heauen, Dan. 10. 13. the other their aſcending to heauen: Matth. 18. 10. Like as *Iacob* ſaw the Angels deſcending and aſcending vpon the ladder, Gen. 28. which ſignifieth their miniſteriall protection of vs, not an imperiall aduocation: vnleſſe they will ſay, that the Angels alſo are Chriſtes aduocates, for vpon him they are ſaid to aſcend and deſcend, Iohn. 1. 51. And further what is ſignified by the aſcending and deſcending of the Angels, *Barnard* hath very well expreſſed in this ſentence: *aſcenſio & deſcenſio via angelorum, &c.* aſcending and deſcending is the way of the Angels: *they aſcend for themſelues, and deſcend for vs; they aſcend for contemplation, they deſcend vnto vs for compaſſion; they aſcend to behold his face, deſcend at his becke: in Pſal. 90. ſerm. 11.* Wherefore they aſcend to know Gods pleaſure, they deſcend to doe Gods pleaſure, this ſheweth their ſeruice and miniſtrie, not their aduocation

cation or maiestie: the argument then followeth not at all, they are our protectors, *Ergo*, our aduocates.

And whereas the Rhemists in the same place would proue the aduocation of Angels by the Collect vsed in our Church vpon S. *Michaels* day, which is this: *That they which doe their alwaies seruice in heauen, may by thy appointment succour and defend vs in earth*: who seeth not, what beggerly shifts they are driuen to vse, seeing that this praier maketh nothing at all for the aduocation or inuocation of Angels, but onely their protection and preseruation.

*Argum.*2. Apoc.8.vers.3. *I saw another Angell, that came and stood before the alter hauing a golden censer, and much odors were giuen vnto him, to offer with the praiers of the Saints vpon the golden alter &c.* From this place the Rhemists conclude that angels do offer our praiers to God, *Rhemist. in hunc locum.*

Answ. First, though the Angels should report vnto God our praiers, as the rest of our affaires, which they see done (which ministerie of theirs notwithstanding in presenting of our praiers, hath no direct warrant out of Scripture) yet it followeth not that we should inuocate them, for the Saints in earth do inuocate God for vs, yet are not to be inuocated by vs. Secondly, if in this place we should vnderstand any of the Angels to be the preferrer of our praiers, yet they doe it not by their owne merite, but by the merite and sweet sauour of the death of Christ, which are the sweet odors added to the praiers of the Saints: Thirdly this place is better expounded of Christ himselfe, who is the Angell, that offereth vp our praiers, as Saint *Augustine* in his commentary vpon this text.

The Protestants.

THat Angels are not be worshipped, nor inuocated, as mediators, intercessors, or aduocats, the Scripture speaketh euidently,

*Argum.*1. Coloss.2.18. Let no man beguile you in the humblenes and worshipping of Angels: *Ergo*, it is not lawfull to pray vnto them, or to worship them.

Rhemist. The Apostle speaketh here against the wicked doctrine of *Simon Magus*, that affirmed that the Angels both ill and good, were mediators for vs vnto God; and against the superstition of the Iewes, that worshipped the Angels by whom the law was guien.

Answ. The Apostle condemneth both these superstitions, as likewise the popish inuocation of Angels: because all will-worshippe is forbidden, which is not after the prescript of God's word, Coloss.2.23. Out of which place we reason thus, all will-worship is forbidden: but all worship of Angels is a will-worship, *Ergo*, all worship of Angels is forbrdden: that which the Apostle calleth, vers.18. θρησκεια, the worship of Angels, vers.23. he termeth ἐθελοθρησκια, will-worship, which is inuented by man, and not warranted by the word.

*Argum.*2. If any man sinne, (saith the Apostle) we haue an aduocate with the Father Iesus Christ the iust, he is the propitiation for our sinnes, Iohn.2.2. *Ergo*, Christ onely is our aduocate.

Rhemist. Christ is our aduocate in the highest degree, because by himself, and his owne merit, without the assistance of any other, he obtaineth pardon for vs. The other, as Angels & Saints, are as secondary intercessors, that obtain not any thing by their own merits, but only through Christ.

Answ. First, he onely and properly is an aduocate that can pleade the iustice of his clients cause, which euery one that prayeth for vs cannot do: for though the Angels and Saints departed should pray for vs (which we know not by the Scriptures) as our brethren vpon earth doe, yet should they not be mediators and aduocates, but petitioners and intreators for vs.

Secondly, we gather many strong arguments out of this place, for the sole sufficient aduocation of Christ. First, the sonne is the best and onely sufficient aduocate with the father; therefore where we may haue free & bold accesse to the Sonne, Heb.4.16. what need haue we of the seruice helpe? Secondly, he is the onely aduocate that is iust and righteous before God: so only is Christ, the Angels are impect in his sight, Iob.4.18. *Ergo*. Thirdly, he must be our aduocate that is also the propitiation for our sinnes: *Ergo*, onely Christ.

Augustine saith, *Dicitis, Angelos nos colimus: vtinam illos coleretis, facile ab illis disceretis, ne nos colere*: But yee will say yee worship not images but Angels: I would you did truly worship and reuerence them: for you should soone learne of the Angels, not to worship the Angels, *In Psal.96.* And *Bernard* also thus writeth vpon these words of the Apostle, Hebr.1. are they not all ministring spirits? *Plane ministri nostri non Domini nostri*: They are our ministers, not our Masters or Lords: *In Psal.90.serm.11.* if not our Lords, then not to be worshipped.

Synod. Moguntin. cap.45. Sancti, &c. Velut corporis Christi nobilissima membra, eo societatis & dilectionis cultu à nobis honorari debent; quo in hac vita à nobis sancti homines coli possunt: Saintes, which haue happily ended this life, as the most noble members of Christs body, must be honoured with the worship of loue and brotherly fellowship, as holy men in this life may be honoured. But we do not make our prayers vnto men, though neuer so holy vpon earth: *Ergo*, neither ought we to pray to Angels or Saints in heauen.

We

We will adde the ſeale of the holy confeſſors and Martyrs: Certaine godly Chriſtians were perſecuted in the dioceſſe of Lincolne, for denying to pray to Saints, ſaying; What neede wee goe to the feete, when we may goe to the head? *anno* 1521. *Fox* pag. 826. col. 2.

Claudius Monerius, who ſuffered for the truth at Lyons, *anno* 1551. being asked whether Saints were not to be inuocated: anſwered, They cannot pray without faith, and therefore it is in vaine to call vnto them, pag. 905. col. 1. The reaſon ſtandeth thus, It is in vaine to pray to them, that cannot pray for vs (ſeeing by our aduerſaries confeſſion, Saints onely helpe vs by their prayer, and mediation to God, not by any helpfull power in themſelues) but neither the Angels nor Saints can pray for vs, becauſe they haue no faith (which gift is now with them ceaſed) and without faith no prayer is acceptable: *Ergo*, it is needleſſe to pray to them.

Francis Rebezies martyred at Paris, *anno* 1558. thus reaſoneth againſt inuocation of Angels and Saints: Saint *Iohn* ſaith, 1. Epiſt. 5. verſ. 14. *This is the truſt wee haue in him, that if we demaund any thing after his will, he will heare vs: We muſt doe and pray therefore according to Gods will, not after our owne*: But it is not Gods will that wee ſhould pray vnto any ſuch, either Angell or Saint: for no ſuch commaundement is giuen in his word, where his will onely is to be ſeene. *Ergo*.

THE NINTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING SAINTS DEPARTED.

THis Controuerſie hath two parts: firſt, of thoſe that being departed ſuffer ſome puniſhment after this life. Secondly, of thoſe that are ſtraight receiued to ioy in heauen. The firſt part hath two queſtions: firſt, of the place of darkneſſe, where the faithfull remained till the comming of Chriſt, as the Papiſts imagine. Secondly, of Purgatorie.

THE FIRST QVESTION OF *LIMBVS PATRVM*, where the Patriarkes were imagined to be.

The Papiſts.

THey haue deuiſed and imagined in their fooliſh conceit foure infernall and ſubterreſtriall places; Hell, Purgatorie, *Limbus infantium*, where children remaine dying without Baptiſme, and *Limbus Patrum*, where the Fathers were before Chriſts comming. Theſe places they diſtinguiſh three waies: Firſt, by the ſituation: Hell is loweſt, Purgatorie is next, *Limbus infantium* in the third place, *Limbus Patrum* vppermoſt. Secondly, they differ in meaſure of puniſhment, ſome of them haue *pœnam damni*, and *pœnam ſenſus*, a double puniſhment, both of loſſe, in that they are excluded heauen, and of paine alſo, as Hell, and Purgatorie: the other two *Limbi*, are but dungeons of darknes onely, where they ſuffer no other ſmart or paine, but are only abſent from God. Thirdly, they differ in time and continuance, ſay they, Hell and the dungeon of children ſhall abide for euer: but Purgatorie and the dungeon of the Fathers are temporall: the one, that is, *Limbus Patrum*, is many yeeres agoe diſſolued: and Purgatorie alſo ſhall ceaſe, ſay they, at the comming of Chriſt, *Bellarm. de Purgat. lib. 2. cap. 6.* Hæreſ. 9.

This then is their opinion, that the Patriarkes and Prophets before Chriſts comming were not in heauen, but were kept in an infernall place of darkneſſe, yet without paine, and were deliuered by Chriſts deſcending into hell, *Bellarm. de Chriſti anima, lib. 4. cap. 11. Rhemiſt. Heb. 9. 8.*

Argum. 1. Heb. 11. 40. *God prouiding a better thing for vs, that they without vs ſhould not be perfect*: That is, (ſay the Rhemiſts) the Fathers of the law could not be admitted to the ioyes of heauen, till the Apoſtles and other of the new law, were aſſociate with them, and a way made into heauen by the death and aſcenſion of Chriſt, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, by this reaſon the Patriarkes could not enter into heauen before the death of the Apoſtles, if there were no entrance found, vnleſſe they were aſſociate with them. Secondly, if the way were not opened before Chriſts aſcenſion, then the Patriarkes could not aſcend before: where were they then all thoſe 40. daies? for they were deliuered out of *Limbus Patrum* before Chriſts reſurrection. Thirdly, there is therefore no ſuch meaning of this place; but it is to bee

vnderſtood of the reſurrection, when as all the elect ſhall be conſummate together, and enter body and ſoule into heauen. *Fulk.*

Thus doth *Bernard* expound this place, *Acceperunt iam ſinguli ſtolas, ſed non veſtientur duplicibus donec veſtiamur & nos, Deo melius aliquid prouidente pro nobis, vt non ſine nobis conſummarentur*: All of them, that are departed, (he meaneth the Saints) haue receiued their ſtoles or ſingle garments, but they ſhall not be cloathed with double, vntill we alſo be apparelled, God prouiding better things for vs: that is, in the reſurrection we ſhall all receiue this double rayment, we ſhall be perfited in body and ſoule.

After the ſame manner doth this Father expound that place, Apocal. 6.9. how the ſoules cryed vnder the Altar: *A labore requieſcunt, qui in Domino moriuntur; ſed non requieſcunt interim à clamore, ſub throno Dei clamant anima occiſorum, quia nihil etſi habent, quod moleſtet, nondum habent tamen, quod delectet: In die Palmar. ſerm. 3.* They reſt from labour, that die in the Lord: but they reſt not from crying: The ſoules of the ſlaine cry vnder the throne of God, becauſe though they haue nothing that doth moleſt them; yet they haue not all, that may delight them. Neither of theſe places then can bee vnderſtood of the Patriarkes in *Limbo*: for they could not bee without ſome moleſtation in that duugeon of darknes.

In ſolennitat. Sanct. Ser. 3.

Biſhop *Ridley* agreeth with *Bernard* in the expoſition of the former place: God did prouide better for vs, that they without vs, &c. They tarrie now for vs vndoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commanded yet to haue patience, vntill the number of their fellowe ſeruants be fulfilled: *Fox.* pag. 1784. He vnderſtandeth the glorious conſummation of the Saints in the reſurrection.

Argum. 2. Zachar. 9.11. I haue looſed thy priſoners out of the pit, where there is no water: That is out of *Limbus Patrum, Bellarm. de Chriſti anima, lib. 4. cap.* 11.

Anſw. Auguſtine giueth a cleane contrarie ſenſe of the place, by the pit without water he vnderſtandeth, *Humana miſeria ſiccam profunditatem & ſterilem, vbi non ſunt fluenta iuſtitia, ſed iniquitatis lutum*: The drie and barren dungeon of humane miſerie, where there are no ſprings of iuſtice, but the puddle and mire of iniquity: That is, the Prophet ſpeaketh of the deliuerance of the people from their cruell and vniuſt bondage and captiuitie.

De ciuitat. Dei lib. 18. cap. 35.

Argum. 3. 1. Pet. 3.19. *In the which ſpirit he alſo went and preached vnto the ſpirits that were in priſon, which ſometime had been diſobedient in the dayes of Noe.* This place proueth euidently (ſaith *Bellarmine*) that Chriſt deſcended in ſoule into hell, and deliuered the fathers from thence, *De Chriſti anima. lib.* 4.13.

Anſw. The place can haue no ſuch meaning: Firſt, by the ſpirit here the humane ſoule of Chriſt cannot be vnderſtood, but his diuine power: for Chriſt went and preached in that ſpirit, by the which he was quickened, as the text is: but he was not quickened or reſtored to life by his humane ſoule, but by his diuine power his ſoule was ioyned againe to his body. *Auguſtine* alſo giueth another reaſon, why he cannot be ſaid to be quickned or made aliue in ſpirit, that is, in his ſoule: for then he muſt haue dyed before in ſoule. But, *Mors anima peccatum eſt, à quo ille immunis fuit*: But the death of the ſoule is ſinne, from the which Chriſt was free.

Bellarmine ſaith, that by the ſpirit not Chriſts diuinity but his ſoule muſt be vnderſtood, becauſe it cannot be ſaid properly of his diuine nature, that it went or came to a place, as it may be ſaid of his ſoule: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. If the Ieſuite will ſtand ſo much vpon proper ſpeaking, neither can the ſoule be ſaid properly to goe, or come, which betoken an action and geſture of the bodie. 2. But to ſpeake according to the phraſe of Scripture, he cannot be ignorant, how that the Scripture ſpeaking to our capacitie, doth aſcribe ſuch humane actions vnto God: as the ſpirit is ſaid to moue vpon the waters, Geneſ. 1.1. God is ſaid to walke in paradiſe, Geneſ. 3. 3. Yet more vſually in the Goſpel the actions of the humanitie are ſometimes attributed to the Godhead of Chriſt, becauſe of the neere vniting and coniunction of them in one perſon: as Iohn. 3.13. Chriſt is ſaid to deſcend from heauen, which was his Godhead onely, for his fleſh as yet had not aſcended. 4. This phraſe is neither ſtrange nor vnuſuall, to ſay that Chriſt went in ſpirite, or the ſpirite of Chriſt went, ſeeing *Noah* went in the ſpirite of Chriſt: that is attributed to the worker, which was done by the inſtrument: as whatſoeuer the Prophets did in times paſt, the Lord is ſaid to doe it, &c.

Againe *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that it is not vnuſuall in Scripture, to ſay that is quickned, which dyed not, as 2. Sam. 8.2. *Dauid* is ſaid to meaſure *Moab* with 2. coards, one to kill them by, another to quicken them: and Act. 7.19. *Pharao* is ſaid to caſt out their infants, *ne viuificarentur*, that they ſhould not be quickened; that is, remaine aliue: ſo in this place the ſpirite, that is, the ſoule of Chriſt is ſaid to be quickened, becauſe it remained aliue and could not be killed.

Contra. Firſt, the ſame word is not read in the places alleadged, which S. *Peter* vſeth here: in the firſt place, the word is ζωοποιεω, as the Septuagint tranſlate, which ſignifieth, to raiſe or reſtore to life: in the other place the word is ζωογονεω, which betokeneth to grow vp or proſper, as plants doe,

doe; but the word vsed by Saint *Peter* is deriued from the word ζωοποιέω, which is to make aliue, and the right Latine thereof is *viuifico*, I do reuiue, and I am reuiued, which is more then to restore one to the hope of life, as *Dauid* did the Moabites, which otherwise were as dead men, or to remaine aliue, which *Pharao* would not suffer the infants to do. Secondly, the examples are not alike, for they are said to be reuiued, because they might die, though they died not; but the soule cannot die: wherefore vnlesse he can shew out of Scripture, that some thing is said to be reuiued or quickened, that neither doth nor can die, he sayeth nothing; but neither hath he, nor yet can produce any such example out of Scripture.

2 The Apostle speaketh onely of those which were incredulous and disobedient, not of the faithfull, such as the Patriarkes were and Prophets. Yea (saith *Bellarmine*) they might be vnbeleeuers at the first, but after repented before they dyed.

Ans. Then the Apostles comparison could not hold, if any were saued without the Arke: for as then eight persons onely were saued, all without the Arke perished: so now without Baptisme and faith of the Church, (for by Baptisme he vnderstandeth not onely the washing of water, but the inward cleansing by the grace of the spirit) none can bee saued. If then any were saued out of the Arke, there may now also be saluation out of the Church. *Augustine* also saith, *Si modò, qui non credidérunt Euangelio illis intelligantur esse similes, qui tunc non credidérunt, cum fabricaretur arca:* They which now beleeue not the Gospell, are like to them which beleeued not then while the Arke was in making. And they which doe now beleeue and are baptized, are like to those which then were saued in the Arke. *Augustine* thinketh therefore, that they were incredulous persons, and vtterly perished both bodie and soule. And so is our opinion.

3 The text saith not, he went and deliuered, but went and preached: for *Augustine* calleth it an absurd thing to thinke, that the Gospell was preached to them that were dead, which in their life time were incredulous: for if the Gospell be preached in hell (saith he) it would follow that it is not necessarie it should be preached here in the world, if men when they are dead, may heare it, and be conuerted. And againe, it would ensue (saith he) that there should be a Church in hell: for where the word is preached, there is a Church. Wherefore he concludeth, that it must needes be vnderstood of *Noah* his preaching in the spirit and power of Christ: *Arca fabricatio, prædicatio quædam fuit:* The building of the Arke was a kind of preaching, *Epistol.* 99. So also he expoundeth that 1. Pet. 4. 6. The Gospell was preached to the dead: *Ex circumstantia loci apparet, eos intelligere uos qui non mortui sunt, sed olim in vita Euangelium audierunt. Commentar. in epistol. ad Roman.*

Bellarmine answereth, that Christ in soule preached vnto them, *Non vt conuerteretur impij, sed vt gauderent animæ piorum:* Not to conuert the wicked, but to reioyce the soules of the godly.

Contra. But S. *Peter* saith otherwise, *That the Gospell was preached to the dead, that they might be condemned according to men in the flesh, but might liue according to God in the spirit,* chap. 4. 6. What is this else but to conuert the dead? of the which conuersion there are two parts, the mortification of the flesh, and the reuiuing or quickening of the spirit, both set downe by the Apostle.

4 The text is not, *that were in prison*, but doth better beare this sense, *that are:* The words in the originall are these: τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι, *spiritibus in carcere*, to the spirits in prison: the participle here to be supplied in the Greeke ὄσι, in Latine *existentibus*, is properly of the present tence, and signifieth being: and common vse of speech will giue it rather to bee vnderstood of the present time, then of the time past: as if I should say, the man in the house, or in the prison, who would not thinke that I meane one now being in the house, rather then one that was in the house and now is not? So the Apostles meaning is this, that they which were incredulous and disobedient in time past, when *Noah* in the spirit of Christ, or Christ by his spirit in *Noah* preached to the world, were then destroyed in the flood, and now for their incredulitie are punished in the prison of hell. And thus *Augustine* in euery point vnderstandeth this text, of *Noah* his preaching to the old world in the spirit of Christ, saying that by the prison he vnderstandeth their mortall bodies, while they liued. *Bellarmine* taketh paines at large to confute *Augustines* exposition, because it commeth neere vnto ours: so well these fellowes agree with antiquitie, whereof notwithstanding they make great boast.

The Protestants.

THat the holie Patriarkes, Fathers and Prophets dyed in the same faith before the comming of Christ, which all true Christians doe now hold, and were presently receiued into the ioyes of heauen, and not kept in any infernall place or dungeon of darknes: thus it is proued.

Argum. 1. They had all faith, and beleeued in Christ: yea, the same faith that is now preached; as it is defined by the Apostle, Heb. 11. 1. *They also by this faith obtained remission of sinnes,* Rom. 4. 7. *Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiuen,* as it is alleadged out of the Psalme: *Ergo*, they were blessed: but out of the kingdome of God there was no blessednesse to be found: therefore they also went to heauen.

2 Your owne master of sentences also here witnesseth with vs: *Eadem fides saluatoris, quæ nos sal-*

mat, ſaluos ipſos faciebat antiquos, &c. The ſame faith, which ſaueth vs, did alſo ſaue the ancient righteous, the great with the ſmall. For as we beleeue that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, ſo they, that he was to come: as wee beleeue that he dyed and roſe againe, ſo they, that hee ſhould die and riſe againe: And *Gregorie* compareth both, to thoſe that went before, and followed Chriſt riding to Ieruſalem, crying, *Oſanna, &c. lib. 3. diſtinct. 25. a.* From this place we may further reaſon thus: The ſame faith hath the ſame effects and fruits; the Patriarkes had the ſame faith with vs: *Ergo*, they were ſaued and went to heauen, as all beleeuers now do. Agayne, they that went before Chriſt entred into Ieruſalem, as well as they that followed: wherefore the forerunners of Chriſt, that beleeued in him, by the ſame faith entred into heauen.

Argum. 2. If the heauens were not opened before Chriſts aſcenſion, as the *Rhemiſts* affirme, then none went to heauen before Chriſt aſcended. But that is falſe: *Henoch* and *Elias* by their owne confeſſion were taken vp into Paradiſe: ſo was the ſoule of the theefe vpon the Croſſe. But Paradiſe is in heauen, yea the third and higheſt heauen, as S. *Paul* calleth it, 2. Corinth. 12. 4. And ſo *Auguſtine* expoundeth that place, *Voluit Deus Apoſtolo demonſtrare vitam, in qua poſt hanc vitam viuendum eſt in æternum.* The Lord would ſhew vnto the Apoſtle that life, wherein, after this life, we ſhall liue and remaine for euer: *De Gen. lib. 12. 28.* Theſe three therefore went to Paradiſe, which is no infernall or place of darkeneſſe, but a celeſtiall habitation of ioy, light and felicitie. They were not then in *Limbo Patrum*, in the dungeon of the Fathers. Wherefore we conclude, there was acceſſe to heauen before the aſcenſion of Chriſt.

Argum. 3. Beſide out of Scripture many ſtrong arguments may be gathered, to proue that the Fathers and Patriarkes were in heauen, a place of ioy, not in the imagined *Limbus*, a dungeon of darkeneſſe, before the comming of Chriſt.

Firſt, *Euery one that beleeueth, hath euerlaſting life.* Iohn 5. 24. *Abraham beleeued*, Rom. 4. 3. *Ergo, Abraham* had and was in euerlaſting life: *Ergo*, not in *Limbus*, which is a place of payne, as they confeſſe; but in euerlaſting life is no payne.

Secondly, the ſoules of the faithfull before Chriſt were in celeſtiall Ieruſalem, for they are the Congregation of the firſt borne, whoſe names are written in heauen, Heb. 12. 23. they were the firſt borne vnto Chriſt in the world: *Ergo*, their names were written in heauen.

Thirdly, where the holy Angels were, there alſo were the ſoules of the ancient faithfull, Heb. 12. 22. The companie of the Angels and the congregation of the firſt borne belong all to one place; ſo alſo *Lazarus* ſoule was caried by the Angels: but the Angels are in no other place but heauen: *Ergo.*

Further, as out of theſe words, I am the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Iacob*, our Sauiour proueth the reſurrection, becauſe he is not God of the dead but of the liuing; ſo by the ſame reaſon we may conclude they were in heauen: for if it be inglorious for God to be named of the dead, ſo alſo it is to call himſelfe by them, that are in payne, in darkeneſſe, abſent from God, as they are which are imagined to be in *Limbo: Ergo.*

Argum. 4. The Fathers and Patriarches, before Chriſts comming, were in *Abrahams* boſome: but that was no infernall place or priſon, ſuch as they imagine *Limbus Patrum* to be. *Auguſtine* proueth, that it could not be *membrum*, or *pars inferorum*, a member or part of Hell, or any infernall place, as the Ieſuites hold: Firſt, the text ſaith, there is *magnum chaos*, a great gulfe, a great diſtance betweene, Luk. 16. 26. and verſe 23. The rich man ſaw *Abraham* a farre off: wherefore it is not like, that both thoſe places ſhould be infernall. Secondly, *Abrahams* boſome, was *quietis habitatio, & felicitatis ſinus*, a place of reſt and bliſſe: but ſo is not any infernall place, where there is horror, and darkeneſſe. Thirdly, the place where the rich man was, is called Hell, or infernall: there is no ſuch thing ſaid of *Lazarus*, that he was in any lower place; but aboue in ſome high and farre diſtant place: for the rich man is ſaid to lift vp his eyes. *Auguſtine* then concludeth: *Ne ipſos quidem inferos vſquam ſcripturarum locis in bono appellatos reperire potui. Epiſtol. 99.* I could not find that this word *Infernal*, is taken any where in the Scriptures in the good part. And therefore the boſome of *Abraham*, being a place of reſt, ſaith he, cannot be any infernall place. One of your owne writers maketh *Abrahams* boſome to be the ſame place, where the ſaints now are in happineſſe and ioy, and Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe: *Intrepidè pergamus ad redemptorem noſtrum, &c.* Let vs therefore go without feare to our Redeemer Ieſus, to the aſſemblie of the Saints, &c. and to the boſome of *Abraham* with *Lazarus. Eſpenc. in 2. Timoth. cap. 4. p. 167. d.*

Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. lib. 3. cap. 3. Confuſiones duas eſſe legimus, vnam temporalem, per quam omnis peccator pœnitendo peccaſſe confunditur: alteram æternalem, & ſine fine manſuram, quam hi, qui à ſiniſtris ſunt, audituri ſunt, quibus dicetur, ite maledicti, &c. We reade of two confuſions, one temporall, by the which a ſinner in repenting for his ſinne is confounded or aſhamed; another eternall, to endure without ende, which they that are on the left hand ſhall heare, to whom it ſhall be ſaid, Goe yee curſed, &c. If then according to the ſentence of this Councel there be two confuſions or abaſhments, one temporall in this life, another eternal afterward: then was there neuer any ſuch *Lim-*

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Inferni Patrum, a dungeon of darkeneſſe, for the fathers? vnleſſe they will ſay, that when the fathers were thruſt into ſuch a darke dungeon or priſon, it was no confuſion or abaſhment vnto them.

And becauſe our aduerſaries do here accumulate and heape vp many teſtimonies of the Fathers, whom we confeſſe for the moſt part of them, eſpecially the later ſort of them, to haue bin in this error; yet that it may appeare, that the trueth is yet more ancient, I will alleadge the ſentence of a moſt ancient father, namely *Origen*, vpon theſe words of *Iob*, Naked ſhal I returne &c. *Nudus ibo illuc &c.* I ſhall returne naked thither; whither? euen where *Adam* and the reſt of my Elders are gone, where the tabernacles of the righteous are, the reſt of the faithfull, the conſolation of the godly: where is *Abrahams* boſome, the company of Angels, the kingdome of Chriſt, life and light, and glorie, and ſight of God. *Orig in 1. cap. Iob.* But where elſe are all theſe to be found, but in heauen, for in *Limbus* is neither light, nor comfort, nor Angell, nor Chriſt, nor the glorie of God to be ſeene? What clearer euidence of antiquitie can be required?

See this trueth ſealed by the bloud of Martyrs: *Richardus Fourus* who ſuffered for the trueth at Lions *anno* 1554. being asked where the old Fathers were before the death of Chriſt, anſwered: *They were in life eternall, which they looked for, being promiſed before to Adam, Abraham, and the Patriarkes in the ſeede to come: Fox.* pag. 913.

The ſincere iudgement of Biſhop *Ridley* holy Martyr we haue ſeene before.

AN APPENDIX OR APPERTINANCE OF THIS queſtion, concerning the apparition of *Samuel*.

The Papiſts.

THey hold opinion, that it was the very ſoule of *Samuel* that appeared at the witches houſe at *Endor* vnto *Saul*: and vſe it as an argument, to proue that the ſoules of the Patriarkes were not in heauen, but in ſome infernall place, before Chriſts comming, becauſe *Samuel* aſcended out of the earth, *Bellarm. de Chriſt. anim. lib. 4. 11.* 10. Error.

Argum. 1. Becauſe he that appeared to *Saul*, is called *Samuel* in the text. *Auguſtine* anſwereth: that the images of things, are called by the names of the things themſelues: as Geneſ. 41. *Pharao* ſaid, he ſaw eares of corne, and fat and leane kine in his dreame, when they were but the images of ſuch things: So the diuell becauſe he appeared in the ſhape of *Samuel*, *Samuel* himſelfe is ſaid to be ſeene: *Ad Simplicianum lib. 2. quaſt. 3.*

Argum. 2. Eccleſiaſtic. 46. It is ſet downe as a commendation of *Samuel*, that he propheſied being dead: *Ergo*, it was *Samuel* indeed, *Bellarm. De Purgat lib. 2. cap. 6.*

Auguſtine anſwereth, that this booke was not receiued into the Canon of the Scriptures: It is not Canonicall. *De cura pro mortuis, cap. 15.*

Argum. 3. He telleth *Saul* things to come, as how the next day he ſhould be ouercome, and ſlaine. But the diuell knoweth not things to come, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Auguſtine anſwereth, *Facile eſt & non incongruum:* It is an eaſie matter with God, and not vnlikely, that ſome things ſhould bee reuealed to euill ſpirits, for the greater puniſhment of the wicked: for otherwiſe we might meruaile; *Quomodo dæmones agnouerint Chriſtum, quem Iudæi non agnoſcebant:* How the diuels knew Chriſt, whom the Iewes did not acknowledge: *Ad Simplician. lib. 2 quæſt. 3.*

The Proteſtants.

THat it was not the ſoule of *Samuel* which appeared, who was now at reſt; but the diuell in the likenes of *Samuel*, who alſo can transforme himſelfe into an Angel of light: *Auguſtine* proueth by theſe foure arguments.

Argum. 1. Becauſe the Witch or Pythoniſt vſed enchantments, vnto the which the ſoule of ſo holy a Prophet was not ſubiect, *Dæmoniacis incantationibus uti videtur. De mirabilibus Scripturæ. cap. 11. Bellarmine* anſwereth: that *Samuel* preuented her inchantment, and came vp voluntarily.

Anſw. The text is contrarie, verſ. 11. for the woman firſt asked *Saul*, whom ſhe ſhould bring vp, that is, by her charmes and incantations: and he ſaid, bring me vp *Samuel*.

Argum. 2. *Quomodo Saul, &c.* How could *Saul* obtaine to heare a Prophet ſpeake from the dead, whom God vouchſafed not to anſwer by Prophets aliue? The text is, that God gaue him no anſwer neither by Prophets, nor by dreames: therefore I haue called for thee, verſ. 15. *Ergo*, it was not *Samuel* for then God ſhould haue giuen him anſwer by Prophets.

Argum. 3. If it had been *Samuel*, he would not haue told a lye vnto *Saul*, ſaying, to morowe thou ſhalt be with me: *Magno quippe interuallo ſeparati bonos à malis legimus:* For we reade that the good are ſeparated from the bad by a great diſtance after this life, as it appeareth in the ſtorie of Dives and Lazarus. *Auguſt. ad Simplicianum ibid.*

Bellarm. He ſaith as much, as you ſhall be dead: noting the generall condition, not the particular

ticular ſtate of the dead: and he ſaith further, Thou and thy ſonnes ſhall be with me to morrow, but *Ionathan* being a righteous man, went not to the ſame place that *Saul* did: wherefore, *ye ſhal be with me*, is as much to ſay, Ye ſhall be dead.

Anſw. This phraſe in Scripture importeth, and implieth alſo the particular ſtate of thoſe that are departed, as 2. Sam. 12. 23. *Dauid* ſaith of his child, I ſhall goe to him, he ſhall not come to me: And Luk. 23. 43. Chriſt ſaith, This day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe: In both places it ſignifieth to be in reſt and ioy, in the ſame place, where they are, with whom they are ſaid, they ſhall be: *Ergo*, it ſhould be ſo taken here. Neither is it neceſſarie to vnderſtand *Ionathan* in this ſpeech, ſeeing that he ſaith not all his ſonnes: and there were two other of his ſonnes beſide *Ionathan* ſlaine, namely, *Abinadab*, and *Malchiſhuah*. 1. Sam. 31. 2, 6. So that the ſpeech is true, *thou and thy ſonnes*, though *Ionathan* be excluded.

Argum. 4. If it had been *Samuel: Vtique vir iuſtus non permiſiſſet ſe adorari:* The iuſt man would not haue ſuffered himſelfe to be adored and worſhipped: as the diuell doth take it at *Saules* hands, to be worſhipped of him. For the text ſaith, he enclined his face toward the ground, and bowed himſelfe, or worſhipped: *Auguſt. quaſt. ex. veteri teſtam. 27.*

Bellarmine ſaith, that he did giue no other worſhip vnto him, then was due vnto the ſoule of *Samuel* ſo great a Prophet.

Anſw. Cornelius did no otherwiſe worſhip *Peter*, then by falling downe as *Saul* here doth, nor *Iohn* the Angell, Apocal. 22. yet neither of them are permitted to do it: Wherefore, if this had bin true *Samuel*, he would not haue arrogated more to himſelfe, then either *Peter*, or the Angel: Wherefore as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Hoc nititur, vt adoretur, quaſi Deus*, he goeth about to be worſhipped as God, and therefore it was ſurely Sathan, not *Samuel*: Thoſe foure effectuall reaſons of S. *Auguſtine* are confirmed by their owne decrees, *Cauſ. 26. qu. 5. c. 14.* howſoeuer *Bellarmine* at his pleaſure reiecteth both the one and the other.

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING Purgatorie.

THe queſtion hath three parts: firſt, whether there be any Purgatorie for ſoules to be purged and cleanſed in after this life. Secondly, of other circumſtances and matters that doe belong thereunto. Thirdly, of prayer for the dead.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THERE BE any Purgatorie after this life.

The Papiſts.

Hæreſ. 11. THere is (they ſay) a certaine infernall place in the earth, called Purgatorie, in the which as a priſon houſe, the ſoules which were not fully purged in this life, are there cleanſed and purged by fire, before they can be receiued into heauen: *Bellarm. de Purgat. lib. 1. c. 1. lib. 2. c. 6. Rhemiſ. Matth. 12. fol. 6.*

Argum. 1. Zachar. 9. 11. Thou haſt looſed thy priſoners out of the pit where was no water, Pſal. 66. 12. We went through fire and water. Theſe and ſuch like places the Ieſuite vnderſtandeth of Purgatorie, *Lib. 1. de Purgator. cap. 3.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Ieſuite brought this place before, to proue that there was *Limbus Patrum*, and now he maketh it ſerue for Purgatorie: thus they can make the Scripture to ſpeake what they liſt themſelues. But Purgatorie and *Limbus Patrum*, are two diuers, yea and contrary things: for the *Limbus* was onely for thoſe that liued before Chriſt; Purgatorie began ſince: the *Limbus* was voyde of paine and puniſhment; ſo is not Purgatorie: wherefore if the Lake or pit in *Zacharie* ſignifie Purgatorie, it maketh nothing for *Limbus*: and if it ſerue for *Limbus*, then they miſſe of a place for Purgatorie. But indeede it ſignifieth no ſuch thing: but is taken onely in that place for the affliction and miſerie of this life, as we ſhewed out of *Auguſtine*. And ſo doth he alſo expound ſuch and the like places out of the Pſalmes, as Pſalm. 86. 13. Thou haſt deliuered my ſoule from the loweſt graue. *Quid* (ſaith he) *eſt lacus infimus, niſi profundiſſima miſeria, qua non ſit profundius?* What els (ſaith he) is the loweſt pit or graue, but the loweſt degree of miſerie, then the which there can be no greater?

Argum. 2. Matth. 12. 32. *Blaſphemie againſt the ſpirit ſhall not be forgiuen neither in this world nor the world to come: Ergo*, ſome ſinnes ſhall be forgiuen in the next world; and therefore there is a purgatorie, for in hell there is no forgiuenеſſe: *Bellarm. loc. 1. ex nouo teſtamento.*

Anſw. Firſt, by the world to come, is vnderſtood the world ſucceeding this, and ſo it anſwereth to the world preſent: as Marke 10. 30. *They ſhall at this preſent receiue an hundred fold, and the world to come life euerlaſting.* Wherefore purgatorie being imagined to be now preſent, it can not

not be taken to belong to the world to come: so also must we vnderstand that place, Ephes.1.21. that Christ is exalted aboue euery name, that is named in this worlde, or the world to come: that is, in the world which shall be after this: I thinke they will not by the world to come, in this place, inferre Purgatorie; nor yet, where the Apostle saith, *The powers of the world to come*, Heb.6.5.

Secondly, it followeth not, sinne against the holy Ghost shall not be remitted in the next worlde, *Ergo*, other sinnes shall: no more, then it followeth, that where Christ saith, *I will not drinke henceforth of the fruite of this vine, vntill I drinke it with you in my fathers kingdome*, Math. 26.29. that therefore he did drinke of other things; because he did not drinke of the Vine, &c. And whereas *Bellarmine* would iustifie this argument, by that example Iohn 19. where Christ saith, *My kingdome is not of this world*, and *Pilate* inferreth thereupon, *Art thou a king then?* where an affirmatiue is concluded out of the negatiue; the reason is not alike, vnlesse he will reason as *Pilate* did: Thy kingdome is not of this world: *Ergo*, thou hast a kingdome: so blasphemie shal not be forgiuen in the next world: *Ergo*, there shall be blasphemie then. Thus he might conclude truely, for in hell there shall be blasphemie.

Thirdly, S. *Marke* doth best expound S. *Matthew*, 3.29. *He that blasphemeth, shall neuer be forgiuen*: so that to be forgiuen neither in this worlde, nor the next, is neuer to be forgiuen. *Bellar.* But *Marke* is rather to be expounded by *Matthew*. *Answ.* Yea, let *Matthew* expound himselfe: for vers.31. he saith, *Blasphemie shall not be forgiuen*, that is, at all: and then he addeth in the verse following, *neither in this world, nor the world to come*: so that not to be forgiuen in this world, or the next, is not to be forgiuen at all.

Fourthly, that there is no remission of sinne after this life, the Scripture is euident, Iohn 3.18. *He that beleeueth is not condemned, but he that beleeueth not, is condemned already*. Vpon which place the *Rhemists* giue this note, That he that beleeueth, shall not be condemned eyther at the houre of death, or day of iudgement: from which place I reason thus, Euery man eyther dyeth in faith, or without faith: if he die in incredulitie, he is condemned, and there is afterward no hope; if in faith, he is freed from condemnation, and entred into life, and so consequently deliuered from his sinnes: therefore in this life we onely obtaine remission of sinnes, because faith is onely of this life, whereby our sinnes are remitted. *Ambrose* also saith, *Qui hic non acceperit remissionem peccatorum, illic non erit*: He that receiueth not here remission of sinnes, shal not be there, that is, in heauen. *de bono mort. cap.2.*

*Argum.*3. Luke 8.55. *Her spirit came againe and she rose*. Christ raysed the Rulers daughter to life. This euidently sheweth that there is a third place beside Heauen and Hell: for the soules that are there cannot returne againe, *Rhemist.*

Answ. Surely, a goodly argument, the spirits of *Lazarus* and of the Maid returned: *Ergo*, there is a third place: and why may you not thinke, that their soules were, whereas the soules of other righteous are? And why may not the Lord bring at his pleasure, if it pleaseth him, the soules at rest, into their bodies againe? And this further may be thus shewed: after the resurrection of Christ, the bodies of many that were dead, appeared out of their graues, Matth.27.53. If Christ then by his power be able to call the bodie out of his place, which is the graue, euen so the soule also. Againe, S. *Paul* saith, He was taken vp into the third heauen, whether in his bodie or not, he knoweth not, but in his spirit and soule, he was sure he was there: therefore it is possible with God, to call the soules from heauen into the bodie, the more to manifest his glorie. Further I aske, where the soule of *Dorcas* was after her departure: I thinke they will not say in Purgatorie, she being a woman full of good works and almes while she liued: if shee were then in heauen, and *Peter* called her soule into her bodie againe; shall the Master be able to do lesse, then the disciple? S. *Gregorie* also reporteth *lib.*1. *dialog. c.*9. how S. *Fortunatus* raysed againe one *Marcellus* an holy man, which was caried by the Angels into a blessed place: this storie is receiued by *Bellarmine*; who also granteth that holy men may returne from other places then Purgatorie, *lib.*2. *de Purg. c.*8. Wherefore this example of *Lazarus* concludeth not. Act.8.

*Argum.*4. Of all other they most insult, and beare themselues bolde vpon that place of S. *Paul*, 1.Cor.3. which being rightly vnderstood, doth not helpe them any thing at all; vers.13. The fire shall trie euery mans worke, vers.13. if any mans worke, burne, he shall suffer losse, but he shall be safe himselfe, yet as it were through the fire. *Bellar. & Rhemist.* by fire here vnderstand the flames of Purgatorie: by wood, stubble, strawe; veniall sinnes, which must be purged by that fire, *Rhemist.* 1.*Cor.*3. *sect.*3.

Answ. First, by the precious matter here, as of gold, siluer, are not the workes of charitie vnderstood, but the preaching of sound doctrine: by straw, and stubble, and wood, and other combustible matter, the affectation of eloquence, and corrupt teaching of the truth, yet holding the foundation; not veniall sinnes, as the Rhemists affirme: and this *Bellarmine* also granteth. And so S. *Ambrose* expoundeth, *Opus quod ardere dicitur, mala doctrina est &c.* The worke that shal burne is euill doctrine &c. *in* 3.1. *ad Corinth.* Doth then their purgatorie fire discerne betweene sound

and corrupt doctrine? but that they imagine to be a punishing and purging fire, not a trying and discerning fire, as this is, whereof the Apostle speaketh.

Secondly, fire is here taken allegorically, as the rest of the words are, of gold, siluer, stubble: neither can it be taken for their Purgatorie fire; because it trieth the workes onely, not the persons, and all must be tried by this fire, as well those that build gold and siluer, as the other: but all shall not passe through Purgatorie, by their owne confession. They are driuen to his shift, to graunt, that verse 13. the fire is taken in one sense, namely, for the sentence and iudgement of God, and verse 15. in another, that is, for the flames of Purgatorie. But who seeth not howe absurd a thing this is, that in an allegorie the same word, and in the same place, should be so diuersly taken? It is apparant then that this is the meaning, that *the day*, that is, the time, shall declare it: for God hath appointed a time to examine euery mans doctrine by fire: which is nothing else but the iudgement of God by the fire of his word, whereby euery man, in the day of his calling and conuersion, shall know whether he hath preached aright or not.

First I will proue this exposition to be sound, and then shew how it is impugned. First, this fire must needs be either a materiall fire, or a spirituall: if materiall, then either euerlasting fire, or purgatorie fire, or the fire of the iudgement day: not the first, because it is onely for the wicked; not the second, nor the third, because they doe not trie works, but the persons; but this fire trieth euerie mans worke: *Ergo*, it is not a materiall, but a spirituall fire.

Secondly, this fire is a triall of euery mans doctrine, how he hath preached and taught; but no materiall fire can make triall of doctrine: *Ergo*, a spirituall fire.

Thirdly, as is the gold and siluer, stubble, wood, &c. so is the fire; but they must be vnderstood spiritually: *Ergo*, so must the fire.

And thus much *Bellarmine* granteth, that in the two first places the fire of Gods iudgement must be vnderstood, but not in the third, in the 15. verse.

Contra. First, that fire, whereby a man suffereth losse in his worke, is the fire he shall be saued through, vers. 15. but the first fire is spirituall, because it examineth the worke it selfe: *Ergo*, the other is the same spirituall fire.

Againe, by the same fire is as well the saluation of the worker, as the probation of the worke: for the probation of the worke tendeth to the sauing of the worker: but the worke is proued and tried by a spirituall fire. *Ergo*, &c.

Further, *Bellarmines* owne application of the similitude sheweth as much: for hee thus expoundeth it, as if two workmen should make two houses, one of hewed stone, the other of timber and straw: fire is set to both houses; the workman in the stone house is vntouched of the fire, and his house safe: but the other house burneth, and the builder within is in daunger, and cannot escape, but by passing thorough the fire, *cap. 4. loc. 2.* Doth he not euidently graunt, that it is one and the selfe same fire, wherewith the house is burned, and thorough the which the builder escapeth? So then these foure properties named by the Apostle, of reuealing, trying, burning, sauing, must be referred to one and the selfe same fire, which is a spirituall fire, and not a materiall: therefore no purgatorie fire.

Now *Bellarmine* goeth about to infringe this our exposition of the spirituall fire of truth, whereby euery mans worke is tried in this life, by these reasons:

First, the Apostle saith, *The day of the Lord shall declare it*, vers. 13. which is in Scripture taken for the day of iudgement: and therefore it shall not declare it in this life.

Ans. In the Originall Greeke wee reade onely *the day*, and not *the day of the Lord*: so that word seemeth to be added in the vulgar Latin. And againe, there shall be no purgatorie fire after the day of iudgement: wherefore herein they doe contradict themselues.

Secondly, *The day which shall be reuealed by fire*, saith the Apostle; what day is this else but the day of iudgement, which the precise signifying of fire declareth? *Rhemist.*

Ans. I will oppose against them the iudgement of *Bellarmine*, who saith, that the fire of the day of iudgement cannot here be vnderstood: first, because that fire shall worke onely vpon the wicked, but S. *Pauls* fire shall trie all. Secondly, that fire maketh not triall of workes, as S. *Paul* fire doth. Thirdly, it would follow that they which build hay, stubble, &c. should not enter into heauen before the day of iudgement: so are they answered with their owne.

Thirdly, this fire shall trie euery mans worke what it is: but this difference of mens workings not alwaies seene in this life. *Ergo, sic Rhemist. Bellarm.*

Ans. First, the Apostle meaneth not euery worke whatsoeuer shall be made manifest here, but he speaketh onely of the worke of the Ministerie, which is publike, and to be discerned of all. Secondly, neither is it necessarie to vnderstand the manifestation of these workes to the sight of others, but the reuealing thereof to their owne conscience, which alwaies falleth out in this life to those that shall be saued.

Fourthly, they, whose errors are reuealed by the word of God, and their mindes lightened, doe suffer

ſuffer no loſſe, but rather haue gaine by it: but the Apoſtle ſaith, that they whoſe worke burneth doe ſuffer loſſe by it, *Bellarm.*

Anſ. They whoſe erronious preaching is reuealed by the ſpirit in the word, ſuffer no loſſe, in reſpect that they themſelues vpon their repentance are ſaued: but yet they haue loſſe in regard of their labour, which is loſt, and of the greatnes of reward, which they ſhall haue, that preach ſincerely: and ſo is S. *Paul* to be vnderſtood, ſaying, *they ſuffer loſſe, &c.* yet *are ſaued.*

So then, notwithſtanding theſe obiections to the contrarie, our expoſition of the Reuelation & trial to be had in this life by the ſpiritual fire of truth in euery mans conſcience, as touching the worke of the Miniſterie, remaineth ſound, and agreeable to Scripture. To this conſenteth *Origen: Habuit Petrus aliquid plumbi, &c. Peter* had a little lead, for our Sauiour ſaith vnto him, *O thou of little faith.* He therefore that is ſafe, is ſafe, as it were through fire: as the furnace trieth the gold, ſo tentation the righteous: *Veniendū eſt ergo omnibus, &c.* Wherfore euery one muſt come to the fire, muſt come to the conflatorie or fining pot, *Hom.6 in Exod.* Likewiſe Saint *Hierome: Cum videris Satanas nos ſuper fundamentum Chriſti, &c.* When Satan ſeeth vs vpon the foundation of Chriſt to build hay, or ſtubble; *ſupponit incendium*, he ſetteth to the fire: wherefore let vs build gold, &c. and he ſhall not dare to tempt vs, *lib.2. aduerſ. Iouinian.* Both theſe fathers by this fire vnderſtand, the tentation in this life, whereby a man is tried, and brought to acknowledge his infirmitie: which is a preparation to the more excellent worke of the ſpirit, whereby they are further lightened.

I will alſo produce *Bernard* for the expoſition of this place, though I denie not, but that he ſomewhat ſauoured of this purgatorie inuention: theſe words, *he ſhall bee ſafe, yet as through fire*, he thus interpreteth: *Ignis tria habet, fumum, lucem, ardorem, &c.* Fire hath three things, ſmoake, light, heate: the ſmoake, that is the bitternes of ſoule: the light, is the confeſſion of the mouth: the heate is in the bodie the tribulation or puniſhment of repentance. The bitternes then of the ſoule, the confeſſion of the mouth, the puniſhment of the bodie, are that fire, whereby the looſe and negligent builder ſhall bee ſaued, *Serm. de lig. fœn. ſtipul.* But all theſe are in this life. *Ergo, &c.*

Argum.5. Matth.5.25. *Agree with thine aduerſarie while thou art in the way with him, leſt he deliuer thee to the Iudge, the Iudge to the Miniſter, and thou bee caſt into priſon: Verely I ſay vnto thee, thou ſhalt not come out thence, till thou haſt paied the vtmoſt farthing.* This priſon, ſaith *Bellarmine*, is Purgatorie, out of which, after the debt is paied, the debter ſhall goe forth.

Anſ. Firſt, this ſaying of our Sauiour may ſafely be expounded according to the letter of the affaires of this life, as Saint *Chryſoſtome* doth expound it, that men to preuent their further daunger, ſhould bee readie to compound their controuerſies betime. And ſuch counſell alſo the Wiſeman giueth, Pro.6.3. *That if a man haue giuen his word, and is become a ſuretie for another, he ſhould not ſleepe before he had deliuered himſelfe.* And this expoſition is moſt agreeable to the text: for the word is ἀντίδικος, aduerſarie at the law. And Luke.12.58. where the ſame ſentence of our Sauiour is repeated, there is mention made of the Magiſtrate, and of the Iaylor, which are termes and offices properly ſuting the buſines of this life. *Bellarmine* hath not any thing worth the anſwering, contrarie to this ſenſe.

Secondly, if we draw theſe words to a ſpirituall vnderſtanding, by the priſon hell muſt bee ſignified, a place of euerlaſting torment, and not Purgatorie.

Firſt, becauſe the word φυλακὴ, a priſon, is ſo taken, 1.Pet.3.19. for the place of the diſobedient, which is hell: for I thinke, they will not ſend obſtinate ſinners to purgatorie

Secondly, he ſhall not come forth, till he hath paied the vtmoſt farthing, or as S. Luke ſaith, *the vttmoſt mite*; that is neuer: vnleſſe he dare ſay, that a ſinner is able by his puniſhment to ſatisfie the vttmoſt mite of his debt, that is, his ſinne vnto God, which is great blaſphemie to affirme, and contrarie to the Scriptures: for we cannot anſwere God one thing of a thouſand, Iob.9.3.

Thirdly, this place may bee expounded by that parable, Matth.18. where the vnkinde ſeruant is caſt into priſon, till he ſhould pay all that was due, verſ.34. that is, he ſhould lie there for euer; for the debt was ten thouſand talents, too much for a Prince, much leſſe for a ſeruant, to pay: and verſ.25. *he had nothing to pay:* and therefore his maſter forgaue him the debt, verſ.32. Wherefore we ſee our debt is not paied vnto God by vs, but forgiuen; and where it is not pardoned, it can neuer be paied. Againe, it followeth, verſ.35. *So ſhall my heauenly father doe vnto you, if you forgiue not from your hearts one another your treſpaſſes:* What is this, ſo ſhall my father doe vnto you? ſend them to purgatorie? No, but vnto hell: for vncharitable and malicious men, which will not forgiue others, I truſt they will not ordaine vnto a place of temporall puniſhment: for as S. *Iohn* ſaith, *He that hateth his brother, and ſo is a manſlayer, cannot haue eternall life*, 1.Ioh.3.15.

Fourthly, this S. *Ambroſe* expoundeth this place, *lib.9. in Luc. c.19. Redde promiſſum, dum in hoc corpore es, &c.* Render thy vowe or promiſe, while thou art in the bodie, before the exactor commeth, and caſteth thee into priſon. Hence it followeth, that being in priſon, the promiſe, or debt, cannot be paied.

But

But S. *Auguſtine* more plainly: *Conſenti cum aduerſario, &c.* Conſent with thy aduerſarie in the way, &c. for afterward, when we are paſſed out of this world, *nulla compunctio, vel ſatisfactio remanebit*, there remaineth no compuction or ſatisfaction for ſinne, *tom. 10. hom. 5. ſuper illa. Conſent cum aduerſar. &c.*

Argum. 6. Matth. 5. verſ. 22. *He that is angrie with his brother vnadviſedly, is culpable of iudgement: he that ſaith, Racha, ſhall be puniſhed by a councel: but he that ſaith, thou foole, is guiltie of hell fire. Ergo*, all ſinnes are not puniſhed with hell fire, but ſome haue onely temporall chaſticement after this life: therefore in purgatorie, *Bellarm.*

Anſ. Theſe three degrees of puniſhment doe not ſhew diuers and differing places of puniſhment after this life, but a difference of puniſhment in hell; as it may be thus ſhewed:

Firſt, euery tranſgreſſion of the law is ſinne, 1. Ioh. 3. 4. and the wages of euery ſinne is death, Rom. 6. 23. but to be angrie raſhly, and to raile, are tranſgreſſions, and conſequently ſinnes, and ſo in themſelues worthie of euerlaſting death.

Againe, He that loueth not his brother, abideth in death, that is, hath not eternall life, 1. Ioh. 3. ver. 14. 15. but he that is angrie vniuſtly with his brother, loueth him not. *Ergo.*

Further, no railers ſhall inherite Gods kingdome, 1. Cor. 6. 10. that is, without repentance: but he that ſaith to his brother *racha*, that is, *idlebraine*, or *lighthead*, raileth: *Ergo*, this ſinne excludeth from heauen; and conſequently in it ſelfe is worthie of hell. Wherefore it is great boldnes in the Ieſuite to exempt thoſe ſinnes from hell fire, which the Scripture iudgeth worthie thereof.

And that theſe be three degrees of the ſame euerlaſting puniſhment, wherein Chriſt alludeth to the formes of iudgement amongſt men, Saint *Auguſtine* ſheweth: *Iudicium dicitur, &c.* That is called iudgement where the ſentence is not pronounced; that is a councell, where the puniſhment is yet conſulted of: but *Gehenna* or *Hell* is that, which hath certaine damnation, &c. *lib. 1. de ſerm. in monte, cap.* 19. Like as then, the pronouncing, conſulting, execution of ſentence, are all tending to the ſame puniſhment, yet in diuers degrees: ſo is it here, &c.

Argum. 7. 1. Cor. 15. 29 *Why are they then baptized for the dead, if the dead riſe not againe?* The Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the baptiſme of teares, faſting, and prayer, which they did in behalfe of the dead, to eaſe them in the paines of purgatorie: And that baptiſme is taken for affliction, our Sauiour Chriſt ſheweth, ſaying, *I haue a baptiſme to bee baptized with*, Luk. 12. *ſic Bellarm. ſupra loc.* 3.

Anſ. Firſt, this is a forced and vnreaſonable expoſition of this Scripture: firſt, becauſe throughout Scripture we reade of no ſuch baptiſme by teares and faſting: the Scripture maketh mention of three baptiſmes, *flaminis, fluminis, ſanguinis:* of the ſpirit, Mat. 3. Chriſt is ſaid to baptize with the ſpirit: of water, as *Iohn* is ſaid to baptize with water: of blood, or of death, of which Baptiſme our Sauiour ſpeaketh: but to applie baptiſme vnto teares, is improper; & they rather are ſaid to baptize themſelues, then to be baptized. Secondly, if the Apoſtles meaning were ſuch, why ſaith he not, Why are we baptized, rather then they, ſeeing that he himſelfe vſed, as they ſay, to pray for the dead? And whereas he ſaith, the Apoſtle doth vrge rather the ancient cuſtome of the Iewes, that praied for the dead, then the vſe of the Church, and therefore, ſaith, *they*, not *we*: it is falſe that the Iewes had any ſuch cuſtome, but rather the contrary, for *Dauid* prayed for his child, while he liued; but ceaſed to pray for him being dead. Thirdly, it is more agreeable to the text, to vnderſtand Baptiſme properly, for the baptiſme of water, then coactely for the baptiſme of teares: and ſo Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, that the Apoſtle alludeth to the erroneous vſe of ſome, that did either baptize the dead, or were baptized for the dead, in hope of the reſurrection. And whereas *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that the Apoſtle then would haue giuen ſome ſignification of this error, and not ſo lightly haue touched it: S. *Ambroſe* anſwereth, that the Apoſtle adding further, And why are we in iopardie? but ſaith not, Why are we baptized? *Diſcreuit perſonas, oſtendens non catholicos eſſe, &c.* He doth diſcerne the perſons, ſhewing, that they were not catholikes, that were thus baptized for the dead, *Ambroſ. in hunc locum.* This expoſition is better, and more agreeable, then *Bellarmines*: Firſt, becauſe in this ſenſe, we are not forced to take Baptiſme, for any ſuch new found Baptiſme, but properly for Baptiſme indeed. Secondly, becauſe in the Baptiſme of water there is a ſignification of the reſurrection, and a profeſſion of the hope thereof, which is agreeable to the Apoſtles purpoſe: but in the baptiſme of teares there is no ſuch ſignification or repreſentation. Thirdly, becauſe that in the Baptiſme of water, the baptiſme of teares is included, for prayer is made for the partie baptized: ſo that if baptiſme of water be applied to the dead, they haue alſo benefite by the baptiſme of teares. Fourthly, this expoſition is more reaſonable, becauſe of S. *Ambroſe* authoritie: yet it is no fit or proper interpretation of this place; as S. *Chryſoſtome* in his commentarie ſheweth by theſe reaſons:

Firſt, becauſe that *Marcion* that wicked heretike, whoſe followers did vſe to put one in the dead mans bedde, after he was departed, and ſo baptized him for the dead, did alleadge this place for

or that ſuperſtitious vſe, which might ſerue his turne very well; the Apoſtle giuing approbation thereof, without any word of reprehenſion at all, if this place were ſo to be vnderſtood.

Secondly, as theſe words of Chriſt, Vnleſſe you eate my fleſh and drinke my blood &c. are ſpoken to the liuing, and not to the dead: ſo likewiſe, where he ſaith, Except a man be borne of water and the ſpirit, muſt be taken as ſpoken to the liuing.

Thirdly, if this were ſufficient for a man to be baptized when he is dead: then there might be hope for Pagans, Infidels, Iewes, when they are dead: vpon theſe reaſons *Chryſoſtome* infringeth this interpretation allowed by *Ambroſe*, which comming neerer the Apoſtles ſcope then *Bellarmine*, yet miſſing the marke, ſheweth his expoſition to be abſurd and vnreaſonable.

Secondly, then let vs ſee how this place is truely expounded: ſome therefore do vnderſtand it of thoſe, who either deferring their Baptiſme, or not being before admitted to it of the Church, becauſe they were lately conuerted from Paganiſme, did deſire baptiſme vpon their death-bed, being in a manner dead: and ſo were baptized for dead, that is, as dead. But this expoſition is not ſufficient: firſt, becauſe the Apoſtle ſhould haue ſeemed to approue their negligence, that did driue baptiſme to ſuch a ſtreight, as to the point of death. Secondly, the argument of the Apoſtle being drawne from a particular cuſtome of ſome, and not from the generall vſe of the Church, could not ſo ſtrongly conclude. Thirdly, becauſe the force of the Apoſtles reaſon is drawne from *baptiſme*, and *being baptized*, the firſt part of the propoſition, and not from the latter, *for dead*: for it followeth not, they that are deadly ſicke deſire to be baptized: *Ergo*, they expect a reſurrection: vnleſſe that the reſurrection were ſhadowed forth in baptiſme.

Wherfore leauing all by-expoſitions, I take none more fully to expreſſe the Apoſtles meaning, then that of Saint *Chryſoſtome*; who draweth the Apoſtles argument from the end and ſcope of Baptiſme, wherein whether we conſider the confeſſion vttered in Baptiſme, the repreſentation of Baptiſme, or the efficacie thereof, whether theſe all together, or by themſelues; we ſhall finde the argument to conclude: For the confeſſion, he ſaith, *Hoc ad finem cum baptizaturi ſumus, &c.* In the end, being about to baptize, we bid them ſay, I beleeue the reſurrection of the dead: For the repreſentation, *Aquam ſubire & hinc remeare, &c.* To goe into the water, and returne out of the water, are ſymboles, the one of deſcending, *ad inferos*, to the dead; the other, of riſing againe: and therefore S. *Paul* calleth Baptiſme the graue, *ye are buried then by baptiſme into his death*, Rom. 6. And the Apoſtle further ſaith, *that by baptiſme we are graft into the ſimilitude of his death, and into the ſimilitude of his reſurrection*, verſ. 6. For the third, the efficacie of baptiſme, he ſaith, *Spiritus ſanctus, &c.* The ſpirit in baptiſme conſumeth ſinne, as in a furnace, &c. and therfore the cauſe of death, which is ſinne, being extinct, death it ſelfe ſhall ceaſe, and the reſurrection follow. Thus then the Apoſtle ſaith, *they are baptized for dead*, that is, to die vnto ſinne, that they alſo may be partakers of Chriſts reſurrection. This expoſition is both ſound, and good, and moſt agreeable to the Apoſtles purpoſe: neither are the contrarie obiections of any moment.

Firſt, *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that if the Apoſtle had ſpoken ſimply of baptiſme, he would haue ſaid, why are we baptized, as afterward, *why are we alſo in ieopardie?* for the Apoſtle was baptized into the death of Chriſt as well as the reſt.

Anſ. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, *we are in ieopardie*, as giuing a ſpeciall inſtance of himſelfe: as afterward, verſ. 32. he maketh mention of his fighting with beaſts at Epheſus, after the faſhion of the Gentiles, which was a caſe peculiar to himſelfe. Secondly, the Apoſtle is not excluded, though he ſpeake ſometime in the ſecond perſon, as verſ. 17. *If Chriſt bee not raiſed, your faith is vaine*; and ſo ſhould S. *Pauls* faith be in vaine alſo: ſometime in the third, as *they that vſe this world muſt bee as though they vſed it not*, 1. Cor. 7. 31. which ſaying extendeth alſo to the Apoſtle. Thirdly, this obiection maketh as much againſt *Bellarmines* expoſition, ſeeing that he thinketh that the Apoſtle did baptize himſelfe with teares for the dead: and yet he ſaith not, *why are we baptized?*

Secondly, the ſentence is repeated againe, *Why are they baptized for the dead?* and againe, *why are they baptized for them?* that is the dead, which muſt bee vnderſtood of thoſe that are dead: for otherwiſe they are baptized not for them, but for themſelues, *Bellarm.*

Anſ. The Latine text ſo readeth, as the Ieſuite alleageth: but the originall Greeke, repeateth the ſame ſentence, *Why are they baptized for the dead?* So then this obiection is nothing.

Wherefore all this notwithſtanding, our expoſition remaineth ſound, and inuiolable: firſt, becauſe it is authorized by collation of Scripture, Rom. 6. 6. as wee haue ſeene. Secondly, the argument doth conclude more ſtrongly from the generall cuſtome of the Church in baptiſme, then from any ſpeciall vſe. Thirdly, S. *Chryſoſtome*, the beſt of the fathers, without compariſon, for the right interpreting of Scripture, ſo expoundeth it. Wherefore this ſentence of the Apoſtle, *why are they baptized for the dead*, doth ſet forth the fruite and efficacie of baptiſme, whereby we are made partakers of Chriſts death, and are nouriſhed into the hope of his reſurrection: and ſo conſequently maketh nothing at all for Purgatorie.

The

The Proteſtants.

THat there is no ſuch place of Purgatorie after this life, but that here onely is the place of repentance, and to be reconciled vnto God; and that the ſoules departed are preſently either receiued vp to heauen, or thruſt downe to hell: thus it is proued out of the Scriptures.

*Argum.*1. The Scripture maketh but two kindes of workes, either good or euill, Eccleſiaſtes 12.14. But two ſorts of men, he that beleeueth ſhall be ſaued, he that beleeueth not, ſhall be condemned, Mark. 16.16. But two places, heauen and hell, Matth. 25. Chriſt hath but two flocks, one of ſheepe, at the right hand; another of goates at the left: and he ſaith to the one, Come ye bleſſed: to the other, Goe ye curſed. There are but two ſorts of men, therefore but two places: *Ergo*, no Purgatorie.

Bellarm. There ſhall be indeede at the comming of Chriſt but two places, Heauen and Hell: Purgatorie ſhall haue an end.

Anſ. Firſt, you ſay your ſelues that there ſhall be two infernall places for euer, Hell for the wicked, and a *Limbus* for infants that die vnbaptized, and Heauen that maketh three; and now you ſay there ſhall be but two. Secondly, there are but two places now, becauſe there are but two ſorts of men: for the beleeuers are alreadie paſſed from death to life, Ioh. 5.24. The vnbeleeuers are alreadie condemned, Ioh. 3. verſ. 18. Thirdly, *Auguſtine* conſenteth with vs, *Non eſt vllus medius locus, vt poſſit eſſe niſi cum diabolo, qui non eſt cum Chriſto:* There is no middle or third place, but he muſt needes bee with the diuell, that is not with Chriſt, *De peccator. remiſſ. & merit. lib.* 1. *cap.* 28. And againe, *Tertium locum penitus ignoramus, imo nec eſſe in ſcripturis ſanctis inuenimus:* The third place beſide heauen and hell, we are vtterly ignorant of; nay wee finde not in Scripture that there is any.

Argum. 2. Eccleſiaſtes. 11.3. *Whether the tree fall toward the South, or the North, where it falleth there it ſhall be.* This place our aduerſaries graunt to bee vnderſtood of the ſtate of the dead, which are diſpoſed of to two places; there is not then a third, and ſo conſequently no purgatorie.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, by the South the ſtate of ſaluation is vnderſtood, which alſo comprehendeth purgatorie.

Contra. Firſt, if to fall to the South, be to enter into the ſtate of ſaluation, then the Patriarches that died before Chriſt, preſently had poſſeſſion of euerlaſting Saluation, and ſo they haue loſt their *Limbus*. Secondly, it is ſtrange, ſeeing they make Purgatorie a part and member of hell, that they will comprehend in one word, heauen and hell together.

Secondly, ſaith he, we may by the South vnderſtand heauen, and by the North hell, but then euery tree falleth not either North or South.

Contra. Firſt, this Scripture maketh mention but of theſe two places of the dead, and ſo you graunt your purgatorie to be deuiſed beſide Scripture, as it is indeede. Secondly, the text ſaith, *quocunque loco*, in what place ſoeuer it falleth: ſo that to fall to the South or North, is what place ſoeuer, that is, all and euery place toward the which the tree falleth.

Thirdly, if this place ouerthrow Purgatorie, it ouerthroweth as well alſo *Limbus Patrum*, whither the Fathers went before Chriſt. *Bellarm.*

Contra. We graunt all, that this place maketh againſt both the one and the other: for as there is not now a third place of Purgatorie beſide Heauen and Hell, ſo neither was there then *Limbus.*

Argum. 3. Rom. 8. *There is no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Ieſus:* but all ordained to ſaluation are in Chriſt Ieſus; therefore to ſuch there is no condemnation: *Ergo*, no purgatorie: for to be caſt into priſon, which they ſay is purgatorie, Matth. 5.25. is a condemnation.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that S. *Paul* by condemnation vnderſtandeth the contagion of ſinne, that commeth by the concupiſcence of the fleſh, which they haue not that are in Chriſt Ieſus.

Contra. Firſt, ſinne is one thing, and the wages of ſinne is another, which is death or condemnation, Rom. 6.25. therefore by condemnation the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth not ſinne. Secondly, if they that are in Chriſt haue no ſinne, much leſſe doth the puniſhment of ſinne, which they ſay is in purgatorie, abide them.

Argum. 4. 2. Cor. 5.1. *We know, that if our earthly houſe be diſſolued, we haue an houſe in heauen not made with hands, &c.* wherefore it followeth, that the ſeruants of Chriſt preſently after their diſſolution enter into heauen.

Bellarmine: The Apoſtle ſaith not, that all the godly preſently after death goe vnto their heauenly houſe, but onely thoſe that are clothed with righteouſneſſe, as it followeth verſ. 3. *if ſo be found clothed, not naked.*

Cont. Firſt, the Apoſtle meaneth no ſuch clothing: but the clothing, wherof he ſpeaketh, is to be clothed with our houſe from heauen, verſ. 2. and then he addeth, not preſcribing a condition, but rendring a reaſon, why wee deſire to bee clothed with our heauenly houſe, verſ. 2. becauſe being clothed (that is with our heauenly houſe) *we ſhall not be found naked.* Secondly, that all the godlie

straight

ſtraight after their diſſolution are clothed with the heauenly houſe; it followeth, verſ. 4. *that we may not be vnclothed, but clothed vpon.* But if any godly being vnclothed of their fleſh by death, ſhould not preſently bee clothed with immortalitie, then ſhould they bee vnclothed, which the Apoſtle denieth.

Argum. 5. S. *Paul* ſaith, that euery man ſhall receiue the workes of his bodie, according to that which he hath done either good or euill, 2. Cor. 5. 10. Therefore there is no place to cleanſe and purge the ſoules of men after this life; for then they ſhould not receiue according to the workes done in their fleſh.

Bellarmine ſayth, that euen they whoſe ſinnes are remitted after death, doe receiue nothing but that which was done in the fleſh, for they deſerued in their life time to be helped after death.

Anſw. First, as for deſert, we will ſhew elſe where, that it hath no place before God neither in this life, nor the life to come: for the Scripture ſaith, Bleſſed is he to whom the Lord imputeth no ſinne: not who deſerueth remiſſion of ſinnes, Rom. 4. 6. Secondly, this deuiſed and friuolous diſtinction, doth not ſtand with the Apoſtles meaning: for he ſpeaketh of things actually done in the fleſh, not deſerued to be done, and of the workes of the body, not of the ſoule, and of things perfectly done, not begun onely or inchoate: and he vſeth it as a reaſon to perſwade men, euen while they liue, to be accepted of God, verſ. 9. 11. But if there might be any ſuch helpe after death, there needeth no ſuch haſt preſently to be conuerted vnto God. Thirdly, if they deſerued any thing in their life, why deſerued they not preſently to haue forgiuenes of ſins, as wel as afterward?

Argum. 6. Apocal. 14. 13. Bleſſed are the dead from henceforth that die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours: *Ergo*, there is no Purgatorie: for all the godly departed are at reſt.

Reſpon. First, it is not meant of all the godly, but onely of Martyrs, which die for the name of Chriſt.

Anſw. As to liue in Chriſt Ieſus, is a phraſe of Scripture, and ſignifieth to liue godly in Chriſt, 2. Tim. 3. 12. ſo to die in the Lord, ſignifieth to dye in the faith of Chriſt, 1. Theſſ. 4. 16. Therefore this place is vnderſtood of all the godly.

Reſpon. 2. This word (*amodo*) from henceforth, is not to be vnderſtood ſtraight after their death, but ſtraight after the day of iudgement, then they ſhall be bleſſed.

Anſw. First, by this reaſon none that are dead in Chriſt ſhould be happie before that time. And yet by your owne confeſſion, Martyrs are ſtraightway receiued vp to heauen. Secondly, S. *Iohn* vſeth this word elſewhere, to ſignifie from this time forward, as Ioh. 1. 51. Chriſt ſaith to *Nathanael*, From henceforth you ſhall ſee heauen open.

Rhemiſt. Thirdly, it may be alſo vnderſtood of the ſoules in Purgatorie, that are without danger of ſinne and damnation, and are put in vnfallible ſecuritie of their ſaluation, with vnſpeakable comfort.

Anſ. Firſt, ſo the Saints liuing are bleſſed, being as well without feare of damnation, Rom. 8. 1. and are aſſured of their ſaluation, Rom. 8. 16. Secondly, I pray you what reſt or comfort can they haue, that endure greater paine then any in this life? And how can their conſciences be quieted, ſeeing their ſoules are ſo afflicted? for bodies they haue none, whatſoeuer they ſuffer is in ſoule: how then can ioy and paine, comfort and horror be together in the ſoule?

Let vs ſee the iudgement of antiquitie: *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. lib. 1. cap. 1. Tribus modis peccata mortalium vindicantur, &c.* The ſinnes of mortall men are three wayes puniſhed, two wayes in this life, and one in the next: Of the two wayes the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, if we would iudge our ſelues, &c. This is the puniſhment wherein euery ſinner taketh reuenge in himſelfe: Afterward hee ſaith, but when we are iudged of God, we are chaſtiſed, &c. This is the puniſhment, which God in mercy doth lay vpon ſinners: The third is moſt fearefull and terrible, not in this but the next world, when the iuſt Iudge ſhall ſay, depart from me ye curſed, &c. We ſee then that Purgatorie by the ſentence of this Councell is excluded, for it is none of theſe three kindes of puniſhments here expreſſed.

And yet we haue more euident teſtimonie out of their owne Canons, *Gelaſius epiſtol. ad Anaſtaſium; Quæ ſolueris ſuper terram, &c.* That which thou bindeſt vpon the earth: vpon the earth, for he that dieth being thus bound, can no where be abſolued: Therefore he that is not abſolued in this life, cannot be afterwards: *Ergo*, no Purgatorie.

Againe, the ſame *Gelaſ. decret. 2. de eo, qui in diuino iudicio eſt conſtitutus, &c.* Concerning him that is committed to the diuine iudgement, it is not lawfull to iudge any other thing, then that, wherein he died.

Decret. part. 2. cauſ. 33. diſtinct. 1. c. 39. Non meretur iuſtificari: He is not worthie to be iuſtified, which did not confeſſe his ſinnes, while he liued.

Ibid. c. 49. Leo, Quod manens in corpore non recepit: That which a man in his bodie receiued not, being vnclothed of his fleſh, he cannot obtaine. If then there be no remiſſion of ſinnes after this life, then conſequently no Purgatorie.

And as touching the worde purifying or purging, whereof Purgatorie is deriued, their owne Canons call repentance, *Purificatorium ignem panitudinis*, the purifying fire, *decret. p. 2. caus. 33. qu. 3. c. 4.* If Repentance be a purgatorie fire, what neede another purgatorie fire afterward.

Let them heare also the iudgement of one of their owne writers, *Animarum post dissolutionem domui suum quique statum immutabilem sortiuntur*: Euery soule after the dissolution of the flesh, do enter into their immutable state, *Espence in 2. Timoth. p. 144. d.* If the state of euery soule after death be immutable, then there is no Purgatorie; for that state is mutable and temporall by their owne confession.

Let vs adioyne the testimonie of the holy Martyrs, *Richard Feron*, french Martyr, being asked if he beleeued any Purgatorie, answered: I beleeue that Christ with his precious bloud hath made an end of all Purgatorie, and purgation of our sinnes, *Fox.* pag. 913. *col.* 1. *Francois Rebezel* holy Martyr, I doe acknowledge that Purgatorie, which is the death and passion of Christ. *Fox.* pag. 922. *col.* 1.

Iohn Frith holy Martyr, I beleeue there is no such place to purge the spots and filth of the soule after this life: for man consisteth of two parts, that is of bodie and soule, whereof the one is purged here in this world, by affliction, persecution, imprisonment, and last of all by death it selfe, and the soule is purged by the word of God, which we receiue through faith, &c. Now, if you can shew me a third part of man beside the bodie and the soule, I will also grant vnto you the third place which is Purgatorie, &c. *Fox.* pag. 1034.

Master *Latimer* Martyr thinketh the deuise of Purgatorie, to be a meere imagination and fable, and saith vpon this ground, that he would rather choose to be in Purgatorie, then in the Lolles tower: And of this his speech he rendreth many sufficient reasons: See more, *Fox.* pag. 1741. *col.* 2.

Lastly, *Iohn Spicer*, *William Coberly*, *Iohn Maundrel* Martyrs put to death, for saying that Purgatorie was the Popes pinfold, pag. 1894. col. 1. Let our aduersaries shew now, if they can, who of their sect haue dyed in the defense of Purgatorie, as we are able to bring forth many Martyrs, who haue witnessed against it, euen by their blood.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE CIRCVMSTANces and other matters belonging to Purgatorie.

The Papists.

11. Error. 1. THey say, it is an article of faith, to beleeue that there is a Purgatorie, and that he, who beleeueth it not, is sure to goe to hell, *Bellarm. lib. 1. De purgatorio cap. 11.*

The Protestants.

WE hold, that it is not onely an article belonging to the faith, but contrarie to it: and that though there were a Purgatorie, yet it should not be necessarie to saluation to beleeue it. First, because the Scripture hath not determined it, which containeth all things necessarie to saluation. Secondly, the Greeke Church holdeth it not to this day: they confesse no Purgatorie fire, though they pray for the dead: as may be seene in the Florentine Councell, *sess. 25.* it were hard matter therefore to pronounce them damned. Thirdly, *Augustine* doubted of it: He saith, that there should be some such place after death, *non incredibile est*, it is not incredible, *& vtrum sit, quari potest, & aut inueniri aut latere fidelis potest*: whether it be so or not, it may be enquired, and it may either be safely found out, or remaine hid and vnknowne to the faithfull: *Enchirid. 69. Augustine* saith, A faithfull man may safely be ignorant of Purgatorie.

The Papists.

12. Error. 2. THey, say they, onely goe to Purgatorie, that die in their veniall and light transgressions, or which haue their sinnes remitted, but not satisfied for the punishment, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de Purgat. cap. 11.*

The Protestants.

FIrst, we deny that any sinnes are of their owne nature veniall, as they affirme, for the wages of all sinne, without the mercie of God, is death, Rom. 6. 23. Secondly, what equitie should there be in this, that veniall sinne should be punished with the hellish fire of Purgatorie, that exceedeth all the afflictions of this life, yea and a longer time then any man liueth vpon earth; for the Pope taketh vpon him to pardon for thousands of yeeres: and yet mortall and deadly sinnes (as they call them) may be satisfied for here, where neither the penance can be so grieuous, nor so long? Thirdly, the sinne once remitted, there remaineth no punishment, Mark. 2. 5. Christ saith to the sicke of the palsie, *Thy sinnes are forgiuen thee*: and vers. 10. *That ye may know that the Sonne of man hath authoritie on earth to forgiue sinnes, I say vnto thee, arise, take vp thy bed and walke.* The releasing him of the punishment of his bodie, was a signe that his sinnes also were forgiuen, and the sinne

ſinne being remitted, the puniſhment alſo ceaſeth. Wherefore who ſo leaueth the world without ſinne, is no more guiltie of any puniſhment.

The Papiſts.

3. THe ſoules in Purgatorie doe neither ſinne any more, neither can they merite. Eccleſ. 9. 5. The dead know nothing at all, verſ. 10. there is neither worke, knowledge, nor wiſdome in the graue, *Bellarm. cap.* 2. 13. Error.

The Proteſtants.

WE ſay, that if there were any ſuch place as Purgatorie, the ſoules there tormented, muſt needes both increaſe in charitie and righteouſnes, becauſe the more they are purged the more pure they are, and the leſſe droſſe is in them: and being in vnſpeakable torments, they cannot choose but tremble and feare; yea and alſo be diſquieted in their ſoules, as the Saints were ſometime in their afflictions here vpon earth; and therefore cannot be without ſinne: for feare hath painfulnes, as the Apoſtle ſaith, and he that feareth is not perfect in loue, 1 Ioh. 4. 18. *Ergo*, a ſeruile or ſlauiſh feare is ſinne. That place alleadged doth not onely take away meriting or working from the dead, but all knowledge and vnderſtanding. And it is ſpoken in the perſon of the Epicure and ſenſuall man, that thinketh that the dead know nothing.

The Papiſts.

4. THey affirme, that the ſoules in Purgatorie are certaine of their ſaluation in the midſt of their torments: for euery ſoule departed, ſtraight after death receiueth ſentence of life or death, *Bellarm. cap.* 4. 14. Error.

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. FIrſt, that euery ſoule is iudged preſently after death, we grant: and it maketh ſtrongly againſt your Purgatorie: for the ſentence giuen is either of death or life; and the ſentence being giuen is accordingly executed: ſo that they which receiue ſentence of life goe preſently to heauen, the other to hell. For to what purpoſe els ſhould the ſentence be giuen, if it be not ſtraightwayes in force? So S. *Paul* ſaith, that they which looke to be cloathed with their houſe from heauen, ſhall not be left naked or vncloathed, 2. Cor. 5. 2. 3. 4. But if ſome ſoules ordained to life eternall, ſhould pauſe a while in Purgatorie, being vnclothed of their fleſh, they ſhould be left altogether naked, hauing not yet receiued their clothing from heauen. Secondly, where there is ſecurtie of ſaluation, there is the greateſt comfort and ioy that can be: how then can the ſoules in Purgatorie be ſo grieuouſly tormented, which cannot be elſewhere then in their conſcience? for as for the whipping, ſcalding, freezing of ſoules in Purgatorie, they are but old wiues fables: the ioy then of the ſoule is in the conſcience, ſo is the ſorowe: how then can both theſe be matched in the ſoule together, to haue vnſpeakable ioy, as alſo to feele moſt horrible paine?

5 In theſe poynts alreadie ſet downe, our aduerſaries we ſee are bold to define certainly of Purgatorie: but there are as many poynts, and ſomewhat more, which they leaue in doubt and vncertaine. Firſt, where Purgatorie ſhould be: *Bellarmine* geſſeth it is in the bowels of the earth next to hell, *cap.* 6. ſo doe the Rhemiſts, Luke. 16. ſect. 8. But they doe not all agree, neither hath their Church defined it. Secondly, they cannot tell how many yeeres Purgatorie endureth, whether an hundred, or two hundred, or a thouſand yeeres. Thirdly, they cannot tell certainly whether it be materiall fire which burneth in Purgatorie, but they ſay it is probable. Fourthly, neither can they ſhew how corporall fire ſhould worke vpon the ſoules in Purgatorie, being ſpirituall and incorporall, *Bellarmine cap.* 12. Fiftly, they are vncertaine, whether the diuels or Angels be the tormentors in Purgatorie, *cap.* 13. Sixtly, whether the paine of Purgatorie be at all times alike, or by little and little ſlacked toward the end; and whether it doe exceede all the paines and ſorowes of this life, they yet remaine vncertaine, and are not able to determine, *Bellarm. lib.* 2. *de purgat. cap.* 14. Let vs leaue them therefore with their vncertainties, and brainſicke phanſies: for the vaine inuentions and imaginations of men haue no end, but are fitly by the Prophet compared to ſparkles, that leape out thicke out of the fire, but are ſoone extinguiſhed: Walke, ſaith the Prophet, *In the light of your fire, and ſparkes that you haue kindled:* that is, as the ſparkles giue but a dimme light for a man to walke by, he may ſtumble and grope about ſtill for all that light: euen ſo, no meruaile if the Papiſts do wander vp and downe in their imaginations, walking by the light and ſparkles of their phantaſticall and mathematicall fire of purgatorie. Iſa. 50. 11.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER THE PRAYERS OF the liuing, or any other workes of theirs doe profit the dead.

The Papiſts.

THeir opinion is, that the prayers of the liuing are neither auailable for the Saints in heauen, for they neede them not, nor for the damned in hell, for they cannot be helped; but onely for the ſoules tormented in Purgatorie, who doe find great eaſe, ſay they, by the prayers of the liuing, Hareſ. 15.

and therefore we ought to pray for them, *Bellar lib.2.de purg.c.15.18. Rhem.annot.2.Thes.2.fol.19.*

Argum.1. Christ while he liued, profited the dead, for he raised to life the rulers daughter, Matth.9.the widowes sonne, Luk.7.and *Lazarus*, which were dead: therefore euen so the members of Christ ought one to helpe another, the liuing the dead, *Bellarm.cap.15.*

Answ. First, is not here a strong argument, thinke you, Christ raised *Lazarus*, and some others from death to life: *Ergo*, we ought to pray for the dead? for it followeth not that vpon the miraculous workes of Christ, we should build the ordinarie duties of Christians: *Augustine* would haue told you that Christ is not to be imitated in such workes: *Non hoc tibi dicit, non eris discipulus meus, nisi ambulaueris supra mare, aut nisi suscitaueris quatriduanum mortuum:* He saith not vnto thee, Thou shalt not be my disciple, vnlesse thou walke vpon the sea, and raise one that hath been dead foure dayes: But, Learne of me: for I am humble and meeke. Secondly, if prayer for the dead be vnto vs, as the raising of the dead was to Christ: then, as al the dead are to be prayed for, so Christ should haue raised againe all that went then to Purgatorie; or els, by your conclusion, he failed in charitie, as we doe now, if we pray not for the dead, as you beare vs in hand. Thirdly, though the Saints departed, and the faithfull liuing are members of the same bodie, and so are bound in loue one to the other, yet it followeth not, that one should pray for the other. They with vs, and we with them doe wish and long to see the redemption of the sonnes of God accomplished, Reuel. 6.10.22.20. But charitie bindeth vs not one to pray for another, because we know not one the particular needes of another. Nay, to pray for any departed, is against the rule of charitie: for loue beleeueth all things, and hopeth all things, 1.Cor.13.7. We ought to hope the best of the dead, that they are at rest: but in praying for them, we presuppose they are in miserie, and so need our prayers: therefore we hope not the best of them, as charitie willeth vs.

Argum.2. There is a mutuall communication of all the members of Christs bodie; *Paul* saith, if one member suffer all suffer with it, 1.Cor.12.26. but the righteous departed are members of the same bodie: *Ergo*, the liuing ought to be touched with compassion toward them, and assist them with their prayers. *Bellar.lib.2.de purg.c.15.*

Answ. First, though it can not be denied, but that the Church of God in heauen and earth make but one familie, Ephes.3.15. yet it is euident, that in this place the Apostle onely speaketh of that part of the Church, which is on earth, wherein Christ hath ordained some to be Apostles, some Prophets, &c.vers.28. which distinction of offices belongeth to the militant Church on earth. Secondly, and yet we graunt that there is a mutual communication betweene both members, such as is agreeable with their estate: namely that the Saintes in heauen do long for the consummation of our and their happinesse; and do wish vnto the Church militant, the like happie end of their afflictions, as they haue attained vnto, Reuel.6.10. and the members yet liuing giue thanks for the glorious victorie of the Saints in heauen, according as the Apostle saith, if one member be had in honour, all the members reioyce with it, 1.Cor.12.26. but the members liuing suffer not with the members departed; for as much as they suffer not at all, all teares being wiped from their eyes, Apocal.7.17. and therefore they haue no neede of our prayers.

Argum.3. 1.Ioh.5.vers.16. The Apostle saith, There is a sinne vnto death, for the which a man ought not to pray: that is, deadly sinne, wherein a man dyeth without repentance: but for other sinnes not vnto death, whereof men repent themselues, it is lawfull to pray: *Ergo*, we may pray for those that are departed not in deadly sinne: for this place is properly to be vnderstood of praying or not praying for the dead: because so long as a man liueth he may be prayed for, because all sinnes are pardonable in this life, *Rhemist.ibid.*

Answ. First, a sinne vnto death is not onely finall impenitencie, but sinne also against the holy Ghost, such as was the sinne of *Iudas*, and of the Pharisies. Secondly, though we should vnderstand it of finall impenitencie, yet it is but a sory argument: Some of the dead ought not to be prayed for: *Ergo*, the rest may. Thirdly, the text cannot be vnderstood of praying for the dead: for the text saith not, If any man see that his brother hath sinned not vnto death, but, If he see him sinning: but the dead doe neither sinne, nor are seene to sinne. Fourthly, whereas you say, that all sinnes are pardonable in this life, our Sauiour Christ saith contrarie, that the sinne against the holy Ghost can neuer be forgiuen, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. See more of their arguments in the question before of Purgatorie, *Argum.2.& 7.*

The Protestants.

TO pray for the dead, is a worke neither pleasing before God, because he hath no where commanded it, nor auailable for them that are departed, because they haue their iudgement already. While we liue, let vs one pray for another, but when we are gone, the prayers of the liuing helpe vs not.

Argum.1. The ground of this popish opinion of prayer for the dead, is their superstitious deuise of Purgatorie: for none els doe they hold it lawfull to pray for but for the soules cast in Purgatorie. But there is no Purgatorie, as we haue shewed before after this life: our purging is onely

only in this life: Christ hath by himselfe purged our sinnes, Hebr. 1.3. Christ his bloud is the chiefe and onely purgation of our sinnes: there are also other inferiour and ministeriall purgings, whereby that onely soueraigne purging is made beneficiall, and applyed vnto vs: as the inward operation and worke of the spirit is compared to fire, Matth. 3.11. 1. Corinth. 3.13. There is also a purging fire of affliction compared by the Prophet to fullers sope, Malach. 3.3. There also shall be a final purging fire in the day of the Lord, 1. Pet. 3.7. when as the corruption and mortalitie of our bodies shall be purged away, and then shall our mortalitie put on immortalitie, 1. Corinth. 15.53. Other Purgatorie after this life we acknowledge none. Seeing then that there are no soules in Purgatorie, and for none els it is lawfull to pray but for the soules tormented in Purgatorie; it followeth, that we are to pray for none at all that are dead.

Argum. 2. No prayer is acceptable to God without faith. We must pray without wauering and doubting, *Iames* 1.6. But so can we not pray for the dead: for we cannot tell in what case they are for whom we pray, whether they be in heauen, hell, or Purgatorie, and therefore we cannot assure our selues that our prayers are heard, but must needes pray with great doubting and wauering of the mind: *Ergo*, such prayers are in vaine, Iames 1.7.

Bellarmine answereth, First, it is better, that they sometime should haue our prayers, that need them not, as the Saints in heauen, then they to want them, that need them, namely the soules in Purgatorie: as wee giue almes many times to the wicked, least wee should be wanting to the righteous.

Contra. First, he very vnskilfully still beggeth the thing in question, that the soules in Purgatorie need our prayers, which we do instantly denie: so that our prayers are not superfluous only to some of the dead, but to all. Secondly, he would haue men make their prayers, as the blind man shooteth at the Crow, that as he shooteth many arrowes, that at the least some may hit; so they to make many prayers, that some may preuaile: but the Scripture forbiddeth vs to pray so vncertainely, saying, whatsoeuer you desire, when you pray, beleeue, that you shall haue it, and it shall be done vnto you, Marke 11.24. So then, if it were lawfull to pray for the dead, then we should be sure to helpe all with our prayers, yea euen those, which are in hell, which they themselues denie. This rule then, it is better to be superfluous in necessaries, then to be defectiue; to abound, rather then to lacke, taketh place in matters arbitrarie, & subiect to our will: but where Gods pleasure is otherwise, as in this case of praying for the dead, it hath no place at all. Thirdly, the influence of almes is not alike, for we are commanded to do good vnto all, and so to the vniust, though chiefely to the houshold of faith; but there is no cõmandement to pray for the dead: and againe, almes do profite all the receiuers, so are not prayers profitable to all, that are dead.

Secondly, saith he, a good worke is neuer in vaine, it is meritorious to the doer, though it profite not the receiuer, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, we denie that any good worke is meritorious. Secondly, that is no good worke, which is not of faith, nor commanded by the Lord: and therefore prayer for the dead, being not warranted by the word, is no good worke, but meere superstition.

Argum. 3. Our prayers profite not the dead, because there is no place after this life for repentance or remission of sinnes: for this should be the end and intendment of our prayer, that they might be released of their sinnes, and eased of their paine. There is no remission of sinnes after death, because there is no true repentance: repentance there is none, because there can be no amendment of life, which alwayes followeth repentance: for *Iohn Baptist* that was a preacher of repentance, bid not onely the people to repent, but to bring foorth fruites worthie repentance, Matth. 3.8. So saith the Prophet *Ezechiel*, If the wicked will returne from his sinnes, and doe the thing that is lawfull, he shall liue and not die, 18.21. There are two parts then of repentance, as *Esay* saith, Cease to doe euill, learne to doe well, 1. Isay 16.17. But there is no place of working out of the bodie: *Ergo*, then no repentance.

To this *Augustine* agreeth: *Non est apud inferos paenitentiae ad salutem profectus, ecce nunc tempus salutis, nunc tempus remissionis. In hac vita paenitentia tantum patet libertas, post mortem nulla correctionis est licentia. De tempor. serm.* 66. In hell, or among the dead, there is no repentance vnto saluation: behold now is the time of saluation, the time of forgiuenes: In this life onely haue men libertie to repent, after death there is no place for amendment. What is become now (I pray you) of your Purgatorie repentance? after this life there is no saluation to be had, because there is no remission of sinnes: no remission of sinnes, because there is no repentance: there is no repentance, because there is no amendment.

See the consent of antiquitie against prayer to be made for the dead: *Gelasius epist. ad Anastasium Imperator. Quae solueris super terram, &c. super terram (inquit:) nam in hac ligatione defunctum nusquam dicis absolui*: whatsoeuer thou looseth vpon earth (saith our Sauiour Christ:) he saith, vpon earth: for he that dyeth being bound, is no where said to be loosed. If the dead then cannot be loosed from their sinnes, in vaine are they prayed for.

Concil.Tolitan.3.can.22.Qui diuina vocatione ab hac vita recedunt, cum psalmis tantummodo & psallentium vocibus debere ad sepulchra deferri: nam funebre carmen, quod vulgo defunctis cantari solet, &c. prohibemus. They which are called by God out of this life, are to be brought to the graue onely with psalmes and the voyce of singers: for that funerall verse, which they are woont to sing to the dead, we doe forbid to be vsed. Here singing onely and thanksgiuing for the departure of the dead is permitted: and all verses and whatsoeuer enditings directed to the dead are forbidden: therefore also prayers for the dead are vnlawfull by this decree.

2. Further, prayer for the dead is contrarie to their owne rule, *Iniuriam facit Martyri, qui orat pro Martyre:* He doth wrong to a Martyr, that prayeth for a Martyr; and therefore whereas in the old Masse bookes they prayed thus, *Annue nobis Domine, vt animae famuli tui Leonis, &c.* Graunt Lord, that this oblation may be profitable to the soule of thy seruant *Leo*; they haue changed the forme thus, *Quaesumus domine, vt intercessione &c.* We beseech thee Lord, that by the intercession of blessed *Leo*, this oblation may be profitable to vs, *decret. Gregor. lib.3.tit.41.c.6.* Wherefore their prayers for the dead must needs be iniurious, seeing amongst others, they pray also for many Saints in heauen.

Thomas Hawkes holy Martyr, hath sealed this truth: *The prayer of the righteous man is auailable for the liuing, but not for the dead: for Dauid saith, no man can deliuer his brother from death, or make agreement vnto God for him, Psal.49. Fox. pag.1587.* col.2.

AN APPENDIX OR AN APPERTINENCE TO this part, concerning the burials and funerals of the dead.

THere are certaine poynts wherein there is no great variance or dissension betweene vs. First, we confesse, that it is meete and conuenient, that the bodies of Christians, being departed, should after a seemely and comely manner be brought to the graue: as *Dauid* commendeth the men of *Iabesh Gilead*, for burying the bodie of *Saul*, 2.Sam.2.5. The brethren also tooke the bodie of *Stephen* and buried it, Act.8.2. Secondly, it is not to be denied but that lamentation and sorrow may be made for the dead, obseruing S.*Pauls* rule, that we mourne not as those that haue no hope, that is, excessiuely, 1.Thess.4.13. where S.*Paul* doth not simply forbid Christians sorrow, but not as the Gentiles. The brethrē also made great lamentation for *Stephen*, Act.8.2. Thirdly, we doe also graunt, that according to the diuers customes of countries, it is not vnlawfull to vse some comely rites and ceremonies in the buriall of the dead; not for religion, but for order sake: as among the Israelites, the mourners were woont to goe about in the streetes, Ecclesiast. 12.5. And Christ commended the woman in the Gospell, for anoynting of him against his buriall, Mark.14.

But beside these points by vs confessed, and acknowledged, there are other more weightie matters, as touching the order of funerals, wherein wee worthilie and iustly dissent from our aduersaries.

16.Error. 1 They do attribute much to the places where men are buried, as in Churches, and Churchyards, but especially vnder the Altar, *Rhemist.* As the soules of the righteous do rest in Christ, who is that altar, vnder the which the Apostle saw the soules of Martyrs: so for the correspondence to the place in heauen, their bodies are commonly laid vnder the Altar, where the sacrifice of the bodie of Christ is daily offered, *Annot. Apocal.6.vers.9.*

Ans. The altar of the Crosse was the onely place where the bodie of Christ was sacrificed: neither neede it to bee often offered in sacrifice, but it sufficed once onely to haue been done, Heb.9. vers.25.27. And in the Communion, wee acknowledge no sacrifice, but of praise and thanksgiuing, Heb.13.15. It is kept onely in remembrance of the death of Christ, 1.Cor.11.25. And how should it be auaileable for the dead, seeing it profiteth not all the liuing, but onely those that are present, which doe eate and drinke the holy elements of bread and wine in remembrance of the bodie and blood of Christ giuen and shed for them? So saith the Scripture, *Doe this, as oft as ye doe it, in remembrance of me*, 1.Cor.11.25. The doers therefore, agents and receiuers, haue the present benefit, not they which are absent: how then can the dead receiue any solace by it? It profiteth them not a whit to bee laid in Churches, or Churchyards, or other hallowed places, as they call them; for all places are alike: neither helpeth it the dead to be buried in one place more then another: for God shall commaund the sea, and all other places to giue vp their dead, Apocalyps.20. Theodor. The very Heathen did confesse as much: one saith, It skilleth not, *humine, an sublimi putrescam*, Lucan. whether I rot vnder, or aboue the ground. And another thus writeth, *Caelo tegitur, qui non habet vrnam.* Heauen is a couering to him that hath no other coffin. It were a foule shame then for Christians, to exceede the very Gentiles in their superstitious conceits. *Augustine* saith, *Si aliquid prodest* De cura pro mortuis cap.3 *impio sepultura preciosa, oberit pio vilis, aut nulla:* If sumptuous funerals profit the wicked, then homely or no burials doe hurt the godly. Therefore as it helpeth not a wicked man to be buried in

in one place more then another; ſo it doth not hinder or hurt the godlie and righteous man.

Bellarmine obiecteth the example of the Patriarches, who dying in Egypt, gaue charge for their bodies to be buried in the land of promiſe: from whence he concludeth, that it is auaileable to be buried in holie places: And afterward in the times of the Chriſtians, they vſed to burie their bodies in Churches, *Bellarm. cap. 19.*

Contra. Firſt, the Patriarches deſired to bee buried in the land of promiſe, not for the holines of the place, but partly to be ioyned to the ſepulchers of their fathers, as *Iacob* alleageth, Gen. 49. 31. partly to ſhew their faith and aſſurance of Gods promiſes as touching the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of Egypt, as *Ioſeph* confeſſeth, Gen. 50. 26. for afterwards, when the people were come out of Egypt, they had no ſuch deſire for their buriall: for *Miriam* was buried in Kadeſh, and *Aaron* in the mount Hor in the wilderneſſe, Numb. 20.

Secondly, it is vntrue that it was practiſed of ancient time among the Chriſtians to burie their dead in Churches, but this vſe was taken vp afterward, as ſuperſtition encreaſed: for this was forbidden both by the Imperiall, and Eccleſiaſticall lawes: as *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 43. leg. 12. Mortuorum corpora non debent in ciuitatibus ſepeliri:* The bodies of the dead muſt not bee buried in cities: *Ergo*, much leſſe in Churches. And *lib. 1. tit. 5. leg. 2. Theodoſ. Nouo martyrum &c.* Let no man thinke, that the feare of the Martyrs and Apoſtles is graunted for humane bodies: that is, to be buried in.

Likewiſe, *Decret. part. 2. cauſ. 13. qu. 2. c. 15. Prohibendum eſt ſecundum inſtitutum ſanctum:* We prohibite, according to the decrees of our elders, that they bee not buried in the Church, but in the porch, or the limits without the Church: but within the Church, *& prope altare*, and neere to the altar, where the bodie and blood of Chriſt is made, let them be buried by no meanes. This Canon ouerthroweth the Rhemiſts collection for burials vnder the altar.

Concil. Antiſſiod. can. 5. De oportetis altaris non ſacerdotis corpus dum ad tumulum euehitur, obtegatur, quia ſacro velamine dum honorantur corpora, altaria polluuntur: The prieſts bodie muſt not be couered with the Altar-cloth, while it is carried to the graue, for while the bodies are honoured with the holy vaile, the Altar is defiled. If it bee not lawfull for the Altar-cloth to couer the dead, much leſſe for the Altar it ſelfe, which is greater then the couering?

Concil. Bracarenſ. 1. cap. 36. Vt defunctorum corpora nullo modo intra Baſilicam ſanctorum ſepeliantur, quia & hoc moris ciuitatum eſt, vt nullius defuncti corpus intra ambitum murorum ſit humatum: That the bodies of the dead ſhould not in any caſe bee buried within the Churches of the Saints, becauſe, that it is the cuſtome alſo of cities, not to burie their dead within the walles. But if it had bin ſo great a priuiledge to the dead to bee buried in the Church, and neere vnto the Altar, I thinke that Councell would not haue forbidden it.

This alſo hath been the confeſſion of thoſe that haue been perſecuted for the truth: *William Thorn*, As touching the burying of my bodie, it auaileth me not whatſoeuer be done thereto, *Foxe* pag. 1043. col. 1. *Thomas Patmore:* That he regarded not the place, whether it were hallowed, or no, where he ſhould be buried, after he was dead, pag. 1044. col. 2.

1 Wee condemne alſo their ſuperſtitious ceremonies which they vſe at their funerals; as the burning of Tapers, which ſignifieth, ſay they, that the ſoules of the dead are aliue, *Bellarm. de Purgat. lib. 2. cap. 19.* 17. Error.

Anſ. Firſt, this ſuperſtitious vſe of ſetting vp candles, was directly forbidden in the Eliberine Councell, Canon. 34. 2. *Cereos per diem in cœmiterijs placuit non incendi:* Wee thinke it good that no waxe candles be burned by day in the Churchyards.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Councell doth onely forbid the ſuperſtitious vſe of the Gentiles in burning of candles: but this notwithſtanding candles may bee vſed to betoken the life of the ſoules departed.

Anſ. The words of the Councell are generall, as in the 37. Canon likewiſe it is forbidden, *Ne luminaria publicè accendant:* That they ſhould in no wiſe ſet vp candles publikely: and ſo abſolutely it condemneth the vſe of candle light by day.

Of the like ſort alſo were other ſuperſtitious vſages, as the going about of the belman to will the people to pray for their ſoules, the ringing or iangling of bels to bring their ſoules to heauen, with queere-ſongs and other melodie to commit the bodies to the ground, and commending their ſoules to the protection of Saints. We denie not, but comely and decent orders, voide of ſuperſtition, may be vſed, according to the faſhion of the countrie: as *Iacobs* bodie was embaulmed after the manner of the Egyptians, Geneſ. 50. 2. At the buriall of their Kings, the Iſraelites vſed to burne odors, Iere. 34. 5. The Iewes manner was to waſh the bodies of the dead, to winde it vp in a linnen cloth, and burie it with ſpices and odors: So our Sauiours bodie was buried after the manner of the Iewes, Ioh. 19. 40. We reade alſo that *Ioſeph* was put into a coffin or cheſt, Gen. 50. 26. Of theſe and the like cuſtomes, *Auguſtine* giueth a rule, writing vpon thoſe words in the Goſpell, Iohn 19. 40. As it was the manner of the Iewes to burie: *Non mihi videtur Euangeliſta ſic fruſtra dicere*

dicere voluisse: ita quippe admonuit, in huiusmodi officijs, quæ mortuis exhibentur, morem cuiusque gentis esse seruandum: in Iohann. tract. 120. Me thinketh the Euangelist said not thus without cause: hereby letting vs to vnderstand, that in performing such duties of buriall to the dead, the manner and custome of euery countrie is to be kept.

The Iewes also had a custome, with some companie or frequencie of people, to bring their dead to the ground, Eccles. 12.5. And in the while, to vse some admonition to the people concerning death and mortalitie which came in by sinne, and of the wrath and mercie of God, *Syrus iuxta in Mark.* 14.3. Neither doe wee see, why it is not lawfull now among Christians, at funerals and burials, to haue some godly sermon and exhortation, to put the people in minde of their end, and to comfort them with the hope of the resurrection, as also to giue God thankes, for those his faithfull seruants, that did glorifie him by their life, and by their godly departure. This seemeth also to haue been the commendable custome of the Church in ancient time: as *Augustine* writeth thus, *Enarrat. in Psal. 103. part. 1. Paucanos cogit dicere temporis angustia, quod & vestra debet vos exequijs fidelis corporis solenne obsequium:* The shortnes of the time causeth me to be briefe, and you know, that we are to performe a solemne dutie to the bodie of our faithfull brother. The sermon seemeth to haue been made at some funerall.

Concil. Coloniens. part. 7. cap. 52. In sepulturis & exequijs mortalitatis admonitio diligens fiat, & inuitandi inter alia præsentes, vt recogitent sibi eodem modo hinc excedendum esse: In burials and funerals, the people must carefully be admonished of mortalitie, and they which are present, should be stirred vp to consider, that they also are mortall.

The Iewes also, the buriall being ended, did comfort those that mourned, and ate and drunke with them, and gaue them the cup of consolation, Ierem. 16.7. Ioh. 11.31. Both which customes may be kept and retained without any superstition. But other customes and ceremonies, that doe sauour of impietie, and doe any way imply prayer or commendation of the soules of the dead, ought to be left and abolished.

18. Error. 3 Another abuse in popish funerals, is their superstitious and often remembrance of the dead: for they haue their weekes minde for the dead the seuenth day, nay their halfe weekes minde the third day, their moneths minde the thirtith day: and beside, their anniuersarie or yeeres minde. I pray you what neede all this? Where doe they finde, that wee should mourne for the dead many daies, yea moneths, yea a whole yeere, as they vse to doe? *Ioseph* mourned but seuen daies for his father, Genes. 50.10. So did the Gileadites for *Saul*, 1. Sam. 31.13. The Egyptians indeede mourned threescore and tenne daies, when *Ioseph* mourned but seuen: that we may see a manifest difference betweene the moderate mourning of the faithfull, and the excessiue lamentation of infidels. But the popish yeeres mindes doe farre exceed the Egyptians stinted mourning: they being fiue times 70. daies in a yeere. Yet yeerely stipends, erected for weekly, monethly, quarterly, or yeerely sermons we mislike not: being ordained for the instruction of the people, without any relation to the soules of the dead, otherwise, then to giue God thankes for them, and those good things which the Lord wrought by them.

Let vs see their own Canons: *Decr. part. 2. caus. 13. qu. 2. c. 24. Et luxit eum Israel, &c.* And Israel mourned for *Iacob* 7. daies: *Hæc ergo sequenda solennitas, quam præscribit lectio:* This solemnitie is then to be obserued, which the Scripture prescribeth. And againe, *Planxerunt filij Israel Moysen, &c.* The children of Israell bewailed *Moses* thirtie daies. Both these obseruations are grounded vpon authoritie, &c. for *Iacob* they mourned but seuen, for *Moses* thirtie, who was such a Prophet, as Israel in all respects had not the like. This was not a yeeres minde: and beside, the Israelites in this mourning made not prayers for the dead, as they vse to doe, but mourned for the losse of such excellent men.

19. Error. 4 They doe greatly erre and are deceiued, in holding it to be a meritorious worke, which is performed in the buriall of the dead: alleaging to this purpose that place, 2. Sam. 2.5. where *David* sent messengers to the men of Iabesh Gilead, saying; *Blessed are ye of the Lord, that you haue shewed such kindnes vnto your Lord Saul and haue buried him: therefore now the Lord shew mercie and truth vnto you. Bellarmine cap. 19.*

Ans. There can be no such conclusion gathered out of these words: The Lord will shew mercie, according to his truth and promise, to those that are mercifull: *Ergo*, it is meritorious to bee mercifull: for here the reward dependeth of Gods promise and truth, not vpon the worthines of the worke: Indeede *David* saith, as it followeth in that place, I will recompence this benefit, because you haue done this thing. They might deserue kindnes at the hands of *David*, because one good turne requireth another: but before the Lord there is no merit or desert. Secondly, to burie the dead is a worke of charitie, and therefore commaunded, as all other duties of charitie are. The things then commaunded, we doe of dutie, we are bound to doe them: *Ergo*, they are not meritorious. So saith our Sauiour Christ, Doth the master thanke his seruant for doing that which he was commaunded? I trow not, Luk. 17.9.

5 In

5 In their funerals and ſuffrages for the dead, they doe make great difference betweene the rich and the poore: for they ſay, it is poſſible that ſo many prayers and ſuffrages may be made at once for ỹ dead, that their ſoules may at once be deliuered out of Purgatorie, *Et ideo in hoc ſolo caſu melior eſt conditio diuitis, quàm pauperis, quia habet vnde ſuffragia fiant pro ipſo.* And therefore in this caſe onely the eſtate of the rich is better then the poore, becauſe he hath wherewithall ſuffrages ſhould be made: that is, is able to giue great legacies, and bequeſts to that end: *Albert. mag. de officio miſſæ.* 3. Againe, they haue greater reſpect vnto the Pope departed, then any other: for the firſt day, there muſt be 200. Maſſes read for his ſoule, and for nine daies after 100. Maſſes euery day, *Tileman. de primat. pontif. error.* 86. 20. Error.

Anſ. Where doe they reade in all the Scriptures, that the rich in matters of the ſoule ſhould be preferred before the poore? nay, the Scripture ſaith plainly, that God is no accepter of perſons, *Act.* 10. 34. And Saint *Iames* ſaith, We ought not to regard a rich man that weareth goodly apparell, hauing a gold ring, before a poore man in vile apparell, 2. verſ. 2. Where alſo doe they learne to pray for none but for thoſe, for whom they are hired to pray? And if prayer be a worke of charitie, and if by their prayers they can deliuer mens ſoules out of Purgatorie, why doe they not extend their charitie to all in praying for them?

What if the rich Glutton, and poore *Lazarus* were aliue now, or theſe popiſh Maſſe-mongers had liued then; would they haue been bought for money to haue praied for the rich mans ſoule, and let *Lazarus* alone? It is like they would. But ſurely all their Maſſes ſhould neither haue profited the one, nor the want of them haue hindered the other. Marke, I pray you, what *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Præclara exequiæ in conſpectu hominum purpurato illi diuiti turba exhibuit famulorum: ſed multo clariores in conſpectu domini vlceroſo illi pauperi miniſterium præbuit angelorum*: A goodly funerall did the friends and ſeruants make for the rich man araied in skarlet in the ſight of the world: but a more bleſſed buriall had the poore man in the ſight of God, by the miniſterie of the Angels. Therefore there is no reſpect of perſons to bee had among the dead: neither haue the rich any greater priuiledge for the multitude of ſuffrages, then the poore that wanteth them: for no doubt the rich mans executors ſpared for no coſt; Maſſes, Trentals, Dirges they had enough, if they were then to be had: yet for all this ſtirre his ſoule went to hell, and *Lazarus* ſoule was by the Angels caried to heauen, that had none of this geare. De cura pro mortuis cap. 9

6 Laſtly, if there were no other thing to bee miſliked in their funerals, this were ſufficient to condemne them as abominable; that they thinke, their ſinging, chaunting, ringing, giuing of dole and almes to the poore, and all other their ſuperſtitious cuſtomes, doe helpe and profit the dead, *Ibidem ibid.* 21. Error.

Auguſtine giueth two reaſons of this dutie to bee ſhewed in the burying of the dead. Firſt, *Corpori humando quicquid impenditur, non eſt præſidium ſalutis, ſed humanitatis officium:* What dutie is performed in enterring the bodie, is an officious worke of humanitie, not any reliefe for the health of the ſoule. Secondly, ſaith he, *Corpori mortuo, ſed tamen reſurrecturo, impenſum huiuſmodi officium, eſt quodammodo tinſdem fidei teſtimonium:* This Chriſtian dutie beſtowed in burying the dead bodies, which ſhall notwithſtanding riſe againe, is a liuely teſtimonie in vs of the ſame faith. That is, wee doe carefully commit the bodies of Chriſtians to the ground, knowing that they are not loſt, but ſhall riſe againe: but as for the dead themſelues, they receiue no benefit at all. *Curatio funeris, pompa exequiarum, viſorum ſunt ſolatia magis, quàm ſubſidia mortuorum*: This great prouiſion for funerals, this great pompe of burials, they are comforts for the liuing, not helps to the dead. *Implent ergo homines iſta erga ſuos poſtremi muneris officia, & ſui leuamenta mœroris*: Let men therefore performe this laſt dutie to their friends, which is alſo a great lightning of their griefe: *Ergo*, funerals profit not the dead, but comfort the liuing: yea, it is called the laſt dutie, which is performed at buriall. If it be the laſt, then there is no dutie afterward to be done. Therefore prayers alſo are ſuperfluous; for if it were needfull to pray for the dead, then the laſt dutie ſhould not be in the buriall, another comming afterward. And thus much alſo concerning the manner and order of funerals. De cura pro mortuis epilog. De cura pro mortuis cap. 2.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS CONTROVERSIE, of the Saints departed that are in ioy and bliſſe.

THis controuerſie ſtandeth of theſe ſeuerall queſtions.

1 Of the bleſſed eſtate of the Saints in heauen, and of the canonizing of them vpon earth.

2 Of the adoration of Saints: Firſt, whether they bee to bee adored or not, and whether it bee lawfull to ſweare by them. Secondly, of the diuers kindes of worſhip. Thirdly, of the worſhip of Saints vpon earth.

3 Of the inuocation of Saints; whether they pray for vs and vnderſtand our prayers.

4 Of the adoration, tranſlation, keeping of reliques, and of the miracles wrought by them.

5 Of

5 Of Images, and the signe of the Crosse, and other matters thereto belonging more particularly handled.
6 Of Churches: the forme, vse, ornaments, dedication of them, and such like.
7 Of Pilgrimages and Processions.
8 Of holy and festiuall daies, the Lords day, and Saints daies.
9 Of the Virgin Mary, her conception, vowes, assumption, worship, merits. Of these now in order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, CONCERNING THE blessed and happie estate of the Saints departed.

THis question hath two parts: First, of their blessednes which they haue before God in heauen. Secondly, of the publishing or making knowne their blessednes before men, which they call the canonizing of Saints.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE BLESSED estate of the Saints before God in heauen.

The Papists.

BEllarmine taketh great paines, *Lib. 1. de Sanctis*, in sixe long chapters together, to proue, that the Saints departed doe presently enioy the sight of God, and doe enter into blisse; and that their soules forthwith are receiued into heauen, and are not kept in any secret by-places till the day of iudgement. But all this while he fighteth with his owne shadow: for we graunt as much as he proueth, that the righteous are with Christ so soone as they are loosed from their bodies, as Christ said to the theefe vpon the Crosse, This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise, Luk. 23. 43. See also to this purpose, Philipp. 1. 23. 2. Corint. 5. 1. Heb. 12. 22. All these places doe euidently proue, that presently after their departure, the soules of the faithfull doe enioy the presence of Christ, and the celestiall companie of the Angels in heauen. Yet our aduersaries stay not here, neither are contented with this, that the Saints are blessed: but proceede further, and giue them full possession of blessednesse, making no difference betweene them and the Angels in glorie, but affirme that they are as highly exalted as the Angels are, *Rhemist. annot. Luk. 15. fol. 2.* And *Bellarmine* therefore taketh vp *Caluine*, because he saith, the Saints are yet in hope and expectation of the perfect fruition of glorie, *cap. 1. lib. 1. de Sanctis.*

22. Error.

The Protestants.

WE confesse, that the Saints in heauen are alreadie [a] blessed: yet they looke for the full accomplishment and perfection of their glorie, when as their bodies shall bee glorified in the resurrection: Then it is said, they shall be like the Angels, and yet not in all things; much lesse are their soules now equall to the Angels in glorie. Apocal. 14. 13.

Argum. 1. The Saintes shall be as the Angels, but not before the resurrection, Matth. 22. 30. Neither can it be proued out of that text, that they shall then be equall to the Angels in all things: for it is not all one to say; they shall be as the Angels, because they shall then need no mariage, as to say, they shall bee equall to the Angels in all things, Apocalyp. 6. 10. *The soules vnder the altar do crie, Lord, how long!* *Ergo*, they are in expectation of greater glorie. And reason also giueth as much, that the bodie and the soule being ioyned together in the kingdome of God, shall make a fuller weight and measure of ioy.

Argum. 2. The wicked spirits and damned soules, haue not yet their full and perfect torment: *Ergo*, neither the Saints their perfect ioy. The diuels are now tormented, and kept in chaines of darkenesse, 2. Pet. 2. 4. Iud. 6. But their full damnation is reserued for the day of the Lord, Matth. 25. 41. They are not yet tormented in such measure, as they shall be, and themselues make account for, Matth. 8. 29. Luk. 8. 31.

Argum. 3. 1. Iohn 3. 2. *We know, that when he shall appeare, we shall be like him.* This Scripture sheweth, that we shall not haue a perfect consummation of glory before the day of iudgement.

Bellarmine answereth, that the text is not *When he shall appeare*, but as before the Apostle said, *It doth not appeare, what we shall be*, so here, *when it* (not *he*) *shall appeare, what we shall be*: so that this place sheweth onely that the glory of the Saints shall not be manifested to the world before that day, not that they shall not haue their glory before. *Bellarm. lib. de sanctis c. 3.*

Contra. Who seeth not how he corrupteth this text: for what else can be the sense of this place, *Cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus:* then this, when *he*, (not *it*) shall appeare, we shall be like him: what him, shall we be like, but the same that is vnderstood to appeare? Againe, that Christ is here implied to appeare, it is manifest by the like place, Coloss. 3. 4. *When Christ, which is our life, shall*

ſhall appeare, then ſhall ye appeare with him in glorie. So then, the perfection of our glorie is deferred till Chriſts comming.

Laſtly, if now the Saints are equall to the Angels in ioye, their ſoules onely being in heauen; it then followeth, that in their reſurrection, when their bodies ſhall be reſtored to their ſoules, their happines ſhall farre ° exceed the Angels: which no where the Scripture teacheth vs, vnleſſe they will thus reaſon, Chriſt tooke not the Angels, but the ſeede of *Abraham*, Hebr. 2. 16. *Ergo*, we are better then the Angels. But to this *Auguſtine* anſwereth very well: Some perhaps will ſay, that we are better then the Angels, becauſe Chriſt died for vs, and not for the Angels. *Quaſi* (ſaith he) *ideo ſe velle agrotum laudari, quia vitio ſuo tam deteſtabiliter aegrotauit, vt non poſſet aliter, quàm medici morte ſanari.* As if a ſicke man deſerued commendation, becauſe by his owne fault, he was ſo dangerouſly ſicke, that he could not be healed, but by the death of the Phiſition. *Quid hoc dicit eſt, quàm de impietate gloriari? Chriſtus enim pro impijs mortuus eſt:* What is this els but for man to boaſt of his wickednes? Chriſt died not for Angels, but for men, becauſe they were wicked.

° Rhemiſt. Luk 20. ſect. 3. affirme that ſome Saints ſhall be aboue the Angels.

Tractat. in Iohan. 110.

Now, whereas *Bellarmine* reproueth *Caluine* for thus writing, *Animas piorum militia laboribus perfunctas in beatam quietem concedere, vbi cum fœlici lætitia fruitionem promiſſæ gloriæ expectant:* That the ſoules of the godly hauing ended their warfare, are gone vnto bleſſed reſt, where moſt ioyfully they doe expect the full fruition of the promiſed glorie. And the Ieſuite further giueth this vncharitable cenſure: *Nota miram ſtultitiam hominis:* See the great fooliſhnes of the man. Now it ſhall eaſily appeare, that *Caluine* ſaith none other thing, then was concluded by the Greeke and Latine Church in the Florentine Councell; *in proœmio. Animas iuſtorum perfectam ſuam felicitatem, quia tenuiores, conſecutas cenſemus; ita tamen vt alium cum corporibus ſuis perfectionem expectent, quia perfecti fruantur*: We doe thinke that the ſoules of the righteous haue alreadie obteined their perfect felicitie, as they are ſoules; yet ſo, that they looke for a more perfect ſtate with their bodies, for euer to enioy. Thus *Bellarmine* either of malice or ignorance, chargeth a generall Councell with fooliſhnes, ſeeing he rayleth vpon *Caluin*, for ſpeaking or writing, as it was by this generall Councell decreed.

Their owne Canons conſent hereunto: *Decret. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 41. ca. 6.* It is confeſſed by *Innocent. 3. Sanctorum gloriam vſque ad iudicium augmentari*: That the glorie of the Saints doth encreaſe till the day of iudgement. And the Maſter alloweth their opinion as more probable, that hold, that *Angeli vſque ad diem iudicij ſcientia & alijs proficiant*, Angels doe encreaſe in knowledge and other things till the day of iudgement, *lib. 2. diſt. 11. g.* If the glorie of Angels is not yet perfect, much leſſe of the Saints, who yet expect the redemption of their bodies.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE Canonizing of Saints.

The Papiſts.

The canonizing of Saints, is nothing els but the publike determination and ſentence of the Church, whereby men that are dead, are iudged to be Saints, and worthie of honour and worſhip, as to be prayed vnto, Temples and Altars to be ſet vp in their names, holy dayes to be appointed for them, and their reliques to be adored. And thus it is lawfull, profitable, and expedient for the Church to canonize Saints, *Bellarm. cap. 7.*

23. Error.

Argum. 1. The Patriarkes and Prophets were canonized for Saints in the old lawe, Heb. 11. So Act. 7. Stephen and other were canonized: therefore it is credible, that the Lord would haue the ſame order ſtill continued in his Church, *Bellarm. cap. 7.*

Anſ. First, neither in the old nor the new lawe, were any ſet vp to be Saints, with intent to be worſhipped, called vpon, Temples to be conſecrated in their names; but onely the Scripture giueth teſtimonie of them, as of holy and faithfull men: and ſo may we alſo honour the bleſſed Martyrs, whom the cruell Emperours of Rome, and ſince them the Popes of Rome haue ſlaine through fire and other torments to heauen. Secondly, when they haue as good teſtimonie for their Saints, as we haue for the holy Patriarkes and Prophets, they may be bold to pronounce them to be holy, bleſſed. Thirdly, your argument followeth not, vnleſſe you will ſay, that the Church may doe all things nowe, which the Prophets and Apoſtles did then: They may as well make Scripture, and more Canonicall bookes by the ſame reaſon, as make and canonize new Saints.

Argum. 2. The Saints are vnto vs examples of vertue, and to be imitated, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Remember your ouerſeers, which haue ſpoken to you the word of God, the end of whoſe conuerſation beholding, imitate their faith*, Heb. 13. 7. But how can we imitate them, vnleſſe wee know in particular who are to be imitated? *Bellarm.*

Anſ. First, the Apoſtle propounded the example of their paſtors then liuing, to be imitated of them,

them, whose conuersation they did behold. This place maketh nothing for the imitation of canonized Saints, dead many yeeres agoe: whose life and conuersation is not certainly knowne. Secondly, we neede not runne to popish fables, to seeke patternes to follow, we may set before vs the example of godly men liuing; or if they faile vs, we haue most perfect examples in Scripture, as S. *Paul* saith, *Be followers of me, as I am of Christ*, 1. Cor. 11. 1. *and obserue them, as you haue vs for an example*, Philip. 3. 17. Thirdly, if popish Saints should bee imitated, then *Thomas Becket* must be followed in his rebellion to the King; *Bonauenture* in his blasphemie against Christ, ascribing the worke of our saluation to the Virgin *Mary*, as may bee seene in his Ladie Psalter, compiled to the honour of her: and many such goodly examples shall wee finde in the liues and acts of popish Saints.

The Protestants.

THat none of the Saints are to be adored or worshipped, their images, or reliques, or prayers to be made vnto them, or any such honour to be giuen them, it shall afterward appeare more at large: and therefore they ought not to bee canonized to any such end or purpose. Wee also graunt, that the number of Gods Saints and elect is increased daily: and wee are sure in generall, as the Scripture testifieth, that the death of his Saints is precious in the sight of God, Psalme 116. 15. And that all are blessed that die in the Lord: But particularly wee are not able certainly to determine of any; the matter is to be left wholly vnto God, and we in the meane time to hope the best.

Argum. 1. If the Church haue authoritie to canonize Saints, and determine of the election & saluation of men, then may wee as well iudge of the condemnation of those that are lost: for if it be knowne to the Church who are Saints in heauen, they also may as well define who are damned in hell. But this none can doe: nay, it were great rashnes and want of charitie for any so to take vpon them. Saint *Paul* saith, *Why condemnest thou another mans seruant? he standeth or falleth to his owne master*, Rom. 14. 4. No man can iudge whether the seruant stand or fall, but his master: *Ergo*, if the Church presume to determine of the election or damnation of those that are departed, she is now a Mistris and Ladie rather of the Saints, then they Lords or patrones to her, as the Papists hold they are.

Argum. 2. *Iudge not* (saith S. *Paul* 1. Corinth. 4. 5.) *before the time vntill the Lord come.* The iudgment then of men, who are saued, and who are condemned, is reserued for the comming of Christ: Therefore it is great presumption for men to preuent the time, and to take vpon them to be iudges in Gods place. Againe, our Sauiour Christ saith, that To sit at his right hand or left, in his kingdome, was not his to giue (meaning as he was man) but it shall be giuen to them for whom it is prepared of my father, Matth. 20. 23. How then is it in the power of any sinfull man, to giue vnto any a seate, either at the right hand, or left hand of Christ, in the kingdome God? *Argument. Gualter. Bruti. Fox. pag.* 487.

Augustine also consenteth, *Non separatio iam cuiq; tuta est, &c.* It is not safe for men now to make separation (of the good and bad) it belongeth to him, that cannot erre: We in this life doe hardly know our selues, how much lesse ought we to iudge rashly of others? *exposit. in Psal.* 139. Here are two reasons giuen, why it is not lawfull for men to iudge of the election or reprobation of men: first, their iudgement is subiect to error, and therefore the matter must be referred to God, who erreth not. Secondly, we cannot iudge our selues, much lesse can we iudge of others: *Ergo*, no man liuing ought, or is able to define either who are Saints in heauen, or who are damned in hell.

Anastasius decret. 2. *Moneente nos beatissimo Paulo Apostolo, &c.* Know ye, that as the Apostle Paul doth admonish vs, wee must obserue, and take heede, that there arise no offence in the Church, while we take vpon vs to doe that which we cannot, that is, to iudge those which are gone out of the world: for none of vs liueth or dieth to himselfe, but whether we liue or dye, we are the Lords: wherefore, why iudgest thou another mans seruant, &c. Here wee haue the iudgement of a Pope himselfe, grounded vpon S. *Pauls* iudgement, that it is not in the power of the liuing to iudge the dead, either in condemning or acquiting them.

AN APPENDIX OR THIRD PART, OF OTHER circumstances, which belong to the canonizing of Saints.

The Papists.

24. Error. THey say, that it doth appertaine onely to the Pope, to canonize a Saint for the whole Church: and that none ought to be acknowledged for Saints, but they that are so canonized by him: And that herein the Pope is of so infallible a iudgement, that he cannot erre in canonizing of Saints: because that ordinarily none are canonized by the Pope for Saints, which haue not been knowne to worke miracles, *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. 9. 10.

Argum. 1. That it belongeth to the Pope to canonize Saints, *Bellarmine* thus proueth: to define

fine and declare who are heretikes, appertaineth to the Pope: *Ergo*, the contrarie alſo, to determine who are Saints in heauen.

Anſ. Firſt, the argument followeth not, the Pope may iudge of men according to their preſent ſtate in this life: *Ergo*, of their ſtate afterward. For an heretike is diſcerned according to that he preſently holdeth and teacheth, who may afterwards be conuerted from his hereſie: as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *he had deliuered Hymenaus and Alexander to Sathan, that they might learne not to blaſpheme*, 1. Timoth. 1. 20. Though the Apoſtle for the preſent caſteth them out as heretikes, yet he deſpaireth not of their conuerſion: wherefore to bee an heretike and a reprobate doe not alwaies concurre, and therefore the argument followeth not. For to bee an heretike and a Saint are not contraries: he that is firſt an heretike, being conuerted, may become a Saint, as S. *Paul* of a perſecutor was made a preacher.

Secondly, it belongeth not to the Pope to determine, who are heretikes; but euery Church hath power to declare by the Scriptures what hereſie is, and who are heretikes: the Apoſtles haue giuen vs rules to know heretikes by; as 1. Cor. 16. 22. *If any man loue not the Lord Ieſus let him bee anathema*: according to this rule, all that detract from the humanitie of Chriſt, as ỹ Anabaptiſts; or frō his diuinitie, as the Arrians; or frō his offices, as the Papiſts, are heretikes. Again, 2. Theſſ. 3. 14. *If any man obey not our doctrine, note him.* And, 1. Ioh. 4. verſ. 3. *Euery ſpirit that confeſſeth not that Ieſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is not of God.* According to theſe and ſuch like rules in Scripture, it is lawfull for euery Church to define an heretike, and for euery man to auoide him. Tit. 3. 10. *An heretike, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, auoide.* It is but a ridiculous toy, that wee muſt ſend vp to Rome firſt, to know the Popes pleaſure, who ſhould be counted an heretike.

Thirdly, the Popes are no fit men to iudge of hereſie, ſeeing many of them haue been heretikes: as *Marcellinus* an Idolater, *Liberius* an Arrian, *Honorius* a Monothelite, with many more, as wee haue ſeene before in the controuerſie of the Pope.

Argum. 2. Now that the Pope cannot erre in canonizing of Saints, he would make vs beleeue, becauſe there hath yet been no error detected that way: the Pope hath Sainted none which were not Saints indeede.

Anſ. The contrarie is true, that he hath canonized many notorious rebels and other wicked perſons, as *Thomas Becket* of Canturburie, *Hugh* of Lincolne, both rebels to their Prince, with many more, as further followeth preſently to be ſhewed *Argum.* 3. and therefore, becauſe the Pope is and hath been ſo groſſlie deceiued in canonizing of Saints, he may bee aſhamed to iuſtifie his palpable error.

The Proteſtants.

Firſt, if Saints were to bee regiſtred and canonized, as they ſay; yet it ſhould not belong to the Pope, but to the whole Church.

Argum. 1. The Pope hath no authoritie ouer the whole Church; no nor yet in any other Biſhops dioceſſe, no more then they haue in his: Let him be content with his owne dioceſſe (and it were to bee wiſhed, that he could rule that well) the whole world is too large a prouince for him. Secondly, the whole Church hath power to excommunicate and deliuer vp to Sathan, 1. Cor. 5. 4. and to put off the prophane and wicked from the Church of God, as Heathen and Publicanes, Matth. 18. 17. *Ergo*, to iudge who are members of the Church, and Saints of God, is a matter which appertaineth to the whole Church. Thirdly, before *anno* 800. in the time of *Carolus Magnus* there was no Saint publikely canonized by the Pope, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth: but the truth is, this cuſtome of canonizing Saints began not til more then 1000. yere after Chriſt, till *Alexander* the 3. his time, and *Gregorie* the 7. I pray you then, were there no Saints before? if there were, who canonized them?

Argum. 2. So much as is to be knowne of Saints and holy men, euery Chriſtian is to acknowledge, without any publike decree or determination of the Pope or any other: for the word of God giueth rules, whereby we may diſcerne the righteous from the vnrighteous: Chriſt ſpeaking of falſe prophets, ſaith, By their fruites ye ſhall know them, Matth. 7. 16. And againe, he ſaith thus to his Apoſtles, By this ſhall men know that you are my diſciples, if you loue one another, Ioh. 13. verſ. 35. By theſe rules, it is eaſie for euery Chriſtian to iudge who for the preſent time are the true diſciples of Chriſt, who otherwiſe.

Argum. 3. It is a moſt impudent and ſhameleſſe ſaying, that the Pope cannot erre in canonizing of Saints: Firſt, Miracles are no ſufficient proofe of a Saint: for many, that ſhall be condemned in the day of iudgement, haue had power to doe ſtrange workes, Matth. 7. 22. 23. Secondly, what better argument can wee haue of this, then common experience? For the Popes haue regiſtred in their Calendars notorious wicked men, and traitors to their Princes, as Saints and holie men: Such an one was *Thomas Becket*, who ſome hundreth yeeres was worſhipped as a Saint, by the name of Saint *Thomas of Canturburie*; and yet was a plaine traitor to his Prince, *Fox* pag. 225. And therefore his ſhrine was iuſtly put downe in King *Henry* the 8. daies. *Richard Scroope* of

Yorke, was openly in armes against *Henry* the 4. *Thomas* Earle of Lancaster a rebell against Ed-
Fox pag. 579. ward the 2. yet both are the Popes canonized Saints.

Elizabeth Barton was called the holy Mayd of Kent, and fained that she had many reuelations:
Fox. pag. 1054. yet was found to be a traitor, and executed: These are the Popes Saints. And on the other side, they haue condemned the true Saints and Martyrs of God, and accursed them to the bottomles pit of hell: as they dealt most wickedly with *Iohn Husse* that zealous seruant of God, vpon whose head they set a crowne of paper pictured with diuels, as if he were giuen vnto the power of Satan. But wee doe iudge of these holy men, as the Scripture teacheth, which saith, that they are blessed which dye in the Lord, Apocal. 14. 13. Their good life, holy profession, and constant death and martyrdome declared no lesse; and that assurance, which God gaue them of their election: as it appeared in that worthie Martyr Doctor *Barnes*, who being brought to the stake, saith thus vnto the people; If Saints doe pray for vs, I trust to pray for you within this halfe houre: who at the same time vttered his opinion, that notwithstanding to pray vnto Saints was against the word of
Fox. pag. 1139 God, although it should be graunted that they pray for vs.

Let them now be ashamed to say still, that the Pope cannot erre in canonizing Saints, who condemneth good men, and iustifieth the wicked, according to the common saying, Many are worshipped for Saints in heauen, whose soules doe burne in hell.

If the Pope herein be of so infallible a iudgement, how came it to passe, that *Bonifacius* the 8. cause *Hermannus Ferratiensf.* who had been canonized for a Saint, after 30. yeeres to be taken out of his graue, and burned, *anno* 1300. Either he, by whom he was first canonized, or else *Bonifacius*, by whom he was vncanonized or vnsainted, must needs haue grosly erred. And is it not as possible for the Pope to be deceiued in iudging who are Saints, as *Tertullian* and *Origen* erred in condemning of *Polate* and his wife for good Christians? *Tertull. apologet. cap.* 21. by which authorities they were moued to canonize them for Saints. And *Decret. Greg. lib.* 3. *tit.* 45 *cap.* 1. mention is made of one, that was slaine in his drunkennes, whom they worshipped for a Saint. But it will be answered, that *Alexander* the 3. reproueth that abuse in the same decree. But what will they say concerning the Saints of Rome, that are worshipped vnder the Popes nose, and by his allowance; shall they all go for current, and true Saints indeede? Let them heare what *Lindanus* an aduocate complaineth of this matter: *Breuiaria etiam Romanum nouum festa quædam habent sanctorum, quorum nomina nescio an satis sint vindicata &c.* The Breuiaries or Masse-bookes, yea the new Romane breuiarie hath many festiuals of Saints, whose names, I know not whether they are sufficiently tried and purged. He affirmeth, that euen in Rome many obscure and vnknowne Saints were worshipped.

Fourthly, *Augustine* thus writeth of this matter: *Per has humanarum cordium tenebras, rem valde miranda & dolenda contingit, vt eum nonnunquam quem iniustum putamus (iniustus tamen est) arguamus, & hominem bonum tanquam malum affligamus, quem nescientes amamus:* By reason of the darkes and ignorance of mens hearts, a pitifull and strange thing many times falleth out, that we should hate a man, whom we take to be a wicked and vngodly one (and yet he is a righteous man: and so we punish a good man for a bad, whom wee notwithstanding doe vnwittingly loue for his goodnes. *Tract. in Iohan.* 99. *Ergo*, the iudgement of men is vncertaine, and the best may bee deceiued in iudging of others, who are bad, and who good.

If all the Popes canonized Saints are to be worshipped, prayers to bee made vnto them, their daies, and Churches to bee consecrate to their memorie, wherein (as the Iesuite telleth vs) consisteth the canonization of Saints: hereby it may appeare what small discretion the Popes haue shewed in their canonizing, in bringing such an idle and superfluous multitude into the Saints Calendar: that it were impossible for a man to remember all such Saints names, that are to be prayed to; *Alexander anno* 1180. did canonize *Bernard Clarenallens.* and *Thomas* of Canturbury. *Innocentius* 4. *anno* 1250. *Edmund* of Canturburie, *Stanislaus* Bishop of Cracouia, and *Petrus Veronens.* a Dominicane: *Alexander* 4. *anno* 1260. did canonize *Clara*, *Francis* his sister, the sister of the Franciscanes: *Nicholaus* 4. *Ludouik. Tolosan.* a Minorite: *Bonifacius* 8. *Ludouike* the French King. *Clement* 6. did canonize *Ius* a Priest *anno* 1350. *Nicholaus* 5. did make *Bernardine Senens.* a Franciscane, a Saint: *anno* 1455. *Calixtus* 3. did adde to the Calendar *Vincentius Valentinens.* a Dominicane, *Albert. Depranens.* a Carmelite: *Pius* 2. did magnifie one *Angelus* a Carmelite, and *Catherine Senens.* *anno* 1464. *Sixtus* 4. *Bonauenture*: *anno* 1484. *Innocentius* 8. *Helyopoldus* Duke of Austria: And many hundreds more haue been by the Popes aduanced to the dignitie of Saints, some Kings, some Dukes, some Bishops, some Priests, some Friers, some Widowes, some Virgins: so that the dayes of the yeere are not enough for euery Saint to haue his day. Now let it be considered, whether the Pope hath not good skill in sainting of men, thus multiplying without end the number of his house-gods.

THE

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING the adoration of Saints.

THis question hath three parts: First, whether Saints are to bee adored. Secondly, of the diuers kindes of adoration. Thirdly, concerning the worship due vnto holy men liuing, as the kissing of feete, and such like.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER SAINTS are to be adored and worshipped.

The Papists.

THey doubt not to affirme, that there is a kinde of religious worship due vnto Saints, not that great religious worship which is proper vnto God, but a kinde somewhat lesse and inferiour to that; yet a religious adoration, which is the meane or middest betweene that highest worship due vnto God, and ciuill honour which is giuen vnto men. So this is their sentence, that religious worship is due both to God and to the Saints: herein onely (say they) the difference is, the more religious worship belongeth onely to God, the lesse vnto the Saints, *Bellarm. cap.12. lib.1. de Sanctor beatit.* 25. Error.

Argum.1. Bellarmine obiecteth certaine examples out of Scripture of the adoration of Angels, as how *Abraham* adored the Angels, Gen.18.2. and *Lot*, Gen.19.1. and *Iosua* also adored the Angel that appeared vnto him, Iosu.5. therefore Angels, and so consequently Saints, may safely be adored and worshipped.

Answ. First, it is certaine that the Angel, whom *Abraham* worshippeth, was God himselfe, euen Christ, that appeared in the shape of an Angel; for vers.17. he is called *Iehouah*, which name is neuer in Scripture giuen to any Angell: and vers.25. *Abraham* calleth him Iudge of the world, which is Christs office onely; so also the Angell that appeared to *Iosua*, was Christ himselfe; for *Iosua* calleth him Lord, and himselfe his seruant: But the Angels doe not presume to take vs as their seruants, but acknowledge themselues to be our fellow seruants vnto the same Lord, theirs and ours, Reuel.22.9. And this is the iudgement of diuers of the ancient Fathers, and namely *Origen; Iosua non adorasset eum, nisi agnouisset Deum, &c. Iosua* would not haue worshipped him, if he had not knowne him to be God, for who else is the Prince of the Lords warfare, but the Lord Iesus Christ? *hom.6. in Iosu.*

Secondly, it can not be shewed out of the text, that *Lot* did worship the two Angels that came to Sodome, but did onely make obeisance, and bow himselfe vnto them, as excellent and heauenly persons: for the word הוה signifieth an inclination and bowing of the bodie, as *Iacob* is said to bow himselfe to his brother *Esau*, Genes.33. this therefore was no religious adoration, but a ciuile reuerence, which might be giuen to those glorious spirits.

Thirdly, the Angels of the old Testament, and the Angels of the new are all one; but in the new Testament, the Angels refuse to be adored, Reuel.22.9. *Ergo*, the Angels of the old Testament did not receiue it.

Argum.2. The Psalmist saith, Adore his footestoole, Psalm.99.5. and Hebr.11.21. *Iacob* adored the top of his rod: *Ergo*, it is lawfull to adore creatures, *Bellarm. cap.13. Rhemist. annot.11. Heb. sect.9.*

Answ. In the first place by the footestoole is vnderstood the Tabernacle with the Arke: the Prophet saith not, Adore his footestoole, but, At or before his footestoole: for we deny not, but that we may kneele downe, and fall prostrate in adoring of God before such things, but none is to be adored but God. In the same place the Apostle saith, that *Iacob* worshipped toward the end of his staffe, that is, leaning vpon his staffe. The vulgar latine readeth corruptly, *adorauit fastigium baculi*, He worshipped the end of his staffe: for then the Greeke preposition πρὸς were superfluous. And *Augustine* expoundeth it aright, saying, that *Iacob* by faith worshipped God vpon the end of his staffe: *quæst. in Gen.162. Fulk. annot. Heb.11. sect.9.*

Argum.3. Nabuchadnezzar bowed himselfe to *Daniel*, and caused odours to be offered vnto him, and worshipped him, who for so doing was not reproued of the Prophet: *Ergo*, Saints are to be worshipped, *Bellar. ibid. Rhemens. annot. Apocal.19. sect.5.*

Answ. First, your owne vulgar text thus readeth, The king commanded, *Vt sacrificarent ei hostiam*: To sacrifice an host vnto him: and *Arias Montanus* translateth *Sacrificium*, to offer a sacrifice vnto him; but to offer sacrifice, is a part of the diuine and godly worship: so that the king commanding sacrifice to be made to *Daniel*, doth attribute vnto him superstitiously diuine worship. *Bellarmine* answereth, that the sacrifice of beasts, is that sacrifice, which is peculiar vnto God; but as for odors and other gifts, they may be yeelded vnto men: as 1.Reg.10. certaine of the

Iſraelites refuſed to bring gifts vnto *Saul*, the ſame word (נתן) is there vſed: and we (ſaith he) do cenſe vp odours before the images of Saints, though wee graunt that ſacrifice is onely due vnto God. *Bellar cap.* 13. *argum.* 3.

Contra. Firſt, that the Hebrue word (נתן) here vſed, is ſometime taken for a ciuill gift, wee graunt, as in the place alleadged, and Gen. 32. 13. where *Iacob* ſent a gift or preſent to *Eſau*: but in this place it ſignifieth a religious oblation, in which ſenſe he cannot finde in all Scripture, that it was giuen to any mortall man; but onely was due vnto God, as Ierem. 41. 5. they had offrings and incenſe in their hands to offer in the houſe of God: And this word, when it is vſed in a religious ſenſe, is taken onely for ſacrifice due vnto God; as 1. Reg. 18. 29. when they had propheſied till the time of the euening Sacrifice; and 2. Reg. 3. 20. in the morning, when the Sacrifice vſeth to be offred: in both theſe places the word נתן is vſed. Secondly, whereas he granteth, *Sacrificium non deberi niſi ſoli Deo*: That ſacrifice is not due but vnto God, it followeth, that the king committed Idolatrie, in ſacrificing to *Daniel*, as your owne Vulgar readeth. Thirdly, it is great impietie in him to allow the cenſing of odours to Saints, or Saints images, whereas in the olde Law it was a part of the worſhip of God; as may appeare Ierem. 41. 5. they brought odours and incenſe: And it may be gathered, that the offring of incenſe was the more principall part of the ſacrifice; as it followeth euen now to be ſhewed.

Secondly, it is vntrue, that *Daniel* accepted of this worſhip and reproued it not: Firſt, though it be not mentioned, it followeth not, that he miſliked it not: for neyther is the inceſt of *Lot* Geneſ. 19. nor of *Iudas*, Gen. 38. cenſured in the ſtorie, doth it follow therfore that they were iuſtified? Secondly, it may be diuerſly gathered that *Daniel* miſliked the kings purpoſe: Firſt, becauſe fro the beginning, he giueth the glorie vnto God, and telleth the King, that it was the God in heauen, that was the onely Reuealer of ſecrets, verſ. 27. and therefore it is not like, that *Daniel* would take the honor vnto himſelfe. Secondly, becauſe the King afterward verſ. 47. being better inſtructed by *Daniel* giueth God the honor, ſaying he was GOD of Gods, and ſo onely to be worſhipped. Thirdly, verſ. 48. he magnifieth *Daniel* now as Gods inſtrument, and beſtoweth great gifts vpon him, whereas he offered ſacrifice before.

The Proteſtants.

WE can finde in the word of God but two kindes of worſhip or adoration; a religious worſhip onely due vnto God: and a ciuill honour vſed amongſt men. As for the Angels and Saints, we doe honour them with loue, not with ſeruice. We doe alſo reuerence the holy men vpon earth, as the Prophets and Apoſtles were in times paſt, with a ciuill adoration or worſhip of loue, not with a religious ſeruice. There is alſo a due reuerence and eſtimation of ſuch things as are ſanctified to holy vſes, as of the Tabernacle, Arke, Altar, Sacrifice in the lawe: ſuch now are the Sacraments, which are duely to be reuerenced, yet not to be adored, or kneeled vnto. So we conclude, that all religious ſeruice and worſhip belongeth onely vnto God, and it were great idolatrie to giue it to any other, *Fulk. annot. Apocal.* 19. *fol.* 3.

Argum. 1. The Scripture is plaine: Matth. 4. 10. Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerue. 1. Tim. 1. 17. To God onely wiſe, immortall, inuiſible, be all honour and glorie: *Ergo*, all religious worſhip is onely due vnto God. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that theſe places are to be vnderſtoode of a certaine kinde of religious worſhip, which is onely proper to God. *Anſw.* All religious worſhip is forbidden in theſe places to be giuen to any but vnto God: for Sathan did not tempt Chriſt, to worſhip him as God, but onely to fall downe and worſhip him: he asked onely of him, προσκύνησιν, a certaine inclination of the body, which Chriſt denieth, as being onely proper to God, *Caluni Argum.*

Argum. 2. When *Cornelius* fell downe at *Peters* feete and would haue worſhipped him, he was forbidden by *Peter*, Act. 10. 25. So the Angell would not ſuffer *Iohn* to worſhip him, Apocal. 22. *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſtayed the people that would haue offered ſacrifice vnto them, Act. 14. 14.

Bellarm. anſwereth to the firſt, that *Peter* of modeſtie refuſed the homage of *Cornelius*.

Anſw. Peter giueth this reaſon, why he would not haue *Cornelius* ſo to doe, I alſo am a man (ſaith he:) thereby letting him to vnderſtand, that ſuch kind of worſhip ought not to be giuen to any man. The ſame reaſon is rendred Acts 14. by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, why they refuſed ſacrifice: We alſo (ſay they) are men. If *Peter* did of modeſty refuſe *Cornelius* worſhip, then *Paul* and *Barnabas* did for modeſtie ſake onely likewiſe refuſe to be ſacrificed vnto, which I am ſure they will not grant.

Bellarmine to the ſecond ſaith, that *Iohn* did well in worſhipping the Angell, and the Angel did well in refuſing to be worſhipped: for though the Angels of right are to be worſhipped, yet they do well to refuſe it, for reuerence to the humanitie and manhood of Chriſt: Before the comming of Chriſt, Angels ſuffered themſelues to be adored; but ſince that the Angels after Chriſts incarnation did worſhip man in him, they would not be worſhipped of men, eſpecially of the Apoſtles

pestles; who although they refuse to be worshipped, yet we do well to worship them.

Answ. First, let it be noted that *Bellarmine* shapeth a cleane contrary answere to our *Rhemists*, as appeareth before, *tom.8.quæst.3.part.1.* For they say, that *Iohn* was deceiued in the person of the Angell, taking him for Christ, and is forbidden by the Angell to worship him as God: but *Bellarmine* altogether freeth *Iohn* from all error, and commendeth his doing: whereas it is certaine, that *Iohn* knew well inough that he was an Angell, but being caried away in the extasie of his minde, did for the present time forget himselfe. Secondly, that the Angell did not of modestie refuse to be worshipped, but absolutely and simply, it is made manifest by his answere to *Iohn*, Worship thou God: he would not haue the Apostle to worship him, but God. And againe the Angell saith, I am thy fellow seruant, &c. but it is vnmeete for one fellow seruant to worship another, they both haue but one Lord to worship: wherefore the Angell meaneth indeed, that hee ought not to be worshipped, and doth not of modestie refuse it. This also is *Augustines* iudgement: *Angelus multa diuina ostendens homini, ab homine adorabatur, nisi ille seruum se esse Dominum, &c.* The Angell shewing many diuine things to man, was worshipped of man, but he referring him to God, saith, *quod tu, for I am thy fellow seruant, tecum de posterib.*

Thirdly, where findeth hee that Angels in all the olde Testament suffered themselues to be adored: he can shew neyther precept nor practise for the adoration of Angels: And that the Angels since Christs comming did depart from their right, it is a prophane conceit, and derogatorie to Christ, as though he by his comming emptied the state of Angels, which by him is made glorious: And if our Sauiour would haue the chaire of *Moses* reuerenced, though euill men sate in it, *Matth.23.2.* it was not his pleasure, that the dignitie of those holy Spirits should be abated.

Bellarmine to the third saith, that the Apostles did well in refusing to be sacrificed vnto: because to offer sacrifice is an externall act of worship to be performed onely to God, *cap.14.*

Answ. What reason haue they to burne incense vnto Saints and their images, rather then to offer sacrifice? For it appeareth in the law, that the burning of incense was more precious, and a more high poynt of the Leuiticall seruice, then was the offering of sacrifice. First, the Altar of incense was more curiously made, being ouerlayd with fine golde, and was called the golden altar, the other for burnt offerings, the brazen altar, Exod.40.26. Secondly, the altar of incense was placed in the Tabernacle neere vnto the most holy place; the other altar stood at the doore without, Exod.40.26.29. Thirdly, the ministers were diuers: the Priests offered sacrifice in their course, not *Aaron* onely, and his successors the high Priests burned incense, Exod.30.7. Fourthly, Vpon the brazen altar incense was offered with other sacrifices, Leuit.2. but vpon the golden altar no burnt sacrifice or any oblation, but onely incense was offered vnto God. Fiftly, Of all offerings and oblations, it most liuely prefigureth the sacrifice of attonement wrought by Christ vpon the crosse, who therefore is called by the Apostle, A sacrifice of sweete smelling sauour vnto God, Ephes.5.2. Seeing then that the offering of incense was a more soueraigne thing in the Law, then was the oblation of sacrifices: there is small reason for it, that our aduersaries should reserue the lesse, that is, the offering of sacrifices for the Lord, and participate the greater and more worthy seruice, that is, censing of odours and perfumes vnto Saints, as *Bellarmine* doth, *cap.13.*

Iohn.2. If sacrifice were not then to be offered to Saints, much lesse are prayers to be made vnto them: for to call vpon God is a greater thing, then to offer sacrifice. Psalm.50.vers.8. 14. If Saints cannot challenge the lesse, that is, to haue sacrifices, they haue no right to the greater, namely, to be called vpon and prayed vnto.

Lastly, *Augustine* saith, *Non sit nobis Religio cultus hominum mortuorum, &c.* Let vs not make it any part of Religion to worship men that are dead: for if they liued well, they are now in that state, that they neede not, neither doe require any honour at our hands: but they would haue vs to worship God; by whose illumination or reuelation, they may vnderstand, and doe reioyce, that we are partakers and fellowes in the same faith. They are then to be honoured for imitation, not to be adored for Religion, *Vide August. de vera religione cap.55.*

Bellarmines answere here to S. *Augustine* is very meane, that he speaketh against the error of the Gentiles, who made wicked men depriued their Gode: *lib.10. de Ciuit. cap.14. Contra.* But *Augustine* speaketh not of wicked men, but of such, as *pie viuunt*, liued a godly life, and are to be imitated: but so are not the wicked. Therefore his meaning is, that no men, though neuer so godly, or worthie of imitation in their life, are to be adored, or worshipped: The Iesuite we see then faileth in his answere.

Simil. Augustin. cap.45. Sancti, qui vita bonâ cursum suum bene transegerunt, &c. The Saints, who haue happily ended this life, as the most noble members of Christs body, are worthily of vs to be honoured, like with that worship, which is due vnto God, but with the worship of loue and brotherly fellowship, as we worship or reuerence holy men in this life. The argument from hence is framed thus, As holy men are to be worshipped in this life, so are the Saints in heauen: but no religious worship is due vnto them here, but such onely, as belongeth

A ciuill adoration then we denie not to be due vnto holy men, such as the ciuill [illegible] to Princes: *Cod.lib.2.tit.9.l.6. Nostram adorationem purpuram* [illegible]: They are said to adore the Kings robes, that is, the kingly Maiestie: but this is farre from religious adoration.

I will in the last place alleadge the sentence of a learned Papist against the adoration of [illegible] namely *Driedo*, who thus writeth, There be certaine stories of the Saints to be suspected, [illegible] *cum narrantur sancti in mortis agone constituti, aut monuisse aut exegisse, vt ex hoc mundo translati [illegible] rentur &c.* As when the Saints are reported in the agonie of death, to haue warned or [illegible] that after they were gone out of this world, they should be worshipped, and in diseases and [illegible] dangers to be called vpon; for it is not like, that they passing out of the world were carefull [illegible] their honour, but would pray rather with *David, Lord enter not into iudgement with thy [illegible] libris Apocryph.lib.4.c.1.* Thus farre one of their owne, misliking the adoration of Saints.

Master *Lambert* holy Martyr hath sealed this truth: who out of *Augustine* here before [illegible] doth thus inferre, that we should worship no men departed, be they neuer so good or [illegible] they seeke no such honour, but that we should worship God alone: *Honoramus eos* ([illegible] *stine*) *charitate non seruitute*: we honour them with loue, not with any worship or seruice: [illegible] 1108.col.1.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS FIRST PART, CONcerning vowes and othes made to or by Saints.

The Papists.

16.Error. First, vowes may be made to Saints (say they) properly as vnto God, though not altogether in the same manner: Prayer may be made to Saints, therefore vowes also. A vowe in the Greeke tongue is called εὐχή *votum*, prayer προσευχή *oratio*. As they differ not in name, so neither in deede are they to be seuered. *Bellarm.*

Answ.1. He taketh that for graunted, which is chiefly in question: for it is idolatrie to pray to any other but vnto God: Call vpon me in the day of trouble, Psal.50.15. It is not lawfull to pray vnto Saints, therefore not to vowe.

2 To make vowes is a more strict and binding act of religion, then prayer is; for in euery vowe there is a prayer: we pray God to giue vs grace to performe the thing vowed: and there [illegible] a full purpose of the heart with a solemne promise, whereby we bind our selues to the performing. Againe, we may make petition and request vnto mortall men, but vowes we can make none [illegible] them: It would not therefore followe, though Saints might be prayed vnto, that they are capable of our vowes.

Secondly, it is also lawfull (they say) to sweare by the name of Saints, because all is referred to the honour of God; as he that sweareth by the Temple, sweareth also by him that dwelleth [illegible] *Rhemist. Matth.23.sect.8.*

Answ.1. In this place Christ reproueth the Pharisies for their swearing, and condemneth [illegible] this argument; that howsoeuer they thought it a small matter to sweare by the Temple, yet in effect they did sweare by God himselfe. See then the boldnes of these men, that dare iustifie swearing by creatures by the same reason, that Christ condemneth it. 2. Our Sauiour saith nothing but this, that in euery oth there is an inuocation of the diuine power, and therefore whosoeuer sweareth by a creature, committeth idolatrie, in making it his God.

The Protestants.

1\. That it is great impietie to make vowes vnto Saints, it is thus proued, Esay 19.21. In that day the Egyptians shall knowe the Lord, and shall doe sacrifices, and vowe vowes vnto the Lord. But sacrifices are not due vnto Saints, but onely to God: therefore neither vowes.

Againe, the vowes of Christians are not to binde themselues to goe in pilgrimage, or to offer vnto this Saint or that, this Image or that, as *Augustine* saith, *Alius pallium, alius oleum, alius [illegible]*

De tempor serm.7. One voweth a cloke, another oyle, a third a wax candle: God careth not for these vowes, [illegible] *Sed hoc, quod hodie redemit, ipsum offer, hoc est, Animam tuam.* But offer & vow vnto God, that which as this day he hath redeemed, that is, thy soule. The vowes therefore of obedience and repentance and all Christian duties are the true vowes, the vowing of body and soule to the seruice of God, Rom.12.1 But this cannot be vowed vnto any but to him y redeemed vs: *Ergo*, not to any Saint.

2 That we ought onely to sweare by the name of God, the Scripture is plaine, Deut.6.13. *Thou shalt feare the Lord thy God and serue him, and shalt sweare by his name, and by no other*, Exod.23.13. But Saints are not to be feared or serued, for the Septuagint translate: λατρεύσεις Thou shalt worship God, which kinde of worship the Papists themselues dare not attribute to Saints: [illegible] neither are we to sweare by them.

Serm.10.Sermonum 17. Againe, to sweare, is to call him to witnesse by whome wee sweare, and so to make him our God: for whom we sweare by, we confesse to be a searcher and knower of our hearts, and a [illegible]

uenger

[illegible] of false swearers. To sweare then, is to call God to witnesse. *Quid est iurare, nisi Deum testem adhibere. Augustine.* What doest thou, when thou swearest? Thou callest God to witnesse: But they that sweare by Saints, call them to witnesse, and none els are called to witnesse, but they by whom they sweare: *Ergo*, they make Saints their Gods, seeing God is called vpon in euery oath.

Concil. Carthaginens. 4. *can.* 61. *Clericum per creaturam iurantem, acerrimè obiurgandum; si perstiterit in vitio, excommunicandum*: That a Clergie man swearing by creatures should sharply be reproued: and if he continue in that vice, to be excommunicate. But he that sweareth by Saints, sweareth by creatures. This Canon is also confirmed in the decrees: *caus.* 22. *quest.* 1. *c.* 9.

Sea also to this purpose the decree of Pope *Pius*, *ibid.* 10. *Si quis per capillum Dei, vel caput iurauerit.* If any man do sweare by the haire or head of God, if he be an Ecclesiasticall person, let him be deposed; if a lay-man, let him be anathematized. If it be not lawfull to sweare by the body of Christ, or any part thereof, which is vnited to his Godhead in one person, much lesse by this Canon is it lawfull to sweare by any other creatures. Let vs see also to this purpose the determination of their Master. *Quaeritur verum liceat iurare, &c.* A question is made, whether it be lawfull to sweare by the creatures? and it seemeth we ought not, because it is written in the Law, Thou shalt render thy oathes vnto the Lord: and a little after; The Iewes were commanded, if they did sweare, they should sweare onely by the Creator, not by the creature; for swearing by the Angels, &c. they did worship the creatures, which honor was more safe to be giuen vnto God, then to the creatures, *lib.* 3. *dist.* 39. *A.*

William Thorpe, holy confessor of Gods truth, about *anno.* 1400 saith thus, *To sweare by any creature, both Gods law and mans law is against it.* And thereupon inferreth, that it is vnlawfull to sweare by a booke, because it is a thing compact of diuers creatures, *Fox pag.* 529. Wherefore a booke is brought forth, when an oath is ministred, not to sweare by; but it is vsed as an externall rite, and testifying signe or witnesse, for the better aduisement to be had in the oath: As *Abrahams* seruant laid his hand vpon his Masters thigh, swearing vnto him, Gen. 24. and as *Iacob* and *Laban* made the heape of stones a witnesse of the couenant betweene them, Gen. 31. yet neither did the one sweare by his masters thigh, nor the other by the stones.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE DISTINCTION of the two kinds of worship λατρεία, and δουλεία.

The Papists.

THe kinde of worship which is proper to God, they say, is fitly expressed by the Greeke word λατρεία, neither is this word vsed, but for the worship of God: the other word δουλεία, is taken for all kind of seruice both of God and men; so that the religious worship, which is called λατρεία, is onely to be giuen to God: the other called δουλεία, may be attributed to Angels and Saints, *Bellarmin.* *cap.* 12. 27. Error.

The Protestants.

THis distinction is but of late inuented and coyned of our aduersaries, somewhat to countenance them out in their Idolatrous and superstitious worship of Saints: We thus doe refell it.

Argum. 1. This distinction helpeth them not: for heere are onely two words which doe betoken two kinds of worship, λατρεία, is the religious honour: δουλεία, is the ciuill dutie, such as seruants performe to their masters. They should haue found out three names for their three kinds of worship: they haue gayned nothing by this distinction, but that ciuill adoration is due vnto Saints, such as is giuen to men vpon earth. As for their fained word ὑπερδουλεία, which may be called a superseruice, when they can finde it in Scripture, they shall know more of our minde: and yet receiuing this terme, it signifieth but a more ciuill seruice, it betokeneth not a new kind of religious worship.

Argum. 2. Neither are the words so vsed, as they make vs beleeue: for the word λατρεία, which they make proper for the seruice of God, is applyed to men, as Leuit. 23. *Opus seruile non facietis*, You shall doe no seruile worke; the word is ἔργον λατρευτὸν. *Ludouic. Viues* also sheweth out of prophane authors, that sometime the word λατρεύειν is taken for the seruice of men or maides to their masters: *In* 10. *lib. Aug. de ciuit. Dei cap.* 1. So likewise *Laurentius Valla* sheweth the same vse of the word.

So contrariwise, the worde δουλεία, is taken in Scripture for the proper seruice of God, as Galat. 4. 8. Ye did seruice to them that by nature were no Gods: the word is, ἐδουλεύσατε: *Ergo*, religious seruice is onely due vnto God, not vnto Angels or Saints, for they are not by nature Gods. So we see that these two words, not onely in prophane authors, but in Scripture also are confounded.

Augustine saith, *nulla debetur Deo, tanquam Domino*: λατρεία *vero, non nisi Deo, tanquam Deo*: quasi in

in Exod.94. Religious seruice is due vnto God as Lord; religious worship is onely due vnto God as he is God.

Bellarmine answereth, that this place of *Augustine* maketh for him; for hence it followeth, that the worship called λατρεία being due vnto God, as God, is not communicable vnto any, because there is but one God: but the other, called δουλεία, seruice, being attributed to God as Lord, may be communicated, because there are many truely and properly called Lords; *Bellar. cap.16.*

Contra. First, he directly oppugneth the Scripture, for the Apostle saith, *Vnto vs there is but one God, and one Lord Iesus Christ:* 1.*Cor.*8.6. The Apostle saith, that there is but one Lord that properly and verily, he sayth, there are many. Secondly, the Apostle saith, *There are many Gods and many lords in the world*, vers.5. that is, vnproperly so called; so then, as many are called Lords, so also they are named in some sort gods in the earth; and that in Scripture, Psal.82.6. *I haue said ye are Gods, &c.* Wherefore he hath answered iust nothing.

That there is but one kind of religious worship, and that onely due vnto God, and that whatsoeuer reuerence beside, is but a ciuill kinde of adoration, we haue the euident testimonie of antiquitie: *Concil.Nicen.*2.*action*.4.*Quid aliud est, quam honoris alicubi exhibiti emphasis adoratio?* What else is adoration or worship, but a more emphaticall or earnest yeelding of honour? It is then no new kinde of honour, but a further degree onely of ciuill worship.

Likewise in the same Councell, *action.*7.*Tharasius* entreating of the worship of Saints, doth notably handle this poynt: προσκυνεῖν.i. *adorare,* & ἀσπάζεσθαι.i.*salutare,* & φιλεῖν,i. *amare, significat unum: quod quis amat, id etiam adorat, & quod adorat, id etiam amat:* To adore, or worship, is all one, as to salute, or loue; for that which a man loueth, he adoreth: and what he adoreth, he loueth. Then he goeth forward: of the Pharisies our Sauiour saith, that they loue the first places at feasts, and salutations in the markets: *Certum est* ἀσπασμοὺς, *salutationem hoc loco à domino appellari* προσκύνησιν, *adorationem:* It is certaine, that by salutation here is vnderstood adoration, or worship. Againe, he bringeth another instance out of the 21. of the Acts, vers.19. how *Paul* saluted or embraced the Elders assembled with *Iames: Hic salutationem honorificam, adorationem mutuo factam Apostolus significat:* Here the Apostle, by his honorable saluation, signifieth their mutuall adoration one of another. Further (saith he) *Est adoratio, qua venerationem & desiderium significat:* There is an adoration, which signifieth a reuerent kind of desire, as we adore the Emperour: *Est quae timorem tantum significat:* There is an adoration that signifieth feare, as *Iacob* adored *Esau*: *Est quae gratiam notat:* There is an adoration which betokeneth thankefulnes, as *Abraham* adored the sonnes of *Heth* of whom he bought the field: *Qui sperant beneficium, adorant:* They that hope for a benefite, adore, as *Iacob* adored *Pharao*. And all these are but diuers kinds of ciuill adoration, such, and no other, as are due vnto the Saints, as more plainely writeth *Adrian.*1.*epist. ad Constantin.* about the time of this 2.Nicen. Councel: *Qualis est iste adorationis honor? profecto nullus, quam is, quo nos inuicem prosequimur, salutantes nos inter nos per honorationem, & dilectionem:* What manner of worship is this, (which is to be giuen to the Saints?) surely none other, but that, which we giue one to another, saluting our selues by honour and loue. Thus this popish distinction of religious worship, is found to be cleane contrarie to antiquitie.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING the kissing of holie mens feete.

The Papists.

29.Error. It is a signe of reuerence done both to Christ and other sacred persons, as Prophets, Apostles, Popes, or others representing his person here vpon earth, *Rhemist. Act.*4.*sect.*3.

*Argum.*1. The Shunamite fell downe and embraced *Elisaus* feete, 2.King.4.27. *Ergo,* the Popes feete ought to be kissed.

Ans. 1. Your Popes must be first as holie as this Prophet was, who was thus reuerenced for his holines, before they can challenge the like honour.

2 This reuerence to the Prophet was voluntarie in the woman, not looked for or exacted by the Prophet, as the Pope looketh for it of dutie.

3 Here is no mention made of kissing of feete, but onely that she caught him by the feete, which was partly a signe of her ioy, that she had met with the Prophet, partly by this sodden and disordered gesture, the Prophet perceiued that she was troubled in minde: for *Gehazi* would haue thrust her away, but he said, Let her alone, for her spirit is troubled within her.

4 This is no warrant for the Pope to offer his feete to bee kissed of Kings and Emperours, because the woman fell downe at the Prophets feete, thinke you, that if the King of Israel had so done, the Prophet would haue suffered it?

*Argum.*2. *Marie* kissed Christs feete: *Ergo,* the Popes feete ought to kissed.

Ans. What arrogancie is this, that the Pope, a mortall and sinfull man, should challenge that honour which was done to Christ, being God in the flesh, and voide of sinne? He might also with the

the like blaſphemie challenge to be worſhipped: becauſe the women in the Goſpell caught Chriſt by the feete and worſhipped him, Matth.28.9. We may ſee by this, of what ſpirit he is, and whether he be not that Antichriſt, that ſhall make himſelfe as God, 2.Theſſ.2.4.

The Proteſtants.

THe kiſſing of the feete, was an humble and lowly geſture, which was worthily vſed toward our Sauiour Chriſt, who was God in the fleſh, and in his bodie and humanitie annexed to his Godhead, as God to be worſhipped: but it is too diuine, and too lowly an homage to be offered to any mortall man: And holy men in times paſt refuſed it, when any carried away with immoderate zeale and admiration of their perſon, were readie to giue it vnto them.

*Argum.*1. When *Cornelius* fell downe at *Peters* feete, the holy Apoſtle would not ſuffer him to doe it. The Pope is of a cleane contrarie ſpirit to S. *Peter*: for he refuſed it being offered; the Pope holdeth out his toe, and offereth it to be kiſſed, and vrgeth men thereunto.

*Argum.*2. If ſuch kiſſing of feete be commendable, how commeth it to paſſe that the Pope only hath holie feete to kiſſe; and not other Biſhops and Clergie men, as well as he?

Auguſtine thus writeth vpon thoſe words of the Pſalme, Worſhip his footſtoole, reading according to the *Septuagint*, ſaith he, the earth is his footſtoole, but wee muſt not worſhip the earth: *Conuerto me ad Chriſtum, & inueniо, quomodo ſine impietate adoretur terra: ſuſcepit enim de terra terram, quia caro terra eſt in Pſal.*98. I turne me (ſaith he) vnto Chriſt, and I finde how the earth may without any impietie be worſhipped: for he tooke earth of earth, fleſh of the fleſh of the Virgin, the fleſh is earth. Out of theſe words I conclude, that the fleſh, the bodie, the humanitie ought not in any to bee worſhipped, but onely in Chriſt, for the neere coniunction of the Godhead and humane nature together: and therefore conſequently no kiſſing of feete, which is an externall act of diuine worſhip, is ſeemely for any mortall man.

The Ieſuite might as well defend other inſolent parts of the Popes, as the kiſſing of their feete, as that they take vpon them to be carried vpon mens ſhoulders, as *Stephanus* 2. was *anno* 757. *Alexander* 3. did tread in the Emperour *Frederickes* necke: *Adrianus* 4. found fault with the Emperour for holding his ſtirrup on the left ſide: to whom the Emperour made this ſoberanſwer: *Scire velim ex te hoc officij genus ex debitone ſit, an beneplacito, &c.* I would know of thee, whether this ſeruice be of dutie, or good will; if of good will, it skilleth not on which ſide he commeth, that ſheweth his good will. So then it ſeemeth, that this great reuerence ſhewed to the Popes, as in kiſſing their feete and ſuch like, proceeded rather from the good will, and lowlineſſe of others, then of any dutie belonging to their perſons. But concerning this and other proude parts of the Pope, the ſaid *Fredericke* the Emperour writing to *Adriane*, ſaith, as the truth was: *Superbia deteſtabilem beſtiam uſque ad ſedem Petri reptaſſe videmus:* Wee ſee that the deteſtable beaſt of pride, is crept euen into *Peters* chayre.

THE THIRD QVESTION, CONCERNING the inuocation of Saints.

THis queſtion hath three parts: firſt, whether prayers are to bee made vnto Saints. Secondly whether they doe pray for vs. Thirdly, whether they vnderſtand our prayers.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER prayers are to be made to Saints.

The Papiſts.

THeir aſſertion is this, *Sanctos defunctos piè & vtiliter à viuentibus inuocari:* That Saints departed are with great profit and pietie called vpon, and praied vnto: and that it is not onely lawfull but godly, ſo to doe, *Rhemiſt.*1.*Tim.*2.*ſect.*4. *Bellarm.cap.*19.*lib.*1.*de Sanctor.beatit.* 30.Error.

*Argum.*1. They ſay, they doe not pray vnto Saints, as authors of any benefit or grace, but as interceſſors onely: Neither doe they make them immediat interceſſors, but only through Chriſt; concluding all their prayers, *per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Bellarm.*

*Anſ.*1. It is falſe, that you pray vnto them as interceſſors onely, for you deſire them not onely to pray for you, but to haue mercie on you: for thus they pray, O bleſſed Ladie haue mercie vpon vs, preſerue thy ſeruants, let the merits of S. *Marie* bring vs to the kingdome of heauen. *Fulk.*1.*Timoth.*2.*ſect.*4.

2 It is alſo falſe, that they make them not immediat interceſſors, but conclude their prayers, *Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum*: For in that blaſphemous prayer, *Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem quem pro nobis impendit, fac nos Chriſte ſcandere, quò Thomas aſcendit:* Here they aske life eternall of Chriſt by the blood of *Thomas* of Canturburie. How then is it true, which the Rhemiſts affirme in word, that Chriſt alone by his merits procureth all grace and mercie toward mankinde, *ibid.* when they

hope

hope to obtaine their requests by the merits of Saints? See *Fulk, annot. Iob. 16. sect. 3.* where diuers prayers to Saints, as to S. *Marie*, S. *Osmond*, S. *Anne*, S. *Katherine*, are reckoned vp, and none of them concludeth, *per Christum Dominum nostrum.*

Fox. pag. 1274 Likewise *anno* 1551. in Scotland it was taught as good doctrine among the Papists, that it was lawfull to say the *Pater noster* to Saints, that we may cal them our fathers, and say *Hallowed be your names*, because God hath made their names holy, *and that their kingdome may come*, because the kingdome of heauen is theirs by possession: and further, *that their will may be done*, seeing their will is Gods will: and so of the other petitions. Whereby it appeareth, that they would haue prayers made vnto Saints properly, euen as vnto God.

Argum. 2. Exod. 32. 13. *Moses* thus prayeth, Remember *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob* thy seruants. *Moses* here hopeth to haue his prayers heard by the merits of these holie men, *Bellarm.*

Ans. *Moses* rehearseth only the couenant, which the Lord made with these holy men and their seede, as the words following do shew, *To whom thou swarest by thine owne selfe and saidest vnto them, I will multiplie your seede: Moses* therefore pleadeth not the merits of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Iacob*, but vrgeth and presseth the promise of God, and couenant made with them: as we may reade, Genesis 17. 7. where the Lord saith to *Abraham, I will be God vnto thee, and thy seede after thee.*

Bellarmine replieth, that mention is not onely made of the couenant, but of their merits also: as 1. King. 15. 4. *For Dauids sake did the Lord giue him a light in Ierusalem, &c. because Dauid did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, &c.*

Contra. First, here is no mention of *Dauids* merits: for in the same place *Dauids* sinne against *Vrias* is remembred, which was sufficient to staine all *Dauids* merites with God. Secondly, God doth many times crowne the righteousnes of the parents with temporall blessings in their posteritie, according as the Lord promiseth in the second commaundement, *I will shew mercie vpon thousands to them that loue me:* So that all this dependeth vpon Gods mercie and promise. Thirdly, compare this place with chap. 11. 32. 34. there we shall finde this reason giuen, *because I haue chosen Dauid, &c.* therfore God would not rent all the kingdome from *Salomons* posteritie: wherefore this mercie to *Dauids* seede, did first of all issue from the free election of God. Fourthly, this place maketh nothing at all for the inuocation of Saints, though God respecting the obedience of *Dauid*, should shew mercie vnto his seede.

Argum. 3. The Saints doe pray one for another here vpon earth, and doe one desire another prayers: Saint *Paul*, Rom. 15. Ephes. 6. Coloss. 4. and in other places desireth to be assisted by their prayers: *Ergo*, much more may we desire the prayers of Saints departed, *Bellarm. Rhemist.*

Ans. First, to pray one for another while wee liue, is a dutie of charitie, and commaunded in Scripture: but to request the prayers of Saints departed, hath no warrant in the word. Secondly, we doe not desire the godly liuing to pray for vs, as our Mediatours, or as though by their worthines we are brought into the fauour of God, as you say the Saints doe: and therefore your argument followeth not, from the prayer of the liuing to the prayer of the dead. Thirdly, we may one pray for another, and one request the prayers of another, while we liue, because we know our mutuall necessities: but the Saints departed know not what things are done vpon earth, neither are euery where present to heare our prayers. Thus is their argument answered, whereof *Bellarmin* so boasteth, that he saith, it was vnanswerable, *cap. 19.*

Argum. 4. *Bellarmine* produceth diuers testimonies of the fathers, and certaine Canons of Councels to proue the inuocation of Saints: as namely, *Synod. 7. act. 6. in fine*; *Cum timore &c.* Let vs doe all with feare, entreating the intercession of the vndefiled Virgin, of the Angels, and all Saints, &c.

Ans. First, this 7. Synode, which was the Nicene 2. is not worthie to be counted among the generall Councels, wherein it was concluded that images of Saints were to be worshipped, and it was assembled against, *Iconoclastas*, the breakers of Images: but the 4. *Constantin.* rather is to be held the 7. generall, which was gathered against, *Iconolatras*, the worshippers of Images: wherein it was concluded, that it was neither lawfull to haue the images of Saints, nor to worship them. And that this deserueth rather the name of a generall Councell, it may appeare, both because it had the presence and consent of two Emperours, *Leo* and *Constantinus*; whereas the other had but the consent of *Irene* the Empresse, *Constantinus* her sonne being yet vnder her gouernment, who afterward comming to yeeres of discretion, did abrogate the constitutions of this Councell: as also for that the one was moderated by the reuerend Patriarke of Constantin. *Paulus*, and *Theodosius* Bishop of Ephesus; but the other was ouerruled by *Tharasius* that vnlearned prelate of Constantinople, of a lay man suddenly made a Patriarke, contrarie to the Canons, whose election *Charles* the great did take exception against.

Secondly, that it may appeare what respect is to be had to this Councell, let vs see some of their best stuffe: Action. 4. one *Iohannes* stepped vp, and said, *Maior est imago quàm oratio:* An Image is greater then prayer. Action. 1. *Tharasius* the President said: *Malum perpetuò idem est & aqualis:*

Euill

Euill or ſinne is alwaies equall and the very ſame: *& idem eſt errare in magnis & paruis*, and to erre in great matters or ſmall, concerning the faith, is all one. Such blaſphemous and erronious concluſions may very well beſeeme ſuch a blinde Councell. Of the ſame kind is their reſolution for the inuocation of Saints.

Thirdly, this Synode is of no great antiquitie, being celebrate about *anno* 780 and therefore not much to be regarded. Almoſt 400. yeeres before this the doctrine of the Church was otherwiſe, as out of *Ambroſe* is moſt euident, whereas he thus writeth *in* 1. *cap. ad Roman. Dicunt per iſtos ire ſe poſſe ad deum, &c.* They ſay that by theſe (that is by Saints) they may haue acceſſe vnto God, as by Courtiers we come vnto the King: Goe to, is any man ſo mad, or ſo forgetfull of himſelfe, as to giue the honour of the King to a Courtier? and doe they thinke they doe well, that giue the honour of God to a creature, *& relicto Domino conſeruos adorant*, and leauing the Lord, to adore their fellow ſeruants? And therefore wee come vnto the King by Courtiers, becauſe the King is a man, and knoweth not to whom he ſhould commit the affaires of the kingdome; but vnto God, to whom nothing is hid, who knoweth euery mans merits (that is, works) *ſuffragatore non eſt opus, ſed mente deuota*, wee neede no ſpeaker, but a deuout minde, &c. No doubt this ſaying of S. *Ambroſe* was agreeable to the doctrine of the Church in thoſe daies: out of the which we may gather theſe three reaſons againſt the inuocation of Saints: firſt, becauſe this were to giue the honour of the King to his ſubiects, of God to a creature. Secondly, Angels and Saints are our fellow ſeruants, and therefore not to be worſhipped, with our inuocation. Thirdly, it is not ſo with God as with Princes: to them wee muſt haue acceſſe by others, becauſe they otherwiſe know not our neceſſities, but God knoweth our hearts.

Bellarmine anſwere, to this ſo euident a teſtimonie, is very ridiculous: firſt, ſaith he, Saint *Ambroſe* ſpeaketh againſt the Ethnicks, that did worſhip the ſtarres, and calleth them our fellow ſeruants, that is, creatures.

Contra. Firſt, it is a very improper and vnuſuall ſpeech, to call the ſenſeleſſe creatures our fellow ſeruants, and this beggerly ſhift bewraieth the nakednes of their cauſe. Secondly, S. *Ambroſe* ſpeaketh of ſuch fellow ſeruants, as ſhould admit vs into Gods preſence; but I thinke he is not ſo fooliſh to thinke, that the ſtarres are mediatours vnto God for vs: wherefore it is euident he ſpeaketh of the mediation of Saints.

Secondly, ſaith he, on Gods behalfe, *ſuffragatore non eſt opus*, we neede no ſpokeſman, but in reſpect of our ſelues, we haue neede, &c.

Contra. A fooliſh and vnlearned diſtinction: for firſt S. *Ambroſe* maketh this compariſon: We neede a ſpokeſman to the King, becauſe he knoweth not our wants; but to God we neede none, becauſe of himſelfe, he vnderſtandeth our prayers: wherefore there is no neede at all of a ſpokeſman to God. Secondly he ſheweth, that on our behalfe alſo we neede no ſpokeſman, *but a deuout minde*: a deuout minde, I thinke is not required on Gods behalfe, but on ours. Thus this paltrie popeling wraſtleth by his ſubtiltie with the cleere euidence and light of truth, but euery where proclaimeth the weaknes of his cauſe. And as he anſwereth this place of S. *Ambroſe*, ſo he dealeth moſt ignorantly and rudely with the reſt; as hereafter may bee ſhewed, if it pleaſe God, more at large: but fully now to anſwere the obiections out of the fathers, would enlarge this volume too much, of purpoſe therefore I doe forbeare: yet here and there in the more waightie controuerſies, I thinke it not amiſſe to giue a taſte.

The Proteſtants.

THat prayer is onely to be made vnto God, and to no other creature beſide, as being an eſpeciall part of the worſhip of God, which we ought not to giue to any other: thus it is prooued out of the word of God.

Argum. 1. Rom. 10. 14. *How ſhall they call vpon him, in whom they haue not beleeued?* But wee muſt beleeue onely in God, and therfore onely pray to God. *Rhemiſt.* anſwere: It is true, no more can wee pray vnto our Ladie, nor any Saint in heauen, vnleſſe we beleeue they can helpe vs. So doth *Bellarmine* anſwere likewiſe.

Anſ. The Scripture euery where teacheth that wee muſt beleeue in God, and that they are curſed that put any confidence in man, Ierem. 17. 5. Againe, they can haue no aſſurance to ſettle their conſcience, but out of the Scriptures: They haue a vaine perſwaſion of the abilitie of Saints to helpe them, but they haue no ground of any ſuch beleefe out of the Scripture.

Bonner, as great a patrone of poperie in his time, as any of the Rhemiſts now, he ſaith thus; To truſt to any we bid you not; but to call vpon them, and pray to them, we bid you, *Fox* pag. 1587. He thought it a groſſe thing, that wee ſhould truſt to Saints, which the new Papiſts ſet downe for good holeſome doctrine.

Argum. 2. Heb. 4. 16. Let vs come with boldnes to the throne of grace: *Ergo*, we haue no neede of the inuocation of Saints, ſeeing we haue free and bold acceſſe through Chriſt.

Rhemiſt. By this reaſon we ſhould not pray one for another, while we are aliue.

Anſ.

Anſ. We doe not put our confidence in the merite and worthines of other mens prayers, as you doe in the interceſſion of Saints. Againe, this mutuall dutie of prayer one for another, is commanded and required of God, as the other is not: wherfore to runne vnto Saints, and not vnto Christ, is to doubt either of his readines, or abilitie to helpe vs.

Argum. 3. Ioh. 16. 26. Christ ſaith, that after he hath by his mediation and interceſſion brought vs into the fauour of God, In that day ſhall you aske the Father in my name, and I ſay not, that I will pray to the Father for you, for the Father himſelfe loueth you. If then the prayer of Christ to God his father, ſhall not then be needfull, what vſe is there of the prayer of other creatures? *Fall. 1. Tim. 2. ſect. 4.*

Argum. 4. Our Sauiour Christ hath taught vs in the Goſpell, to whom wee ſhould direct our prayers, ſaying, *Our Father which art in heauen, &c.* Matth. 6. This prayer cannot bee ſaid either to Angel or Saint: *Ergo*, it is contrarie to Christs rule to pray vnto them.

Bellarmine anſwereth, by the ſame reaſon, onely God the Father ſhould be praied vnto, neither God the Sonne, nor the holy Ghoſt; for he teacheth vs onely to ſay, Our Father, &c.

Contra. Firſt, here he ſheweth his groſſe ignorance; as though the whole Trinitie in reſpect of vs, and euery one of the perſons, is not our father; though in the reſpect that they haue one to another, there is but one father and one ſonne: for Christ is called the euerlaſting father, Eſay 9. and the holy Ghoſt, Iam. 1. 17. is named by the Apoſtle, *Pater luminum*, the father of lights. Secondly, there is not a petition in the Lords prayer but agreeth to the whole Trinitie: as where we pray, *Hallowed be thy name*, for there is one name of the whole Trinitie, as Matth. 28. *Goe and baptize in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt*: as S. *Ambroſe* ſheweth, *lib. 1. de ſpiritu. c. 14.* *Let thy kingdome come*: this alſo concerneth the whole Trinitie, which hath but one kingdome: as S. *Ambroſe* proueth out of that place, Rom. 14. *The kingdome of God is not meate, but righteouſnes and peace, and ioy in the ſpirit*: the kingdome of God, and of the ſpirit, is all one. So likewiſe, they haue all one will: they all doe together forgiue vs our ſinnes, as Ioh. 20. *Receiue ye the holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſinnes ye remit, they are remitted.* The holy Ghoſt therefore forgiueth ſinnes, as well as the Father, or the Sonne: wherefore it is euident, that the Lords praier is directed to the whole Trinitie in the name of Father. Thirdly, yet *Bellarmine* is not altogether ſo abſurd, as ſome popiſh Scotiſt Diuines haue been, who were not aſhamed to graunt, that the Lords prayer might bee ſaid to the Saints. See *Fox* pag. 1274.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Pro quo nullus interpellat, & ipſe pro omnibus; hic vnus verusque Mediator eſt. lib. 2. cont. Parmenian. cap.* 8. He for whom no man prayeth, but himſelfe entreateth for all men, he is the onely true Mediatour: *Ergo*, Saints no Mediatours, and therefore not to be prayed vnto.

Let vs ſee the teſtimonie of holie Martyrs: *Thomas Haukes*, It is an abominable blaſphemie againſt God, and his ſonne Christ, to call vpon any, to truſt to any, or to pray to any, but onely to Christ Ieſus. His reaſon is out of Saint *Paul*, Rom. 10. that we cannot call vpon any, vpon whom we beleeue not: But our beliefe, faith and truſt muſt onely bee fixed vpon God. To this agreeth the concluſion of a generall Councell, *Nicen. 2. actione. 2. Tharaſius* Preſident of the Councell ſaith, *Apertis verbis teſtamur, nos duntaxat in vnum Deum veram latreiam, cultum, & fidem noſtram referre & reponere*: We doe plainly teſtifie, that we repoſe and referre our faith and truſt only vnto God.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: Whereas the Papiſts commonly obiect, that as wee cannot be admitted into the preſence of the Prince, but by mediatours, and friends going betweene; ſo is it betweene God and vs: he anſwereth, that there is great difference betweene God, and a mortall Prince: For neither hath the Prince the knowledge that God hath, who knoweth and ſeeth all things euery where, &c. neither is he in mercie and gracious dealing like to God: who is of that infinit mercie, that I may as ſoone obtaine of him, that is needfull, as I ſhould by praying to Saints to be Mediatours, &c. And ſo he concludeth, I will pray vnto Saints, when I thinke that God rather cannot or will not giue my petition; but that ſhall neuer be: *Ergo, &c. pag.* 1109. *reſpon. ad articul.* 14.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THE Saints departed doe pray for vs.

The Papiſts.

31. Error. THat the Saints in heauen doe not onely pray in generall, but particularly for vs, readie in all our needes by their prayer and mediation to aſſiſt vs: thus they would proue it.

Argum. 1. 2. Pet. 1. 15. I will endeuour (ſaith the Apoſtle) that you may haue remembrance of theſe things after my departure. *Peter* promiſeth to be carefull of them, and to pray for them after his departure, *Rhemiſt. ibid. Bellarm. cap.* 18.

Anſ.

Anſ. This which here the Apoſtle promiſeth, he performeth in writing this Epiſtle, whereby they might be put in remembrance, when he was gone. And therefore he ſaith, verſ. 13. I thinke it meete, ſo long as I am in this tabernacle, to ſtirre you vp by putting you in remembrance: he acknowledgeth now onely to bee the time wherein he may doe them good, and therefore deferreth it not. There is no ſillable, which ſoundeth that way, that he would pray for them after his diſſolution.

Argum. 2. Apocal. 5. 8. The 24. Elders are ſaid to haue golden vials full of odors, which are the prayers of the Saints, *Rhemiſt. in hunc locum. Ergo*, the Saints in heauen doe pray for vs.

Anſ. The 24 Elders doe repreſent the Church Militant vpon earth, whoſe conuerſation is in heauen, and they doe continually offer vp their prayers. And that the place is ſo to be vnderſtood, it appeareth verſ. 10. Thou haſt made vs Kings and Prieſts, and wee ſhall raigne vpon the earth: that is, their kingdome is ſpirituall, in fighting againſt, and ouercomming the concupiſcence of the fleſh, and all carnall deſires.

Argum. 3. Iere. 15. 1. *If Moſes and Samuel ſtood before me, my affection could not be toward this people:* therefore *Moſes* and *Samuel* being dead, did vſe to pray for the people. *Bellarm.*

Anſ. Firſt, the contrarie rather may bee gathered, that *Moſes* and *Samuel* did not pray for the people being dead: becauſe the Lord ſaith, *if they did, &c.* but it is not like, that their charitie is leſſe in heauen to ceaſe praying for the people, if the Saints had any ſuch office, ſeeing that *Samuel* yet liuing ſaid, *God forbid, that I ſhould ceaſe praying for this people.* 1. Sam. 12. 23. Secondly, this place may bee expounded by that Ezech. 14. 20. *Though Noah, Iob, Daniel, were in the middeſt of the citie, they ſhould but deliuer their owne ſoules:* So here, if *Moſes* and *Samuel* were liuing to pray for the people, as they vſed to doe, God will not heare them.

Argum. 4. Luk. 16. in the parable, the rich man prayeth for his brethren, much more do the righteous pray for the whole Church: as Reuel. 6. *The ſoules vnder the altar crie, Lord how long doeſt thou not iudge and auenge our blood, &c.? Bellarm. cap.* 18.

Anſ. Firſt, to the firſt place I anſwere, that it is a parable, or admitting it to be a ſtorie, we muſt needes acknowledge many things to bee ſpoken in parable and allegorie, as that he deſireth a drop of water to coole his tongue, whereas he neither had any tongue, his bodie being left in the graue, neither is water able to aſſwage the paines of hell. Againe, to take the conference between *Abraham* and the rich man literally, may bee occaſion of many doubts: as, how they could one heare anothers talke, there being a great gulfe betweene them: neither had *Abraham* any ſuch power to ſend *Lazarus* to the liuing: wherefore it is hard vpon euery part of this parable to ground an argument. Secondly, there is no charitie in hell, how then can there bee any prayer there, which proceedeth of charitie? Thirdly, but be it graunted that the prayer of the rich man is hiſtoricall: it onely ſheweth a generall deſire and wiſh that he hath to his kindred: and ſo wee denie not, but that the Saints in generall doe deſire the conſummation of Chriſts bodie, and the eternall reſt of the reſt of his members yet militant in earth.

To the ſecond place we likewiſe anſwere: firſt, if that prayer or complaint, which the ſoules vnder the altar make, bee ſtrictly according to the letter taken, is it to bee thought, that the Saints haue leſſe charitie in heauen, then they had in earth? for *Stephen* prayed that his perſecutors might be forgiuen at his death, and doth the ſoule of *Stephen* now being vnder the altar call for vengeance? This is *Hieromes* reaſon: They doe not deſire their blood, which perſecuted them, *pro eis non petitio fuſa eſt, &c.* for they prayed for them, that the ſin ſhould not be laide to their charge. Secondly, they pray not therefore particularly for the deſtruction of any, but generally, that an end may be made of the tyrannie of Satan: as *Hieromo* expoundeth, *Spirituales nequitiæ hic intelligunt:* Spirituall enemies are here vnderſtood, *De vir. perfecto.* And it is in effect the ſame with the prayer of the Church, Apocal. 22. 17. *The ſpirit, and the bride ſay come:* that is, they do all waite for the finall accompliſhing of Chriſts kingdome. Thirdly, we graunt then that the Saints in heauen doe long both for the conſummation of their owne glorie, and wiſh generally vnto the Church militant the like triumphant end and victorie of their labours: and we confeſſe as much as S. *Cyprian* ſaith: *Magnus illic charorum numerus nos expectat; &c. parentum, fratrum, filiorum de ſalute ſua ſecure, de noſtra ſollicita:* A great number of our friends doe there waite for vs, &c. being ſecure of their owne ſaluation, carefull for vs, *Serm. 4. de mortalit.* But hence it followeth not, that they haue particular knowledge of our manifold neceſſities, and ſo make their particular requeſts vnto God for vs.

The Proteſtants.

THat the bleſſed Saints doe ſing vnto the praiſe of God in heauen, and do magnifie the Lord, and praiſe him with a new ſong of thankſgiuing, which is a kind of prayer, we denie not, Apocal. 5. 9. and that they haue a generall deſire and longing, both for vs, for themſelues, and all the elect of God, that the day of our refreſhing were come, and that all the people of God were ioyned in one, and their enemies vanquiſhed and deſtroyed, wee learne alſo out of the Scripture,

Apocal.6.9. But that they ſhould offer vp our ſpeciall prayers, and make particular requeſt for vs to God, it no where in the Scripture is found, but rather the contrarie.

*Argum.*1. The Scripture no where teſtifieth, that the Saints in ſuch manner doe pray for vs: *Ergo*, wee may ſafely bee ignorant of it; nay it were great preſumption, without Scripture to beleeue it.

*Argum.*2. The Saints departed know not our wants, nor what is done in the earth. The liuing know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all, Eccleſ.9.5. But of this more ſhall be ſaid in the next part. See *Auguſtine* of this matter. *contro.*8. *quæſt.*2. *part.*3.

*Argum.*3. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *There is one mediatour of God and man, the man Ieſus Chriſt*, 1.Timoth.2.5. *Ergo*, Saints are not our mediatours, and ſo conſequently they doe not pray for vs.

Bellarmine anſwereth, Chriſt is ſaid onely to be our mediatour for three cauſes: firſt, becauſe he is the onely mediatour of our redemption. Secondly, he is a mediatour not by his office onely, but in reſpect of his nature alſo, being both God and man. Thirdly, becauſe he is ſo a mediatour, that he needeth not any other mediatour, as the Saints doe, who are mediatours, but not in the foreſaid reſpects, *Bellarm.cap.*20.

Anſ. *Bellarmine* hath ſtrengthened our argument well, and giuen three reaſons why the Saints cannot be mediatours in any reſpect at all. Firſt, there can bee no aduocate or mediatour, but he ſame muſt bee the propitiation for our ſinnes, as Saint *Iohn* ſheweth, Epiſt.1.chap.2.verſ.2. *The Saints are not a propitiation for our ſinnes. Ergo.* Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith, *A mediatour is not of one*, Galath.3.20. So then he that is the mediatour betweene God and man, muſt not bee of one nature: he muſt be both God and man: *Ergo*, Saints are no mediatours. Thirdly, he cannot be a mediatour, that hath himſelfe neede of a mediatour, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, that they could not be our high prieſt, that had neede firſt to offer for their owne ſinnes, and then for the ſinnes of the people, Heb.7.27. and to offer vp our prayers is belonging to the prieſthood: Saints cannot bee our prieſts: *Ergo*, neither our mediatours. Thus hath *Bellarmine* reaſoned well for vs againſt himſelfe.

Francis Rebezies holy Martyr, ſheweth in what manner Saints doe pray for vs: who, when a Doctor had put forth this reaſon, The Apoſtles made interceſſion to Chriſt when as he was vpon the earth, why may they not doe ſo now? ſeeing Chriſt then was the interceſſor of the world, as now. He thus anſwereth; So long as they were in the world, they exerciſed their miniſterie, and prayed one for another, as needing humane ſuccours together: but now being in paradiſe, all the prayer they make is this, that they wiſh, that they which be vpon earth may attaine to their felicitie: but to obtaine any thing at the Fathers hand, wee muſt haue our recourſe onely to his ſonne. *Fox* pag.912.col.2.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER THE SAINTS vnderſtand our prayers, and be alwaies at hand to helpe vs.

The Papiſts.

31.Error. THey affirme three things, which they are driuen to graunt by neceſſitie of argument, while they ſtifly maintaine inuocation of Saints: for firſt they graunt that they know our hearts, and our inward repentance, and ſecret thoughts; for otherwiſe it would not auaile to pray vnto them, yet not of themſelues, but by the reuelation of God, *Bellarm.cap.*20. And of foure opinions of this matter, as that the Saints know our prayers either by the reuelation of Angels, or by their celeritie or agilitie of nature, paſſing from place to place, or at once they ſee in God as in a glaſſe, all things that may concerne them, or elſe they know mens ſecret thoughts, by ſome ſpeciall reuelation from God, as *Eliſha* deſcried the corruption of *Gehezi*, 2.King.5. and *Samuel* had a ſecret reuelation concerning *Saul*, 1.Sam.9.15. Of theſe foure he preferreth the two laſt, and refuſeth the other.

Anſ. Neither of theſe foure waies can ſtand: not the firſt, for though Angels ſhould reuele to the Saints, yet our thoughts they cannot reueale, becauſe they know them not themſelues: not the ſecond, for Saints doe reſt vnder the Altar, which is Chriſt, Apoc.6. and paſſe not to and fro, ſeeing that Chriſt, as he is man, ſhall be contained in the heauens till his comming againe, Act.3. Not the third, for we ſhall not ſee Chriſt as he is, till he doe appeare, 1.Ioh.3.2. And concerning the laſt, we denie not, but that God may reueale to the Saints ſome things at his pleaſure, as he did to the Prophets: but it hereof followeth not, that all our prayers are reuealed vnto them: for neither were all things reuealed to *Samuel*, as 1.Sam.16. when he went to anoint *Dauid*: and *Eliſha* ſaith, 2.King.4.verſ.27. concerning the Shunamite, *Her ſoule is vexed, and the Lord hath not told me.*

Againe, what a prepoſterous order is this, and ſuperfluous, God firſt reuealeth vnto them our prayers, and then they ſolicite God in our behalfe? I pray you what neede this, ſeeing God knoweth

eth our prayers? Firſt, why is he not as readie of himſelfe to graunt our requeſts, as to ſtay till he be entreated?

Secondly, ſeeing it were in vaine to pray to Saints, if they had not power to helpe vs: they also are vrged to confeſſe, that the Saints are patrones of men, and haue the gouernment of the world committed to them; yea, that they may receiue others into the kingdome of heauen. 33. Error.

Argum. 1. Apocal. 2. 26. To him that ouercommeth, will I giue power ouer nations, and he ſhall rule ouer them with a rod of yron: *Ergo*, the Saints haue the gouernment of men committed vnto them, *Rhemiſt. ibid. Bellarm. cap.* 18.

Anſ. The power which our Sauiour here promiſeth, is the participation of his kingly inheritance: firſt, ſpiritually to ouercome the world by faith in this life, and after this life they ſhall be ſet in full poſſeſſion of his royall inheritance. The rod of yron, is the word of God, which is alſo called a two edged ſword, wherby they execute vengeance vpon the heathen, Pſal. 149. 7. It is the ſword of the ſpirit, whereby the wicked ſhall be deſtroyed. *Auguſtine* expoundeth it to be the rod of Iuſtice, whereby the good are corrected, and the wicked broken in pieces, *Homil. 2 in Apocal.*

Again, it followeth in the text, *As a potters veſſell ſhall they be broken*. This cannot be vnderſtood of the Church of God: wherefore this place ſerueth not to proue the regiment of the Saints ouer the Church of God. Thirdly, ſeeing this is a promiſe made to euery one of Gods Saints; who are many hundred thouſands, by this reaſon euery one of them ſhould haue a regiment in the Church of God, which were infinite. Laſtly, Chriſt promiſeth that they ſhall rule, with a rod of yron, as himſelfe hath receiued; and chap. 3. 21 *they ſhall ſit with him in his throne*: will they inferre hereupon, that the Saints haue the like kingdome and power and glorie with Chriſt? this were very abſurd to graunt, and againſt Chriſt blaſphemous. Wherefore, the meaning of theſe and the like ſpeeches is nothing elſe, but this, that Chriſt ſhall impart and communicate vnto the Saints the glorie of his kingdome, not in ſuch full manner as he himſelfe hath it, but in ſuch ſort, as it is meete for them to receiue. Saint *Ambroſe* thus expoundeth the like words of our Sauiour, Ioh. 17. *Father, I will that they whom thou haſt giuen me, be with me where I am, &c. Vt ſint mecum, non vt ſedeant mecum &c.* That they may be with me (ſaith he) not ſit with me; where I am, but not as I am; to ſee my glorie: to ſee it, not to haue it; for the ſeruant ſeeth, the maſter poſſeſſeth, *lib. 5. de fide. cap.* 2. And againe, vpon thoſe words, Epheſ. 2. 6. *He hath made vs ſit together in heauenly places in Chriſt: Non vt homines ſedere ſibi ad dextram patiatur Deus, &c.* Not that God doth ſuffer men to ſit at his right hand, but to ſit in Chriſt, who is the foundation of all, the head of his Church, who hath in himſelfe merited to our nature the prerogatiue of the heauenly ſeate, &c. *lib. 5. de fide. cap.* 7. Thus *Ambroſe* ſheweth how the Saints are ſaid to ſit in the heauenly throne, namely in Chriſt, in reſpect that our nature in him is aduanced to that heauenly ſeate; which prerogatiue being complete and full in Chriſt, is in meaſure communicated to his members.

Argum. 2. Luk. 16. 9. *Make you friends of the vnrighteous Mammon, that when they neede, they may receiue you into euerlaſting habitations*: See, the Saints may receiue their friends and benefactors into their eternall manſions, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſ. 1. Almes beſtowed vpon the poore doe procure their prayers, but not their patronage. 2. The words are thus parabolically to be vnderſtood: They ſhall receiue you, that is, ſhall giue teſtimonie of you, and your almes ſhall be a teſtimonie of your charitie, and proceeding from a liuely faith, ſhall euerlaſtingly bee rewarded. 3. That it is not meant of the perſons, but of the work, it is plaine, becauſe almes which iſſue from a true faith, ſhal be rewarded at the Lords hand, though beſtowed vpon an hypocrite.

Thirdly, they alſo hold that the Saints at their pleaſure can be preſent with their bodies, and be amongſt vs, and ſo heare our prayers, *Bellarm. cap.* 20. 34. Error.

Argum. 1. Otherwiſe the Saints ſhould be fettered as it were in heauen, if they remaine and be kept all in one place.

Anſ. They are not fettered when they are limited by the Lord to a place: ſee alſo what a goodly opinion theſe fellowes haue of heauen, making a priſon of it, *Rhemiſt. annot. Apocal.* 6. 9.

Argum. 2. They follow the Lambe whither ſoeuer he goeth: *Ergo*, they may be euery where.

Anſ. 1. That place, Apocal. 14. is vnderſtood of al the elect, yea of thoſe that do imitate and follow Chriſt, liuing vpon earth, as it followeth verſ. 4. *Theſe are bought from men, being the firſt fruites vnto God, &c.* which comprehendeth all the elect both liuing and departed to God. 2. If the ſoules are euery where, becauſe the Lambe is euery where, then Chriſt in his humanitie is euery where, and ſo the Papiſts are become Vbiquitaries.

Argum. 3. The Deuils are of great dexteritie, and celeritie in paſſing from one place to another: *Ergo*, much more the Saints.

Anſw. 1 The argument followeth not: for deuils by propertie of nature together by the ſufferance of God, doe wander vp and downe the world, being thereto appoynted of God: but the ſoules of Saints haue no ſuch office, as we reade in Scripture, to bee curſory ſpirits in the world.

2 Though it ſhould be graunted, that in a ſhort time they are able to change their places: yet it is vnpoſſible, they ſhould be in ſo many places to heare the prayers euery where made vnto them, vnleſſe they could be in diuers places at once.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, it is a great vntruth and blaſphemie to ſay, that the Saints do knowe our thoughts, inward repentance, prayers, as the Rhemiſts affirme.

Argum. 1. God only is the knower of the heart, neither doth he communicate this propertie of the Godhead to any creature: he may reueale what he thinketh good vnto them: but for them, when they will themſelues, to know our ſecret prayers and meditations (for this is the queſtion) it is impoſſible.

Bernard agreeth with vs, thus wryting: *Ioſeph cum praeuidiſſet exaltationem ſuam, non tamen praeſcius fuit venditionis, quamuis propior eſſet venditio, quam exaltatio*: Though *Ioſeph* foreſawe his exaltation, yet did he not foreknowe that he ſhould be ſoulde; and yet his ſelling was nearer, then his preferring. By this he ſheweth, that although God may and doth reueale ſome things to the Saints, yet it followeth not, they ſhould knowe all things.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that God onely is the knower of mens hearts naturally, and by his owne power: but the ſaints know them by reuelation.

Contra. 1. *Reg.* 8. 39. *Salomon* ſaith, *Thou onely knoweſt the hearts of all men*: He ſaith not, God chiefely or principally knoweth the hearts, but onely. If God then onely know our hearts, then the ſaints know them not.

De cura pro mortuis

Argum. 2. *Auguſtine* out of thoſe words of the Prophet Iſay 63. 16. *Abraham* is ignorant of vs, and *Iacob* knoweth vs not, concludeth thus, *Si tanti patriarchae, quid ergo populum ex ipſorum ſemine propagatum ageretur, ignorauerunt, quomodo mortui vivorum rebus atque actibus cognoſcendis adiuuandiſque miſcentur?* If ſo great Patriarkes were ignorant what became of the people which was borne of their loynes; how is it like, that other dead can be preſent to vnderſtand, and be helping to mens affaires? And here S. *Auguſtine* alſo meeteth with the cauillous anſwere of *Bellarmine*, who ſaith, that the Patriarks vnder the law being dead, knew not the affaires of the liuing, becauſe they were not yet in heauen: but the ſaints now departed are in heauen, and therefore may and doe know our eſtate: for S. *Auguſtine* reaſoneth cleane contrary, If *Abraham* ſo great a Patriarke knew not, much leſſe the dead now: Againe, he ſtill very vnlearnedly beggeth the thing in queſtion, ſeeing we haue proued before, that the Patriarkes were in heauen.

This was the confeſſion of one *Paul Luther*, confeſſor of Gods truth *anno.* 1529. that Saints in heauen cannot helpe vs, and know no more what men doe here in this world, then a man in the North countrey knoweth what is done in the South contrey: *Fox.* 1040. col. 2.

Secondly, we acknowledge no patrones, protectors or captaines in heauen, but our Lord God and Sauiour Chriſt.

1 Pſalm. 73. 25. The Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, Whom haue I in heauen but thee? and *Iacob* calleth onely vpon the Lord God, to be the guide of his iourney, Gen. 28. 20. Vpon which words of the Pſalme ſaint *Ambroſe* thus noteth, *Tu portio mea es, abundas mihi ad omnia, &c.* Thou O Lord art my portion, thou ſufficeſt me for all things, I require none other thing, but to haue thee my portion: I neede the helpe of none, being receiued of thee; neither is there any thing in heauen, which I ſeeke beſide thee &c. *de interpel. lib. 4. c.* 12. Behold, Chriſt onely in heauen, without the helpe either of Angell, or Saint, ſufficed *Ambroſe*, and may ſuffice euery faithfull man.

2 By appoynting Saints to be patrones of places and countries, at length they brought in a multitude of popiſh Saints, and were not in ſuperſtition farre behinde the Gentiles, who gloried in the number of their gods: For haue they not allotted ſome to countreyes, as S. *George* for England, S. *Andrew* for Scotland, S. *Denis* for France, S. *Patricke* for Ireland? So likewiſe diuers Saints were called vpon for diuers diſeaſes, as S. *Rombal* for the tooth-ach, S. *Petronil* for the Ague: One for horſe, as S. *Loye*, S. *Antony* for pigges, S. *Gregory* for Schollers, S. *George* for Souldiers: Euen thus the Heathen inuented diuers gods, *Neptune* for the ſea, the *Satyrs* for the woods, the *Nymphes* for the water, *Ceres* for corne, *Bacchus* for wine, *Venus* for the Troians, *Pallas* for the Grecians, *Iupiter ſtater* for the Romanes.

Auguſt. lib. 4. de ciuit. Dei. cap. 8.

Nay, they were yet more ridiculous, they appoynted many gods for one thing: as for Infants *Vagitanus*, that made them to crye, *Cuninus*, that kept them in their Cradle, *Adeona*, *Abeona*, to teach them to goe: So for the entrie of the houſe, they had *Limentinus* the God of the threſhold, *Cardea* the god of the hinges, *Forrulus* that kept the doore: for their Corne, they had the Goddeſſe *Seia* when it was ſworne, *Proſerpina* when it ſprouted, *Nodotus* when it knotted, *Hoſtilina* when it eared, *Flora* when it waxed white, *Runcina* when it was cut downe. The like ſuperſtition almoſt raigneth in poperie. But what neede we runne to ſo many for theſe things, when as at the Lords hands we are promiſed, asking in the name of Chriſt, to receiue all things we neede? This great folly of theirs ſheweth what good commeth by the deuiſed patronage of Saints.

Bernard

Bernard here helpeth vs well, writing vpon that place in the Canticles: My welbeloued is as the apple tree among the trees of the forrest, Cantic.2.vers.3. *Non comparantur huic omnia ligna silvarum &c.* All the trees of the wood are not to be compared to this: for although there be fayre and great trees which may seeme to helpe, by their prayer, ministerie, instruction, example; yet Christ onely the wisedome of God is the tree of life: the other trees though they haue a shadowe of solace, yet no refection of life: there is one author of our life, the onely mediator of God and man. Super.cantic. serm.48.

Master *Tindall* holy Martyr hath put to his seale: Why should I trust in Pauls prayer or holines: for if *Paul* were aliue, and loued me, as he did them of his time, what could he do for me, or wish me, but to preach Christ, and pray to God for me to open my heart, to giue me his spirit, and to bring me to the knowledge of Christ? &c. *Fox.* pag.1250.col.2.artic.16. This holy Martyr with the rest, were farre from making Saints their patrones, or aduocates.

Thirdly, it is also another popish fable and dreame, that the Saints may bee present euery where, as it pleaseth themselues, at their tombes and sepulchers, and whersoeuer els they are called for.

*Argum.*1. Act.3.21. The heauens containe the humanitie of Christ: it hath pleased him there to rest himself, vntill his comming to iudgement: *Ergo*, much more are the Saints kept in their resting places.

*Argum.*2. The Saintes are at rest, they doe cease from the affaires of this life, Apocal.14.13. They rest vnder the Altar in the peace of Christ, Apocal.6.9. there expecting and waiting the comming of Christ to iudgement: *Ergo*, they doe not wander nor stray abroad in the world, neither doe intermeddle with humane affayres.

Augustine saith, *Si rebus viuentium interessent anima mortuorum, meipsum pia mater nulla nocte deseruit, quatenus mari que secuta est, vt mecum viueret: De cura pro mortuis:* If the soules of the dead were present at the affayres of the liuing, my deuout mother would neuer a night bee from me, who when she liued, followed me by sea and land, to haue my companie, and to liue with me: *Ergo*, the Saints departed are not present with vs when they would.

Bernard also agreeth, writing thus vpon the death of *Humbertus: Quandiu viueret in eius laude non aperui os meum, ne forte possem nu, vel ego adulationis notam, vel ille culpam incurrere vanitatis: ex hoc suorum iam timetur, nec ego illum video, & forsitan ille me non audit:* While he liued, I opened not my mouth in his praise, least that I might haue incurred the suspition of flattery, he of vaine glorie: but now neither of these is feared, for I neither see him, and perhaps he heareth not me: *Sermon. in obitum Humbert.* *Bernard* doubteth whether the Saints be present to heare vs, and thinketh rather that they doe not.

I will lastly adde out of their owne decrees. *par.2.caus.*13.*qu.*2.*c.*29. *Patendum est, nescire mortuos, quid hic agatur, &c.* We must confesse that the dead know not, what is done here: but they doe heare of those that depart hence, not all things, but what they are suffred to declare, and what it behoueth them to heare, &c. So then the dead know not all the affaires of the liuing, but so much, as it pleaseth God should be declared vnto them.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, CONCERning the reliques of Saints.

This question hath foure parts. 1 Whether the reliques of Saints are to be worshipped. 2 Of the translation of reliques. 3 Of the keeping and preseruing of reliques. 4 Of the miracles wrought at the tombes and reliques of Martyrs.

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING the worship of Reliques.

The Papists.

THe reliques of Saints, that is their bodies and bones, and Sepulchres, where they are buried, are to be adored and reuerenced, *Trident.in.Concil.sess.*25. though with lesse honour somewhat, then the Saints themselues, *Bellarm.de reliquijs sanctor.lib.*2.*cap.*21. And not onely their bodies (say they) are worthie of due reuerence, but other monuments of theirs, as S. *Peters* chaire at Rome, Rom.16.vers.16. the prison, wherein S. *Paul* was kept in Malta, *Rhemist.in Act.*28.1. the chaine that S. *Paul* was bound with at Rome, Act.27.4. the stone that hit S. *Stephen* vpon the Elbow now to be seene at Ancona in Italie, *Act.*7.*sect.*6. 35. Error.

Answ. As for S. *Peters* chayre, and S. *Pauls* chaine, they are neither able to shew that *Peter* sate in such a chaire, or that it is the very chaine which they shew, wherewith *Paul* was bound. Concerning the prison house at Malta, they shew that which neuer was: *Paul* was a prisoner, but not

in prison there: that of the stone that smote *Stephen* vpon the elbowe is a meere fable: See Pal. vpon that place.

*Argum.*2. *Iosias*, when he caused the bones of other dead to be burned, yet he commanded them to let the Prophets bones alone, *Bellarm. cap.*3. The disciples of *Iohn* came and buried his bodie: an example of dutie and religious deuotion to the dead bodies of Saints, *Rhemist. Matth.*14. *sect.*1. Their bodies are the temples of the holy Ghost, and shall be raysed againe to life: *Ergo*, they must be adored and worshipped, *Trident. Concil. sess.*25.

Answ. One answere may serue for all these arguments. We deny not, but that the dead bodies of the faithfull are to be laid vp with reuerence in hope of the resurrection; but it therefore followeth not, that they must be abused to Idolatry. *Iohns* disciples buried his bodie, but shrined it not to be worshipped: *Iosias* made difference betweene the bones of the Idolatrous Priests, and of the true Prophet: the one he burned, and thought them vnworthie of honest sepulture; the other he suffered to rest, and enioy the honour of buriall. But of any adoration or worshipping of his bones, we read not.

*Argum.*3. Isay 11.10. *Erit Sepulchrum eius gloriosum*: His graue or sepulcher shall be glorious. This is vnderstood of the graue of Christ, that it should be honoured: wherefore reliques are worthie of honor. *Bellar. cap.*3.

Answ. First, though the Latine text so translate, as the Iesuite readeth; yet there is no such thing in the originall: the word is מנוחה, a which signifieth rest, and so the Septuagint translate it, ἀνάπαυσις so that the sense is, his rest, that is, his Church, shall be glorious: and so is this word vsed Psal.132.14. *This is my rest for euer.* Secondly, wee denie not, but that (admitting the Latine reading) the place of Christs buriall was glorious, and to be honoured, while as Christs precious body was there, but that afterwards it remained holy, this text sheweth not. Thirdly, if Christs bodie and the place thereof were to be honoured; how serueth this place for the reliques of Saints? Christs bodie was to be adored, because of the vniting to the Godhead; but the seruants are not to be honoured as the Master.

a Menuchah

The Protestants.

THe bodies of Martyrs are reuerently to be brought to the ground, in testimonie of our hope of their resurrection, and their memorie is to be honored, as in praysing God for their constant Martyrdome: so the Psalmist saith, Right precious in the sight of God is the death of his Saints, Psalm.116. as also in following their steps, and propounding vnto vs their good example: but to adore and worship their bones, to kisse, and kneele downe at their sepulchres, is to too grosse idolatrie, and not to be vsed amongst Christians.

*Argum.*1. The Lord did of purpose himselfe burie the bodie of *Moses* in a secret place, which was neuer knowne to the Israelites: and this reason is generally rendred by most writers, least the people of Israel should worship his bodie, and so commit Idolatrie: *Ergo*, the adoration of the bodies of Saints displeaseth God. *Argum. Caluin.*

Bellarmine answereth, that though the people of Israel might by that meanes haue fallen into idolatrie; yet the people of God may now more safely honour reliques, because they are not so prone to idolatrie.

Answ. Experience of popish idolatrie proueth the cleane contrarie: for the like superstition and worshipping of images was neuer so common and vsuall, no not in the most corrupt times of that Church, as now it is in poperie.

And what danger of superstition is occasioned by the keeping of reliques, and other such vnprofitable vsages, I appeale to the late popish synode *Augustens. cap.*23. *Sedulo moneri populum, ne ceremonias religiosissimè institutas in abusum vertant, aut superstitionem, sed ipsis ad exercendam pietatem vtantur*: That the people should be continually admonished, that they turne not ceremonies most religiously instituted, to any abuse, or superstition, but vse them for the exercise of pietie. If there bee feare of superstition in the vse of ceremonies which had a good beginning, much greater danger is there in these, that can haue no good vse, neither euer had any good institution.

*Argum.*2. Our Sauiour Christ reproueth the Scribes and Pharisees, calling them hypocrites, because they did garnish the sepulchres of the Prophets, whom their forefathers put to death, Matth.23.29. but their doctrine they neglected and regarded not. Such hypocrites are the Papists at this day, who commit a double fault; for they contemne the doctrine of the Apostles, whose memories they would seeme to honour: and againe, in the superstitious honour and worship, which they yeeld vnto them, they exceede the bounds of Christian pietie.

3 Their bodies were not to be worshipped when they were aliue, much lesse now they are dead. What are they now but earth, dust and ashes? according as the Lord said to *Adam*, *Thou art dust, and to dust shalt thou returne*, Gene.3.19. What is this els, but to worship the earth, euen dust and ashes? So *Augustine* saith, *Timeo adorare terram ne damnet me, qui fecit cælum & terram*: I am afraide

afraid to worship the earth, least he condemne me, that made both heauen and earth. Onely in Christ (saith he) I finde, *Quomodo sine impietate adoretur terra*: How the earth, that is, his body, may be worshipped without any impietie: namely, because of the neere coniunction and vnion of his humane nature with the Godhead in one person: for otherwise of it selfe the bodie of Christ is Gods Creature and workemanship, and not capable of diuine worship. This then is the priuiledge that Christ hath, more then all Saints and Martyrs beside, that in him onely the humanitie is adored.

Concil.Carthag.5.can.15. Placuit à gloriosissimis imperatoribus peti, vt reliquiæ non solum in simulachris, sed in quibuscunq; locis, lucis vel arboribus deleantur: We thinke good to make request to the most renowned Emperors, that reliques may be taken away, not onely such, as are kept in shrines and images, but in what place soeuer, woods, or trees: These fathers were so farre off from worshipping reliques, that they would not haue them at all extant.

Concil.Lateranens. sub Innocentio 3.cap.62. Ne reliquiæ sanctorum ostendantur extra capsam: That the reliques should not be shewed out of the caske or chest, where they were kept: It should seeme that their meaning was not to haue them worshipped; vnlesse we thinke the chest and cask should be worshipped withall.

Their owne decrees also witnesse with vs, *part.2.caus.1.qu.1.c.65. Si ita Martyrium fecerimus, vt nostra velimus ab hominibus reliquias honorari*; If wee desire Martyrdome, to the intent our reliques should be honoured of men, it deserueth punishment, and not reward: And if it be a sinne in them to require it, it is in vs also to performe it.

The holy Martyrs haue sealed this doctrine: *Thomas Bilney* holy Martyr; Priests (saith he) take away the offrings, and hang them about their whores neckes, and after that they take them againe from their whores, if they please them not, and hang them vpon the Images: and is not that a great relicke, when it is hanged there againe? *Fox.p.1010.* And are not such relickes now meete things to be worshipped?

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: That oblations should be offred or done to the sepulchres and reliques of Saints, God did neuer institute any such thing in the new testament, which is the veritie and rule of all Christen people to follow and beleeue. And this he further proueth by the buriall of *Moses*, whose graue was hid from the Iewes, least they being prone to new fangled worshipping, should haue fallen into idolatrie: this argument we haue touched before.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE TRANSLATION of the bodies of Saints.

The Papists.

THis vnshall thing amongst them to translate, and carrie from one place to another the bones and relickes of Saints: as they say *Iohn Baptists* head was translated from Samaria to Alexandria, and is now at Amiens in France, *Rhemist.Matth.14.fol.1.* So the bodie of S. *Luke* was remoued, they say, from Achaia to Constantinople, and from thence to Padua in Italy, where now it remaineth: *Argum.in Luk. Rhemist.* The stone also that hit S. *Stephen*, is now at Ancona in Italy, *Act.7.fol.6.* 36.Error.

Argum.1. Ioseph gaue charge concerning his bones when he dyed, and they were remoued from Egypt to the land of Canaan, at the departure of the Israelites, Exod.13.Heb.11.22. *Ergo*, the remouing and translation of Saints bodies or relickes is lawfull, *Rhemist.Bellarm.cap.4.*

Answ. Ioseph gaue commandement concerning his bones to testifie his faith and hope in the promise of God, for the inheritance of the land of Canaan, as it followeth: God will surely visite you and bring you to the land which hee sware to *Abraham*; therefore ye shall cary my bones hence, &c. Gen.50.24. They were not remoued to be adored or worshipped: *Ergo*, no such translation of relickes is hereby proued. Secondly, you can shewe no such charge, that Saint *Paul*, *Peter*, or any of the rest, gaue concerning the translation of their bodies, as *Ioseph* gaue vnto his posteritie.

The Protestants.

WE denie not, but that the bodies of the dead, before they be interred, may be conueyed vnto the place of their buriall, as *Iosias* was carried being dead by his seruants from Megiddo to Ierusalem, where a sepulchre was prepared for him, 2.King.23.30. But either for the dead to be remoued to be buried in some one place more then another, for the holinesse thereof; or the bones of Saints to be raked out of their graues, and translated, with intent to shrine them, and set them vp to be adored: they are superstitious customes, and not vsed of ancient time among the people of God.

Argum.1. That the place profiteth not the dead, but vnto them it is all alike whereseoeuer they

are buried: we haue ſhewed afore, 1. *part. controuer. 9. queſt. 2. part. 4.* The example of *Auguſtins* mother is notable, and worthie the memorie: She had with great care prouided her a ſepulchre neere vnto her husband, who dyed at Thagaſta in Africa, and was there buried, and was purpoſed her ſelfe to lye by him: but the Lord ſo diſpoſed, that ſhe left her life at Hoſtia in Italie, and being readie to depart, ſhe ſayd thus to her ſonnes: *Ponite hoc corpus vbicunque, nihil vos eius cura conturbet:* Burie my bodie where you thinke good, take no great care for it. And being asked, if it grieued her not to leaue her bodie ſo farre off from her owne citie, ſhe gaue this godly anſwere: *Nihil longe eſt à Deo, neque timendum eſt, ne ille non agnoſcat in fine ſeculi, vnde me reſuſcitet: Auguſt. lib. confeſſ. 9. cap. 11.* No place is neerer to God then other, neither am I to feare, leaſt the Lord ſhould not as well raiſe me vp in this place, as in mine owne citie: *Ergo*, in reſpect of the dead, it skilleth not where they are buried.

Argum. 2. The other cuſtome of tranſlating of reliques to be worſhipped, is farre more impious and ſuperſtitious: for hereupon it commeth, that the people haue been deceiued with falſe reliques: yea one and the ſelfe ſame relicke is ſaid to be in diuers places. As of S. *Iohn Baptiſts* head: his face they ſay, is at S. Iean Angelz: the reſt of his head at Malta: his skull at Nemours: his braine at Nouium Raſtrouienſe: his iaw bone at Veſalium: a peece of his eare at S. Floride: his forehead and haires in Spaine at S. Saluadores: and yet for all this his whole head is to be ſeene at S. Saueſters in Rome, and at Amiens in France: *Fulk* Matthew 14. 2. Thus they haue mangled alſo the bodie of S. *Peter:* halfe (they ſay) is at S. *Peters* in Rome, halfe at S. *Paules:* his head at S. Iohn Laterane: his neather iawe with his beard at Poyctiers in France: at Triers many of his bones, *Fulk. Rom. 16. ſect. 4.* See what mockage and cooſening here is, and abuſing of ſimple people! How can their whole bodies be in one place, and yet their parts and bones in another? And where doe they learne thus to diſmember their bodies, and to rake them out of their graues? The honouring of the bodies of Martyrs, is to ſuffer them quietly to reſt in their graues, and not to rotte about the ground. *Ioſias* honoured the Prophets ſepulchre, and would not remoue his bones: herein therefore they diſhonour the Martyrs, and offer violence to their bodies, thinking falſely that they doe great worſhip vnto them.

Auguſtine ſaith, that he which would now renew the ceremonies of the Iewes, that are as it were buried: *Tanquam ſopitos cineres eruens, non erit pius deductor aut baiulus corporis, ſed impius ſepulcra violator. Epiſtol. 19.* He ſhould be as one raking in the aſhes of the dead, and ſo he rather a violater of Chriſtian buriall, then a bringer of the bodie honeſtly to the ground. So by *Auguſtines* iudgement, *eruens ſopitos cineres*, he that pulleth out dead mens aſhes, bones, or relickes, is *ſepulture violator*, a prophaner of their buriall.

Synod. Moguntiac. can. 51. Deinceps corpora ſanctorum de loco ad locum, nullus præſumat tranſferri, ſine conſilio Principis, vel Epiſcopi, & ſancta ſynodi licentia: From hence forth let no man preſume to carie the bodies of the Saints from place to place, without the counſell of the Prince or Biſhop, and leaue of the Synode. This Councell miſliked the common and vſuall manner of tranſlating Saints bodies, and therefore maketh a reſtraint for it: this Canon is alleaged among the decrees, *part. 3. diſt. 1. c. 37.*

We haue alſo further euidence both out of the ciuill and Canon law, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. c. 16. Im. Reliquiæ in ædes publicas non debent illicitè inferri*: Reliques muſt not be remoued or carried from their places, into publike or common houſes. This law forbiddeth reliques to be remoued out of the Church. *Lib. 3. tit. 43. leg. 14. Valentinian. Nemo ſine Auguſti aſſatibus, &c.* That no man without the leaue of the Emperor ſhould remoue any humane bodie.

Likewiſe in what caſes humane reliques ſhould be remoued, or tranſlated, the law hath determined: as *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 43. leg. 1. Si vi fluminis reliquiæ filij tui contingantur*: If thy ſonnes reliques be beaten vpon by the water, thou mayeſt remoue them, or vpon any other iuſt or neceſſary cauſe *ibid. leg. 10. Si necdum perpetua ſepultura corpus traditum, &c.* If the bodie be not yet interred, or committed to ſepulture, it may be remoued. So then there may be ciuill occaſions to remoue bodies, but no religious.

The Canon law alſo agreeth, *decret. part. 3. diſtinct. 1. c. 36. Tribus ex cauſis Sanctorum loca tranſmutanda ſunt*: The places of the Saints may be changed vpon 3. occaſions, when as perſecution is raiſed in the place: ſecondly, when as the place it ſelfe is difficult, or inconuenient: thirdly, when as, *Malorum ſocietate grauantur*, they are moleſted with the companie of the wicked. This Canon alloweth Saints bodies to be remoued, eyther when perſecuters would rage againſt their aſhes, or the place is inconuenient, by reaſon of the ouerflowing of water, or otherwiſe; or when the people are readie to abuſe them to idolatrie, or any other vngodlines: but all this while, no mention is made of tranſlating of reliques, to be honoured or worſhipped.

THE

THE THIRD PART, OF THE KEEPING and preſeruing of relickes.

The Papiſts.

WE muſt not thinke it impoſſible, that the monuments of Saints, as their garments, relickes, bones, ſhould indure a long time, ſeeing Manna was kept ſo many hundred yeares in the potte, which was placed by the Arke, being a thing ſo apt to putrifie. *Rhemiſt. Hebr.9.ſect.4.* 37. Error.

Anſw. When we haue a commaundement for the reſeruation of ſuch things, as the Iſraelites had, we may beleeue they will keepe ſo long. And againe, the Iſraelites for all that did not worſhip the pot of Manna, though it were of ſuch long continuance.

The Proteſtants.

THE bodies and bones of men departed neither are to be kept out of their graues, as we haue ſhewed, neither can they be preſerued without corruption.

*Argum.*1. Vnto all *Adams* ſeede it is ſayd, *Duſt thou art, and to duſt ſhalt thou returne:* onely the bodie of Chriſt had this priuiledge, Pſalm.16. *Not to ſee corruption: Ergo*, the bodies of men departed though they were neuer ſo holy, being all the ſeede of *Adam*, muſt be turned to duſt.

*Argum.*2. If they would glorifie God and ſpeake the trueth, they doe very well know by experience, that the relickes of Saints haue no ſuch promiſe or warrant for their continuance: for moſt, if not all of their relickes, were forged and deuiſed, and no ſuch thing indeed. S. *Peters* braine at Geneua was found to be a pumice ſtone: S. *Anthonies* arme was found to be an Harts piſſe: at Towres of late the image of *Venus* in an Agate was worſhipped for the image of the Virgine *Marie*: the blood of *Hales* in England was deſcried to be but the blood of a Drake: the three hoſtes at Calice were but three white counters ſoldred into a marble ſtone. Theſe and many ſuch monuments and relickes of Saints the Church of Rome hath great ſtore: no marualle now, if they be of long continuance, for ſtones and counters may laſt a great while: and Drakes blood, with other ſuch ſtuffe, is not ſo daintie, but it may be ſtill renewed.

Of ſuch cooſening trickes *Auguſtine* complaynied in his time, ſpeaking of runnagate Monkes, he ſaith: *Alij membra martyrum, ſi tamen martyrum, venditant: Alij ſimbrias ſuas, & phylacteria magnificant:* Some doe boaſt of relickes of Martyrs, which they carrie about, and perhaps they are no ſuch relickes: ſome doe extoll their habite and Monkiſh weede: *De opere Monachorum, cap.*28.

To this place of S. *Auguſtine Bellarmine* thus anſwereth, *cap.*5. That S. *Auguſtine* doubteth onely of ſuch relickes, which were priuilie caried about, not of thoſe which were publikely ſhewed.

Contra. Yea many of your publike relickes were forged; for to what end elſe, was that decree made by *Innocent.*3. *decr. Greg. lib.*3. *tit.*45. *c.*2. *Prælati non permittant, &c.* Prelates ſhall not ſuffer thoſe which come to their Churches to worſhip, *Variis figmentis & falſis, &c.* to be deceiued with falſe and fained relickes, as the cuſtome hath been in diuers places for luker ſake. So then euen publikelie in their Churches they vſed to deceiue the ſimple people, with forged relickes.

See then, I pray you, what diueliſh idolatrie was this, to cauſe the people to worſhip counters, Drakes blood, Harts ſinewes, and other ſuch baſe creatures, in ſtead of relickes: which, though they were ſuch indeede, ought not to be worſhipped.

Gelaſius decret. de apocryphis, thus writeth of this matter: *Scriptura de inuentione crucis dominicæ, & alia de inuentione capitis Iohannis Baptiſtæ, nouella quadam relationes ſunt, & nonnulli eas catholici legunt: ſolcum hæc ad catholicorum manus veniunt, beati Pauli precedat ſententia, Omnia probate, quod bonum eſt tenete:* The writings of the inuention of the Lords Croſſe, and of *Iohn Baptiſts* head, are new reports, and ſome Catholikes reade them: but when ſuch writings come to Catholikes hands, let them remember S. *Pauls* ſaying, *Trie all things, and keepe the beſt.* Here we haue the iudgement of a Biſhop of Rome, who thinketh that many relickes, that are ſayd to haue been found, and ſo kept, and preſerued, are but meere forgeries, and foyſted in by heretikes.

THE FOVRTH PART, CONCERNING VISIONS and miracles done at the Tombes and relickes of Martyrs.

The Papiſts.

FIRſt, they almoſt make it an ordinarie thing in their Church to worke miracles: *Bellarmine* ſaith, that it is a ſufficient note of the Church, the glorie or power of miracles, *De eccleſ. lib.*4. *cap.*14. Chriſt ſaith, that they that doe beleeue in him, ſhall doe greater workes then he. No marualle then, if the image of our Lady (ſay they) and the like, worke miracles, as *Peters* ſhadowe did, and that they ſeeme greater then Chriſts: for hee promiſeth that his Saints ſhall worke greater 38. Error.

miracles

miracles then himselfe, *Rhemist. annot. Iohn.14.sect.3.* They also call vpon vs to confirme our doctrine by miracles, because wee preach newly and extraordinarilie, *Rhemist.2.Corint.12. sect.5.*

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, that place alleadged prooueth not such a generalitie and perpetuitie of working miracles: for then euery one that beleeueth should doe greater workes then Christ: for our Sauiour speaketh generally, He that beleeueth. *Augustine* doth farre otherwise, and in a better sense expound this place: He that beleeueth in me shall doe the same workes that I doe: *Quæ opera, nisi vt ex impio iustus fiat? prius ego facio, deinde & ipse faciet, quia facio, vt ipse faciat:* What works, saith he, but that he which beleeueth, of a wicked man shall be made righteous? which worke first I doe (saith Christ,) then he himselfe doth it, because I make him to doe it. *Quod vtique in illo, sed non sine illo Christus operatur:* Mans conuersion is wrought by Christ in man, and not altogether without man, because Christ working in vs, doth enable vs by his grace to worke out our saluation, Philipp.2.12. yet is it not our selues that worke, but the grace of God in vs. Then it followeth, he shall doe greater workes then these: *Prorsus maius hoc esse dixerim, quam est cælum & terra:* The redemption and conuersion of men, is a greater worke then the heauens or the earth, *Tract.in Iohan.72. Augustine* therefore doth properly vnderstand this place, not of outward miracles, but of the wonderfull conuersion of the heart, which wee are said to worke, because Christ worketh it in vs.

Origen also long before *Augustine* thus expounded this place, *Hom.7.in Leuit. Christus dicit, qui credit in me, &c.* Christ saith, he that beleeueth in me, shal doe greater things then these: *Vere enim maius mihi videtur, &c.* For it seemeth indeede a greater thing vnto me, that man being in the flesh, being armed onely with the faith and word of Christ, doth ouercome legions of deuils, though it bee Christ that ouercommeth in vs, yet he saith it is more, that he ouercommeth by vs, then by himselfe.

2 As wee denie not but that there may in these daies bee miracles wrought: and all such miracles as serue to confirme the doctrine deliuered in Scriptures, we doe not refuse, though wee bee not bound to beleeue any mans report of such miracles, but onely the writings of the Apostles and Euangelists: so we affirme that there is no such necessitie of miracles, as in times past: neither that we are to be pressed to shew miracles, seeing wee professe the ancient Apostolike faith, which hath been alreadie confirmed by the miraculous workes of our Sauiour Christ and his Apostles. Wherefore wee condemne the fabulous histories and reports of popish Saints, whose liues are full of miracles, if we will beleeue them, then were the liues of Christ and his Apostles. Nay, then is nothing almost done in their seruice but by a miracle: Christs bodie present in the Masse by a miracle: Diuels chased away with holy water: Saints know their thoughts, heare their prayers, are present here and there, their bodies many yeeres kept from corruption, and all by miracles. I conclude this point with *Augustine: Aut non sunt vera, quæ dicuntur; aut si hæreticorum aliqua mira falsa sunt, magis cauere debemus:* Either they are not true miracles, which they boast of: or if they be, we must beware and take heede of them the more.

Thus speaketh also *Thomas Bilney* holy Martyr: The miracles done at Walsingham, Canturie, Ipswich, were done by the diuell, thorough the sufferance of God, *Fox* pag.1001.

Heare also what a whole Councel saith: *Coloniens. part.6.c.23. Miracula ne impudentius iactentur, nisi quæ scripturis prodita, aut non à leuibus scriptoribus, summa cum historia fide tradita sunt:* Let not miracles be too much boasted of, but such as are set forth in Scripture, or deliuered by graue writers, with euident truth of historie. Wee are not bound therefore to beleeue all miracles, which are reported in the popish Church. And that there is now no such necessitie of miracles, another Councell testifieth: *Interrelig. Cæsar.cap.19. Inter initia fidei, interna virtus externis signis & miraculis demonstrabatur, ad confirmationem rudis fidei: nunc verò adulta & corroborata fides, signa, quæ infirmis dantur, non requirit:* In the beginning of faith, the inward vertue or operation (of the spirit) was shewed by outward signes and miracles, for the confirmation of the weake faith: but now faith being come to perfit growth and established, needeth not such signes as are for the weake.

Espene. 2.Tim.p.183. To this effect also one of your owne writers alleageth *Gregorie, Moral.lib.27.cap.11. Quid est Paule, quod Publij patrem ægrum, &c.* What is the cause (ô *Paul*) that by thy prayer thou didst heale the father of *Publius* being an Infidell, Act.28. but thou prescribest to *Timothie* for his health after the manner of Phisitions, 1.Timoth.5? Surely *Publius* was to be healed by a signe, that he might be conuerted to the faith: but *Timothie* needed no miracle, being alreadie conuerted: *Quid ergo mirum, si propagata fide, &c.* What marueile then, if (the faith being now propagated) miracles are not often done, when as the Apostles sometime did not shew miracles in the faithfull? If then in *Gregorie* his time, almost a thousand yeere since, there were so few miracles, how much fewer are now to be looked for?

The

The Papiſts.

SEcondly, they doe as much maintaine their fabulous viſions and apparitions, as lying miracles: as how Chriſt came in a pilgrimes weede to *Gregories* table of hoſpitalitie, *Rhemiſt. Hebr.* 13. *Peter* beleeued the viſion and apparition ſhewed to *Cornelius*, at his report, before it was written; *Ergo*, wee ought to beleeue viſions not written in Scripture, *Rhemiſt. Act.* 10. *ſect.* 3. 39. Error.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, that of our Sauiour Chriſts appearing, is an hereticall fable, and impugneth the article of our faith concerning Chriſts aſcenſion into heauen, and there remaining till his ſecond coming. Secondly, *Peter* was not bound to beleeue *Cornelius* viſion, till he had been by viſion admoniſhed himſelfe: the Apoſtles which were then endued with the gift of diſcerning ſpirits, could better iudge of true viſions, then any man now can: yet wee refuſe not to giue credit to viſions, when they are as credibly reported vnto vs, as this was to *Peter:* but no viſion, nor miracle, nor Angell from heauen ſhall draw vs away from the doctrine of the Scriptures to beleeue error. Laſtly, we deny not, but that they may haue viſions; but ſuch, as one *Vincentius* bragged of, that wrote againſt *Auguſtine* concerning the originall of the ſoule: He ſaid, that another *Vincentius* who had been a captaine or chiefe Donatiſt, appeared vnto him in viſion, and badde him write theſe bookes: to whom *Auguſtine* thus anſwereth; *Ille qui ſe transfigurat in angelum lucis in do tibi eſt transfiguratus, quem tu fuiſſe veluti angelum lucis credidiſti:* He that can transfigure himſelfe into an angell of light, did transfigure himſelfe into the ſhape of that man, whom thou eſteemedſt as an angell of light. Such apparitions they may haue, and yet no great cauſe to boaſt of them. Lib. 1. cap. 2. de anima et ei. giue.

Such was that viſion that one *Polycronius* a Monothelite heretike boaſted of in the 6 generall Councell at Conſtantinople, action 15. how that a man appeared vnto him in white, who tolde him that Chriſt had but one will, and that he ſhould write the confeſſion of his faith, and lay it vpon a dead man, and he ſhould raiſe him to life againe: The Councell gaue him the hearing, and prouided a dead bodie for him to worke his skill vpon, who muttered ouer the dead a long time in vaine, and could doe nothing. Such viſions, as this was, popiſh prieſts haue had many: And that we ſlaunder them not, one of their late Popes *Paulus* 3. ſhall ſpeake for vs: *Qui legendas Georgij & Chriſtophori tolli præcepit de breuiario:* Who commaunded that the legends of *George* and *Chriſtopher* ſhould be taken out of the Breuiarie. Thus *Paulus Vergerius* proteſted in the late Tridentine Chapter, and therefore was excluded. Of ſuch old wiues fables thus was it decreed, *Concil. Colonienſe cap.* 10. *Ineptas & aniles fabulas deuitabit (i. concionator) qualia nuper erant, quæ ex nullis probis auctoribus, ſed potius ſuſpectiſſim. hominum commentis adferebantur exempla:* The preacher muſt take heede of fooliſh old wiues fables, ſuch as of late were reported not out of any approued authors, but from the ſuſpicious deuices of men.

Such is that tale and Monkiſh fable of *Pilate*, that he ſhould bee ſeene euery yeere in a Iudges habite in a certaine lake, called after his name, vnder a hill not farre from *Lucerna* in *Heluetia*; and that he, which chaunceth to ſee him, liueth not a yeere after. This is held to be a ridiculous fable by one of their owne writers, *Eſpence in* 1. *Timoth. p.* 159. *d.* Of the like credit he holdeth that dreame reported by *Chriſtianus Maſſæus, lib.* 8. *Chronic.* how that *Trophimus* going to Rome to ſee *Peter*, as he ſailed, buried his wife, dying in trauell, in a Rock, with the childe at her breaſts, and after two yeeres comming that way againe, found his wife aliue, and the little childe playing at her breaſt, who were preſerued by *Mary Magdalen, Eſpence* 2. *Timoth p.* 183. *a.* Wee ſee the Papiſts themſelues are aſhamed of theſe fables. The ſame author doubteth not to ſay of the ſecond Nicene, where the worſhip of Images was decreed; That the fathers there, *Dæmonum ſpectris, & mulierbribus ſomnijs parum verecunde abutebantur*, did without ſhame abuſe the viſions of diuels, and womens dreames, to eſtabliſh their opinion.

Let vs heare alſo the complaint of *Abbas Cheriacenſ.* more then 400 yeeres ſince, who (ſaith he) was aſhamed, when he did ſing in the Church the ſong of S. *Bonet, Mendacia ad minus 24. Canticum dicentes peccarent animo repere:* wherein he found 24 lyes at the leaſt, running ouer the ſong haſtily in his minde, *lib.* 5. *epiſt.* 29. Wherefore according to the rule of the Ciuill law, *Cod. lib.* 3. *tit.* 43. *leg.* 6. *Alexander. Monumentorum inſcriptiones non factum fidem:* The ſuperſcriptions of monuments are not to bee beleeued. No more are the fabulous viſions and miracles, which are reported to haue been ſeene, and done at Tombes, to be receiued.

The Papiſts.

THirdly, they ſay, that the power of working myracles was in the Apoſtles actually, and that they properly did giue health, and other things by their miraculous gifs, though they receiued the force and vertue of God. And therefore they finde fault with vs, becauſe wee giue this note; A miracle done by Chriſt by the hands of the Apoſtles. 40. Error.

Firſt, *Peter* ſaith, *That which we haue, giue we to thee*, Act. 3. 6. Secondly, we muſt not thinke, that they had no more power, then as dead inſtruments in the workmans hand, *Rhem. in hunc locum.*

The

The Protestants.

WE both agree,that the power of working miracles was giuen of God : but herein we differ,they thinke that this power was inherent in the Apostles,and that hauing once receiued this power of God,they could execute it themselues : like as a man hauing the power of sense and mouing by nature,moueth and seeth when he list himselfe.But we hold against the Pelagians, *Gratiam Dei ad singulos actus dari,* that the grace of God is daily infused, and wee haue neede of it for euery act : it is not sufficient once generally to haue receiued it. So then the Apostles were but the instruments of Christs working : he is better said in them and by them to work miracles, then they in and by him. Neither doth it follow,that they are dead instruments : for the horse (I trow) that draweth in the plough is no dead instrument : yet he hath need for euery bout and turning to haue a driuer and a guide: truly we are as vnfit for the Lords yoke by nature,as the horse is for the plough : and therefore haue neede of the Lords continuall direction. The Apostles then gaue that they had,not as owners,but as the Lords agents and instruments of his working.

*Argum.*1. Act.3.16. *His name hath made this man sound : and the faith which is by him hath giuen to him this disposition of his whole bodie :* from hence we reason thus. That which depended vpon the faith of the receiuer, was not actually inherent in the power of the giuer ; but this miraculous worke of healing was by the faith of him that was healed : *Ergo,* it was not actually in the Apostles that gaue this gift. Againe, the name of Christ did make him sound : *Ergo,* properly the Apostles gaue not health, but onely as Ministers, the Name of Christ working in, and by them. And Saint *Peter* himselfe denieth,that they did this miracle by their owne power or godlinesse, Act.3.12. wherefore the Apostles properly,(as they speake)that is,by a power inherent or resiant in them,did not worke miracles.

*Argum.*2. If the Apostles had the power of working miracles alwayes actually in themselues, then might they exercise the same facultie, when they would : but so could they not ; for S. *Paul,* when *Epaphroditus* was sicke,depended by prayer vpon Gods mercie for his health, Philip.2.27. whom no doubt he would haue cured by miracle,as well as the father of *Publius,* Act.28.8. if the power had bene alwayes present with the Apostle : So then, as the Apostles had not knowledge and foresight of all things to come ; as S. *Paul* trusted to haue been deliuered being a prisoner at Rome; as it may appeare, Hebr.13.23. yet did it not so fall out;but such things onely,as God did see profitable for his Church to be knowne, were reuealed : in like manner, neither could the Apostles worke miracles as they were disposed themselues at all times, but when it pleased God thereto to enable them. I will not refuse herein the testimonie of one of their owne, *Et alia pleraq; Apostolos pro sua discipulorumq; salute vtiliter nequiuisse conspicimus :* We see that the Apostles could not do many other things, for their owne, and their disciples health. *Espenc.comment.in 1. Timoth.p.*183.*c.*

Tractat in Iohan.71. *Augustine* thus writheth : *Maiora quam ipse fecit,dicit eos facturos sed in eis vel per eos se facturum:* He saith, they shall doe greater workes then he : that is, himselfe working in them or by them: *Ergo,* Christ wrought miracles by the hands of the Apostles, they were his liuely instruments in working.

The Papists.

41.Error. FOurthly, they doe greatly triumph and reioyce for the miracles which are wrought by the vertue of holy reliques. First, the woman was healed by touching the hemme of Christs garment : *Ergo,* vertue in holy reliques, *Rhemist.* Secondly, napkins that had touched Saint *Pauls* body wrought miracles, by the vertue giuen vnto them : *Ergo,* reliques may, *Act.*19.*vers.*12. *Rhemist.*

The Protestants.

Answ. TO the first : first, the vertue was not in the hemme of Christs garment, but he saith, it proceeded from himselfe, Luk.8.46. Secondly,it was her faith that healed her,for many that thronged Christ, touched his garments, but receiued no benefite : neither was there any vertue in his garments when the souldiers parted them amongst them. Thirdly, if it pleased the Lord to vse some externall signes,as of oyle,clay, spittle, in healing of men ; yet haue we no warrant,that he will doe the like by touching of relickes.

To the second : first, the napkins brought from *Paul* had no such vertue in them : for the text is plaine,that they were wrought by the hands of *Paul.* Secondly, not all that touched them were presently healed. Thirdly, they were but as signes and tokens to the diseased, that the Apostle (when it pleased God) might dispense miracles, euen when he was absent. Lastly, if they haue to this day miracles wrought by the relickes and monuments of Saints ; I feare me, nay, I dare say, they are no better then the Donatists miracles were, either *figmenta mendacium hominum, vel portenta fallacium spirituum :* either the glosings and fables of lying men, or the strange workings of deceiuing spirits.

*Argum.*1. The Apostles by their owne power, vertue, or godlines did not worke miracles, Act.

Act.3. is but there was greater vertue in the liuing Apostles, then in dead and senceleſſe relickes; *Ergo*, much leſſe is there any vertue in relickes.

Argum.2. If there bee any vertue in relickes, it would appeare as well at one time as another, becauſe the vertue ſhould be abiding in the relickes: but ſo doth it not, for *Eliae* cloake at the firſt ſmiting did not part the waters, till *Elisaeus* had ſaid, where is the Lord God of *Eliah*? ſo that the vertue was not in the garment, but in the inuocation of the name of God, 2.King.2. verſ.14.

Concil.Nicen.2 action.7. *Tharaſius* the Preſident propoundeth this queſtion: *Quamobrem miracula à noſtris imaginibus non eduntur?* What is the cauſe that miracles are not wrought by our images? then he anſwereth thus: *Miracula non credentibus data ſunt, ſed illis, qui in incredulitate perſeuerant:* Miracles are not giuen to thoſe which beleeue, but to thoſe that beleeue not. This Councell was celebrated at the leaſt 800. yeeres agoe, about *anno.* 780. whatſoeuer images and reliques did before, wee haue here the warrant of this Councell, that they haue done none ſince.

The holy Martyrs alſo haue confirmed this truth: *Thomas Bilney:* They gild their gods, and beare them about, and men ſay, they do ſpeake; and if they ſpeake, it is the deuil that ſpeaketh in them, not God, *Fox.pag.*1010.

M. *Thod* holy Martyr: When they crie miracles, miracles, remember that God hath made an euerlaſting teſtament in Chriſts blood, againſt which we may receiue no miracles, neither the preaching of the Angels, &c. the end of Gods miracles is good, the end of theſe miracles is euil, *Fox.pag.*1251.col.1.articul.24.

THE FIFT QVESTION, CONCERNING Images, and of the ſigne of the Croſſe.

The firſt part concerning Images, is ſubdeuided into certaine other articles and poynts. Firſt, of the difference of Idols and Images. Secondly whether it be lawful to haue images. Thirdly, if it be lawfull to worſhip them. Fourthly, what manner of worſhip it ſhould be.

THE FIRST ARTICLE, OF THE DIFFERence betweene Idols and Images.

The Papiſts.

There is great difference (ſay they) betweene an Image and an Idoll: an Image called in Greeke εἰκών, is the true ſimilitude of a thing: an Idoll, εἴδωλον, in Greeke, tranſlated *ſimulachrum*, doth repreſent that which is not, as were the Idols of *Venus*, *Minerua*, women Goddeſſes, which was meere deuiſed thing. Images they confeſſe they haue, but no Idols, *Bellarm.cap.*5. 41.Error.

For, S. *Paul* ſaith, 1.Cor.10, That an Idol is nothing: that is, doth repreſent a thing that is not: ſuch were their heatheniſh Idols, *Bellar.*

Anſw. Firſt, the place is not ſo vnderſtood: for the Apoſtle ſaith, That things offered to Idols are nothing, which were not made to repreſent any thing: But his meaning is this, that of themſelues they are nothing to breede offence, neither were it needfull to ſhunne eating of Idol ſacrifices, or to abhorre an Idol, but that they are abuſed and turned to the ſeruice of diuels, as it followeth in the next verſe. Therefore an Idol is not ſaid to be nothing, becauſe it repreſenteth a thing imagined, but that of it ſelfe, being but wood, or ſtone, or ſuch like, it were not offenſiue, if it were not abuſed to Idolatrie. Secondly, all the portraictures of the Heathen were not Idols in this ſenſe: for *Iupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Hercules*, whoſe Images they had, were men ſometime liuing. Thirdly, you haue images repreſenting nothing: as the pictures of Angels, of God the father, of the holy Ghoſt, which haue no ſhape nor likenes. Againe, you haue alſo your imagined Saints, as *S. *Georg*, S. *Chriſtopher*, for there were neuer any ſuch: and therefore you haue Idols as well as the Heathen.

Bellarmine proueth this diſtinction out of *Orig.hom.*8 *in Exod.* who there affirmeth that then a man maketh a ſimilitude or likeneſſe, when he portraiteth in mettall, ſtone or wood the faſhion of any creature? but an idoll is ſome ſtrange ſhape that is not, as when to a mans bodie is ioyned the head of a dogge, &c. or a man is pictured with two faces, &c. to this purpoſe *Origen.*

*Anſw.*1. This authoritie maketh nothing for them: firſt, if an idoll be nothing els, but a ſtrange and monſtrous ſhape, then had the Gentiles no idols, for they worſhipped the reſemblances and pictures of men. Secondly, *Origen* in the ſame place ſheweth it to be vnlawfull to worſhip any ſimilitude or likeneſſe as well as any idoll; writing vpon the ſecond Commandement: Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any idoll, or the ſimilitude or likeneſſe, &c. Thirdly, this was but *Origens* conceit; for the fathers did confound theſe words, indifferently taking the one for the other: S.

*Bellar.lib.*1. *de ſanctor.beatit.cap.*20.

Ambroſe calleth idols Images: *Simulachrum verè nihil eſt, quia imago vitioſæ rei mortua*: A ſimulachre or an idol is nothing, being the image of a dead thing, *in* 1. *Cor.* 10. and S. *Hierome* alſo, *Si cubi ſua imago, dæmones dabant reſponſa*: If an Image were made, the diuels gaue anſwere. *in* 2. *Paralip.* c. 11.

The Proteſtants.

THough the name Idol haue an odious ſignification in the Engliſh tongue, yet neither the Greeke εἴδωλον, nor the Latine *ſimulachrum*, doe ſound ſo euill vnto the eares: and in many places of the Scripture we may indifferently reade, idoll or image: for all worſhipping of images is idolatrie. If we will diſtinguiſh them, they are thus rather to be ſeuered: An Idol is that image, which is ſet vp with an intent to be worſhipped: an Image is a generall name as well to vnlawfull pictures ſet vp for Idolatrie, as lawfull, which haue but a ciuill vſe. But that the Papiſts Idols are Images, thus we proue it.

Argum. 1. The Scripture calleth the Gentiles Idols, images, Rom. 1, 23. there the word εἴδωλον is vſed: *Ergo*, idol and Image are taken for one: they haue images ſet vp for religious or rather irreligious vſes, *Ergo*, Idols.

Argum. 2. Apocal. 9. 20. There is mention made of Idols of gold, ſiluer, braſſe, which cannot be vnderſtood of the idols of the Gentiles, which were aboliſhed long agoe: and that prophecie is to be vnderſtood of men liuing after the opening of the ſeuenth ſeale, which is toward the end of the world. Wherefore it muſt needes be vnderſtood of the Papiſts, who are the onely knowne people in the world, that worſhip images: *Ergo*, they haue Idols.

Auguſtine taketh *imago*, and *ſimulachrum*, which is the Latine for the Greeke εἴδωλον, for all one: for the loue of the dead (ſaith he) images were firſt made, whereof the vſe of ſimulachers or idols did ariſe. Againe, *Deus non ſedere in cœlis putandus eſt veluti flexis poplitibus: tale enim ſimulachrum Deo nefas eſt Chriſtiano in templo collocare*: God is not to be imagined to ſitte in heauen as with bowed knees: ſuch a ſimulachre or idol it is not lawfull to ſette vp in the temple of Chriſtians: *de fide & ſymbolo, cap.* 7. The picture then of God, which the papiſts cal an image, *Auguſtine* termeth an Idol, for *ſimulachrum*, by their owne confeſſion, ſignifieth the ſame thing which *Idolum* doth. *Bellarm. cap.* 5.

Likewiſe in the Ciuill law, from whence we may beſt deriue the different vſe of words, an image and a *ſimulachrum* or Idoll, is all one: as *Cod. lib.* 1 *tit.* 27 *leg.* 2. *Theodoſius*, *Si quando vultus ſtatuæ, vel imagines eriguntur*: If our images or pictures be erected, &c. and *tit.* 28. *leg.* 1. the ſame are called *Imperatoria ſimulachra*, the Emperors idols: for *Bellarmine* graunteth, that euery where in the olde Teſtament, where the Latine text readeth, *Simulachrum*, the Greeke hath the word εἴδωλον.

And yet more plainely it appeareth, that *imago*, and *idolum*, are all one in ſignification: for in the *Nicen.* 2. generall Councell *actione* 6. *tom.* 6. *Gregorius* Biſhop thus ſpeaketh, *Nemo ſub prætextu exterminationis imaginum, manus in ea, quæ Deo ſacrata ſunt, injiciat, quia poſſunt transferri in eos uſus huiuſmodi idola*: Let no man vnder the colour of pulling downe images, lay his hands vpon things conſecrate to God, for ſuch idols may be tranſlated to other vſes: Here Images and Idols are taken for all one.

Caietanus a learned Papiſt taketh an Image and an Idol to be all one: in 20. *cap.* Exod.

Thomas Hawkes holy Martyr hath ſealed this poynt: That there is no difference betweene an Idoll and an Image: when *Boner* had thus diſtinguiſhed, If it be a falſe God, and an Image made of him, that is an Idol; but if an image be made of God himſelfe, it is no Idol, but an Image, becauſe he is a true God. The Martyr anſwereth: Lay your Image of your true God and falſe God together, you ſhall ſee the difference: haue not your Images feete, and goe not, eyes and ſee not, eares and heare not, hands and feele not, mouthes and ſpeake not, euen ſo haue your Idols. *Fox.* pag. 1589. col. 2.

THE SECOND ARTICLE, WHETHER IT BE lawfull to haue the Images of the Trinitie, of Chriſt, or of the Angels.

The Papiſts.

43. Error. THat Images may haue a good ciuill vſe, as for decencie or comelines of ſome worke, or for vtilitie of ſtorie, it is of neither part denied: but they further affirme, that it is lawfull to expreſſe the Trinitie by pictures; as God like an olde man, and with the world in his hand; Chriſt, as he walked vpon the earth; the holy Ghoſt in the likenes of a doue; the Angels with wings: and theſe pictures (they ſay) are very meete and profitable to be ſet vp in Churches, *Rhemiſt. Act.* 17. ſect. 5.

Argum. 1. To painte the Trinitie, or any one of them as they appeared viſibly, is no more incon-

inconuenient, then it was vndecent for them ſo to appeare, *Rhemiſt ibid. et Bellarmin cap.8.*

Anſw. You flatly controll the lawe of God, which ſimply forbiddeth any ſimilitude to bee made of things in heauen or in earth to worſhip God by. And Deut.4.15. God expreſly declareth, that he would not appeare in any viſible ſhape when he gaue the law, leaſt the people ſhould abuſe that ſhape, to make an image of God after it. Againe, the argument followeth not: for God ſawe it was conuenient ſometime by viſible ſignes to appeare vnto men, and yet ſeeth it to be inconuenient for pictures to be made to reſemble him by: for els he would neuer haue forbidden it. Laſtly, though the argument be admitted, yet ſeeing now that all ſuch viſible apparitions of the Trinitie are ceaſed, all ſuch viſible pictures likewiſe ſhould be out of vſe: And if that, when ſuch apparitions were ſeene, yet no ſuch images were tolerated, how much leſſe are they lawfull now, all ſuch viſions being long agoe determined.

Argum.2. The Angels were pictured in forme of Cherubims: *Ergo*, Spirits may be portraicted. *Bellarm.cap.8.argum.1.*

Anſw. When you can ſhew an expreſſe commandement for your images, as the Iſraelites had for them, we will yeeld, that they are lawfully made. Againe, how followeth it, God may command images to be made for the vſe of religion: *Ergo*, men may? for the law bindeth not the Lord who is the lawmaker. But the law ſaith, thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe, that is, by thine owne authoritie, any grauen image. The Cherubims alſo were not made publikely to be ſeene and gazed vpon by the people, but were ſet in the holy place: ſo are not your pictures and images which are ſet vp openly in your Churches to entiſe people to idolatrie.

Argum.3. The Scripture deſcribeth God by humane members, as by his hands, eyes, feete, &c. therefore he alſo may be ſo deſcribed in picture, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, if it be lawfull to ſet forth God by picture, as he is deſcribed in Scripture, then make a lyon alſo to ſignifie Chriſt, for he is called the lyon of the tribe of Iuda: picture him alſo with Doues eyes, Rauens lookes, Marble legges, &c. for ſo he is deſcribed Cantic.5. and thus will you make a monſter of Chriſt. Secondly, if an idoll be, as your ſelues define, a picture of that, which is not; then do you make an idoll of God, when you paint him with hands and feete, &c. whereas there is no ſuch thing in God. Thirdly, the Scripture ſo deſcribeth God to our capacitie, for our edifying and inſtruction, becauſe wee cannot otherwiſe vnderſtand the high thinges of God: but there is no ſuch end of pictures; which are ſo farre from edifying, that they are rather occaſion of offence: and therefore the argument concludeth not, from the phraſe of Scripture, to the phantaſie of Painters; from diuine authoritie, to humane preſumption.

The Proteſtants.

TO ſet forth the Godhead and deuine nature by any picture or image, is impoſſible; and therefore both vnlawfull and inconuenient: but to bring them into Churches, and to make them for ſome vſe of religion, is a high ſteppe vnto groſſe ſuperſtition.

Argum.1. Such images of the Trinitie among the Papiſts, are made to reſemble the diuinitie and Godhead: for to what purpoſe els ſhould ſuch images be made? *Fulk, Act.17. ſect.5.* They picture God the father like an old man: becauſe in that forme he appeared to *Daniel*: but how know they whether it were God the Father, rather then God the Sonne, who is as old as God the Father, or then the whole Godhead? They commend alſo the image of God the Father with the world in his hand: which is a lying image, and maketh ſimple people to beleeue, that the world was made onely by God the Father, which was the worke of the whole Trinitie. Some of the Papiſts themſelues, as *Abulenſis, Durandus, Pereſius*, doe hold, that the image of God ought not to be made, and that it is rather tolerated, then allowed in the Church.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that there are two ſorts of images, or pictures: ſome do expreſſe the very ſimilitude, and nature of a thing, and ſo onely things materiall and corporall may be pictured: ſome images do not properly, but by way of Allegorie and implication expreſſe the thing deciphered, as when Angels are pictured with wings, to ſhew their celeritie, &c. there can be no Image of God made after the firſt ſort, but after the ſecond there may, &c.

Anſw. Firſt, if an image be made of a thing, which doth not expreſſe the nature thereof, as a picture aſcribing to God a bodily ſhape, which he hath not, is but a lying image: ſecondly, the properties of God being infinite, cannot any way by a picture be implyed or ſhadowed forth, as Iſay 40.12. *God hath meaſured the waters with his fiſt, and counted heauen with a ſpanne*: and verſ.17. *all nations before him are as nothing, &c.* then it followeth, *To whom then will you liken God, or what ſimilitude will you ſet vp vnto him?* the Prophet reaſoneth thus, God is omnipotent, infinite, incomprehenſible, therefore by no ſimilitude whatſoeuer can be expreſſed. Thirdly, S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Quod inuiſibile eſt, pingi non poteſt. & Deus, qui ab his omnibus alienus eſt, quomodo poteſt imaginem habere viſibilem?* That which is inuiſible, can not be pictured, and God, which is farre from any bodily ſhape, how can he haue a viſible Image? *Ambroſe in 1. ad Coloſſ.* He denieth, that God any way may be viſibly deſcribed.

As for the images of Christ in the forme of a Lambe, and the holy Ghost in shape of a Doue; *Bartholomaus Carranza*, a Papist sheweth that they were forbidden in the 6. generall Synode, Canon. 82.

Bellarmine here answereth, that the Councell condemneth not the Image of Christ in forme of a Lambe, but preferreth onely the other picture of Christ, as a man.

Contra. First, the words of the Canon are these, *Picturam illius agni Christi, &c. in posterum pro veteri agno erigendam sancimus:* We decree, that the picture of Christ, as he is man, be from henceforth erected in stead of the picture of the Lambe. If the one picture must giue place to the other, what is that els, but to abrogate the one, and establish the other? Secondly, *Carranza* the abridger of the Councels so expoundeth the Canon, though it please *Bellarmine* to oppose himselfe against him.

Concerning the picture of Christ as he was man, the Papists themselues confesse, and we deny not, but it may better be made then the image of the Trinitie; yet can there not be any true image of Christ, as he was in forme of man: for the image doth onely expresse his bodily shape, not as he was God in the forme of man: and so such a picture were dangerous to the weake and ignorant, being a lying image, shewing Christ onely as man, who was both God and man. And againe, the image, which is made of his bodily shape, is no more the image of Christ, then of any other man, *Fulk. Act.* 17. *sect.* 5.

But some will say, if Christs image cannot conueniently be made, because it expresseth not his Godhead; by the same reason we cannot make a picture of a man, because his soule being inuisible cannot be painted.

Answ. The reason is not alike: for he that pictureth a man liuing, setteth forth the life, beauty and motion of the bodie; by which effects, by a consequent, the soule is resembled, which taketh and worketh these things in the bodie: but in the bodily shape of Christ, there cannot be made to appeare any such notorious signes of his Godhead.

2. Though it be not simplie vnlawfull to expresse in painting the visible shapes that were shewed in vision to the Prophets, if it be onely for vse and signification of the historie, or if there be any other commendable vse: yet to make those shapes for any vse of religion, or seruice of God, is abominable idolatrie, *Fulk. ibid. Epiphanius* saw in a Church at Anablatha, an image painted in a table, as it had been of Christ or a Saint, he tooke it downe and cut it in peeces: affirming that it was contrarie to the scripture for any image of a man to hang in the Church of Christ. The Eliberine Councel, Canon 36. decreed, that no pictures should be made in Churches. If no picture, much lesse carued images, which are a more strong prouocation to idolatrie. The words of the Councel are these: *Placuit picturas in Ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur, aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur:* Wee thinke good that no pictures should be in the Church, lest that which is adore and worshipped, should be painted in the walles.

Augustine rendreth a reason, why it is dangerous to haue images in Churches, where there is yea but the least feare of superstition: *Quis erat intuens simulachrum, qui non sic afficitur, vt ab eo exaudiri putet, nec ab eo sibi praestari, quod desiderat, putet?* Who (saith hee) prayeth beholding an image, and is not so affected, as though hee were heard of it, and hopeth not to haue that performed by it, which he desireth? in Psal. 113.

Against the hauing or making of the image of Christ, it was thus reasoned Constantinople generall Synode: as it is alleaged *Nicen. 2. action. 6. tom. 3. Ipsam imaginem Christi Christum vocant, est autem Christus Deus et homo; sequitur vt imago sit Dei & hominis, & sic deitatem circumscriptibilem, & cum Eutyche confusionem inducunt, &c.* They doubt not to call the image of Christ, Christ: but Christ is both God and man; it followeth then, that the image of Christ must be the image of God and man; and so they make the deitie circumscriptible, and with *Eutyches* confound the natures of Christ: or els they doe picture the bodie of Christ without the deitie, and so with *Nestorius* they deuide the person of Christ, and separate the humanitie from the diuine nature: *Veluti, illi aliam personam constituentes dum carnem à deitate separant, quam imagine representari dicunt, quartam personam trinitati adijciunt*: Or thirdly, they make a newe person of Christ (while they separate the flesh from the deitie) which they say is represented in picture, and so adde a fourth person to the Trinitie. These absurdities these fathers did foresee would followe in hauing the pictures of Christ.

Againe, they reason thus in the same place, *tom.* 3. from the words of our Sauiour Christ vttered in the institution of the Sacrament, this is my bodie, &c. doe this in remembrance of me: *Veluti non esset vlla alia species electa ab illo, aut quasi non posset vllo alio typo illorum, qua sub eis sunt, incarnatio illius representari: Ecce igitur vinificantis illius corporis imaginem totam, panis scilicet substantiam, quam mandauit apponi:* As though hee had chosen no other shape, nor any other type of all things vnder heauen, whereby his incarnation could bee represented: Behold then all the images of that quickning bodie, the substance of bread, which he commanded to bee vsed, &c.

Christ

Chriſt then hath appointed no other way to be called to our remembrance by, but by the Sacrament.

One other reaſon I will adioyne, alleaged in the ſame place out of *Euſebius Pamphilus, tom. 4.* who thus writeth to *Conſtantia* the Empreſſe, who had ſent to him for the image of Chriſt: what image (ſaith he) do you require? ſuch an one as may expreſſe the characters of his diuine nature? but I thinke you are ſufficiently inſtructed of this, that no man hath thus ſeen the ſonne but the father: *Sed ſerui requiris forma imaginem:* But you require the image of the forme of a ſeruant, which he tooke; but vnderſtand you that it was ioyned to the glorie of his Godhead: in ſo much that his Apoſtles could not behold the glorie of his fleſh in the Mount: much more glorious is it now hauing put off mortalitie: *Quis igitur gloria & dignitatis ſplendores lucentes & fulgurantes effigiare mortuis & inanimatis coloribus & vmbratili pictura poſſet?* Thoſe ſhining and brightſome beames of ſo great glorie, who is able with dead and liueleſſe colours, and a ſhadowed picture to expreſſe?

See alſo the determination of the Ciuill law, *Cod. lib. 8. tit. 12. leg. 20. Theodoſ. Valentinian. Baſilicam alicuius imaginis, &c.* We forbid the Church to be obſcured with the Images or painted tables of any, &c. This law forbiddeth pictures to be ſet vp in Churches.

One alſo of their owne writers is bold to write thus of *Nicephorus*, for reporting of S. *Luke* to haue beene a Painter, and to be the firſt that made the Images of Chriſt and of *Marie*, and of the Apoſtles: *In hiſtoria ſi non mendax, certè valdè audax*: He is very bold in his hiſtorie, if not a lyar: *Epiſt. ſummar. in 2. Timoth. p. 173.*

This truth the holy Martyrs haue ſealed: *Nicholas Shetterden* Martyr: The lawe forbiddeth to make any manner likenes, or image of God, Deuter. 4. 17. you ſawe no ſhape, &c. To whome Winchester obiected thus: Yet by your leaue, we may make an image of ſo much as was ſeene, as of Chriſt, of the holy Ghoſt, and the father appeared to *Daniel* like an old man. The Martyr anſwereth: This is no proofe that we may make images contrarie to the commandement, for the holy Ghoſt appeared like a Doue, yet was he not like in ſhape but in certaine qualities, &c. *Fox.* pag. 1675. col. 2.

THE THIRD ARTICLE, WHETHER THE images of Saints are to be worſhipped.

The Papiſts.

THe images are to be reuerenced and worſhipped, ſo it be not with the diuine honour due vnto God, it was concluded in the late Tridentine chapter, ſeſſ. 25. confeſſed by our *Rhemiſts*, 44. Error. Act. 17. ſect. 5. maintained by the Ieſuites, *Bellarm. cap. 12.*

Argum. 1. The braſen Serpent was worſhipped of the people, ſeeing it was ſet vp in a high place, and gaue health to thoſe that looked vpon it: *Ergo*, images may be worſhipped, *Bellarm.* The people alſo fell downe before the Arke and Tabernacle, and worſhipped God: *Ergo*, lawfull, prayer to fall downe before a Crucifixe, *Rhemiſt. annot. Hyb. 11. 21.*

Anſw. Firſt, it was not the Serpent that healed them, but Chriſt who was thereby prefigured, Ioh. 3. 14. The Serpent was lift vp, that the people might round about the better behold it, and it ſheweth forth alſo the lifting vp of Chriſt vpon the Croſſe. It was not ſet vp to be worſhipped, neither was it worſhipped till the people fell into ſuperſtitiõ, & offered incenſe to it, and therfore becauſe the people abuſed that monument, *Hezekiah* brake it down, 2. King. 18. Secondly, it is not al one to fal down before, in, or at the Arke & Tabernacle, and to worſhip God, as to worſhip the Arke or Tabernacle. You doe not only fall downe before a Crucifixe, but worſhip it. Neither is it as lawfull to worſhip before a Crucifixe, as it was before the Tabernacle: for the one was commanded of God, the other is the ſuperſtitious deuiſe of men.

Argum. 2. As the image of *Nabuchadnezzar* was for his honor, ſo the image of Chriſt is for his, *Rhemiſt. Reuel. 13. 14.*

Anſw. A good ſimilitude, if Chriſt himſelfe had not forbidden ſo to be honoured & worſhipped.

Argum. 3. Man is honoured becauſe he is the image of God: *Ergo*, images of Saints are to be reuerenced, becauſe they are their images. *Bellarm. cap. 12.*

Anſw. Firſt, man is a liuely image of Gods owne making, images of Saints are the workes of men. Secondly, no image can ſo liuely repreſent a Saint, being but a dead thing, as man who hath a liuing ſoule is the image of God. Thirdly, we do reuerence men with ciuill honour, not with religious worſhip, as they doe their images. Fourthly, though Gods image in man were to be worſhipped: yet it would not followe, that Saints images ſhould: for all diuine worſhip belongeth onely to God: but the Saints themſelues, though they were aliue, are not to be worſhipped, much leſſe their Images.

Argum. 4. The chiefe *Iconomachi*, that is, enemies or oppugners of Idols, ſay they, are the Iewes, Samaritanes, Mahometanes: yea the diuell himſelfe loueth no images, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, it followeth not, the Iewes and Turkes abhorre images, and therefore Chriſtians ought to loue them: for the heathen hated many vices, which are alſo to be abhorred of Chriſtians. Secondly, they were not the firſt *Iconomachi*, Image haters: for *Moſes* was an *Iconomach*, when he cauſed the golden Calfe to be burnt to powder: *Hezekiah* an *Iconomach*, that brake downe the braſen Serpent: *Ioſiah* an *Iconomach*, that cauſed the Idols to be deſtroyed, 2. King. 23. Nay, God himſelfe was the firſt *Iconomach*, that forbiddeth Images and Idols to be made in the morall lawe. Thirdly, I pray you where did the Ieſuite learne, that the diuell hateth an image? I am ſure the Scripture ſpeaketh contrarie, that what was offered to Idols was ſacrificed to diuels, 1. Cor. 10. 20.

The Proteſtants.

THat Images or Idols are not at all to be reuerenced or worſhipped, or to be made, or ſet vp in Churches, or in any other place for any religious, or rather irreligious vſe: thus out of the holy ſcriptures we make it plaine.

Argum. 1. The making of any ſimilitude or likenes, to fall downe before it and worſhip it, is flatly forbidden in the ſecond commandement, Exod. 20. *Ergo*, they are not to be worſhipped. So likewiſe, Deut. 4. 15. Iſai. 40. 18. and in many other places in the old Teſtament, worſhipping of Images, which is idolatrie, manifeſtly forbidden in the new teſtament, Rom. 1. 23. 1. Cor. 10. 20. 1. Ioh. 5. 21. *Ergo*, not lawfull.

Anſ. One *Catharinus* a great Papiſt ſaith, that the commaundement in the law againſt Images, was but temporall, and to continue but till the eſtabliſhing of the new Teſtament. But *Bellarmine* vtterly miſliketh this anſwere, being moſt abſurd, for the morall law is perpetuall, *De imagin. ſanct. lib. 2. cap. 7.* They doe giue therefore a more deliberate anſwere: that the Scriptures doe reproue and condemne the idolatrie of the Heathen, which worſhipped their Images as Gods. But ſo doe not they: they make no account of them, as they affirme, for their matter or forme; but for that relation they haue to the things whoſe images they are, *Rhemiſt. Philipp. 2. ſect. 2.*

Anſ. Firſt, the Iewes alſo in their golden Calfe had a relation to that God that brought them out of the land of Egypt, Exod. 32. 4. 5. The like relation had *Ieroboam* in ſetting vp of his Calues, 1. King. 12. 28. for they were not ſo mad as to think that a Calfe brought them out of Egypt. And it appeareth yet more plainly: for Exod. 32. 5. *Aaron* ſaith, To morow ſhall be the Lords holie day: the word is *Iehouah*, which name the Iewes only aſcribed vnto God. So Iudg. 17. 3. *Micah* his mother ſaith, that ſhe had conſecrated the ſhekles of ſiluer to the Lord *Iehouah*, to make a molten Image: wherefore in their Images they had relation to God, and yet were they reproued for their idolatrie. The like relation the Gentiles alſo had in their Idols, as *Auguſtine* witneſſeth: *Non ego illum lapidem colo & adoro, quem video, ſed fortaſſe eſt quem non video. Quis eſt ille? Numen quoddam inviſibile quod præſidet illi ſimulachro:* I doe not worſhip that carued ſtone or Image: I reuerence that I ſee, but I ſerue or worſhip that I ſee not: that is, a certaine diuine ſpirit, which is preſident in that image. Wherefore popiſh idolatrie can no more be excuſed by this ſhift of reference or relation, then either the Iewes or Gentiles, that pretended the ſame colour. In Pſal. 96.

2 It may be proued by the practiſe of the Popiſh Church in England, that ſimply without any ſuch relation or ſignification they commaunded Images to be worſhipped. *Thomas Man* Martyr troubled, becauſe he beleeued not in the Crucifixe. *Robert Rane* of Dorney moleſted, becauſe he ſaid, that an Image grauen with mans hand, is neither God, nor our Ladie, but made for a remembrance of Saints: nor we ought to worſhip any thing, but God and our Ladie, and not images of Saints, which are but ſtocks and ſtones. Miſtriſſe *Alice Dobie* brought into trouble, for ſaying; We ſhould not worſhip that thing that hath eares, and eyes, and can neither ſee, nor heare. Theſe good men and women, we ſee, were perſecuted in thoſe daies for denying worſhip to Images, as they were Images. And of later daies, we ſee the popiſh ſect, euen they amongſt them, which had the name of learning, to haue fallen into the ſame idolatrous dotage of their forefathers: as it may appeare by *Bonners* ſetting vp of the Rood in Pauls, at the comming in of King *Philip*: how he with his Chaplains annoynted the Rood, crept vnto it, and kiſſed it, and ſo ſet him vp in his place, all the Queere in this meane ſeaſon, ſinging *Te Deum*: Let indifferent men now iudge, whether they made not this Roode their God amight, *Fox* pag. 1472. So then the popiſh practiſe agreeable to their doctrine was, (as it appeareth) that Images were ſimply to be worſhipped. Fox. pag 815. articl. 7. Fox. pag. 850. Fox pag. 984.

Argum. 2. Apocal. 9. 20. Worſhippers of Idols of ſiluer and gold are there condemned; which can be no other but the Papiſts: for that prophecie is to bee fulfilled in the latter times towards the end of the world, after the opening of the ſeuenth ſeale and blowing of the ſixt trumpet. But there is no knowne nation in the world, or hath not been many a day, that worſhippeth Images, but the popiſh Synagogue.

Argum. 3. Man is the image of God, and yet is not worſhipped: how much leſſe ought we to worſhip carued Images, which are but made with mens hands? As *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Opera hominum non colenda, meliores ſint artifices:* The handie workes of men are not to bee worſhipped, the workmen

workes themſelues are better, and yet not worſhipped. What foule idolatrie is this, to preferre the workes of mens hands, before the worke and image of God, to deſpiſe men, and haue in ſo great regard dead ſtockes and ſtones?

Argum. 4. *Ezechias* cauſed the braſen Serpent, which *Moſes* had made, to bee broken in pieces, becauſe the people worſhipped it, and burnt incenſe to it: *Ergo*, Images are not to bee worſhipped.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that the people did honour the braſen Serpent, for the matter ſake, thinking that the benefit of health proceeded from the image it ſelfe, *cap.* 17.

Contra. First, they could not honour it for the matter, it being of braſſe, not of gold, or any other precious mettall. Secondly, neither did the people aſcribe the miracle to the image it ſelfe: for in the text it is added, *which Moſes had made*: they remembred very well, that it was made by *Moſes* at Gods appointment, and ſo was indued with that vertue.

Secondly, ſaith he, they did worſhip it as God, becauſe they offered incenſe to it, which in the old law was accounted a ſacrifice, *ibid.*

Contra. See firſt how contrarie *Bellarmine* is to himſelfe: for before, *lib. 1 de Sanctor beatitud. c. 13. argum. 3.* he tolde vs, that the ſacrifice of beaſts onely was peculiar vnto God: but odors and incenſe might be giuen to Saints; and that therfore *Nabuchadnezzar* commaunding odors to be offered to *Daniel*, did therein no vnlawfull thing. But here he affirmeth the contrarie, that the people in offering incenſe to the braſen Serpent, did giue the honour of God vnto it. Thus well he agreeth with himſelfe.

Secondly, the people were not ſo blind, to think a Serpent to be their God, no more then their forefathers tooke the golden Calfe for God, but they worſhipped it in the remembrance of God: for they were not ſo blockiſh to thinke, that a Calfe did bring them out of Egypt. Thus doe the Papiſts worſhip their Images euen as the people did the braſen Serpent.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Noui multos eſſe ſepulchrorum & picturarum adoratores*: I know there are many which worſhip ſepulchres & pictures. Of theſe he warneth men to take heed, *Noli conſectari turbas imperitorum*. Follow not ſuch vnlearned & vnskilfull multitudes. *Bellarm.* anſwereth, that *Auguſtine* wrote thus whē he was a yong man, and not fully conuerted, *cap.* 16. A ſilly ſhift: yet we wil vouchſafe an anſwere, though it be worthie of none. Let vs heare what *Auguſtine* thought when he was old, and ſtaied in iudgement: *Iam verò artifex melior eſt eis, quem ſe tamen pudeat adorare: adora ergo quamuis ea non feceris, quoniam, qua illa non poſſunt facis, melior & beſtia*: The workman is better then the image, who gaue faſhion and ſhape vnto it, yet thou wouldeſt bee aſhamed to worſhip him: thou thy ſelfe art better, for thou canſt doe many things which that cannot: nay a brute beaſt that heareth and ſeeth is better. By this we may ſee what *Auguſtine* thought of worſhipping of Images. In Pſal. 113.

We haue the glorious teſtimonie of the holie Martyrs: *Claudius Monerius* burned at Lyons for the truth, *anno* 1551: Nothing is to bee adored, but that which is not ſeene with the eyes, that is God alone, which is a ſpirit, &c. Images therefore are not to be ſet vp before Chriſtians, ſeeing the nature of man is ſo prone to idolatrie, euer occupied and fixed on thoſe things which he beholdeth with eyes, rather then vpon thoſe which are not ſeene. *Fox* pag. 905. col. 1.

Maiſter *George Wiſebart* holy Martyr, reporteth how he had conference with a Iew, as he was paſſing vpon the water of Rhene: and asking him the cauſe of his pertinacie in not receiuing the Chriſtian faith, alleaged this with other, for that Chriſtians did worſhip Images contrarie to the law of God, which will haue God onely to be honoured. *Fox* pag. 1269. col. 2.

Iohn Maundrel, William Coberly, Iohn Spicer put to death, for denying the worſhipping Images, pag. 1693. with many other that gaue their liues in defence of this truth: The Papiſts for their idolatrie cannot ſhew ſo ſure a ſeale.

I will adde in the end the determination of the 7. generall Councell at Conſtantinople, as it is extant *Nicen. 2. actione 6. tom. 6. Qui ab hoc die imaginem auſus fuerit ſibi parare aut adorare in eccleſia, aut inprimis a domo exiſtituere, aut etiam habere; ſi clericus deponitur; ſi laicus, anathemate percellitur*: If any man from henceforth ſhall dare to make him an Image, or to worſhip it in the Church, or ſet it vp in his houſe, or keepe it ſecretlie, if he be of the Clergie, let him bee depoſed; if a lay man, accurſed be he.

Agatha, tom. 5. in fine: *Nos qui ſacerdotij dignitate ſuccincti ſumus, ſimul exiſtentes vna voce definimus, omnem imaginem ex quacunque materia improba picturæ arte factam ab eccleſia Chriſtianorum reiiciendam velut alienam & abominabilem*: We of the prieſtly dignitie aſſembled together, doe define with one voyce, that euery Image, of what matter ſoeuer, made by the lewd skill of painters, is to be caſt out of the Church of Chriſtians, as a ſtrange and abominable thing. This was enacted *anno* 780. by the conſent of 300. Biſhops aſſembled at Conſtantinople, in the preſence of two Emperours, *Leo*, and *Conſtantinus*.

Our aduerſaries here anſwere, that this aſſemblie at Conſtantinople is not the 7. generall Synode,

node, but that which followed at Nice, called Nicen 2. which was kept vnder the Empresse *Irene* and her sonne *Constantine*, wherein the adoration of Images was established: and to this Councel *Adrian* Bishop of Rome gaue his consent, which the other wanted.

Ans. The Synode of Constantinople is rather to be held vniuersall, then this of Nice. First, it was assembled by the authoritie of two Emperours, *Leo*, and *Constantine*: whereas this of Nice had but the authoritie of a woman, *Irene* the Empresse: for her sonne *Constantine*, being then in his nonage, afterward reuoked his consent, which he gaue in his childhood. Secondly, there were 300. Bishops present at Constantinople, a number sufficient to make a generall Councell, and it came before the other: wherefore then should it not be counted the 7. generall before the other? Thirdly, what though the Bishop of Rome consented not? no more did he to that act of the Chalcedon Councell, which giueth the Patriarke of Constantinople equall authoritie to the Bishop of Rome; yet is it held to bee vniuersall. Againe, it had the Patriarke of Constantinoples consent, who was then *Paulus*, who is the chiefe of the East Churches, as the Pope would bee of the West. Wherefore for ought yet alleaged, the 7. generall Councell shall be that, which was kept at Constantinople, not the other at Nice, and so is it held of the Greekes. And of this superstitious Councell one of their owne giueth this testimonie; That the fathers there, *Dæmonum spectris, & multebrium somnijs parum verecundè abutebantur:* did vnshamefastly abuse the visions of diuels, and the dreames of women, to proue the adoration of Images, *Espenc. in 2. Timoth. p. 151. a.*

Lastly, against the adoration of Images wee haue the testimonie of the Ciuill law, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 14. leg. 7. Martian. Absit à seculo nostro, &c.* Farre bee it, that in our time the accustomed honour should be giuen vnto the cursed Idols, incense to be burnt vnto them, &c. And because it will bee here answered, that this law was made only against the Idols of the heathen: see further, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 27. leg. 2. Theodos. Quando statua nostra eriguntur, &c. adsit iudex sine adorationis ambitiosa fallacia:* When our Images are erected, let the Magistrate be present, without any ambitious or flattring shew of adoration. This law forbiddeth the Images of godly Emperours, and so also Saints, to be adored.

Their owne decrees agree hereunto: *Decret. p. 3. distinct. 3. cap. 27. Gregor. Sanctorum imagines quòd adorari vetuisti, omnino laudamus, &c.* We doe euery way commend you, for that you did forbid the images of Saints to be worshipped. What could bee said more directly against the adoration of Images?

THE FOVRTH ARTICLE, WHAT MANNER of worship is to be giuen to Images.

The Papists.

45. Error. *Bellarmine*, who is the mouth of the rest, setteth downe these two positions: First, that Images, though they are not properly to bee worshipped with diuine honour, neither is it safe to teach in the hearing of the people; yet improperly they may haue the same worship, which properly belongeth to the Saint whose image it is. Secondly, there is a religious worship properly due vnto Images, as they are considered in themselues, *& non solum vt vicem gerunt exemplaris*, and not only as they represent another thing: *Bellarm. de Imaginib. Sanctor. lib. 2. cap. 21. 23.*

Argum. Bellarmine reasoneth thus: As the image is to that, whose image it is, so the worship of the image is to the worship of the exemplar, paterne, or patrone thereof: but the image, *secundum quid*, after a sort, is the thing it selfe, as a painted man is a man after a sort: therefore after a sort also the same worship, which is due to the thing it selfe, may be giuen to the image, *cap. 25.*

Ans. First, he taketh that to be graunted, which is in question: for we denie, that an image hath any worship at all, and therefore it is in vaine to contend, what manner of worship it should bee. Secondly, his owne example is against him: for as a painted or pictured man, cannot bee said to be a man, but onely the image of a man; so neither can the worship of the thing bee giuen to the image of the thing. Thirdly, we graunt, as the image is to the thing, so is the worship, &c. for both such images are idolatrous, and all worship giuen vnto them, impious.

The Protestants.

WE haue shewed before that Images ought not to bee worshipped at all, and that all religious worship is due onely vnto God: wherefore to vs this question is superfluous, with what religious worship Images are to be adored; for no religious worship at all is due vnto them: yet let vs vouchsafe the while, to see the contradictions that are amongst them, and the absurdities that they are driuen vnto.

Argum. 1. Our Rhemists confesse, that Images are not at all to be worshipped with any diuine honour, Act. 17. sect. 5. But it was decreed in the idolatrous Councell of Nice the 2. and maintained by *Thomas Aquinas, Bonauenture, Caietanus*, and other Papists, that the image of God is to bee worshipped with the same worship that is due vnto God. And *Bellarmine* commeth not much

short

ſhort of them, that ſaith, *improprii*, improperly Images may haue the ſame worſhip: as the Kings Ambaſſadour improperly is honoured as the King. I pray you how farre are theſe men from making their Images Gods? for they ſay they are the Lords deputies and Vicegerents, as the Ambaſſadour is for the King.

Againe, the Rhemiſts affirme, that the images of Chriſt are not to bee honoured or accounted of, but for the reſpect and relation they haue to our Sauiour, *Annot. Philip.* 2. 2. So the Tridentine Councell determineth, *Seſſ.* 25. *Honos qui eis debetur, refertur ad prototypa, quæ illa repræſentant:* The honour due vnto them is to be referred vnto thoſe things which they repreſent.

Nicen. 2. *actione.* 2. *Non ipſum lignum honoratur, ſed ipſum illud, quod in ligno datur contemplandum:* The wood it ſelfe is not to bee honoured, but that which in the wood is offered to our contemplation. Likewiſe, *Actione.* 3. *Imagini honor exhibitus, ad ipſum prototypum referatur:* The honor exhibited to the Image, muſt be referred to the originall. *Adrian.* 1 *epiſt. ad Conſtantin. Conſtat ob recordationem ſanctorum, imagines tantum pingi, venerari, coli:* It is manifeſt, that Images are worſhipped and reuerenced onely in remembrance of the Saints. But *Bellarmine* teacheth cleane contrarie, that they haue not onely a reſpectiue honour, as repreſenting other things, but properly and in themſelues conſidered are to bee worſhipped. Wee may ſee by this, how handſomely they agree together.

Argum. 2. Let vs ſee their abſurdities. Firſt, they hold that all Images are not to bee worſhipped alike: for they make three degrees of religious worſhip; the higheſt, which they call λατρεία, doe vnto God; the loweſt religious worſhip, which they call δουλεία, proper to Saints; the middle or meane worſhip, called by them ὑπερδουλεία, as you would ſay, Superſeruice, to bee giuen onely to the Virgin *Mary*. And as theſe three, Chriſt, the Virgin, the Saints doe differ, ſay they, in honour; ſo their Images accordingly muſt be diſtinguiſhed in their worſhip.

Thus it commeth about, that a Roode of wood repreſenting Chriſt, is more to bee honoured, then an image of our Ladie of ſiluer; and her image, if it be but of ſtone, is more to be reuerenced then a Saints image of gold: and thus the excellencie of nature, which is giuen to theſe things by creation, is inuerted.

It ſhall be anſwered, that a baſer mettall may be preferred before a more precious kinde, not in reſpect of the matter, but of the higher repreſentation: We replie, that all ſuch repreſentations by images are idolatrous, and therefore cannot obſcure the priuiledge of nature: ſo alſo the braſen Serpent had a good ſignification, yet when it began to be abuſed to idolatrie, *Hezekiah* made no better account of it, then of a peece of braſſe: and ſo he calleth it, *Nehuſtan.* 2. *Reg.* 18. 4.

Againe, whereas beſide theſe three deuiſed worſhips, which are properly due (as they ſay) to the Saints, not to their images, the images alſo haue their proper worſhips: they make three other inferiour kindes of worſhip, which doe exceede in degree, as the other ſuperiour kindes doe: ſo as Chriſt hath his λατρεία, worſhip, his image muſt haue ὑπολατρεία, his vnder-worſhip, (for wee muſt coyne new names for ſtraunge deuiſes) their Ladie Marie hath her ὑπερδουλεία, ſuper-ſeruice: her image muſt haue an ὑπερυπερδουλεία, and vnder-ouer-ſeruice: as the Saints haue their δουλεία, ſeruice; ſo their images muſt haue their ὑποδουλεία, an vnder-ſeruice. And thus haue wee ſixe kindes of religious worſhip; as *Bellarmine* hath coyned them, *cap.* 25. and yet before the Ieſuite told vs but of two kindes of religious worſhip, and the third a ciuill; three in all, *Lib.* 1 *de Sanct. beatit. cap.* 12.

But the Scripture acknowledgeth one onely kinde of religious worſhip, and that due only vnto the Lord: *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerue*, Matth. 4. 10. And the Angel forbad *Iohn* to fall downe before him, giuing a rule for all religious worſhip: Worſhip God, ſaith he, Apocal. 22. 9.

Now, if our aduerſaries deale plainly with vs, and tell vs in good ſooth, that they would not haue Images to bee adored with diuine worſhip: I aske them, whether to offer incenſe bee not a part of diuine worſhip? They cannot denie it: for *Hezekiah* therefore brake downe the braſen Serpent, becauſe the people burned incenſe to it, 2. King. 18. 4. Seeing then the Ieſuite alloweth cenſing and burning of odors before Images, *Bellarm. lib.* 1 *de Sanctor. beatit. cap.* 13. they giue vnto them diuine honour. The Ieſuites ſimple ſhift, that offering of incenſe was a ſacrifice then, and ſo part of diuine worſhip, but it is none now, is not worth the anſwere, *Bellarm. lib.* 2. *cap.* 17.

We want not the witneſſe of the Papiſts themſelues: as *Alexander.* 3. *p. quæſt.* 30. *art. vltim. Durand. lib.* 3 *diſt.* 9. *qu.* 2. *Alphonſus à Caſtro, &c.* All theſe are bold to affirme, that an Image in it ſelfe is not to be worſhipped at all.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS QVESTION, concerning the ſigne of the Croſſe.

THis part alſo is deuided into certaine points or articles.

1 Of the honour due to the true Croſſe of Chriſt, whereon he ſuffered.

2 Of

2 Of the image of the Crosse.
3 Of the signe of the Crosse in the forehead, or made otherwise with the hand.
4 Of the power and efficacie of the Crosse.

THE FIRST ARTICLE, OF THE TRVE Crosse whereon our Sauiour suffered.

The Papists.

46. Error. THe wood of the Crosse, both the whole and euery piece thereof (say they) is worthie of great worship and reuerence: and therefore it hath been worthily visited in pilgrimages, honoured with festiuall daies, reserued with all deuotion in times past, *Rhemist. annot. Ioh.* 19. *sect.* 2.

Argum. 1. It is highly sanctified, by the touching, bearing, and oblation of the sacred bodie of Christ, the Altar of that supreme sacrifice, and instrument of our redemption: *Ergo*, to bee worshipped, *Rhemist. ibid. Bellarm. lib.* 2. *de Imagin. cap.* 27.

Anf. If therefore it was holie becaufe it touched the bodie of Christ, and was an instrument of his death: by the same reason, the nayles that pierced him, the speare that gored his side, the tormenters that crucified, *Iudas* that betrayed and kissed him: All these should also be honoured and worshipped, that handled and touched him, and were instruments, occasions, and procurers of his death.

Againe, admit it was holy, becaufe of Christs bodie, it was holy no otherwise then the ground where the Angell appeared to *Moses*, Exod. 3. and to *Iosua* chap. 5. which *Bellarmine* elsewhere confesseth, was holy, *ob præsentiam angeli*, becaufe of the presence of the Angell: that is, it continued not alwaies holy, but was for that instant: so the Crosse was holy, becaufe of the neernes and presence of Christs bodie, but this holines remained not afterward.

Argum. 2. The Crosse of Christ was found out, say they, in *Constantines* time the great, by a strange miracle: for there were three Crosses digged vp, which had been a long time buried in the earth: the two Crosses vpon the which the two theeues suffered; the third whereon our Sauiour hung: They brought them all three to a woman that then lay very sicke, they laid the two first to her, and she remained as she was; then they applied the third, and she was presently made whole, *Bellarm. ex Ruffino: Ergo*, the Crosse is holy and to be worshipped.

Anf. The inuention of the Crosse by *Helena Constantines* mother, seemeth to bee a forged and fabulous storie.

1 *Eusebius* that writeth of the life of *Constantine*, and the acts of *Helena*, and registreth diuers matters of lesse importance, yea he sheweth how the Mount Caluarie, where the Heathen had built idolatrous Temples, was purged, and in that place (say they) the Crosse was found; yet he maketh no mention at all of the inuention of the Crosse: which is very like he would not haue omitted, if there had been any such thing.

2 The most ancient author that writeth of this matter, is *Ambrose, de obitu Theodos.*, which oration *Erasmus* thinketh to be forged in *Ambroses* name.

3 There is great disagreement amongst writers about this storie. *Ambrose* saith, the Crosse was knowne by the title that *Pilate* fastened to it. *Sozomenus* and *Nicephorus* say, the letters were worne out, and it could not be discerned by the title. *Paulinus* saith, the way to discerne it, was reuealed to *Helena*: *Ruffinus* ascribeth the deuice to *Macarius* Bishop of Ierusalem: *Paulinus* saith, it was knowne by raising vp a dead man to life: *Ruffinus*, by restoring a sicke woman to health, *Fulk annot. Ioh.* 19. *sect.* 2. Thus we see of what small credit this storie is. And bee it graunted, that there might be some such thing found: yet they must bring better proofe for that miraculous inuention, before we will beleeue it.

The Protestants.

WE are not taught any where in the word of God, to giue any religious worship to any creature, nor to adore stockes and stones, no nor the very Crosse it selfe, whereon Christ was crucified, if it were now to be seene or had.

Argum. 1. If there had belonged vnto the Church any religious care of it, the Apostles would (no doubt) haue procured the safe keeping thereof, and not haue suffered the Church to want it 300. yeeres: and it had been an easier suite for *Ioseph* and *Nicodemus* to begge the Crosse, then the bodie of Iesus.

Argum. 2. If the Crosse were to be adored, we are vncertaine which it is, and where to be had; and so might worship a common piece of wood, for the wood of the Crosse: for there is no doubt, but this relique is forged and counterfeited as the rest bee. *Euagrius* saith, the Crosse was at Apamea: *Ruffinus*, that it was left at Ierusalem, and that *Helena* sent a piece of it to Constantinople: and in many other places there are pieces of the Crosse to be seene, which if they were all laid together (as *Erasmus* saith) would fill a ship: for why? *Paulinus* witnesseth, that the Crosse remaineth

neth whole at Ieruſalem, as though it had been neuer touched, though innumerable pieces bee daily cut off from it, at the requeſt of men. But this fable that goeth vnder the name of *Rufinus*, the Papiſts themſelues are aſhamed of.

But if the true and right Croſſe were to be had; why might it not be ſerued, if people began to abuſe it to idolatrie, as *Hezekiah* ſerued the braſen ſerpent? he brake it in peeces, when the people began to make an Idoll of it.

Auguſtine ſayth, *Chriſtus ambulauit in mari, &c.* Chriſt walked in the Sea, to ſhew vs that our way muſt be through the Sea: but thou, becauſe thou canſt not walke in the Sea, muſt ſayle in a ſhip, and be carried in a piece of wood: Beleeue in him that was crucified for thee: No man can paſſe the ſea of this world, but being borne vp with the croſſe of Chriſt.

Here *Auguſtine* maketh no reckoning of the wood of the Croſſe, which was eaſier to be had in his dayes, then euer ſince, but aſcribed all to faith and beleefe in Chriſt crucified.

Gelaſius decret. de Apocryphis, writeth thus, *Scriptura de inuentione crucis dominicæ nouella quædam relatione confictæ, & alia de inuentione capitis Iohannis Baptiſtæ, &c.* The writings of the inuention of the Croſſe are but new deuiſed reports, and of the inuention of *Iohn Baptiſts* head: and therefore he giueth Chriſtians warning to take heede how they reade them. This is the iudgement of a Biſhop of Rome, in touching the finding out of the Croſſe, which he iudgeth to be a fabulous report: thus decree Gratian hath remembred, *part. 1. diſt. 15. cap. 3.*

The teſtimonie of Maſter *Hawkes* holy Martyr is ſingular: If the Croſſe were of ſuch profite vnto vs, as you ſay, why did not Chriſts diſciples take it vp and ſet it on a pole, and carrie it in proceſſion, with (*ſalue feſta dies!*) *Chadſey*: It was taken vp. *Hawkes*: Who tooke it vp? *Helene*, as you ſay, for ſhe ſent a piece of it to a place of Religion, where I was with the viſitors, when that houſe was ſuppreſſed, and the piece of the holy Croſſe (which they had in ſuch eſtimation) being called for, it was found to be but a piece of a lath, couered ouer with copper, and double gilt, as though it had been cleane gold: *Fox. p. 1589. col. 2.* Were they not well occupied now, that thus deluded the people, giuing them ſuch Croſſes to be worſhipped?

THE SECOND ARTICLE, OF THE Image of the Croſſe or Crucifixe.

The Papiſts.

THe Image of Chriſt vpon the Croſſe, whether painted, carued, or grauen, we ſee is had in great honour amongſt our aduerſaries: They kneele downe before their Crucifixe, weare it in their boſomes next to their heart, carrie it in their iourneyes, ſet it vp to bee adored in their Churches. 47. Error.

Argum. 1. As adoration was done vnto God in old time, at and before the Arke and Tabernacle: ſo may be done now, at, or before a Crucifixe, relique, image, *Rhemiſt. annot. Heb. 11. ſect. 9.*

Anſ. 1. It is not all one to worſhip God at or before a thing, as to worſhip and adore the thing: the Iſraelites worſhipped God, in, at or before the Tabernacle; yet did they not worſhip the Tabernacle, as you doe the Crucifixe.

2. They might worſhip God before the Arke, becauſe they were commanded ſo to doe: but it is not lawfull to fall downe before a Crucifixe, becauſe all ſuch Images are flatly in the ſecond commandement forbidden.

Argum. 2. The ſigne of the Croſſe appeared to *Conſtantine* in the ayre, he cauſed the Croſſe to be carried before him as an enſigne in battaile: When the Iewes had leaue of *Iulian* to build the Temple, there were Croſſes ſeene euery where in their garments, and many ſuch apparitions haue there been of the Croſſe: *Ergo*, it is to be honoured and worſhipped, *Bellarm. cap. 28.*

Anſ. 1. What if *Conſtantine* cauſed the Croſſe to be carried before him, ſtamped it in his coyne, ſet vp his picture with the Croſſe in his hand? all this wee grant was done, and may bee done againe: It was but a ciuill, no religious vſe of the Croſſe: He worſhipped it not, vnleſſe you will ſay, he ſet vp his owne Image with the Croſſe in his hand to be worſhipped.

2. As for the apparitions of the Croſſe (though we thinke many of them to be forged) yet wee denie not, but that the Lord hath, and may yet ſhew, what ſignes and tokens it pleaſeth him in the heauen, and the earth: yet it followeth not, that the ſigne of the croſſe ſhould therefore be worſhipped, becauſe it was ſhewed to *Conſtantine*, no more then other ſignes and ſtrange ſights, that many times appeare in the ayre.

For the other apparition of Croſſes in the Iewes garments, we will requite it with another, and yet you ſhall gaine nothing by it. *Anno 1505.* vnder the raigne of the Emperour *Maximilian*, there appeared diuers tokens of bloodie Croſſes, the nayles, the ſponge, the ſpeare, & other ſignes of Chriſts paſſion, in the garments of men and women, yea in their rockes, while they were a ſpinning, reported by *Francus Mirandula, Carion, Funccius, Melanct. Flacius*: But the popiſh Chronologers

nologers make no mention of it, as *Christianus Messeni*, and others of that profession. As the Crosses in the Iews garments, that went about to establish their ceremonies againe, did shew, that do what they could, the Gospell, that is, the preaching of his Crosse, should take place, as it did: so these signes in Germany did portend, that the Gospell in Germany should be preached, though the Papists striued neuer so much against it. But it is a farre fetcht conclusion to inferre hereupon, that the signe or Image of the Crosse is to be adored.

The Protestants.

THe image of the Crosse of Christ, is neither to be painted, carued, grauen, for any religious vse, nor to be adored or worshipped: but men so doing do fall into the grieuous and high offence and sinne of Idolatrie. And yet we graunt, that the signe of the Crosse is not to be despised, scorned or contemned: and therefore it was enacted by *Theodos.* that whosoeuer did picture the crosse vpon the ground, or pauement, thereon, in contempt of it, should be grieuously punished, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 11. leg. 1.* The like is decreed *Trul. Synod. can. 73.* Likewise *Honorius* made a law, that the Iewes should not burne the signe or picture of the Crosse, *lib. 1. tit. 12. leg. 10.* but it followeth not, the signe of the Crosse must not be despised, or contemned, therefore it is to be worshipped: for though the image of the Prince be not of the subiects to be worshipped, yet there is no good subiect, that will rend it in pieces, or deface it: wherefore that the signe of the Crosse is not to be adored, thus it may appeare.

Argum. 1. The Scripture neuer calleth the Crosse, whereon Christ suffered, the holy Crosse, as the Papists doe, but rather cursed: for S. *Paul* prooueth that Christ became accursed for vs, because he dyed vpon the Crosse, according to the Scripture, *Cursed is euery one that hangeth on a tree.* How then is it now honoured, which was then accursed? And if all Crosses are worthie honour, because of Christ his Crosse, then why not all nayles, and speares? for with them he was pierced; all thornes also, because of his crowne of thornes: yea, and all horse-mangers too, because he was layd in a Cribbe?

Bellarmine answereth, that we worship al Crosses, because they are all Images of Christs Crosse: so are not all speares, and thornes, &c. *cap. 20.*

Contra. As there were other speares and thornes, &c. then those wherewith Christ was crucified; so were there also other crosses then that, vpon the which he suffered: for S. *Peter* and S. *Andrew* were crucified, and tormented vpon the Crosse: and S. *Ambrose* saith, *Alia cruces nihil mihi prosunt, sola crux Christi mihi vtilis est, &c.* Other crosses do nothing profit mee, onely Christs Crosse is profitable vnto me, *lib. 6. in Luc.* Therefore all crosses are not Images of Christs Crosse: so then he hath answered iust nothing.

Argum. 2. They are vncertaine of what fashion the Crosse of Christ was, whether like the Greeke letter, τ. or this letter, x. or the Greeke T A V. T. or of this fashion, †. or of this, ✠. which is the vsuall forme of their Crosses: how then dare they worship that which they know not, and are vncertaine of?

In Psal. 118. Contro. 26. 3 All those reasons which wee brought before against the worshipping of Images, *part. 1. loci quæst. articul. 3.* may be vrged against the adoration of Crucifixes.

Augustine thus writeth, *Hanc intuentes salutiferam crucem, omne calumniantium superborum virus expellimus:* By beholding this helpfull, or healthfull crosse, we are able to auoyd the poyson of all proud venemous cauillers. He speaketh not of any Crucifixe that they had in sight, but of the fruitfull meditation of the passion of Christ: as he saith a little before, *Dum vigilantissimè & diligentissimâ pietate Christus crucifixus attenditur:* When with diligent and watchfull and godly attention we consider Christ crucified. Loe, this was *Augustines* Crucifixe, to meditate vpon the death of Christ.

Though the picture of Christ crucified haue bin vsed of auncient time, yet was it not then adored, but put onely to a ciuill vse, to call to remembrance the storie of Christs passion. *Concil. Nicen. 2. action. 2. Tharasius* the President saith thus, *Epistol. ad Antiochen. Episcop. Agnus, qui peccata mundi sustulit iuxta humanam effigiem configuratus erigitur, &c.* The Lambe of God, which taketh away the sinne of the world, is figured in his humanitie, that we may be drawne to the memorie of his incarnation, and may be lead as by the hand, to thinke of his most holesome death and passion.

Action 4. of the same Councell, *Germanus* writeth thus, *Epistol. ad Thomam Episcop. Claudiopol. Apud Christianos sanctorum virorum imagines nihil aliud sunt, quam fortitudinis eorum delineatio, &c.* Among Christians the pictures of holy men are to no end els, but to describe their fortitude and excellent vertue, and to admonish vs to glorifie and praise God for them. *Qua historiæ narratio per auditum docet, ea tacens pictura per imitationem ostendit:* That which in historie is taught by hearing, in picture is shewed by imitation. Here is no mention made of any worshipping of Images, Crosses, or Crucifixes: but the vse of pictures onely is to bring the historie to remembrance.

We haue also the seale of Martyrs: *Thomas Man* condemned for that he said he would not beleeue

leaue in the Crucifixe, neither worship it, *pag.* 815. *col.* 2. *artic.* 7. *Franciscus San Romanus* martyred at Burgos in Spaine *anno* 1540. for refusing to do homage to a wooden Crosse, saying, it was not the manner of Christians to worship wood, *pag.* 930.

THE THIRD ARTICLE, OF THE SIGNE of the Crosse in the forehead, or made ouer any thing with the hand.

The Papists.

They say, it is an holy and venerable signe, and meete to be vsed, to crosse the forehead, and other parts, to blesse themselues and their meats with crossing and such like, *Rhemist.* 48. Error.

Argum. 1. *Iacob* crossed his hands when he blessed his sonnes; it is like our Sauiour did lift vp his hands in the forme of the crosse, when he blessed. It is a conuenient memoriall of the death of Christ: and therefore to be vsed, *Rhemist. annot. Luk.* 24. *sect.* 5.

Answ. 1. *Iacob* layde his hands after that forme, because of the present occasion: for the younger sonne that should be the greater, was placed at his left hand, and the elder at the right.

2. Seeing the Scripture expresseth not in what manner Christ lifted vp his hands, it is great presumption for you to say, it was done in the similitude of the Crosse.

3. How can it be a conuenient memoriall of Christs death, being neither ordained of Christ, nor taught by his Apostles so to be?

Argum. 2. Ezech. 9. 4. The Angell is commanded to signe with *Tau*, the foreheads of those which mourned, &c. this, saith *Bellarmine*, was none other then the signe of the Crosse, *cap.* 29.

Answ. First, though the word *Tau*, there vsed, be the name of an Hebrue letter, yet it signifieth a signe, and is so translated by the Septuagint, [illegible], giue them, or marke them with a signe in their foreheads. Secondly, the Hebrue *Tau*, hath this forme ת, though in the Greeke language it hath another fashion, yet this figure hath no affinitie with the signe of the Crosse; wherefore they haue gayned nothing, though it be granted, that they were marked with *Tau*. Thirdly, this signe, which the Angell maketh, none but the godly receiue, and they are all deliuered from destruction: but many a wicked and reprobate man is marked with the signe of the Crosse: *Ergo*, this was no such signe.

Argum. 3. Apocal. 7. 3. Hurt not the earth, til we haue sealed the seruants of God in their forehead: This is the signe of the Crosse, *Rhemist. ibid. Bellarm. cap.* 29.

Answ. It is the signe proper to Gods elect, and therefore not the signe of the Crosse, which many reprobates haue receiued. Let them heare their owne expositors; *Bruno, in* 2. *Timoth.* 2. thus writeth, *Deum suos consignare, &c.* That as a Captaine giueth his souldiers some signe, whereby they are knowne: so God giueth his a signe, which the diuell seeing, leaueth them, is not appertaining to him; *Hic Signum esse diuinam Electionem, &c.* This signe is the diuine election: and *Anselm* vpon these words 2. Timoth. 2. *God knoweth, who are his*: *Hoc enim sibi debet impressum signum*: let a man print this signe in his heart, and say to himselfe, what doth it profit mee, to seeme outwardly iust, and be inwardly wicked? And then he further saith, *Talis cogitatio est diuini signi impressio*: Such a cogitation is an impression of this signe: And this is the signe, which the Elect are marked with. 49. Error.

The Protestants.

Though we finde that the signe of the Crosse hath been of ancient time vsed in Baptisme, and is now in some reformed Churches without popish superstition: yet, this ridiculous and superstitious abuse of the signe of the Crosse, which is common and vsuall among the Papists, to crosse themselues, their foreheads, their eyes, mouth, lippes, to crosse themselues going foorth, and returning home, thinking thereby to be sufficiently shended and preserued from euill, we doe vtterly condemne, and haue worthily abolished.

Argum. 1. This custome of crossing hath no warrant from Scripture, neither was practised by the Apostles. Yet S. *Paul* speaketh of diuers crosses, as he calleth the fruite and efficacie of Christs death the crosse of Christ, 1. Cor. 1. 17. Also the crosse is taken for the Gospell which is the preaching of the Crosse, Phil. 3. 18. *enemies to the crosse of Christ*, that is, his Gospell. The Crosse is also taken for the affliction that followeth the Gospell; Galath. 6. 14. *I reioyce in the crosse of Christ*; But of any such signe of the crosse to be made, the Apostle no where speaketh: wherefore hauing no warrant in the word, it is a tradition of men, and therefore not after Christ, Coloss. 2. 8. This is also confessed in their owne Canons, that this vse of signing with the Crosse hath no warrant in the word: *decret. p.* 1. *distinct.* 11. *c.* 5. *Quæ Scriptura salutifera crucis signaculo, &c.* What Scripture doth teach vs to signe with the most holdsome signe of the Crosse, &c.

Cod. lib. 9. *tit.* 47. *leg.* 17. *Constant.* *Nemo est signandus in fronte, nemo in facie scribatur*: No man must be signed in the forehead, or marked in the face.

Valentinus the Heretike was the first that made any great account of it, *Irenæus lib. 1. cap. 1.* therefore not to be vsed amongst Christians. *Non ab alienis vestra fidei demonstrationes recipimus*, We therefore will not borrow demonstrations of our faith from strangers and aliens, *Nicen. 2. Act.* 5. such as Heretikes are.

Argum. 2. Matth. 23. 5. Christ reproueth the Pharisies for their phylacteries, that is, certaine writings of the lawe in parchment, which they bound to their foreheads, and for their broad fringes, which were notwithstanding commanded by the * law. If our Sauiour reproued them for abusing the things rightly instituted at the first: much more worthie of blame is the superstition of Christians that hath no ground nor warrant at all.

Numb. 15. 37. Deut. cap. 6. vers. 8.

Augustine saith, *Christus elegit, vt in cruce penderet, vt ipsam crucem in cordibus fidelium figeret.* Christ made choise of that kinde of death to hang vpon the Crosse, that his Crosse might be fixed in faithful mens hearts: he saith not *in frontibus*, in the forehead, though in some editions that word be foysted into the text, but *in cordibus*, in their hearts.

In Iohan. tract. 43.

THE FOVRTH ARTICLE, OF THE POWER and efficacie of the Crosse.

The Papists.

49. Error. THe signe of the Crosse (say they) hath two notable and powerfull effects: one is to driue away diuels and euil spirites, to heale and cure diseases: the other is to sanctifie and blesse creatures, as our meates and drinkes, which is done by the signe of the Crosse, *Rhemist. 1. Tim. 4. fol. 513. Bellarm. cap.* 30.

Argum. 1. That the signe of the Crosse, euen *ex opere operato*, as *Bellarmine* saith, by the very act and making of the signe, yea by a Iew, Infidell or Pagan, hath power to driue away the deuil, they would thus proue it: *Dauid* by his Harpe drone away the euill spirit from *Saul*: the Angel did the like with the fishes liuer, in the storie of *Tobie*: *Rhemist. ibid.*

Answ. First, we must haue better Scriptures then Apocryphall stories to build our faith vpon: The good Angels of God haue power from God to driue away euill spirits, though they vse no externall signes: yet it followeth not, that euery man may doe that which is granted to the Angels, though we should admit the storie. Secondly, *Dauid* not so much by the sound of his Harp refreshed *Saul*, as by his godly songs and musicke chased away the spirit: neither did the euil spirit depart from him, but he forebe while found some ease, his phantastical and melancholy in which Sathan wrought vpon, being by his pleasant harmonie somewhat alayed. This also your own glosse confesseth, *decret. 2. caus. 33 distinct. 1. cap. 60. Saul non poterat, &c. Saul* could not returne to his right minde, *Nisi citharœdo Dauid psalleret*: vnlesse Dauid did sing before him: It was not then the sound, but the Song that helped *Saul*. Thirdly, all this being granted, yet haue they not proued by these examples, that Pagans & Infidels, by the signe of the Crosse, may chase away euill spirits.

50. Error. *Argum. 2.* Holie things are hallowed and blessed by the signe of the Crosse, they also proue it, because the Crosse being an holy signe in it selfe, doth communicate holines vnto the things signed with the Crosse, *Bellarm. cap.* 30.

Answ. First, we deny the signe of the Crosse, as they vse it, to be an holy, but rather a superstitious and deceiueable ceremony. Secondly, though it were holy, yet being abused, it cannot transferre any holines to other things: for in the lawe the sacrifices of the wicked, though they lay vpon the Altar, were not thereby sanctified, but were an abomination, being not offered in a right sort. Nay there is no outward ceremonie so holy, as that it can impart the holines to another thing: as it is *Hagg. 2. 13.* Though a man did beare holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, yet was not thereby holy.

The Protestants.

FIrst, it is a deceitfull toy that they beare the people in hand: the diuell at the signe of the Crosse will fly away: For the weapons of our warfare (saith S. *Paul*) are not carnall, 2. Cor. 10. the signe of the Crosse is an externall and carnall, no spirituall weapon: and therefore preuailes not against spirituall powers. Act. 19. The diuell would not giue place when *Iesus* and *Paul* were named, much lesse at the signe of the crosse.

Augustine saith, *Signum Christi expellit exterminatorem, si cor nostrum recipiat salutem.* The signe of Christ doth expell the destroyer, when our heart receiueth our Sauiour: *Tract. 6. in Iohan.* so it is not the signe in the forehead, but the faith of the heart, that maketh Sathan afraide: if sometime he auoyd, when men signe themselues, he is disposed to play with them, that he may deceiue them more strongly.

Secondly, we know no such meanes to sanctifie creatures by: They are blessed and sanctified for our vse (as S. *Paul* saith) by the word and prayer, 1. Tim. 4. Prayer therefore without warrant of the word is but presumption. The Greeke *Scholia*, by the Word, vnderstand *sermonem, quo fit gratiarum*

gratitude, &c. the thanksgiuing vsed before meate, and by prayer, *Fides bona precum*, the request of the faithfull, whereby meates are sanctified: Here is no mention at all of the Crosse. They therefore hauing no word for their superstitious crossings, inuocations, incantations, popish blessings, doe deceiue themselues and others, in thinking that the creatures in such order are sanctified vnto them.

Alex. Alens. 6. tom. 3. this reason was vsed against Images, and it may very well serue also against the signe of the crosse: *Neque precationem vllam, qua sanctificari posset, imago habet, sed manet communis & inhonorata vt pictor eam absoluit:* An image hath no forme of prayer appoynted, whereby it should be sanctified, but remayneth prophane and vnholy, as it commeth from the workemans hand: so may we say of the signe of the crosse, that it cannot sanctifie, vnlesse it be first sanctified it selfe; it cannot be sanctified without prayer of faith, and faith is built vpon the word: such sanctification by prayer, the signe of the crosse hath none. *Ergo.*

Concil. Laodicen. can. 32. Non oportet hæreticorum benedictiones accipere, quia maledictiones magis sunt, quam benedictiones: We must not receiue the blessings of heretikes, because they are curses rather then blessings: yet *Bellarmine* saith, there is vertue in the signe of the crosse made by a Iew, Pagan, infidel, or whosoeuer: but this Councel saith, that the benedictions of such are maledictions.

Wherfore we doubt not to conclude, that the signe of the crosse as it is vsed by papists, is a superstitious and idolatrous signe; and that as one *Robert Cooper* confessor of the truth somtime said, the blessing with a shooe sole is as good as a Popish Bishops blessing done no otherwise, then by crossing, *Fox. pag. 1043. c. 2.*

AN APPENDIX CONCERNING THE name of Iesus.

The Papists.

The name of Iesus (they say) ought to be worshipped by capping and kneeling thereunto, by wearing it in their caps, and setting it vp in solemne places: alleaging for their purpose that of S. *Paul*, that at the name of Iesus al things shall bow, Philip. 2. 10. Yea, they say, that Protestants by defacing the name and image of Christ, do make a way for Antichrist, *Rhem. in 1. Philip. 2. fol. 1. Apoc. 13. 17.* 51. Error.

The Protestants.

1. The bowing at the name of Iesus, as it is vsed in Poperie, to bend the knee at the sound thereof, is not commaunded in this place: which sheweth especially the subiection of all creatures, of Turkes, Iewes, Infidels, yea of the diuels themselues to the power and iudgement of Christ. Secondly, Protestants haue onely taken away the superstitious abuse of the name of Iesus. Thirdly, the kneeling at the name of Iesus is superstitiously abused in poperie: for the people stoope onely at the sound, not vnderstanding what is read, and so make an Idoll of the letters and syllables, adoring and worshipping the very name when they heare or see it: And againe, in hissing and not vayling at the name of Christ, Immanuel, God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, and bowing onely at the name of Iesus, *Fulk. ibid.* Fourthly, due reuerence may be vsed to our Sauiour without any such ceremonie of capping or kneeling, *Fulk.* Neither do we binde any of necessitie to vse this reuerence to the name of Iesus, as the Papists do, which think that Christ cannot otherwise be honoured: neither doe we iudge and condemne those that doe vse it, being free from superstition, and grounded in knowledge, and carefull not to giue offence: for superstitious and offensiue ignorance is not in any case to be defended. Fifthly, this outward reuerence to the name of Iesus was first taken vp amongst Christians, because of all other names it was most detested and scorned of the Pagans and Iewes: and therefore they did the more honour it. But now there is greater danger of popish superstition in abusing holy things, then of prophane Paganisme in vtterly contemning them; and therefore there is not such necessarie and iust occasion of vsing this externall gesture now, as was in former times: It was not vsed of necessitie then, much lesse now.

Synod. Magunt. in cap. 59. it was thus decreed: *Pari religione ad nomen salutaris nostri D. Iesu Christi, similiter ad Euangelium, &c.* Let men with like deuotion at the name of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ, as likewise at the Gospell, the *Magnificat, Benedictus, Nunc dimittis, Gloria in excelsis, Gloria patri*, and other parts of the diuine seruice, so compose themselues by bowing the knee, vncouering the head, and the like gesture of the whole bodie, as they may seeme to haue their minde occupied in those things that are done. I note out of this decree three things: first, that they should bow at the name of Christ, as well as when Iesus is named. Secondly, that the like reuerence should bee vsed when as other Psalmes are sung, and when mention is made of the Father, and the holy Ghost, as in the *Gloria patri*. Thirdly, that this gesture should not bee done in reue-

rence to names, words, or syllables so pronounced, but onely to declare our attention. Thus then we see that this superstitious custome in bowing to the name of Iesus onely, is contrarie euen to their owne popish Canons and decrees. The like thing also was decreed *Synod. Augustan. sæp.* 43.

To this effect also *Gregor. 10. sext. decretal. lib. 3. tit. 23. c. 3. Quandocunque recolitur &c.* Wheresoeuer that glorious name is rehearsed, *cordis genua flectant*, let them bow the knees of their heart, which at the least let them testifie by the inclination of the head. So then the reuerence of the heart is more requisite, when Iesus is named, then the gesture of the bodie.

THE SIXT QVESTION, CONCERNING Temples and Churches.

THis question hath diuers parts: First, of the forme and situation of Churches. Secondly, of the end and vse of Churches. Thirdly, of their ornaments. Fourthly, of the dedication of Churches. Fiftly, of things hallowed and consecrated for Churches.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE SITVAtion of Churches.

The Papists.

51. Error. THe Churches and Temples of Christians (say they) are most conueniently and haue been of ancient time builded toward the East, *Bellarmine libro tertio, capite tertio, de sanctis.*

Argum. 1. Paradise was built in the East, Gen. 2. 8. and therefore wee ought to pray that way, for desire we haue to our countrie.

Ans. First, Paradise was then Eastward vnto *Moses* and the Israelites being in the Wildernes, when he wrote this storie: but it cannot be East to al christian nations: for Paradise being planted in Eden, which was part of Mesopotamia, must needes be West to the Persians, South to the Scythians and Tartarians, North to the Æthiopians: wherefore this reason is not generall for all Churches in Christian nations. Secondly, it skilleth not where that earthly Paradise is scituate: our heauenly Paradise is in heauen, which is euery where open to all true beleeuers.

Argum. 2. We looke for Christ to come in the East to iudgement, therefore wee pray toward the East: *As the lightning shineth from the East to the West, so shall the comming of the Sonne of man be*, Matth. 27. 24. Therefore he shall appeare toward the East, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Ans. First, by that similitude of the lightning, the suddennes of his appearing, not the place is declared. Secondly, it is great presumption to define that which the Scripture hath not reuealed: Christs comming is onely generally set downe, he shall come in the clowdes, Matth. 24. 30. And wee shall be caught vp in the clowdes, 1. Thessal. 4. 17. There is no particular description of the place.

The Protestants.

TO vs it is no matter, which way Churches are builded, wee may turne our selues in prayer as well toward any one part of the heauens, as another: Neither do we refuse to pray in Churches builded toward the East. But that our Oratories and places of prayer ought rather to be builded that way, then any other; out of the Scripture it cannot bee proued, and wee hold it as meere superstitious opinion.

Argum. 1. S. *Paul* exhorteth men euery where to lift vp pure hands, 1. Tim. 2. 8. He saith, In euery place, without exception, whether toward the East or the West, or whersoeuer.

Argum. 2. If any place were more daungerous then other to pray in, it is not so safe, and perhaps more perilous to pray toward the East: for Idolaters were wont to turne them toward the East, and to worship the Sunne rising, Ezech. 8. 17. And for this cause the holy place in the Tabernacle was toward the West, Exod. 26. 27. And it was the custome of the Iewes to pray Westward, least they should be entised to worship the Sunne rising in his strength. And therefore the Iesuite maketh but a bad argument: The Iewes prayed toward the West: *Ergo*, Christians must pray toward the East: nay, rather contrarie, because they turned their back to the East, for feare of Idolatrie; Christians, if any place were to be regarded more then other, ought vpon the same ground also to follow the same custome, for as much as all men by nature are prone to Idolatrie: and the reason of their so praying, seemeth rather to bee morall, then ceremoniall. This I say not, as though I commended the Iewes superstitious praying toward the West, but only to shew that they haue better reason for their custome, then our aduersaries haue for their superstitious turning toward the East. But to Christians all places are alike.

Augustine saith, *Cum quis quærit orationem, collocet membra, sicut ei occurrit*: If any man bee desirous to pray, let him place his bodie, as occasion serueth: he saith not toward the East, or toward the West, *ad Simplician. lib. 2. quæst. 4.*

Concil.

Concil. Conſtantinop. 6. cap. 7. Singulis diebus quiſque duabus vicibus oret, mane & veſpere, &c. Euerie day let euery man pray twice, morning and euening: if he bee in his iourney, or in the woods, or fields, whereſoeuer the morning and euening houre findeth him, ſo let him doe: knowing that God is euery where preſent. If God bee euery where preſent, then as well in the Weſt, or any other part of heauen, as in the Eaſt: therefore it skilleth not which way a man turneth himſelfe in prayer.

Walter Brute holy confeſſor hath ſealed this truth, who ſaith; It is the cuſtome of Necromancers to turne their face to the Eaſt, as to a place more apt for their prayers: As *Balaam* being hired to curſe the Iraelites, when he could not accompliſh his purpoſe in one place, remoued to another, &c. *Fox* pag. 497. col. 2. It is not ſeemely therefore for Chriſtians in their prayers to imitate the ſuperſtitious manner of the Heathen, in preferring the Eaſt before the Weſt, or one place before another.

AN APPENDIX OF THIS PART, CONCERNING the forme and faſhion of Churches.

The Papiſts.

THey would haue their Churches to be built as *Salomons* Temple was, which conſiſted of three parts: there was firſt the porch or court for the people; then the holy place where the Altar ſtood, and the Prieſts offered ſacrifice; and laſt of all the moſt holy place, where the Arke and Mercie ſeate were placed. So they haue the Church porch, then the bodie of the Church, and aboue that, their Sanctuarie, as they call it, or the Queere or Chauncell, which was ſeparated from the reſt, by ſteps or ſtaires, hangings or curtaines, and other partitions. And here muſt ſtand their Altar, *Bellarm. lib. 3. de cultu Sanctor. cap. 3.* 53. Error.

The Proteſtants.

COncerning the faſhion and forme of Churches, and the diuiſions and partitions within, wee will not much contend, ſo theſe conditions be obſerued: Firſt, that all ſuperſtition bee auoided, in making one place of the Church holier then the reſt, wherein the Papiſts mightily offend; for the Queere or Chauncell was for their Prieſts and ſingers, the other part of the Church for lay men, they were not to enter into that holy place: and thus according to the places, they deuided the congregation: as though one part were more holie then the other. The people alſo were made to beleeue, that to be buried in the Chauncell, but eſpecially vnder the Altar, was more auaileable for the dead, then to be buried in the Church. But where learne they that our Churches ought to haue a Sanctuarie as the Iewiſh Temple had? that was an euident type, and is now accompliſhed in our Sauiour Chriſt, who is now entred into the heauens, as the high Prieſt then entred into the holy place to make attonement for the people, Heb. 9. 24. This therefore is very groſſe, to reuiue and renue againe Iewiſh types and figures: as their owne ordinarie gloſſe ſaith, *De quatuor conciſ. primitiua Eccleſia: Externi ritus & ceremonia legis, quia hæc fuerunt vmbra Chriſti tum venturi & ipſorum cum, ideo adueniente veritate Euangelica, illicita facta ſunt & euanuerunt:* The externall rites and ceremonies of the law, becauſe they were a ſhadow of Chriſt to come and of his myſteries, therefore the truth of the Goſpell being come, are made vnlawfull, and vaniſhed away. *Salomons* Temple then, with the Sanctuarie and prieſthood thereof, which were ſhadowes of things to come, are no preſidents or patternes for Chriſtians to follow.

But if herein notwithſtanding they will imitate the building of *Salomons* Temple, to haue a Sanctuarie, why doe they not alſo build toward the Weſt, as the Temple was? why bring they not their Altar downe into the bodie of the Church? for in their holy place there was no Altar. And indeede, Altar we acknowledge none, as afterward ſhall be proued. But we ſee no reaſon why the Communion Table may not bee ſet in the bodie of the Church, as well as in the Chauncell, if the place be more conuenient and fit to receiue the Communicants. But I pray you, why is your Altar rather ſet in your Sanctuarie, then the Font or Baptiſterie? they are both Sacraments, as well Baptiſme as the Lords Supper: why ſhould one be preferred, as holier then the other?

Secondly, all things in the Church ought to be done vnto edifying; and therefore wee allow no ſuch partitions, as doe hinder the edifying of the people, and exclude them from hearing; as in popiſh Churches the Prieſt is pued or mued vp by himſelfe a great way off, that his voyce can hardly bee perceiued of the people. The Miniſter is ſo to ſtand and turne himſelfe, as he may bee beſt heard and vnderſtood of the people: as *Ezra* had a pulpit of wood to ſtand in when he read the law, Nehem. 8. 4.

Auguſtine thus writeth, *Cum Epiſcopus ſolus intus eſt, populus & orat cum illo, & quaſi ſubſcribens ad eius verba reſpondet, Amen:* While the Biſhop or Paſtor prayeth within, the people both prayeth together with him: and ſubſcribing to his words, anſwereth, Amen. By this it appeareth, that though in *Auguſtines* time the Miniſter had a place for himſelfe (as it is meete he ſhould) yet he ſo diſpoſed

diſpoſed himſelfe, that his prayer was heard of all the people: for otherwiſe how could they pray with him, and ſubſcribe or giue aſſent to his words?

THE SECOND PART, OF THE END and vſe of Churches.

THis part hath three ſeuerall points. Firſt, whether the Churches of Chriſtians are built to offer ſacrifice in. Secondly, whether they be in themſelues places more holy then others. Thirdly, whether they may be dedicated to Saints.

THE FIRST POINT OR ARTICLE, WHEther our Churches are for ſacrifice.

The Papiſts.

54 Error. THe principall end of Churches is for the ſacrifice of Chriſtians, and in that reſpect they are truly called Temples: they are not onely for prayer, the preaching of the word, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, but chiefly for the externall ſacrifice of the Maſſe, *Bellarm. cap. 4.*

Argum. 1. The Churches of Chriſtians haue Altars, therefore ſacrifices: that they haue Altars, he thus proueth: Firſt, 1. Cor. 10. 21. You cannot bee partakers of the Lords table, and the table of diuels. By the table here is meant the Altar; for the table of the Heathen was their altar, wherein they ſacrificed to their Idols.

Anſ. Firſt, a table is one thing, an altar another: and very vnproperly is an altar called a table: this place in any wiſe mans iudgement maketh more againſt them then with them. Secondly, Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh not here of the ſacrifices of the Heathen nor of their altars, but of the feaſts which they made in their Idolatrous Temples, which was done vpon tables, of ſuch ſacrifices as had been offered to Idols: vnto the which feaſts S. *Paul* forbiddeth Chriſtians to come, as it appeareth in the reſt of the chapter, and more plainly, chap. 8. 10.

Argum. 2. Heb. 13. 10. We haue an altar, of which they haue no power to eate that ſerue at the Tabernacle: That is, the altar whereon Chriſts bodie is offered, *Bellar. Rhemiſt. in hunc locum.*

Anſ. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh expreſſely of participation of the ſacrifice of Chriſts death, (as it is manifeſt in the two verſes next following) which is by a Chriſtian faith, and not in the Sacrament onely, whereof none can be partakers that remaine in the ceremoniall obſeruations of the Leuiticall ſacrifices: For the Apoſtle ſpeaketh manifeſtly, verſ. 12. of the ſuffering of Chriſt without the gate: Chriſt therefore is the altar, yea our Prieſt and ſacrifice too. Further, you abuſe this place to proue your materiall popiſh altars, which are many: but the Apoſtle ſaith, we haue an altar, ſpeaking of one. This expoſition *Richard Woodman* holy Martyr hath ſealed, that Chriſt is the true altar wheron euery true Chriſtian ought to come and offer, he proueth by the conference of these two places of the Goſpell, Matth. 5. 23. *If thou bringeſt thy gift to the altar, and remember that thy brother hath ought againſt thee, &c.* Likewiſe, Matth. 18. *Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midſt*: whereſoeuer then people are gathered together in Chriſts name, there is he in the midſt; and where he is, there is the Altar; ſo that wee may bee bolde to come and offer our gift, *Fox* pag. 1991. col. 2.

The Proteſtants.

THe Churches of Chriſtians are the houſes of prayer, made to that end, that they ſhould come together to heare the word of God read and preached, receiue the Sacraments, and offer vp their ſpirituall ſacrifices of praiſe and thankſgiuing: other externall ſacrifices, or Altars wee acknowledge none.

Argum. 1. The temple of the Iewes was called an houſe of prayer, that is, principally for prayer, Marke 11. 17. *Moſes* was read and preached in their Synagogues, Act. 15. 21. Much more are the Churches of Chriſtians appointed for preaching and prayer, Act. 20. 7. The firſt day of the weeke, which is the Lords day, they came together to breake bread, and *Paul* preached vnto them: *Ergo*, the adminiſtration of the word and Sacraments with prayer, is the chiefe and onely cauſe of the holie aſſemblies of Chriſtians.

Argum. 2. Altars we haue none in our Churches: Saint *Paul* calleth it the Lords table, 1. Corinth. 10. 21. where we receiue the Sacrament of the bodie and blood of Chriſt. And he calleth it bread, which is broken, 1. Cor. 11. 26. But bread is ſet vpon tables, not ſacrificed vpon altars.

Auguſtine alſo calleth it, *Menſam Domini*, the Lords table, *Epiſt.* 59. and *Epiſt.* 50. He ſheweth how cruelly the Donatiſts handled *Maximian* a Catholike Biſhop, beating him with clubs, euen in the Church, *lignis altaris effractis immaniter ceciderunt*, and wounded him with the wood of the Altar, which they had broken downe. Where though he improperly call it an Altar, yet

was

was it a Communion table framed of wood, and made to be remoued, not fastened to the wall, as their popish altars were.

Damasus epistol.4. Chorepiscopi ministerio presbyterorum contenti sint, atque mensæ Domini participes tantummodo existant: Let the locall Bishops be content to minister as Priests, and to be partakers onely of the Lords table: He saith the Lords table, not the Lords Altar.

And that Churches are ordeined for the word of God, prayer, and the sacraments, wee haue euident testimony of Councels. *Synod. Moguntin. cap.40. Templa orationis, diuini cultus & Sacramentorum officinas, &c.* They call our Temples or Churches, the shops of prayer, the diuine worship, and the Sacraments.

Colonien. part.9. cap.13. Consecratur templum, &c. vt ab omnibus pariter conuenientibus Deo laudes soluantur, diuinum verbum audiatur, ac ecclesiastica sacramenta ministrentur: The Church is consecrate, that of all men assembled together, praise should be rendred to God, the word of God heard, and the Sacraments of the Church ministred.

Yet further we haue the testimonie of their owne law, *decret. p.1. distinct.43 c.5. Oratorium hoc sit, quod dicitur, &c.* Let the Oratorie be that, which it is called; neither let any thing els be there done, then that which agreeth to the diuine Ministerie: and in the same place *cap.6. In Oratorio præter verum & psallendi cultum, &c.* In the Oratorie beside singing and praying, let nothing be done, &c. *decret. part.3. distinct.1. c.21. Ioannes: Ecclesias Arrianorum, &c.* The Churches of the Arrians, wheresoeuer you finde them, *Diuinis precibus & operibus consecrate*: Consecrate to diuine prayers, and workes. By these Canons it appeareth, that Churches are especially consecrated and ordayned for prayer.

Master *George Wisebeart* holy Martyr: *Churches should be sustained and vpholden, that the people should be congregate vnto them, there to heare of God: for wheresoeuer is true preaching of the worde of God, and lawfull vse of the Sacraments, vndoubtedly there is God himselfe. Fox.* pag.1170. col.2. This then is the right and proper vse of Churches, as we haue seene.

THE SECOND ARTICLE, WHETHER CHVRCHES are more holy places in themselues.

The Papists.

GOd (they say) rather dwelleth and is present in Churches, then elsewhere: and therefore it is more auaileable for a man, euen to make his priuate prayer in the Church. 55. Error.

Argum.1. The Temple of *Salomon* was ordained euen for the prayers of priuate men: and *Salomon* prayeth vnto God, that they might be heard, 1.King.8.38. So *Anna* prayed in the Tabernacle, 1.Sam.1. And the Apostles went vp to the Temple to pray, Act.3.1. *Ergo*, prayers made in the Temple are more auaileable, *Bellarm. cap.4.*

Answ.1. See what Iewish arguments here are: because the Lord gaue an especiall blessing to his Temple amongst the Iewes, that was the onely place for sacrifices, and also a peculiar priuiledged place for prayer: therefore he will bind and tye himselfe to some certaine place now. But our Sauiour saith cleane contrary vnto the woman of Samaria, *The houre commeth, when ye shall neither in this mountaine, nor in Ierusalem worship my Father*, Iohn 4.21. The prayers and sacrifices of Christians are now no more tyed and limited to places. 2. That was but a type vnto the Iewes, that as then God would be onely heard in his Temple: so his name is now onely truely inuocated and called vpon in his Church.

3 It is falsly alleadged that the Apostles went vp, onely to pray, to the Temple: they went vp at the ninth houre of prayer, when the people were accustomed to goe vnto the Temple, that they might preach the Gospell vnto them.

Argum.2. Daniel praied with his window open Eastward to Ierusalem, where the Temple was, Dan.6. *Anna* departed not out of the Temple, but gaue her selfe to continuall fasting and prayer: *Ergo*, priuate prayers are more auaileable in the Church; *Bellarm. cap.4.*

Answ. First, the argument followeth not from the vse of the Iewish Temple, to the practise of Christians now: for we denie not, but that there was an especiall blessing promised to those that prayed in the Temple of *Salomon*, according to the request which he made at the dedication of the Temple: *If any man pray in this place, then heare thou in heauen.* 1.Reg.8.31. But now the prophecie of *Malachie* is fulfilled, Malachie 1.11. that incense should vnder Christ be euery where offered vnto God: this difference betweene the Temple of the Iewes, and of Christians, *Origen* maketh, *tract.35. in Matth. Vir quidem Iudaicus non dubitat de huiusmodi, &c.* A Iew doth nothing doubt of this, that is, that one place is more holy for prayer then another, but he that is departed from Iewish fables to Christs doctrine, doth say that the place doth not make one prayer better then another.

Secondly, *Daniel* openeth not his window to Ierusalem, in respect of the holinesse of the

place, but to make it knowne, that he prayed to God, that was there worſhipped, and to ſhew his confidence in Gods promiſes for their returne thither: *Anna* alſo continued in the Temple, as being the fitteſt place for her widowes ſtate, and ſolitarie life, being ſequeſtred from all humane encumbrances, and in reſpect of the helpes of religion by the ſacrifices and common prayers; not in regard of any inherent holineſſe there.

The Proteſtants.

WE preferre publike prayers made by the congregation in the Church, before priuate prayers, not becauſe of the place, but in reſpect of the congregation, whoſe prayers ioyntly altogether are more feruent and effectuall, then the prayer of one man: But if wee compare publike prayer with publike, and priuate with priuate, wee doubt not but that the one and the other being made in faith, may as well be heard out of the Church, as in it.

Argum. 1. The promiſe of our Sauiour is generall, *Whereſoeuer two or three are gathered together, I am in the middeſt amongſt them*, Matth. 18. 20. So Saint *Paul, I will that men euery where lift vp pure hands*, 1. Timoth. 2. *Ergo*, they may be heard praying in faith in any place.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of publike prayer, which is done in the Church, as it may appeare by the beginning of the chapter, verſ. 1. *I exhort, that ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions be made, &c.* which is vnderſtood of common and publike prayer; *Bellar. cap. 4.*

Anſ. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh not onely of publike, but of priuate prayer alſo: firſt, becauſe Kings, for whom the Apoſtle would haue interceſſions made, are not onely publikely, but alſo priuately to be praied for. Secondly, the Apoſtle would haue the pray euery where: but in euery place there is not a Church to pray in. Thirdly, it is the ſame, with that the Apoſtle ſaith elſewhere, 1. Theſſal. 5. verſ. 17. *Pray continually*: which is vnderſtood of priuate prayer.

Argum. 2. So our Sauiour ſaith, When thou prayeſt, enter into thy chamber: he ſaith not, go to the Church. *Bellarmine* ſaith, he entereth into his chamber, that prayeth without vaingloire, whether he doe pray ſecretly or openly.

Anſw. Our Sauiours words are plaine without allegorie, for he ſpeaketh of ſhutting the doore of the chamber: and there is a manifeſt oppoſition betweene the Phariſies praying in the corners of the ſtreets, and the frequencie of people, and the others praying in ſecret. And whereas *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that the ſhutting of the doore cannot literally be vnderſtoode, becauſe that Chriſt himſelfe prayed in the mountaines often, but in his chamber wee doe not reade, that he praied: the anſwere is readie: firſt, by ſhutting of the doore Chriſt vnderſtandeth praying in ſecret, as it is in the text, *God, which ſeeth in ſecret, ſhall reward thee openly*: Secondly, no maruell, if Chriſt is not read to ſhut the doore, for he had no *houſe, nor place, where to reſt his head*: Thirdly, in that Chriſt praied in the mountaine, but in the Temple he prayed not, but preached, Luk. 21. 37. it teacheth vs, that euery where our praiers are acceptable vnto God.

Argum. 3. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, that vnder the Goſpell, neither in that mountaine, nor in Ieruſalem God will be worſhipped, but in ſpirit and truth, Iohn 4. 21. *Ergo*, the worſhip of God is not tied to any place.

Bellarmine anſwereth, Chriſt ſpeaketh not of the place, but of the manner of worſhip: that is, that henceforth God would not be worſhipped, after the manner of the Samaritanes and Iewes: for afterward the Apoſtles praied in the temple at Ieruſalem, *Bellarm. cap. 4.*

Contra. Firſt, our Sauiour ſpeaketh both of the place and manner: for ſo the woman propoundeth the queſtion of the place of worſhip, verſ. 20. *Our Fathers worſhipped in the mountaine, and ye ſay that in Ieruſalem, &c.* And our Sauiour anſwereth her accordingly, fitly, and appertinently to the matter: for otherwiſe the anſwere ſhould not be fitting, if the woman ſhould aske one thing, and Chriſt anſwere another. Secondly, *Bellarmine* ignorantly diſtinguiſheth that, which is not to be diſtinguiſhed, for to be addicted to a certaine place of praier, is of, or belonging to the manner of praier: wherefore, Chriſt comprehendeth both in one ſpeech, that though praier afterward might be made both in the mountaine, and at Ieruſalem, yet they ſhould not pray, with that opinion of holines in the place, as before; as the Iewes and Samaritanes did.

Lib. ſententiar. Auguſt. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quid ſupplicaturus Deo locum ſanctum requiris? volens in Templo orare, in te ora: & ita age ſemper, vt Dei Templum ſis, ibi enim Deus exaudit vbi habitat*: When thou art about to pray, what needeſt thou to go to any ſacred place? wouldeſt thou pray in the Temple or Church? ſee that thou be the Temple of God, and there the Lord will ſooneſt heare where he dwelleth.

Bernard hath an excellent ſpeech of this matter: *Habent ſanctitatem, ſed propter corpora veſtra, &c.* Your Churches are holie, becauſe of your bodies: as your ſoules are holie, becauſe of the ſpirit that dwelleth in you; your bodies holie, becauſe of your ſoules; ſo this houſe is holie becauſe of your bodies: not in themſelues therefore are they holie, &c.

Concil. Conſtantin. 6. cap. 7. Singulis diebus quiſque duabus vicibus oret, &c. Euery day let euery man pray twice, morning and euening; in the Church, if he be in the Church: but he that is in his iourney, or vpon any occaſion in the woods or fields, whereſoeuer the morning or euening ſeaſon

ſeaſon findeth him, let him pray there, knowing that God is euery where preſent. Euery place therefore hath Gods preſence, and therefore is alike in it ſelfe ſanctified for prayer.

Gangreſ. Concil. in ſubſcriptione. Omnem locum edificatum in nomine Dei honoramus, & congregationem in Eccleſia factam ob vtilitatem communem recipimus: We do honour euery place built in the name of the Lord, and do reuerence or receiue the congregation or aſſembly made in the Church, for the common vtilitie. Churches then are holy places and to be reuerenced, becauſe of their holy vſe, and for the holy aſſemblies there made: the people aſſembled for diuine exerciſes make the place holy, not the place the people. As it is ſaid of the Iſraelites, *Non propter locum gentem, ſed propter gentem Dominus locum elegit:* God did not chooſe the nation for the place, but the place for the nations ſake; *Concil. Aquiſgran. lib. 2. cap. 24.*

Likewiſe, *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 43. leg. 2. Locus, in quo ſepelitur corpus, efficitur religioſus:* The place is made religious, or holy for the buriall of the dead. If the preſence of the dead make the place holy, much more the aſſemblies of the liuing: wherefore the place is not holy of it ſelfe, but becauſe of the preſence.

Decret. 2. 2. cauſ. 13. qu. 2. c. 15. Iuxta altare nemo ſepeliatur, That no man ſhould bee buried neere to the Altar. But if there were an inherent holines in the Altar, it were an iniurie to the dead to barre them from the more holy place.

I cannot here omit the notable ſentence of *Origen: Locum ſanctum in terris non requiro poſitum, ſed in cordibus, &c.* I doe not ſeeke an holy place in the earth, but in the heart: the holy place is rather ſo to be taken, *quàm ſi putemus ſtructuram lapidum, &c.* then to thinke, that the building of inſenſible ſtones is the holy place, *Hom. 5. in Leuit.*

Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr hath ſealed this truth: Chriſt taking away the difference of places, will be worſhipped in euery place: Neither is there in his kingdome one place holy, another prophane, but all places are indifferent, neither canſt thou more heartely and better beleeue, truſt, and loue God in the Temple at the Altar, in the Churchyard, then in thy barne, kitchin, vineyard, bed, &c. And to be ſhort, the Martyrs of Chriſt haue honoured him in darke dungeons and priſons. *For* pag. 1254. col. 1.

THE THIRD ARTICLE, WHETHER CHVRches and Temples may be dedicated to Saints.

The Papiſts.

THey nothing doubt, but as Churches may bee conſecrated, and dedicated to the honour of God, ſo they may be alſo vnto Saints. 56. Error.

Argum. 1. The Temple of *Salomon* was not only built for ſacrifices and praier, but for the Arke of God alſo: as *Dauid* ſaith to *Nathan:* Now I dwell in an houſe of Cedar trees, and the Arke of God remaineth within curtaines, 2. Sam. 7. 2. But there is as great honour, yea and greater, due to the reliques of Saintes: *Ergo*, it is lawfull to build Temples vnto them; *Bellarmine capite quarto.*

Anſ. 1. When you haue a commaundement to build Churches for reliques, as they had to build a Temple for the Arke, ye may be bold to doe it.

2. To build a Temple for the Arke, was all one as to build an houſe for the Lord: for it was the Mercie ſeate of God: it pleaſed the Lord to dwell betweene the Cherubims, there to ſhew euident tokens of his preſence. And whereas *Dauid* conſulted to build an houſe for the Arke, the Lord doth thus anſwere him by his Prophet: Shalt thou build me an houſe for my dwelling? *ver. 5.* So the Temple was made in the honour of God, being made for the Arke. It was all one, for the Arke to dwell there, and the Lord himſelfe to dwell there. This argument therefore maketh nothing for them.

The Proteſtants.

TO build Churches and religious houſes in the name and honour of Saints, and to make them Patrones and procectors of thoſe places, and there to call vpon them, and make prayers vnto them, all which is defended by our aduerſaries, we hold it vtterly vnlawfull, as tending to manifeſt impietie, and idolatrie.

Argum. 1. No diuine worſhip is to be giuen to Saints, therfore no Churches to be made in their names: for it is part of the diuine worſhip to haue Temples.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Nos non Martyribus Templa, ſacerdotia aut ſacra conſtituimus, quoniam non ipſi, ſed Dei eorum nobis Deus eſt:* We doe not ordaine Temples, Prieſthoods, or ſacrifices for Martyrs: for not they, but their God, is both their God and ours. None therefore is to haue a Temple but God. But marke I pray you their diſtinction. They ſay, that Religious houſes as they are Temples, are onely conſecrated to God, but as they are *Baſilicæ*, palaces, ſumptuous buildings, the ſelfe ſame Churches may be dedicate to Saints. Like as (ſaith he) one and the ſame altar of ſtone, as it is an altar De ciuitate Dei, lib. 8. cap. vlt.

altar is conſecrated to God: and it may be alſo the tombe of ſome Martyr, and ſo alſo dedicate to the remembrance of the Martyr, *Bellarm. cap. 4.*

Anſ. If one and the ſame Church may be conſecrate both to God and to ſome Saint beſide, I pray you who is the principall patrone of that Church; God or the Saint? You will ſay, I am ſure, God is. But I will prooue the contrarie, becauſe it hath the name of the Saint: It is called by the name of Saint *Peter*, Saint *Paul*, or ſome other, not by the name of God. Thus they are not contented to make Saints Gods fellowes, but will euen thruſt him out of place, giuing vnto Saints the honour of Gods houſe.

Secondly, the inſtance or example of the altar, which he alleageth, cannot ſerue his turne. Firſt, ſuch altars of ſtone to be ſacrificed vpon are not agreeable to the times of the Goſpell, the Church hauing alwaies of ancient time vſed tables, not altars, as I haue ſhewed before out of Saint *Auguſtine, error. 54.* And *Origen* thus witneſſeth of his times, *Veniente principe ſacerdotum, &c.* The prince of prieſts being come, the prieſt in figure ceaſed, &c. the temple made of ſtones is deſtroyed, to giue place to the temple made of liuely ſtones: *effoſſum eſt altare, quod erat deorſum, &c.* the altar below was broken downe, becauſe the heauenly altar had appeared, *Tract. 11. in Matth.* Wherefore if Communion tables were in vſe, not altars, they could not ſerue for Tombes or Sepulchers. Secondly, the vſe of altars being admitted, yet they ought not to be made places of buriall: *Dist. par. 2. cauſ. 13. qu. 2. c. 15. Prohibendum eſt ſecundum maiorum inſtituta, &c.* We forbid according to the decrees of our elders, that none be buried in the Church, *prope altare verò*, but neere vnto the altar in no caſe. Thirdly, though it were a lawfull place for buriall vnder the altar, yet cannot the ſame place be conſecrate to the honour both of God and the Martyr; ſeeing God will not part ſtakes with any, or deuide his honour.

Thirdly, this ridiculous diſtinction, betweene a Temple, and a *Baſilica*, or palace, is contrarie to antiquitie: *Cod. lib. 8. tit. 12. leg. 20. Baſilicam inauratam nullius imaginis obumbratione fuſcari, &c.* We forbid, that the *Baſilica* be obſcured with the ſhadowing forth of any image. This law admitteth not the image of any in the Church; how then can the Church be conſecrate to any Martyr, as patrone, whoſe image is not ſuffered to be there? Here then, *Baſilica*, is taken for a temple dedicate to the honour of God. And in the Councell of Wormes, Can. 48. it is forbidden, *vt nulla baſilica*, that no *Baſilica*, that is, Church, be dedicate in the name of the dead: *Ergo*, not of Saints departed.

See alſo what one of your owne writers ſaith: *Loca publica, &c. oratoria, tum Dominica Latini, tum baſilica & eccleſia Graeci:* The publike places of prayer are called Oratories and the Lords houſe of the Latines, of the Greekes *Baſilica*, &c. So that the one name of *Temple* is the Latine, the other of *Baſilica* is the Greeke, *Eſſene. in 1. Timoth. 39. b.* Thus doth it appeare how full of triſling the Ieſuite is in his ſophiſticall diſtinctions.

Argum. 2. How names are to be giuen to places, wee cannot better learne, then of the ancient founders of names, the holy Patriarkes: As *Abraham*, Geneſ. 22. 14. calleth the mountaine *Iehouah-jireh*, The Lord hath ſeene. So *Iacob* giueth holy names to the place where he met the Angels, Geneſ. 32. 2. and where he wreſtled with the Angell, verſ. 31. They, as wee ſee, gaue holy and reuerent names vnto places, not made peculiar for Gods ſeruice, but onely for ciuill vſe for the places to be called and knowne by: how much more ought Churches and houſes of God to bee called by his name?

We therfore conclude, that Churches ought not to be erected in Saints names, to worſhip them thereby, and make them our Patrones, Mediators, and preſenters of our prayers: for this were great Idolatrie: Euen like as the Heathen called their Temples by the names of their Idols, *Veſtæ, Iupiter, Dianæ*, and the like: Yet we refuſe not to call our Churches by the names of Saints, as they haue been called of olde, becauſe wee are not inuentors of names and termes, which inured by continuall cuſtome can hardly bee left. We vſe them onely as ciuill termes to diſtinguiſh places by: if any otherwiſe vſe them, for any religious purpoſe, they doe amiſſe. And yet we denie not, but that the names of holie men may be ſafely remembred, by thankeſgiuing vnto God for ſuch excellent inſtruments, and ſetting before our eyes their good example. And concerning the names which haue been ſuperſtitiouſly giuen in times paſt vnto Churches and other places (though it were to be wiſhed, that they neuer had been ſo giuen) yet now we vſe them (ſetting apart all ſuperſtition) as ciuill names of difference, as S. *Luke* deſcribeth the ſhip of Alexandria, wherein they were carried, whoſe badge (ſaith he) was *Caſtor and Pollux*, Act. 28. 11. In a ciuill matter of deſcription, he refuſeth not to vſe the names of the Heathen Gods. *Auguſtine* alſo giueth a good rule concerning ſuch names. He ſpeaketh of the names of daies, which were called after the names of Heathenish Idols, as the 4. day in the weeke, which wee call Wedneſday, was then called, and is yet in the Latine tongue, *Dies Mercurij*, Mercurie his day. *Sic dicitur a paganis & à multis Chriſtianis, ſed nolumus vt dicant, & vtinam corrigantur: melius de ore Chriſtiano tunc loquendi eccleſiaſticus procedit:* So is it called of the Heathen, and of many Chriſtians, but I would

In Pſal. 93.

not

not haue them called ſo, and I wiſh they were amended: For a Chriſtian kind of ſpeaking beſt becommeth a Chriſtian. *Sed ſi quem forte conſuetudo contraxerit, &c. ſciat illos omnes homines fuiſſe.* But if cuſtome preuaile with a man to to ſpeake, let him vnderſtand that all they were but men whom the Heathen take for Gods.

So ſay we, it were to be wiſhed, that we had names voide of all ſhew of ſuperſtition: but ſeeing for our ſpeaking we muſt be ruled by cuſtome, let vs know that thoſe Saints, by whoſe names places are called, are no Gods, nor Gods fellowes, nor patrones, or Mediators for vs, not any way to be worſhipped: but they are the fellow-ſeruants of all faithfull Chriſtians, to be reuerenced with a Chriſtian dutie of loue, not a religious worſhip of ſeruice.

Let vs ſee the conſent of antiquitie: *Concil. Gangrenſ. can. 5. Eccleſiæ domus Dei, &c.* The Church is called the houſe of God: *Ergo*, not of any Saint. And in the ſubſcription of the Councell: *Omnes locos in nomine Dei ædificatos honoramus:* Wee doe honour euery place built in the name of God. It was the generall vſe of thoſe times, onely to build Churches to the honour, and in the name of God.

Concil. Vormatienſ. can. 48. Vt nulla baſilica ſub defunctorum conſtructa nomine dedicetur: That no Church built in the name of the dead, or departed this life, ſhould bee dedicated. But the Saints were ſometime liuing, and now are dead to the world, &c.

The holy Martyrs haue ſealed this truth: *Iohn Lambert* alleageth out of *Auguſtine*, that the Angels will not we ſhould build any Churches in reuerence of them, but would that with them wee ſhould honour the originall maker and performer of all. *Fox* pag. 1108.

Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr: To build a Church in the honour of our Ladie, or any other Saint is in vaine, they cannot helpe vs. *Fox* pag. 1247. col. 2. artic. 10.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE ADORning and beautifying of Churches.

The Papiſts.

57. Error. THe Temples and Churches of Chriſtians, they would haue built in the moſt ſumptuous and coſtly manner; yea, in beautie to exceede the palaces of Princes, with ſiluer, gold, ſilke, velwet, to be decked and adorned, *Bellarm. cap. 6.*

Argum. 1. The Tabernacle of the Iewes was of exceeding beautie: the curtaines thereof, of ſilke; the veſſels, euen to the ſnuffers for the Lampes, were of gold; the Prieſts garment had a breaſtplate of gold, ſet about with precious ſtones: Therefore why ſhould not the Temples of Chriſtians be in like ſort adorned, and ſet forth? as *Iſay* propheciеth, that the Glorie of Lebanon ſhall come, the Firre, Oliue, and Boxe tree to beautifie my Sanctuarie, Iſay 60. 13. which is literally to be vnderſtood, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſ. First, if the Ieſuite had turned his argument and reaſoned thus: the Temple of the Iewes was gorgeous, and ſumptuous, and beautifull to the eye: therefore Churches of Chriſtians ought not to be ſo now; he had reaſoned much better: for their ſeruing of God was externall, now God will be worſhipped in ſpirit. All things were done vnto them in types and figures: the outward glorie of their Temple was a liuely figure of the ſpirituall beautie of the Church of Chriſt. Secondly, where you would haue the prophecie of *Iſay* to bee literally vnderſtood, you haue made a good argument for the Iewes: for then they ſhall haue their Sanctuarie reſtored againe, which the Prophet ſpeaketh of by name. Thirdly, if that place of *Iſay* haue a literall ſenſe, why not that alſo, 54. 12. I will lay thy ſtones with Carbuncle, and thy foundation with the Saphires: I will make thy windowes of Emeraulds, and thy gates ſhining ſtones? Say alſo that this ſhall be literally performed: and ſo according to this groſſe ſenſe, the propheeie of *Haggie* ſhall alſo bee fulfilled; The glorie of the laſt houſe ſhall bee greater then the firſt, Hagg. 2. verſ. 10. But I thinke you neuer ſaw Church built in this goodly manner, in beautie ſurpaſſing the Iewiſh Temple, nor neuer ſhall.

In Pſal. 107. Prin. 3.

Argum. 2. The widow is commended for caſting into the offringes of God all ſhee had, Luk. 21. 3. The woman that beſtowed the precious ointment vpon Chriſt, is ſaid to haue done a good worke: *Ergo*, by the ſame reaſon it is a good worke to beſtow ſumptuouſly vpon Churches, which are the houſes of God, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. First, the argument doth not follow, for the bodie of Chriſt is more worth then ſtones, and the offrings of the Altar of more value, then the tiles of the Church: if extraordinarie coſte be fitte to be beſtowed vpon the one, it is not ſeemely for the other. Secondly, the widow caſt in all ſhe had, and would ye haue men alſo to beſtow all they haue vpon ſtone walles? Chriſts example is extraordinarie, and it was once done for his buriall: how then can you draw an extraordinarie Preſident to an ordinarie practiſe?

Apolog. Eccleſ. anglic.

The

The Protestants.

THat the Churches of Christians, and places of prayer, ought decently to be kept; yea, and with conuenient cost and seemely beautie to be built and repaired, and Church vessels with other necessarie furniture, to be of the best, not of the worst sort, we doe both commend it, and practise it: the Ciuill law saith, *Ornare sepulchrum, non est prohibitum*: It is not forbidden to adorne a sepulcher. *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 43. leg. 7.* much lesse a Church. And we learne by the example of our Sauiour (that cast out of the Temple sellers of doues and money changers, and would not suffer them to carrie vessels through it, Marke 11.15.16.) that the house of prayer ought to be reuerently regarded: but yet it followeth not, that such immoderate and excessiue cost should be bestowed vpon the walles of the Church and Idols, to garnish and beautifie Idolatrie, and poore people in the meane time to want. A Matrone ought to go comely and decently apparelled, though not tricked vp with the iewels and ornaments of an harlot.

Argum. 1. Our Sauiour Christ reproueth the Scribes and Pharisies, because they drew the people to be good vnto the Altar, and to bestow largely vpon them, and so leaue their parents helpelesse, Matth. 15.5. And he often doth inculcate that golden saying, I will haue mercie and not sacrifice: it is better to succour the liuing temples of God, which are the bodies of his poore children, then to bestow superfluous cost vpon dead temples of stone.

Argum. 2. Christ also doth rebuke them, because like hypocrites they did garnish the sepulchres of the prophets, and yet persecuted their doctrine, Matth. 23.29. So all popish Pharisees are worthie of blame, that take greater care in garnishing the temples and tombes of the holy Apostles and Martyres, then they doe in setting forth their holy doctrine, and preaching the Gospell, nay they doe contemne, persecute, and hate that doctrine, for the which those holy men died: so that this prouerbe was very well deuised of them; *In times past we had golden Priests and woden Cuppes, now we haue wooden Priests and golden Cuppes.*

Argum. 3. Christ in the day of iudgement shal condemne the wicked, for omitting the workes of mercie, as Matth. 25. because they did not feed and cloath the poore, &c. he saith not, because they did not bestow gold and siluer vpon Churches.

Bellarmine answereth, that the lesse sinners are there remembred, whereby it is gathered that the greater sinners shall be much more punished: Christ saith not, Go into hel fire because ye oppressed the poore, but because ye did not cherish them: yet if this be a sinne, the other machore; so if he be damned, that gaue no almes, much more he that did not build, or repaire the Church *cap. 6. in fine.*

Contra. First, Is it true then in popish diuinitie, that hee that buildeth not a Church, that is able, shall be damned? if this were so, or men could be so perswaded, wee should haue Churches vnow, and too many: and I thinke many a pope Catholike man amongst themselues, had not bin a builder of Churches. Againe, it is most absurd to say or thinke, that not to repaire a Church with superfluous cost, is a greater sinne, then not to refresh a man readie to die: for the one is a liuing member of Christ, the other is but a dead stone: he may be ashamed to broach such trash. Thirdly, it is no sinne at all not to bestow princely cost in garnishing of a Church (for moderate and seemely cost, we speake not against) much lesse a greater sinne.

Augustine exhorting the people to be liberall to their Bishops and Pastors, thus wrieth further: *Forte ecclesiam fabricat, forte vtile aliquid in domo Dei molitur, expectat vt attendas, expectat vt intelligas super egenum.* Perhaps he is in building a Church, and doing some profitable worke in the house of God, he looketh that thou shouldest attend, and consider of his neede. By this appeareth, that Churches were not superfluous costly in *Augustines* time: for nothing was done, but what was thought necessarie and profitable: and the builders (which were then for the most part their Bishops) were not of any great abilitie, to bestow superfluous cost: nay they were not able to finish the necessarie workes, without the benevolence and contribution of the people.

In Psal. 105. part. 2.

Bernard in his time much complayned of the superfluous cost that was bestowed vpon Churches: *Domum Dei decet sanctitudo, qua non tam politis marmoribus, quam ornatis moribus delectatur: & puras magis delicit mentes, quam superaurata parietes:* Holinesse becommeth Gods house, which is rather delighted with vnpolluted manners, then polished marble; with pure wits rather, then painted and gilded walles: *ad milites templi. cap. 5.* Againe saith he: *Omitto oratoriorum immensas altitudines, immoderatas longitudines, &c.* I omitte to speake of the excessiue height of their oratories, the vnreasonable length, the superfluous breadth, the curious paintings: *Quæ dum orantium in se reuerentes afficiunt, impedimus affectum, & mihi quodammodo repræsentant antiquum ritum Iudæorum:* Which while they draw vnto them the sight or aspect of him that prayeth, do hinder his affection, and do seeme to me to represent the old rite of the Iewes: &c. If *Bernard* had liued in these late popish times, I thinke, he should haue been talked withall for this speech: he saith contrarie to *Bellarmine*, who vntruely affirmeth, that the gorgeous ornaments of Churches do stirre vp deuotion, and not hinder it: whereas S. *Paul* also saith, *We walke by faith, not by sight.* 2. Cor. 5.7. Where-

Apolog. Bernard.

upon

vpon it may bee inferred, that the sight of the eye doth hinder the faith of the heart.

Zepherinus Bishop of Rome thought he had done enough, when he brought glasse vessels into the Church for the vse of the Sacrament, in stead of wooden. But when *Vrbanus* after him, for glasse vessels gaue them siluer, it was then thought, that nothing could be added: but now gold vpon gold, pearles, precious stones, and all the costlines that may be, is thought too little to adorne the popish Masse: Wherein they forget the auncient decree of *Eusebius* Bishop of Rome, *Non in serico panno, aut tinctо, sed puro lineo sacrificium altaris consecretur.* That the sacrifice of the Altar, (for so significantly they called the Sacrament of the Lords bodie) should not be consecrate in silke, or stained or coloured cloth, but in pure and plaine linnen.

Cod. lib.1 tit.5.leg.17. Iust. It is made lawful for the redeeming of captiues, to sel the ornaments, vessels and vestments of the Church: & this reason is giuen, *Quia non absurdum est, animas hominum quibuscunq; vestimentis praferri:* It is not absurd to preferre the soules of men before vessels & vestments whatsoeuer: *Ergo*, it is a better worke to cloth the naked, then to hang a Church, &c.

Likewise *decret. part.2. caus.12.qu.2.cap.70. Aurum sacramenta non quærunt*: The Sacraments need no gold. Against superfluous ornaments there is extant the decree of *Clemens 5. Clementin. lib.5 tit.11.c.1. Deus ad animum sibi ministrantium respicit principaliter, non ad manum*: God chiefly respecteth the mind of him that ministreth, not his hand: neither will he be serued with such vessels and instruments, as are not agreeable to the condition of those, which serue him, &c. Superfluitie, costlines, or curiositie in Church vessels is not seemely, &c. Likewise *extrau. com. lib.1 tit.5. c.1. Ioann.22.* decreed against the begging Friers, *Quod plures campanas*, because they had many belles in their Churches, that from henceforth, they should haue but one: yet of all other superfluous ornaments, some superfluous cost in a ring of bels seemeth to be more tolerable.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE DEDICATION of Churches.

The Papists.

The superstitious dedication of their Churches, with the Annual memories therof, they would warrant by the example of our Sauiour Christ, who was present at the feast of the dedication, which was instituted by *Iudas Mac.* Ioh.10.22. and by his presence allowed it, *Rhem. in eum loc.* 58. Error.

Iacob also consecrated the Altar with oile, before the times of the law, and called it the house of God: & vnder the law *Moses* did consecrate the Tabernacle, & the altar with oile. *Exo.14. Bell.c.5.*

The Protestants.

Ans. First, a thanksgiuing to God for the restitution of the temple after the horrible prophanation therof, is a thing approued by Gods lawe, but it is not necessarie to keepe a yeerely memorie therof: for neither was there any such instituted by *Ezechias*, after the prophanation of the Temple by *Achaz* and *Vrias*; nor by *Iosias*, after the same had been most horribly polluted by *Manasses* and *Amon*; nor by *Zorobabel, Esdras* or *Nehemiah*, after it was reedified, when it had been vtterly destroyed by the Chaldees.

Againe it is most absurd, that by the example of *Iacob*, and *Moses*, he pleadeth for the restitution of Iewish ceremonies: for S. *Paul* saith, these were shadowes of things to come, but the bodie is in Christ, Colos.2.17. The bodie therefore being come, the shadow vanisheth: hee might by the same reason as well bring in Iewish sacrifices, because *Iacob* before the Law, and *Moses* vnder the law offered sacrifices: but herein I refuse not the triall of your owne law, *decret. part.2. caus.11.qu.2.cap.71. Tunc hæc probabantur à Domino, &c.* Then these things were allowed of God (speaking of the ornaments of the Tabernacle) when as the Priests offered sacrifice, &c. all these things went before in figure, &c. So may we say, of oyle, salt, oyntment, hyssope, with other ceremonies of the Iewes: what haue we to do with them now? they were as handmaids to waite vpon the externall sacrifices, which being abolished, they also should cease.

3. Your popish hallowing of Churches hath nothing like vnto it, but ỹ name: for you vse a number of foolish ceremonies, & many of them grosse superstitions, in ỹ dedication of your Churches. First, there are twelue Crosses painted round about in the Church, and twelue burning Lampes set ouer against euery one of them, one against one: hereby (say they) the twelue Apostles are signified, that by the preaching of the Crosse gaue light to the whole world. 2. They vse oyle in annointing their altar, & other vessels, shewing hereby that they are consecrate to holy vses. 3. They sprinkle water, burne incense, set vp Taper light: this sheweth (saith the Iesuite) that the place is consecrate to prayer, & other holy actions. 4. They sprinkle ashes round about the Church, and write in the floore the Greeke & Latine Alphabet from one side of the Church to the other. This betokeneth (say they) the preaching of faith, which is the foundation and ground of al righteousnes, which was first taught in the Greeke & Latine tongue. 5. They beat vpon the Church doore, and call vpon Saints and Angels: that is, (say they) to command Sathan to depart, *Bellar.cap.5.*

First, they offend in the number of their foolish ceremonies, exceeding herein the manner of

the Iewish dedication: so that vnto them it may be said, as *Paul* to the Galatians; How turne you againe to impotent and beggerly rudiments? 4.9.

Secondly, they haue no warrant for their friuolous shadowes and significations: Coloss. 2.17 which are but shadowes of things to come, but the bodie is in Christ: we haue the bodie, what need any more shadowes? Christ will not now be worshipped with Crosses, ashes, characters, candle light, and such apish toyes.

Thirdly, some of these ceremonies are impious, and sacrilegious: the inuocation of Angels and Saints, is a robbing of God of his honour, who onely is to be prayed vnto.

Epistol. 119. *Augustine* saith of such inuentors of newe rites and ceremonies, *Ipsam religionem, quam Deus paucissimis sacramentis liberam esse voluit, oneribus premunt*: They cumber religion with burdensome ceremonies, which the Lorde hath made free with a fewe Sacraments.

Neither hath this ceremonious rite of dedicating Churches, any such signification as the Iesuite setteth downe, to be applied to the materiall Church: but as *Bernard* saith: *In nobis spiritualiter impleri necesse est, quæ in parietibus visibiliter præcesserunt*, It must necessarily be in vs spiritually fulfilled, which visibly is done to the walles: *de dedicat. eccles. serm. 1.*

Concil. Colonien. part. 9. cap. 11. Docendus est populus dedicatione ecclesiæ significari dedicationem Ecclesiæ catholicæ, ac cuiuslibet hominis Christiani, qua dedicatur Deo. The people must be taught, that by dedication of the Church is signified the dedication of the whole Catholike Church, and of euery Christian man, whereby he is consecrate to God.

THE FIFT PART, OF THINGS HALLOWED and consecrate for Churches.

The Papists.

59. Error. THey maintaine their superstitious and popish blessing with the Crosse, the hallowing of wax, fire, palmes, ashes, holy bread, holy water, salt, oyle, and such like: which haue power, as they would beare vs in hand, to driue away diseases and euill spirits, *Rhemist. annot. 2. Tim. 4. fol. 2. 13. Bellarm. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

Argum. 1. First, for the hallowing of these creatures to holy vses, and making of them ritually holy, they alleadge that saying of S. *Paul*, 1. Tim. 4. 5. Euery creature of God is good, and is sanctified by the word of God and prayer: *Ergo*, these creatures may be sanctified to holy vses, as the water also in Baptisme, and bread and wine in the Eucharist: for the Apostle speaketh not here onely of the common benediction of meates, but of a more high and exact applying of creatures to holy vses, *Rhemist.*

Answ. S. *Paul* here speaketh onely of the common and ordinary vse of Gods creatures, and meates and drinkes for euery mans priuate vse: and he sheweth how they are sanctified by the word of God, which permitteth vnto the faithfull the free vse of them; and by prayer: not that they are vncleane by nature, but by pollution of sin; and by this meanes are made holy and cleane. Secondly, we confesse also, that some things set apart for the seruice of God, are more specially called holy, as the Arke, Altar, and Temple: but it is not lawfull to seuer what creatures we will from the common vse, and consecrate them to the seruice of God, but such as are appoynted by his word; as water in Baptisme, and bread and wine in the Lords Supper haue the warrant of Gods word, as none of your popish trumperie haue: neither are these creatures so consecrate holy in themselues, to conferre or impart their holinesse to other things, but are so called in respect of the holy vse, for the which out of the word of God they are appoynted.

Argum. 2. For the efficacie and power of these hallowed things, they thus reason. The bitter water giuen to the adulterous woman caused her thigh to rot, if she were guiltie, otherwise it made her fruitfull, Numb. 5. *Elisæus* healed the bitter water with casting in salt: the Apostles healed the sicke with annoynting them with oyle, *Rhemist. Bellarm. ibid. Ergo*, these sanctified creatures may doe the like.

Answ. First, the bitter water of it selfe had not that power, but by vertue of that oth, with the which the woman was charged. Againe, it hath the warrant of the word, as yours haue not. Secondly, *Elisæus* and the Apostles had the spirit to worke miracles, so haue not you: and they might haue done that they did without any such meanes. Againe, it was common salt, and ordinary oyle which they vsed, not blessed before, after your popish manner.

The Protestants.

FIrst, we hold that no such things ought to be separated for holy vses, because they haue not the warrant of the word of God: for all things that are sanctified, are so sanctified by the word of God and prayer, 1. Timoth. 4. 5. But they haue not the word of God for their warrant, neither doe they vse any prayer of faith, but a superstitious kind of crossing. *Nadab* and *Abihu* were consumed with fire, because they offered straunge fire, not taken from the Altar: that is, they presumed of

of their owne authoritie, without Gods commandement, to consecrate a strange element to Gods seruice, and were punished, Leuit. 10. *Ergo*, it is dangerous without Gods word, to consecrate any such things.

Iterum Cæsarea in præfation. thus wee reade: *Si quid in cæremonijs successerit, ex quo superstitio cuiquam posit, illud tollatur*: If any thing haue growne by the ceremonies of the Church, which may giue occasion of superstition, let it bee remoued. But such are popish rites and ceremonies: *Ergo*, &c.

See the confession of the holy Martyrs: *Iohn Fortune*, being asked what he said to the ceremonies of the Church: answered by the words of our Sauiour Christ, *All things that are not planted by my heauenly father, shall be plucked vp*, Matth. 15. And againe, *In vaine doe men worship me with mens traditions and commaundements*. Christ openly rebuked the Scribes, Pharisees, Priests, for making Gods commaundement of none effect, to support their owne tradition. The Bishop of Norwitch replied; Thou liest, there is not such a word in all the Scriptures, *Fox* pag. 1919. So cunning were these popish Bishops in Scripture.

Concerning the sprinkling and washing with holy water, *Augustine* thus writeth of the same or like custome of washing: *Ne ad ipsum baptismi sacramentum videretur pertinere, multi hoc in consuetudinem recipere noluerunt: nonnulli de consuetudine auferre non dubitarunt*: Many would not receiue that custome, least it should seeme to bee another baptisme: and some haue not doubted cleane to take it away. Epistol. 119. cap. 18.

I will obiect against them a conceit of one of their Popes: *Innocent.* 3. who decreed, that, *Oleum non consecratum, &c.* Oyle not hallowed or consecrated may be mingled with hallowed oyle, in the dedication of Churches; *Decret. Greg. lib.* 3. *tit.* 40. *c.* 3. Thus wee see that they themselues hold not alwaies the consecrating of these toyes necessarie.

Secondly, though such things were rightly hallowed, yet haue they no such power: Christ sheweth the way, whereby euill spirits are chased away; by prayer and fasting, Mark. 9. 29. And therefore to coniure creatures, to expell Sathan, without the word of God, is no better then a kinde of Magicke and enchantment.

Synod. Mogunt in cap. 39. *Pastores sedulò doceant, effectus, qui inde petuntur, non ipsarum rerum efficaciæ, sed diuinæ virtutis operationi, per fortissimi nominis Domini inuocationem tribuendos esse*: Let the pastors diligently teach, that the effects (of these ceremonies of holie bread, holie water, &c.) are not to be ascribed to the efficacie of the things themselues, but to the working of the diuine power, by calling vpon the most powerfull name of God: *Ergo*, these hallowed things haue no such power of themselues.

Thomas Hawkes holy Martyr hath put to his seale: who vpon these words, Act. 19. *God so wrought by the hands of Paul, that there went partlets and napkins from him, &c.* which gaue health; inferreth, that it was God that wrought, not the ceremonies, *Fox* pag. 1588. If these ceremonies wrought not of themselues warranted by the Apostles, much lesse such as are inuented by men.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, OF PILGRIMAGES and Processions.

The Papists.

First, they hold that pilgrimages made to Ierusalem and the holy land, as they call it, to Rome, and to the memories of Saints in other places, to aske and obtaine their helpe, are godly and religious, and to bee much vsed of Christians, *Concil. Trident. sess.* 25. *Bellarm. cap.* 8. The halt and lame went vp to Ierusalem to be healed in the poole of Bethesda, Iohn 5. Certaine Greekes came vp to worship at the feast, Iohn 12. 20. The Eunuch went vp in pilgrimage to Ierusalem, Act. 8. *Ergo*, it is lawfull and requisite, *Rhemist. Bellar. cap.* 8. 60. Error.

Ans. First, when you can proue that such miracles are wrought at the memories of Saints, as the Scripture testifieth of this poole, men may be bold to goe vnto them for their bodily health, as we see there is resort vnto Bathes; but not for any religion. Secondly, the Grecians, that visited Ierusalem, were Iewes that dwelt amongst the Gentiles, or Proselytes, which were bound to visite the Temple at Ierusalem. Thirdly, the Eunuch went not vp in pilgrimage to Ierusalem, but to worship: for there was yet no other knowne place of the world, where God was worshipped.

Secondly, their solemne processions, especially vpon Palme Sunday, with carying the Sacrament about, strawing of rushes, bearing of Palmes, setting vp of boughes, hanging vp rich clothes, the Quire and Queristers singing: they would warrant by that action of our Sauiour Christ, Mat. 21. 8. when he came riding to Ierusalem, and the people strawed their garments in the way, *Rhemist. vnus Mat.* 21. *sect.* 1. 61. Error.

Ans. First, your processions are horrible abusings and prophanations of the Lords institution, who ordained his Supper to bee eaten and drunke, not to bee caried about in procession like an

heatheniſh Idol. Secondly, that which the people and Chriſts diſciples did, they had warrant for out of the Scripture: but who required this theatricall pompe at your hands? The riding of Chriſt vpon an aſſe was before prophecied of, Zachar.9. and the childrens crying out in the temple, Pſalm.8. The cutting downe of Palme branches was a ceremonie belonging to the feaſt of Tabernacles, truly accompliſhed by our deliuerance in Chriſt. But you haue turned the holy myſterie of Chriſts riding to Ieruſalem, to a Maygame, and Pageant play.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, that no places ought to be frequented, or reſorted vnto for religions ſake, or more holines, or for the health of the ſoule: we proue it out of the word of God.

S. *Peter* ſaith, That in euery nation he that feareth God is accepted with him, Act.10.35. Ergo, one nation is as holy as another. And now our Sauiour ſaith, That God will not be worſhipped at Ieruſalem, or in Mount Garrizin, but in ſpirit, and truth, Ioh.4. He therefore that ſeeketh places to worſhip God in, as though he were rather to be found in one place then another, hath left the ſpirituall worſhip.

Auguſtine thus writeth concerning pilgrimage: He wiſheth men to ſeeke them teachers and inſtructors, by whom they might be taught: *Deerat in ea terra, quam incolebas? qua cauſa voluiſti peregrinari?* But is there no teacher in the Countrey where thou dwelleſt? what better cauſe canſt thou haue to trauaile, and goe in pilgrimage to ſeeke one in other countries? *De verbis Apoſtol. cap.7.*

Thus he would haue men to play the pilgrims, not to runne gadding to reliques and Images, but to ſeeke for teachers and inſtructors.

Againſt this ſuperſtitious vſe of pilgrimages it was thus decreed: *Conc.Cabilonenſ. ſub Carolo, can.44.45. Sunt presbyteri, qui negligenter viuentes, in eo ſe purgari à peccatis putant, ſi profectionem arripiant, Romam ſcilicet ſeu Turonem: ſunt quidam laici qui ſe impunè peccare putant, &c.* There be prieſts, who liuing diſſolutely, do thinke themſelues purged from their ſinnes, by going to Rome or Turraine: there be certaine lay men, which thinke they may ſinne without controulement, by reſorting to theſe places to pray: ſome mightie men, which vnder the pretence of going on pilgrimage do oppreſſe the poore: ſome poore men which do it, *vt maiorem habeant mendicandi materiam*, to begge more freely: *Non attendentes quod ait B.Hieronymus, Non Hieroſolymam vixiſſe, ſed Hieroſolymis bene vixiſſe, laudandum eſt:* They marke not what *Hierome* ſaith, it is not prayſe worthy to haue ſeene Ieruſalem, but to haue liued well at Ieruſalem: which ſentence of S. *Hierom* is approued in their decrees. *par.2.cauſ.12.c.71.* We ſee then much hurt, but litle good to come by pilgrimages.

Let vs heare the determination of one of their Popes: *Innocent.3 decret. Gregor. lib.3.tit.34.c. gloſſ. Quia iam impletum eſt verbum Dei dicentis, &c.* Becauſe now the word of Chriſt is fulfilled, ſaying, *The houre ſhall come, and now is, when neither in this mountaine, nor at Ieruſalem, ſhall worſhip the father, &c. Videri poterat, quod non minus in eccleſia tua, quam Orientali terra profuſus oraretionibus*: It might ſeeme, that you might as much profite by your praiers in your owne Church at home, as in the Eaſt Countrie: meaning, that which they call the holy land. Here we haue the determination of a Pope againſt the neceſſitie of pilgrimages, and that warranted by Scripture.

See the confeſſion of holy Martyrs: *William Sweeting* perſecuted to death, for ſaying to his wife, that it were better for her to keepe at home, and attend vpon her buſineſſe, then to goe on pilgrimage, *Fox* pag.818. *Iſabel Morwin*, for ſaying, ſhe would go no more on pilgrimage while ſhe liued, for all Saints (ſaid ſhe) are in heauen, pag.827.col.2. *Thomas Geffrey* perſecuted for ſaying, That true pilgrimage was barefoot to go and viſit the poore, weake, and ſicke; for they are the true Images of God, pag.827.col.1. Miſtreſſe *Cotiſmore*, for ſpeaking theſe words, That if ſhe went to her chamber and prayed there, ſhee ſhould haue as much merite, as though ſhee went to Walſingham in pilgrimage: and that folkes go on pilgrimage more for the greene way, then any deuotion, pag.835.col.2.

Secondly, as touching the popiſh pompous proceſſions, they are both ſuperſtitious, in reuiuing and renewing the Iewiſh ceremonies, ſuch as the feaſt of Tabernacles was, which are all now aboliſhed as ſhadowes by the comming of Chriſt: and they are plainely idolatrous, for they carrie about their breaden god in proceſſion, and make an Idoll of a peece of baked wheat: but Paul ſaith, The Sacrament ought to be receiued with thankſgiuing in the Churches and congregations of Chriſtians, 1.Cor.11.33. not to be caried about to be gazed vpon in the fields. Seemly proceſſions, void of ſuperſtition, which are vſed for ciuill purpoſes, as to maintaine the limits and boundes of townſhips, and withall by the ſight of Gods bleſſing vpon the creatures to be ſtirred vp to thankfulnes, we neither millike nor condemne.

Conc.Colon part.9.cap.8. Vt proceſſiones per agros & campos amplius non peragantur, &c. That proceſſions ſhould be no longer made through the fields, becauſe that by occaſion of ſuch walking, which

which was instituted for the appeasing of God, many sinnes are committed: Wherefore it seemeth better to vs, that these and such like supplications from henceforth should be made within the compasse of the Church. Popish processions, as we see, are heere by a popish Councell abridged. This also hath been the iudgment of the holy Martyrs: *Thomas Spicer*, *Iohn Deny* put to death, for refusing to follow the Crosse in procession, p. 1912. *col. 2. artic. 6. Ralfe Allerton* for refusing to carry the Crosse in procession. p. 2018. col. 1.

AN APPENDIX CONCERNING THE HOLY Land, and holy warres for the same, as they were called.

The Papists.

THey which are but a little acquainted with ancient stories, shall find, that there were neuer in Christendome such bloudy warres, and for so long a time, as those, which were at the instigation of the Popes, taken in hand by christian Princes for the recouery of the holy land, in so much that they were made to beleeue, that it was a meritorious worke: Whereupon King *Richard* the first, calling to minde his rebellion and disobedience to his father, in part of satisfaction, purposed a voyage into the Holy land, as it was called, to redeeme Christs patrimonie from the Infidels. For pag. 235. *Bellarm. de laicis. lib. 3. cap. 16.* For why? they say, it is an Holy land: for if the places of Gods apparition are counted holy, Exod. 3. 5. Ios. 5, 15. much more the places of Christs nature, buriall, passion, and resurrection. Saint *Peter* calleth the place where Christ was transfigured, The holy mount, *Rhemist. 1. Tim. 4. fol. 10.* 61. Error. 2. Pet. 1. 18.

Answ. The places where God appeared in times past, were holy for that time onely of Gods presence, not for euer after: and the mount is called holy in respect of the time, wherein the transfiguration was, not that the holinesse of the place doth alwayes continue: for that place which *Iacob* called *Bethel*, the house of God, Genes. 28. is by the Prophet called *Bethauen*, the house of wickednesse, Ose. 4. 15. because of the idolatries there committed: What was now become of the holinesse of the place? So the mount of Oliues, which for the fruitfulnesse thereof was called *Mons Misebehe*, the mount of oyle; was afterward termed *Mons Maschebuth*: the mountaine of corruption, because of the idolatrie there committed, 2. *Reg.* 23. 13.

This also is *Origens* iudgement of the holinesse of places, *Nec ipsa Ierico locus erat sanctus, &c.* Neither was Ierico an holy place, but because the Prince of Gods warfare was there, it was called holy: The place also where *Moses* stood, was not holy of it selfe, but because the Lord stood with *Moses*, *Praesentia Domini sanctificauerat locum*: The presence of the Lord did sanctifie the place. If then the holy presence made those places holie, they were no longer holy, then they had that presence. Hom. 6. in Ios.

Nonus, actione 4. ex Leontio: Sion tanquam illius ciuitatem, &c. We reuerence Sion, as his citie: Nazareth, as his countrie: Iordane, as his lauer: not worshipping the region it selfe, or the stones, but him that there appeared, and was conuersant, euen Christ our Lord. The land therefore is not holy in it selfe, but it was holy because of Christ, while hee was conuersant there.

The Protestants.

TO warre against the Turkes vpon iust cause, as to seeke to defend our selues from their inuasions, and to maintaine the confines and bounds of Christendome, to deliuer Christians vniustly and cruelly kept in slauerie vnder him, we hold it lawfull: but to wage battaile with him, onely for a superstitious deuotion to the land of Palestina, to recouer it out of his hand, we see no warrant at all for it.

Argum. 1. The euill successe that Christians haue had against them, and the shamefull ouerthrowes that they haue sustained at their hands, doe euidently shewe, that God was not pleased with those superstitious warres. While Princes had a good quarrell, seeking onely to maintaine their owne, and to deliuer Christian countries from the thraldome of the Turkes, God prospered them, as the famous victories of *Scanderbeius*, and *Iohannes Hunniades* obtayned against *Amurathes* the 8. Turkish Emperour, doe notably testifie: but those superstitious and pope-holy warres, though sometimes they had good successe, yet in the end al went to wracke. And as their cause was not good, so neither were the meanes that they vsed: for they brought S. *George*, and S. *Denys* into the field against the Turkes, and left Christ at home. If the Israelites could not be deliuered from the Philistians by the presence of the Arke, but thirtie thousand fell before them, and all because of their sinnes: let not men thinke that popish Saints can defend them, while their liues remaine vnreformed at home.

Argum. 2. That the heathen are not to be prouoked to warre, but vpon iust cause, that is, when they prouoke vs; it appeareth by the example of the Israelites, who as they came from Ægypt, sent vnto the King of Edom and Moab, that they might haue leaue to walke through their land:

but they not graunting so much, yet the people of God offered them no violence, but went a longer iourney about, Iudg. 11.17.

De Ciuitat. Dei lib. 19. cap. 7. *Augustine* saith, *Sapiens gesturus est iusta bella: sed multo magis dolebit iniquorum necessitates existere bellorum*: A wise man will take iust warre in hand: but it more grieueth him that he hath iust cause to warre. And what he meaneth by iust warre, he further sheweth: *Iniquitas partis aduersæ iusta bella ingerit gerenda sapienti*. The iniquitie or iniuries of the aduerse part, doth giue vnto a wise man occasion of iust warre. Iust warre therefore ariseth, when men are prouoked by iniuries.

In the Ciuill law, the citie of Rome is called *sacra Vrbs*, the holy citie, and that vnder the heathen Emperors: *Cod. lib. 4. tit. 33. leg. 2. Diocletian.* Wherefore this title is not onely proper to Ierusalem.

Looke your owne decrees, *part. 1. distinct. 40. c. 9.* there you shall finde, that *Gratia, non locus, saluat animam*: Grace, and not the place, doth saue the soule: *Extra Paradisum factus, &c.* Man made without Paradise in an inferior place, was found better: and the woman made in Paradise in a better place, was found worse. Wherefore it is in vaine so much to contend for the holinesse of the place.

Lateranens. sub Iulio. 2. ex oration. Ægidy Viterbiens. episcopi: Frets initio suis armis ecclesia Afr. eam cepit, Europam obtinuit, &c. The Church in the beginning vsing her owne weapons, obtayned Africa, Europa, Asia, not by violence, or by sword, but by religious actes: But since the spouse hath changed the golden robe of the spirit, for the Iron weapons of madde *Aiax*, shee hath lost Asia, Ierusalem, Africa, Egypt. Thus he spake in the hearing of the Pope, insinuating thus much, that rather by religious acts the Turke might be wonne, then by forceable warre subdued.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, CONCERNING holy and festiuall dayes.

THis question hath diuers parts. First, of holy dayes in generall. Secondly, of the Lords day. Thirdly, of the festiuall dayes of Christ and the holy Ghost. Fourthly, of Saints holy dayes.

THE FIRST PART, OF HOLY dayes in generall.

The Papists.

63. Error. FIrst, they hold that holy and festiuall dayes, are in themselues, and properly and truely, more sacred and holy, then other dayes are, *Bellarm. cap. 10. propos. 2. Apocal. 1. 10.* I was in the spirit (saith the Apostle) on the Lords day: God reuealeth such great things to Prophets rather vpon holy dayes, then prophane dayes: *Ergo*, some dayes holyer then other, *Rhemist. Apoc. 1. fol. 6.*

Answ. God giueth not his graces in respect of times, but according to his owne pleasure. Times of prayer he chuseth often, and of other godly exercises, not for the worthines or holines of the times, but for the better disposition of his seruants in such exercises, to receiue them: yet this was not perpetually obserued; for God appeared to *Moses* keeping of sheepe, Exod. 3. to *Amos* following his heard, Amos 7.

Argum. 2. If holy dayes were not in themselues holier then other dayes, then it would follow, that all festiuall dayes should be of the like holinesse, not one more holy then another: but so are they not, for the Lords day is the chiefe of all the rest: *Ergo. Bellarm. lib. 3 cap. 10.*

Ans. First, we grant, that as festiuall dayes in themselues are not holier then other dayes, but in respect of the vse, so neyther are they in the nature of the day more holy one then another; yet in respect of the institution one festiuall may be preferred before another: as the Lords day is more holy, because it was instituted of God, the other festiuals of the Church; and in respect of the religious vse and obseruation thereof, being more strictly to be kept, then any other festiuall whatsoeuer; but not in the nature of the day is it more excellent, for then it could not haue bin changed: wherefore first the argument followeth not, as I haue shewed.

Secondly, I am glad, that he giueth the Lords day the preeminence; yet their popish practise is contrarie: for whereas they diuide their feasts, into *duplex festum, & simplex*: double feastes, and single feasts: they make 4. kinds of *duplex festum*, principall double, more double, lesse double, inferior double; yet the Lords dayes are none of this number, as may be seene in the Calendar of their Masse booke according to the vse of *Sarum*.

Argum. 3. Christ in his Birth consecrated the manger, where he lay; in his death the Crosse whereon he suffered; rising againe the Sepulcher, where he was buried: why should not the daies

as

as well of his birth, passion, resurrection, be consecrated, and before other dayes preferred? *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, we denie not, but that these Festiuals of our Sauiour are to be preferred before other dayes, but not as in their nature more holy, but in respect of the vse, and commemoration of the holy actes of Christ. Secondly, the places of Christs birth, passion, resurrection, were holy, not by any inherent or naturall holinesse, but in respect onely, and during the presence of Christ: so are the Festiuals of Christ holy in regard of the commemoration of the holy actions of Christ, and not otherwise: Wherefore *Bellarmine* hath gained nothing by these reasons.

The Protestants.

WE graunt that the Lords day being commaunded of God, and so discerned from other daies, may be said to be holier then the rest, in respect of the present vse, but not in the nature of the day: for then could it not haue been chaunged from the last day in the weeke to the first: as water in Baptisme is holier then other waters, because of the sacred vse, not in it selfe, as by a qualitie of holines inherent. And as for other festiuall daies, which haue not the like institution, they are appointed onely of the Church, for Christian policie and orders sake, for the exercise of religion: but this now Popish, and before time Iewish distinction of daies, as being by their nature holier then other, is flatly against the Apostles rule, Rom. 14. 5. *One putteth difference betweene day and day.*

Ans. Bellarmine answereth first, that the Apostle speaketh of those, whereof some thought good to fast euery day, some onely certaine daies, and both of them did well: and this is the iudging betweene day and day, whereof the Apostle speaketh.

Contra. First, the Apostle maketh no mention at all of fasting, but of eating: wherefore this discerning of daies was not in any such respect of fasting, or not fasting. Secondly, vers. 6. the Apostle maketh the obseruing, and not obseruing of daies, and eating or not eating, to be two seuerall things, and he bringeth them in as diuers instances: wherefore it is not agreeable to the Apostles meaning to confound them into one, as *Bellarmine* doth. Thirdly, the Apostle, saying, *He that obserueth, & obserueth not the day, obserueth, and obserueth not vnto the Lord*, vers. 6. approueth not the obseruation of daies: But first we must consider the times, when as yet some ceremonies of the Iewes remained, which the Apostles did for some while beare with, for feare to offend the weake. Secondly, the persons must be respected, of whom the Apostle treateth, not such as obstinately maintained Iewish rites, but the weake in faith, vers. 1. that did all of conscience, whom the Apostle would haue gently and charitably dealt with, and not rigorously to bee condemned: as vers. 15. *Destroy not by thy meate, for whom Christ died.* But what is this to these times, when as all Iewish ceremonies ought long agoe to be buried? or to the persons of our aduersaries, who not of weakenes and conscience, but professedly and purposely maintaine the difference of daies? Thirdly, the Apostle saying, *he obserueth to the Lord*, &c. he saith none other thing, then before vers. 4. *Who iudgest thou another mans seruant? he standeth or falleth to his owne master*: he obserueth, or not obserueth to the Lord, that is, he is left to Gods iudgement.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* saith, *You obserue daies and moneths, times, and yeeres, I am afraid of you, least I haue bestowed on you labour in vaine*, Galath. 4. 10. 11. And againe, Coloss. 2. 16. *Let no man condemne you in respect of an holy day, or of the new moone, or of the Sabboth, which are but a shadow of things to come, but the bodie is in Christ.* From hence we reason thus, out of the first place, That which hindreth, and destroyeth the faith of the Gospell, is to bee auoided; but the obseruation of daies causeth the Apostles labour to be in vaine, and so destroyeth the preaching of the Gospell: *Ergo*, Againe, all figures ought to cease, the bodie being come, obseruation of daies was in figure, Christ is the bodie. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine answereth: first, that the Apostle speaketh of the Iewish obseruation of daies, and not of the festiuals of Christians: for S. *Paul* himselfe obseruing the feasts of Christians, as of Pentecost, Act. 20. did make difference of daies.

Contra. First, the feast of Pentecost, which *Paul* obserued at Ierusalem, was a feast of the Iewes: for as yet the Iewish festiuals were not abolished, as it may appeare. 1. By the name, it being called the feast of Pentecost, that is the feast of fiftie daies, or the feast of weekes: which was a feast appointed in the law. 2. Because it is kept at Ierusalem, whereas it was not necessarie to keepe the Christian festiuals there. 3. Saint *Paul* comming to Ierusalem, did other things according to the law, as he purified himselfe, Act. 21. 24. 4. The festiuals of Christians were not yet established. Secondly, though wee graunt it was a feast of the Christians, yet the Apostle made no such difference of daies, but onely for the holy vse. Thirdly, these places serue as well against popish, as Iewish obseruation of daies, for there is no difference.

Bellarmine would seeme to make a treble difference, betweene the Iewish festiuals and theirs, First, the Iewish festiuals after Christ haue a false signification, but ours haue a true.

Contra. First, the Iewish Sabboth hath a true signification yet in remembring the creation of

the world. Secondly, some of yours haue a false signification, as the feast of the assumption of *Mary*, which is a fable.

Secondly, the chiefe end of their Sabboth, was to signifie things to come; but the end of ours is to acknowledge Gods benefits.

Contra. 1. So also the Sabboth now is a symbole of our euerlasting rest, Hebr. 4. as then was a type of our rest in Christ. 2. The Iewes also vpon the Sabboth remembred Gods benefits, as of the creation, Exod. 31. 17.

Thirdly, the chiefe part of their festiual, was to abstaine from bodily labour: but the chiefe part of ours is to be occupied in diuine seruice. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, their Sabboth consisted not onely in bodily rest, but spirituall duties also, as in not doing their owne will, nor speaking a vaine word, Isay. 58. 13. Secondly, your Sabboth hath no spirituall duties, but a superstitious and idolatrous seruice, in worshipping of Idols, inuocation of Saints, and such like: So then in the obseruation of daies there is no difference betweene the Iewes and Papists.

Augustine saith, *Nos dominicum diem & pascha celebramus, sed quia intelligimus, quò pertinent, non tempora obseruamus, sed quæ illis significantur temporibus, Cont. Adiman. cap.* 16. We keepe the Lords day and the feast of Easter, not obseruing the times, but remembring what is signified by their times: that is, for what cause they were ordained: *Ergo*, obseruers of times are reproued.

Leonis Epistol. 4. cap. 4. Notum sit dilectioni vestræ vniuersos dies Christi, &c. Be it knowne to your brotherhood, that all the daies of Christ are consecrate with innumerable vertues: yet if we should indifferently honour the memorie of all his acts, all daies should bee holy, because euery one of them is full of his miracles. Hence I gather, that daies in themselues are not one better then another, in as much as they all and euery of them were beautified and adorned with some miracle of Christ.

The scrupulous obseruation of daies is forbidden by the Imperiall law of *Theodos. Cod. lib. 8. tit.* 30 *leg.* 17. and by the Canon law, *part.* 2. *caus.* 26. *qu.* 7. *c.* 17. *Adanimæ periculum pertinet superstitiosa temporum obseruationes:* Superstitious obseruation of daies bringeth daunger to the soule, as the Apostle saith, *I feare I haue laboured in vaine amongst you.*

The Papists.

64. Error. 2. THey affirme the keeping and sanctification of holy daies to bee necessarie, *Rhemists Galath. 4. sect.* 5. and that we are bound in conscience to keep the holy daies appointed of the Church, although no offence or scandale might follow and ensue vpon the neglecting of the.

Esther 9. *Mardochæus* and *Esther* appoint a new festiuall day, not instituted of God, and bind euery one to the obseruing thereof, that none should faile to obserue it, vers. 27. *Ergo*, men bound in conscience to keepe festiuall daies. *Bellarm. cap.* 10.

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, though we refuse not some other festiuall daies, yet we acknowledge none necessarie, more then are of the holie Ghosts appointing in the Scripture. Secondly, we deny that the constitutions of the Church for holy daies doe binde Christians, in respect of the daies themselues, in conscience to keepe them, otherwise then they may giue offence by their contempt and disobedience to the holesome decrees of the Church: for it selfe in it owne nature is indifferent, neither can the Church make a thing necessarie in nature, which God hath left indifferent: nothing bindeth absolutely in conscience, but that which is necessarie by nature: wherefore keeping of holy daies, being not inioyned but left indifferent in the word, bindeth no otherwise then we haue said. Thirdly, the example of *Esther* sheweth that the Church hath authoritie to appoint for ciuill vses, daies of reioycing: that festiuall day then begun did not binde the obseruers in conscience, no otherwise then they were bound in all lawfull things to obey their gouernours, for their consent was required, and they promised both for themselues and their seede to keepe this day, Esth. 9. 27. Whereby it appeareth that they were not bound absolutely in conscience to obserue it.

Argum. If Christians were bound in conscience to keepe all holy daies which are enioyned them in the popish Church, their burden should be greater then the Iewes was (seeing they haue a great number of holy daies more) yet the Iewes yoke was such, as neither they, nor their forefathers were able to beare. Act. 15. 10.

Bellar. answereth: first, that the yoke of the Iewes is heauier, in respect of the hard obseruances, as that it was not lawfull to seeth meate, to kindle a fire on the Lords day, thrice a yeere they went vp to Ierusalem, they were enioyned to eate vnsauourie and vnleauened bread: it was not heauie in respect of the multitude of their feasts, but of other ceremonious rites, *cap.* 10.

Contra. First, the popish yoke euen in respect of their hard iniunctions is more intolerable then the Iewes was: your pilgrimages to Rome, to Ierusalem, to other remote places, are more then their going vp to Ierusalem; your prescription to fast bread and water is harder, then to eate vnleauened

leauened bread, and yet you vſe that to: not to eate an egge in Lent is more, then not to dreſſe meate vpon the Lords. Secondly, the heauines of the Iewiſh yoke did much ſtand in the multitude of their feaſts, as Iſay. 1.14. if they were a burden to the Lord, much more vnto men: and therefore the popiſh yoke inioyning the keeping of many more holie daies, is much more grieuous.

Auguſtine ſpeaking of the Sabboth, ſaith thus: *Hæc eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in eo:* This is the day which the Lord hath made, let vs reioyce and bee glad therein, Pſal. 118.24. This onely holy day, he ſaith, is of the Lords making, and therefore of all other neceſſary to be kept. De tempor. Serm. 36.

Synod. Moguntin. cap 61. Sanctorum celebritates in diem dominicum incidentes, cenſemus ſubmouendas, &c. We think it meete, that holy daies falling within the Lords day ſhould be remoued, and tranſlated to the day before, or after, that the ſolemnitie of them all may bee reſerued and referred to their Lord, &c. The Lords day we ſee, is preferred before the reſt, as being of neceſſitie onely to be kept, and the reſt to giue place to it.

This truth alſo hath been ſealed: *Ioane Iohn*, the wife of *Lewis Iohn*, perſecuted for ſaying, That God commanded no holy daies to be kept but the Sabboth day, *Fox* pag. 803. col. 2.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE Lords day.

The Papiſt.

COncerning the Lords day, our aduerſaries doe graunt: firſt, that it is the moſt ancient of all Chriſtian feſtiuals, *Bellar. cap.* 11. Secondly, that it was inſtituted by the Apoſtles, *ibid.* Thirdly, that it ſucceeded in ſtead of the Iewiſh Sabboth, *ibid.* Fourthly, that it is the moſt excellent, and to be preferred before all other holy daies, *Bellarm. cap.* 10. Theſe points are on both ſides condeſcended vnto, and whatſoeuer elſe is affirmed agreeable to Scripture.

The ſeuerall points wherein our aduerſaries and wee doe differ about the Chriſtian Sabboth, are theſe:

Firſt, the principall exerciſe of the Sabboth, ſay they, is for the people to come to the Church and heare Maſſe, which their abominable and idolatrous ſacrifice they make the proper worke of the Sabboth, *Catechiſm. Roman. pag.* 649. 65. Error.

The Proteſtants.

THe Sabboth was ordained for the people to aſſemble together to heare the word read, Act. 15 verſ. 21. and preached; and to receiue the Sacraments, Act. 20.7 and to offer vp their praiers: theſe were the proper exerciſes of the Sabboth: as for the popiſh ſacrifice of the Maſſe, wee finde no mention at all thereof in Scripture.

Concil. Moguntiac. can. 34. *Nunquam deſit diebus dominicis, aut feſtiuitatibus qui verbum Dei prædicet:* Let there bee neuer wanting, vpon the Lords daies and other feſtiuities, one that ſhould preach the word of God.

Capitul. part. 9 *cap.* 9. *Dies dominicus à temporibus Apoſtolorum celebris, vt in vnum omnes pariter conuenirent, ad audiendum verbum domini, ad audiendum quoque ſacrum & communicandum, &c.* The Lords day hath been obſerued ſince the Apoſtles time, that all might meete together to heare Gods word, to heare alſo and receiue the Sacraments. Theſe then are the principall exerciſes of the Lords day. And yet more euidently it was thus decreed, *Synod. Auguſtenſ. cap.* 18. *Euangelia & epiſtolæ diebus dominicis lingua Germanica exponantur, eo que tempore nulla miſſa, ne populum ab auditu diuini verbi contingat, celebretur:* Let the Goſpels and the Epiſtles bee expounded vpon the Lords daies in the Germane tongue, and at that inſtant let no Maſſe bee celebrated, leaſt the people be drawne away from hearing. From hence wee reaſon thus: That whereunto other exerciſes giue place, is the cheefe exerciſe of the Lords day; but other giue place, as the ſaying of Maſſe, to preaching and expounding of Scripture: *Ergo*, &c.

The Papiſts.

1. WE diſſent about the reſt of the Sabboth: they allow ſuch workes to bee done vpon the Sabboth, as ſhall be permitted by the Prelates and Ordinaries, and ſuch as by long cuſtome haue been vſed, *Bellarm. cap.* 10. 66. Error.

The Proteſtants.

WE hold, that as the Lords day was inſtituted of God, ſo the manner of celebrating and keeping it holy, is to bee learned out of the word, and neither cuſtome nor authoritie ought to giue libertie for ſuch workes vpon the Lords day, as are not warranted by the word.

Firſt, we graunt that we are not ſo neceſſarily tyed to the reſt of the Sabboth as the Iewes were: for thoſe things are aboliſhed which appertained to the Iewiſh Sabboth: Firſt, the preſcript of the day. Secondly, the ceremoniouſ exerciſes of the Sabboth in the ſacrifices and other rites of the

Law.

Law. Thirdly, the typicall shadowes and significations of their Sabboth, as first it betokened their rest in Canaan; then the rest and peace of the Church by Christ, Hebr. 4. 3. 5. Fourthly, the strict and precise rest, wherein Christians haue more libertie then the Iewes had: and againe, they obserued their rest, as being properly and simply, and in it selfe a Sabboth dayes duety; but we doe consider it, as being referred to a more principall end: as making of vs more fit for spirituall exercises.

Secondly, we allow these workes to be done: First, *opera religiosa* or *pietatis*, the religious workes, and conferring to pietie: as the Priests did slay the sacrifices vpon the Sabboth, and yet brake not the rest of the Sabboth, Matth. 12. 5. so the people may walke to their parish Church, though somewhat farre off: the Pastor and Minister may goe forth to preach; yea, and preaching is of it selfe a labour of the body, to study also and meditate of his sermon, to ring the bels to call the people to the Church: all these are lawfull, as being helpes for the exercises of religion. Secondly, *opera charitatis*, the workes of mercie are permitted, as to visite the sicke, the Phisition to resort to his patient; yea, to shew compassion to brute beasts, as to helpe the sheepe out of a pitte, Matth. 12. 11. Thirdly, *opera necessitatis*, the workes of necessitie, as the dressing of meate and such like, Matth. 12. 1. 3. Our Sauiour excuseth his Apostles for plucking the eares of Corne, when they were hungry. As for *opera voluntaria*, workes of pleasure and recreation, we haue no other permission to vse them, then as they shall be no lets or impediments vnto spirituall exercises, as the hearing of the worde, and meditating therein, and such other: Otherwise they are not to be vsed.

Augustine saith, speaking of the Iewes, who did greatly prophane their Sabboth, in sporting and daliance: *Melius toto die foderent, quàm toto die saltarent*: It were better for them to digge all day, then to daunce all day: euen so verily it were better for many poore ignorant people, that vpon the Sabboth giue themselues to drinking, and quaffing, and gaming, if they should goe to plough or cart all the day. But as for other seruile workes, as to keepe Faires and Markets vpon the Lords day, to trauell themselues, their seruants, and beasts vpon the Sabboth, it is flat contrary to the commandement of God, and the practise of the Church, Nehem. 13. 16. where there is no extreame and vrgent necessitie: so that it is not to be doubted, but that as the keeping of the Lords day is a morall commandement; so also the manner of the obseruing thereof in sanctifying it, and resting therein, is morall: the ceremonies of the rest being abolished, that is, the Iewish stricknes thereof, and the opinion which they had of their rest, as being simply a part of the sanctifying of the Sabboth. But we do consider it, as referred vnto more principall duties, and obserue it, not as of it selfe pleasing God, but as making vs more fit for spirituall exercises. Contrary to these rules, we acknowledge neither power in ordinaries, nor priuiledge in custome, to dispense with the Sanctification of the Sabboth.

In Psal. 32. part. 1.

Decret. part. 1. distinct. 86. cap. 24. Gregor. writeth sharply to one *Ianuarius* an old Bishop, because he presumed vpon the Lords day, *exercere alterius messem*, to enter vpon another's haruest, to spoyle it: By this we may see what great discretion popish Ordinaries haue, in prescribing Sabboth day workes.

Concerning such sanctification of the Sabboth as we speake of, which consisteth partly in abstaining from all corporall labors, and worldly affaires, partly and chiefly in giuing our selues to spirituall exercises, we haue the full consent of antiquitie.

Concerning the first: *Concil. Aurel. 3. can. 27. Die dominico cum caballis, bobus, vehiculis itineri non debere*: That none ought to trauell with horse, oxen, carts vpon the Lords day. *Cabilon. can. 18. Ruralia opera nemo facere præsumat*: Let no man vpon this day presume to do any country work, as to sow, to reape, to plough. *Matiscouens. 2. can. 1. Nullus causarum actiones exerceat*: That no man should goe to law. *Colonien. part. 9. cap. 10.* Markets and Faires are forbidden to be kept. *Mogunt. cap. 61. Tripudia saltationes, profana spectacula non permittenda*: Dauncing, and leaping, and all prophane playes and sights must be forbidden.

As touching the affirmatiue part of this sanctification, in sequestring our selues to spirituall exercises, thus also it hath been decreed: *Trullan. can. 19. Vt omnibus diebus sed præcipuè dominicis populum doceant pietatis studia*: That vpon all dayes, but chiefly on the Lords dayes the pastors instruct the people: preaching of the word is one chiefe worke of the Lords day: the receiuing of the Sacraments is another, *Colonien. part. 9. cap. 9. Populus conueniat ad communicandum*: the people must come together to communicate. Prayer is another Sabboth worke: *Matiscouens. 2. cap. 1. Die dominico quisque scipsum precibus & lachrymis afficiat*: Vpon the Lords day let euery man giue himselfe to prayer and teares. Giuing of thankes and praysing of God is proper also for the Lords day: *Synod. Colonien. part. 9. cap. 9. Dies illa tantùm orationibus, hymnis, & psalmis transigatur*: Let that day onely be spent in prayer, Hymnes and Psalmes, and spirituall songs. *Aurelianens. 2. can. 30. Vinctis in carceribus, &c.* Let the Bishops visite those on the Lords dayes that are bound in prison. *Constantin. 6. cap. 8. tantummodo vacandum est orationi & celebrationi eius mysteriorum*: Vpon this day they

they muſt giue themſelues only to prayer, and celebrating of almes. Here be other exercises of the Lords day. And thus, as we ſee, the auncient Canons doe teſtifie with vs for the ſanctification of the Lords day.

To theſe Canons agree the imperiall lawes: which bid, *Omnium Iudicum & artium officia ceſſa-re, &c.* Both the offices of Iudges, and artificers ſhops to ceaſe and be ſhut vp vpon the Lordes day, *Cod.lib.3.tit.12.leg.3.Theod.* and that no playes or enterludes ſhould be kept vpon that day, or any ſuch games, *ibid.leg.10.Leo,et Anthem.* Yet workes of neceſſitie are excepted, as in time of harueſt and ſeede time, *leg.3.* and *cauſa piſtoria*, Bakers cauſes, as touching the making of bread, are excepted, *leg.3.Valentin.* Likewiſe workes of charitie, as in according and reconciling men, are tolerated, *leg.10.* as alſo manumitting and ſetting bond-men at libertie, *leg.8.Valentin.* Thirdly, workes of pietie are excepted, as doing of Iuſtice in executing of malefactors and offenders, *leg.9.Honor.Theodoſ.*

The Papiſts.

67.Error. THey affirme that the Apoſtles altered the Sabboth day, from the ſeuenth day to the eight, counting from the creation; and they did it without Scripture, or any commandement of Chriſt: ſuch power (ſay they) hath God left to his Church. This then they hold, that the Sabboth was changed by the ordinarie power and authoritie of the Church, not by any eſpeciall direction from Chriſt: thereupon it followeth, that the Church, which (they ſay) cannot erre, may alſo change the Sabboth to any other day in the weeke, *Rhemiſt.Apoc.1.ſect.6.*

The Proteſtants.

1. THe Apoſtles did not abrogate the Iewiſh Sabboth, but Chriſt himſelfe by his death, as he did alſo other ceremonies of the Lawe: and this the Apoſtles knew both by the Scriptures, the word of Chriſt and his holy ſpirite.

2. They did not appoint a new Sabboth of their owne authoritie: for firſt they knew by the Scripture, that one day of ſeuen was to be obſerued for euer, for the ſeruice of God and exerciſe of religion, although the preſcript day according to the Law were abrogate: for the Lord before the morall law was written, euen immediately after the creation, ſanctified the ſeuenth day, ſhewing thereby, that one of the ſeuen muſt be obſerued ſo long as the world endured. Secondly, they knew there was the ſame reaſon of ſanctifying the day of Chriſts reſurrection, and the reſtitution of the world thereby, as of ſanctifying the day of the Lords reſt, after the creation of the world. Thirdly, they did it by the direction of the Spirite of God, whereby they were ſo directed and gouerned, that although they were fraile men by nature, and ſubiect to error: yet they could not decline in their writings and ordinances of the Church, from the truth, which aſſurance of Gods ſpirit in the like meaſure the Church hath not now; but ſo farre forth is promiſed to be led into all truth, as ſhe followeth the rule of truth expreſſed in the Scriptures. Wherefore the Church hath no authoritie to change the Lords day, and to keepe it vpon Monday or Tueſday, or any other day; ſeeing it is not a matter of indifferencie, but a neceſſary preſcription of Chriſt himſelfe, deliuered by the Apoſtles: for the Lords day began in the Apoſtles time, and no doubt by their Apoſt olike authoritie directed by the ſpirit of Chriſt, was inſtituted, Act.20.7. Apocal.1. verſ.10. Neither can there come, ſo long as the world continueth, ſo great a cauſe of changing the Sabboth, as the Apoſtles had by the reſurrection of Chriſt. Wherefore the lawe of the Sabboth, as it is now kept and obſerued, is perpetuall.

Conſtantin.6.can.8. Diei dominici, quia in eo Deus lucem condidit, in eo Manna in eremo pluit, &c. tanta debet eſſe reuerentia, &c. The Lords day muſt be had in great reuerence, becauſe vpon this day God created the Light, it rained Manna in the Wilderneſſe: Chriſt then vouchſafed to be borne: on this day the ſtarre appeared to the Wiſe men: Chriſt fed fiue thouſand men with fiue loaues and two fiſhes: on this day he was baptized, roſe againe, ſent downe the holy ſpirit vpon his diſciples, &c. theſe are the reaſons why we doe now keepe the Lords day vpon the firſt in the weeke: but greater reaſons than theſe, ſhall neuer fall out vpon any other day: *Ergo*, the Lordes day cannot be remooued to any other day of the weeke.

The Papiſts.

68.Error. 4. THey affirme that the keeping of the Lords day, in ſtead of the Iewiſh Sabboth, is a tradition of the Apoſtles, and not warranted by Scripture, *Rhemiſt.Mat.15.ſect.3.*

The Proteſtants.

THe obſeruation of the Lords day is not deliuered by blinde tradition, but hath teſtimonie of holy Scriptures, 1.Corinth.16.2. Act.20.7. Apocal.1.10. and the obſeruation thereof is according to Gods commaundement, not after the doctrine of men, *Fulk ibid. Bellarmine* out of theſe three places proueth the Lords day to be inſtituted in the Scripture: *de cultu. ſanctor. lib.3.c.11.*

Leo epiſtol.79.cap.1. In hac mundus ſumpſit exordium, in hac per reſurrectionem Chriſti mors interitum, vita accepit initium, &c. On this day the world tooke beginning by the reſurrection of Chriſt,

death

death was destroyed, and life entred: on this day the Apostles receiued commission to preach: Christ entred in to his disciples, the doores being shut, &c. *Ergo*, the Lords day is no humane tradition, but a diuine institution: These workes, whereby the Lords day is sanctified, were the workes of the Trinitie, and set forth in Scripture: *Ergo*, the Lords day is instituted of God and grounded vpon Scripture.

Decret. part. 1. dist. 76. c. 5. Leo, Quòd die dominica ordinationes Sacerdotum celebrentur, &c. That orders must be celebrated vp on the Lords day, it is not grounded onely vpon custome, but on the Apostles doctrine in Scripture, &c. and he proueth it out of the 13. of the Actes: But this can not be shewed out of Scripture, that Orders should be kept vpon the Lordes day, but that the Scripture euidently testifieth for the Lords day it selfe.

The Papists.

69. Error. 5. THey teach that the Lords day is commanded, and likewise kept for some mysticall signification, not onely for the remembrance of benefites alreadie accomplished; as of the resurrection of Christ, and the Aduent or comming downe of the holy spirite: but also to betoken vnto vs things to come, as our rest and glorie in the kingdome of God, *Bellarmin. de cultu sanct. lib. 3. cap. 11.*

The Protestants.

1. WE graunt, that the Sabboth may be so applyed, both to call to remembrance things already, as vpon that day done: as the resurrection of Christ, and the descending of the holy Ghost. Some thinke also that Christ vpon that day was baptized, vpon that day turned water into wine, fed fiue thousand with a few loaues, came vnto his Apostles after his resurrection the doores being shut, and that as vpon this day he shall appeare to iudgement: but vpon what ground I know not. Certaine it is, that vpon this day Christ rose againe, and that the holy Ghost came downe then vpon his Apostles. We deny not but that the keeping of the Lords day holy, may fitly bring vnto our remembrance these things: yea and that it may be a type and figure vnto vs in some sort, both of things spirituall, as to betoken our ceasing and resting from the workes of sinne, Heb. 4. 10. and 1. Pet. 4. 1. as also of things to come, as the kingdome of heauen is called a Sabboth, Isai. 66. 23.

August. de tempor. serm. 154.

But we dare not, neither will affirme, that the Sabboth was ordayned and constituted for any such end: for the commandement of the Sabboth now to vs is onely morall, not typicall or ceremoniall, as the Iewish Sabboth was; but looke wherein the Sabboth was morall to the Iewes, so it is kept still: As in these two poynts it was morall to them; first, to be a signe betweene them and the Lord, and to distinguish them from other people, Exod. 31. 17. And so also the right keeping of the Lords day is a notable outward marke of difference betweene the Church of God and all others. Secondly, that vpon the Sabboth they should resort together, and heare the law read and preached, Act. 15. 21. And for this cause, namely, the exercise of religion, are Christians chiefly bound to the Sabboth. It may (I say) fitly be drawne to resemble heauenly and spirituall things: but that is not any end of the institution. The Iewes had two kindes of types, *typos factos*, and *typos destinatos*, types made and applyed, and types appointed and ordayned of God to shadow forth some notable thing: as the Paschall Lambe, was *typus destinatus*, of our Sauiour Christ, as they were not to breake a bone of the Lambe; so was it accordingly performed in Christ. They had also many types beside, that were not destinated to signifie any certaine thing: of such S. *Paul* speaketh, 1. Corinth. 10. 6. 11. So we say of the Sabboth, that it is not *typus destinatus*, it is not instituted for any shadow or signification, though it may be fitly applied to such an vse.

Matiscoñens. 2. can. 1. Ipse est dies requietis perpetuus, ipse nobis per septimi diei vmbram infinitus nouitur in lege & Prophetis: This is a day of rest for euer, this is knowne to haue been insinuated by the shadow of the seuenth day in the law: so then the Lords day was rather shadowed foorth, then it doth shadowe; it had shadowes, it selfe is no shadowe.

Colouiens. part. 9. cap. 9. Dies dominicus à temporibus Apostolorum semper in ecclesia celebris fuit, vt tum in vnum omnes pariter conuenirent: The Lords day hath been alwaies celebrated in the Church since the Apostles time, that the people might come together to heare the word of God, &c. For this end then the Lords day was appoynted principally, not to be a shadow of things to come.

The Papists.

70. Error. 6. THey say that we are not bound vpon the Sabboth by any peculiar commandement to abstaine from sinne, more then vpon any other day: neither that the internall act of religion appertaineth to the keeping of the Sabboth, but the externall: that any sinne committed vpon the Sabboth is not thereby the greater: neither that we are more bound vpon the Sabboth to seeke for internall grace then vpon any other day, *Bellarm. lib. 3. cap. 10. propos. 4.*

Argum. 1. Bellarmine reasoneth thus, the internall act of religion is the end of this commandement, but the meanes tending to the end, not the end it selfe, are commaunded.

Secondly,

Secondly, the internall worship is prescribed in the first commandement; for this is the order: In the first precept, the worship of the heart; In the second, the worship of the mouth; In the third, the worship or seruice of God in our workes is prescribed.

Thirdly, it were dangerous to appoint so many holy dayes, for this were but to entangle mens consciences, if sinne be more grieuous committed vpon festiuals, *cap.* 10.

Ansv. To the first we answere; First, that it is vntrue, that the meanes onely, and not the end is commanded: for loue is the end of the commandement, 1. Timoth. 1. 5. and yet is commanded, and one of the greatest commandements, Matth. 22. 39. So in the 7. Commandement the end is, not to commit adulterie; the meanes tending to adulterie, as chambering and wantonnesse are likewise prohibited, Rom. 13. 13. shall we say therefore that adulterie it selfe is not forbidden? so admit that the internall sanctification of the Sabboth is the ende, yet it may be and is commanded. Secondly, though it be the end, in respect of the meanes tending vnto it, as the corporall rest, and the externall exercises of religion; yet it is also as a meane referred to the principall end of all, which is the glory of God; and therefore may be commanded, according to *Bellarmines* owne rule.

To the second, we answere: First, though some internall act of religion be prescribed in the first Commandement; Thou shalt haue no other gods; and as to loue God, and feare him: yet that internall act, which is peculiar for the Lords day, is onely prescribed in the fourth commandement. Secondly, he very fondly deuideth the first table into 3. precepts, whereas it containeth foure; as *Origen* sheweth by this reason: some men thinke, saith he, that these two are one Commandement: *Quod si ita putetur, &c.* which if it be so, then are there not ten commandements, what is become then of the Decalogue? therefore the first Commandement is, *Thou shalt haue no other Gods*: the second, *Thou shalt make no grauen image, &c.* thus farre *Origen. hom.* 8. *in Exod.* Thirdly, to make a grauen image to worship it, is an externall act of religion, yet this is forbidden in the second commandement, which *Bellarmine* ioyneth to the first, therefore his diuision is not good, referring all external actes of religion to this fourth, or as he maketh it, the third Commandement.

To the third we answere; First, that other holy dayes are not enioyned with the like strict precept of sanctification, as the Lords day is, which is of Gods institution onely; the other were ordeined by the Church, some are the meere inuentions of men, as popish holy dayes: but the speciall sanctifying of a day to an holy vse, dependeth vpon Gods commandement and institution.

Secondly, it is *Bellarmines* owne position, that men are bound in conscience to keepe the Festiuals of the Church, *cap.* 10. *prop.* 3. whereas we do not so affirme: therefore it is he himselfe, and not we, that doth lay snares by the superstitious obseruation of holydaies, to entangle mens soules and consciences. Thirdly, we yeeld vnto him, that it is very hurtfull to appoint so many holy dayes, as they do, which in deed is nothing els but to clogge mens consciences with a multitude of ceremonies, which are burdenous to the Church.

The Protestants.

Ans. First, we graunt that all sinne, as of theft, adulterie, and the like, are in their owne nature alike, at what time soeuer they are committed; yet they may be made more heynous by the circumstances: as of the place, as sacriledge is greater than common theft; so why not of the time?

Secondly, if that which is no sinne vpon the worke-day, be a sinne vpon the Sabboth, as to digge, to plough, to cart; then that which is a sinne of it selfe, as to steale, to commit adulterie, must needs be greater and more hainous being done vpon the Sabboth: for beside the sinne, hee also prophaneth the Sabboth, which is the breach of another commandement. Thirdly, the internall act of religion, is properly commaunded in the sanctifying of the Sabboth: for it cannot be sanctified by the externall act of going to Church, and hearing the worde, vnlesse a man be inwardly in the deuotion of his heart prepared for those holy exercises. So inward grace is more sought for vpon the Sabboth, not in respect of that inward desire which we haue vnto them, which ought alwaies to be alike feruent in vs, if it were possible; but because of those outward meanes, of hearing the word, publike prayer, receiuing the Sacraments, which are vpon the Sabboth: for the which we ought more especially to prepare & examine our selues, Eccles. 4. 17. 1. Cor. 11. 28.

The Prophet *Esay* doth teach vs, how then the Sabboth must be kept, Chap. 58. vers. 13. *If thou turne away thy foot from the Sabboth, from doing thy will on my holy day, &c. and shalt honour the Lord, not doing thine owne wayes, nor seeking thine owne will, nor speaking a vaine word, &c.* Abstinence from sinne then is chiefly required vpon the Lords day: wee must not doe our owne waies. So is it decreed, *Coloniens. part.* 9. *cap.* 10. *Blasphemijs ac periurijs nomen Domini prophanatur, ac Sabbatum, quod nos admonet, ut quiescamus peruersè agere, & benefacere discamus, contaminatur*: By blasphemies and periuries the name of God is prophaned, and the Sabboth, which teacheth vs to leaue doing peruersly, and to learne to doe well, is polluted.

Augustine saith, speaking of the Iewish women: *Quanto melius fœmina eorum lanam facerent, quam illo die in neomenijs saltarent: spiritualiter obseruat Sabbatum Christianus, abstinens se ab opere seruili, idest, à peccato: Tract. 3. in Iohan.* Their women might be better occupied in spinning at home, than in dauncing vpon this day: for a Christian doth spiritually keepe the Sabboth, in abstaining from all seruile worke, that is, from sinne. They then that doe obserue the Sabboth onely in externall acts, doe but carnally keepe it.

Concil. Matiscon. 2. can. 1. Estote omnes in hymnis & laudib. Dei corpore & animo intenti, die dominico quisque seipsum lachrymis & precibus afficiat: Let euery man bodie and soule be occupied in setting forth the praise of God: vpon the Lords day let euerie man giue himselfe in his affection to teares and praiers. Here is more than the externall act of religion required: intention and affection are inward things. Againe in the same Canon, *Exhibeamus deo liberam seruitutem, non quia hoc a nobis Deus expetit, vt corporali abstinentia diem Dominicum celebremus, sed quærit obedientiam, per quam nos calcatis terrenis actibus ad cælum vsque misericorditer prouehat:* Let vs yeeld vnto God our free seruice: for God requireth vs not by bodily abstinence to keepe the Lords day, but he looketh for our obedience, by the which we should tread vnder our feet all earthly and carnall acts, and so bee lifted vp in meditation euen vnto heauen. Obedience then is especially required vpon the Lords day.

The Papists.

71. Error. 7. THey hold it a thing vnlawfull for Christians to fast vpon the Lords day, *Bellarm. lib. 3. de cultu sanctor. cap. 11.*

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, we graunt that this opinion is very auncient, and that in *Tertullians* time it was continued in many Churches: and they thought it as vnlawfull to bow the knee vpon the Lords day, *Tertul. lib. de coron. Militis. Die dominico ieiunare nefas ducimus, & de geniculis adorare:* We count it vnlawfull to fast vpon the Lords day, and to pray kneeling.

So likewise, *Trullan. Synod. can. 90. Ne dominicis diebus genua flectamus:* that wee bow not our knees vpon the Lords day: but the Papists obserue not the one, why then should they bind themselues to the other? *Ignatius* maketh fasting vpon the Sabboth as great an offence, as the killing of Christ himselfe, *Epistol. ad Philip.* But, I trust, they will not say so.

Secondly, the reasons why fasting is not to be vsed vpon the Lords day, because the scripture setteth downe none, I will supply out of *Augustine*: first, *Sentio* (saith hee) *ad significandam requiem* Epist. 86. *sempiternam (vbi est verum Sabbatum) relaxationem, quàm constrictionem ieiunij aptius conuenire.* I think that to signifie the eternall rest, which is the true Sabboth, libertie rather, than the vrging of fasting doth most fitly agree. But to this we answere, that this signification of eternall rest, is no essentiall part of sanctifying the Sabboth, nor no end of the institution, as we haue shewed else, though it may haue such an application: and therefore this reason prooueth not such a necessitie of not fasting vpon the Sabboth. Secondly, *Die dominico ieiunare magnum est scandalum:* It is a great offence to fast on the Lords day, because the Manichees made choice of that day to fast in. *Per quod factum est, vt ieiunium Sabbathi horribilius haberetur.* By the which (saith hee) it came to passe, that the fast of the Sabboth was more abhorred, *Augustin. ibid.* But this reason now bindeth not vs, because the name and heresie of the Manichees is now worne out, and therefore there is no feare of any scandale to arise that way.

Thirdly, we graunt that the Lords day is not the fittest time for publike fasts: first, because it is a day of reioycing: so wee read that the people in *Nehemiah* his time, were forbidden to mourne and weepe, after the lawe was read vnto them by *Ezra*, because it was a day of ioy and mirth, Nehem. 8.11. Secondly, the day of solemne and publike fasting ought to be set apart from other daies, and to be proclaimed solemne, and to be spent wholly in spirituall exercises, euen as the Sabboth, with vacation and rest from other bodily labours, as we may read, 2. Chron. 20.3. Nehem. 9.1. And therefore any day is more fit than the Sabboth, because that is a holy day already vnto the Lord: but when we will humble our selues before the Lord by fasting and praier, some day would only for that purpose be consecrate vnto God: that may be as a voluntarie sacrifice: whereas we are bound of necessitie to keepe the Lords day.

But concerning priuate and particular fasts, when men by themselues haue occasion to giue themselues to prayer, whereof S. *Paul* speaketh, 1. Cor. 7.5. Such priuate exercises may bee better performed vpon the Sabboth, because of the ordinarie exercises of the word, which are notable meanes to kindle and stirre vp true deuotion in him, which at that time will humble himselfe: yea and publike fasts, though not ordinarily, yet when there is iust occasion, may bee kept vpon the Sabboth: as we read Act. 20.7. how that *Paul* continued his preaching till midnight: whereof *Augustine* writeth thus, *Necessarius sermo reficiendi corporis causa interrumpendus esse non visus est profecturo Apostolo:* The necessarie preaching of the Apostle, he thought not good, for the refreshing of their bodies to breake off, being readie to depart. We conclude therefore, that it is lawfull to fast

vpon the Lords day, though it bee not alwaies expedient. And *Auguſtine* very well determineth this matter: *Ego in Euangelicis, & Apoſtolicis literis video præceptum eſſe ieiunium: quibus autem diebus non oporteat ieiunare, & quibus oporteat, præcepto domini, vel Apoſtolorum non inuenio definitum:* I finde both in the Euangelicall and Apoſtolicall writings, that faſting is commanded: but vpon what daies we ought to faſt, vpon what wee ought not, I do not finde it defined, *Epiſt.* 86. Wherefore to faſt or not to faſt vpon the Lords day, or vpon any other, being not determined in Scripture, is left as a thing indifferent to the Church of God.

Concil. Gangrenſ. can. 18. *Si quis tanquam hoc continentiæ conuenire iudicans die dominico ieiunauerit, aut in eiuſdem diei contemptum, anathema ſit*: If any man doe faſt vpon the Lords day, as iudging it more agreeable to a continent life, or in contempt of the day, let him be accurſed. The Councell doth not ſimply forbid faſting vpon this day, but that it ſhould not bee done ſuperſtitiouſly, with an opinion of greater holines, nor in contempt of the day, which is to Chriſtians a day of reioycing.

So likewiſe *Carthaginenſ. 4. can.* 64. *Qui dominico die ſtudioſè ieiunat, credatur non catholicus*: He that of purpoſe doth faſt on the Lords day, let him bee counted not Catholike. A man may faſt then vpon the Lords day, ſo it be not of a ſuperſtitious or wilfull purpoſe.

In their owne decrees it ſtandeth thus: *Decret. par. 1. diſt. 76. cap. Vtinam omni die ieiunare poſſimus, &c.* I would we might faſt euery day, which in the Acts of the Apoſtles wee reade, that S. *Paul* did, and the reſt of the faithfull with him in the daies of Pentecoſt, and vpon the Lords day.

The Papiſts.

8. THe name Sunday, is an heatheniſh calling, as all other weeke-daies in our language: ſome inpoſed after the names of Planets, as in the Romanes time: ſome by the name of certaine Idols, which the Saxons did worſhip: which names the Church vſeth not, but hath appointed to call the firſt day the *Dominike*, after the Apoſtle, Apocal. 1. 10. the other by the name *Feries*, vntill the laſt of the weeke, which ſhe calleth by the old name Sabboth, becauſe that was of God, not by inpoſition of the Heathen, *Rhemiſt. annot. Apocal. 1. ſect.* 6. 72. Error.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, as the name of Sunday, and the reſt, is of the heatheniſh beginning, and therefore were better to be otherwiſe termed, as the firſt, ſecond, or third from the Lords day, as the Iewes called their daies from the Sabboth: ſo your terme of *Feries*, is no leſſe heatheniſh, deriued from the word *feria*, or *feria*, which were ſo called, *à ferendis victimis*, of ſtriking the heatheniſh ſacrifices, as *Sextus Pompeius* ſaith, *Fulk. ibid.*

2. We haue other names alſo that might be reformed, as of our moneths: as March is ſo called of *Mars*, Iune of *Iuno*, Ianuary of *Ianus*, which were Heathen Gods: Iuly and Auguſt doe beare the names of men: yea, and if we might be inuentors of new names, the termes of Chriſtmas, Michaelmas, Candlemas, ſhould not ſtand in force, nor any more bee vſed, which are as offenſiue as the reſt: for as for the names of Heathen Idols, the moſt part are ignorant of them; but the vulgar terme of Maſſe, is to too well knowne, and too much loued of many of our countrie men. Now for the name Sunday, which is ſo great a mote in your eye, if there were no more but that, *Auguſtine* teacheth, how it might be fauourably expounded, *Dies magni ſolis celebramus, illum ſolis, de quo dicit ſcriptura, orietur vobis ſol iuſtitiæ*: Wee doe keepe Sunday holy, namely, of that great Sunne, whereof the Scripture ſpeaketh, the Sunne of righteouſneſſe ſhall ariſe. So in the Ciuill law, *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 12. leg.* 3. it is called, *dies ſolis*, Sunday: though the other name, *dies Dominicus*, the Lords day, be preferred; as *ibid. leg. 7. Valent. in. Dies ſolis Dominicos ritu dixere maiores*, the Sundaies, our anceſtors rightly called the Lords dayes. Auguſt. cont. Fauſt. 18. 5.

3. We wiſh that all theſe termes might be laid downe, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Nolumus vt dicant, & vtinam corrigantur vt non dicant*: Wee would not haue men ſo to ſpeake, and I wiſh they were reformed. But ſeeing by continuall cuſtome mens tongues are inured to ſuch termes, let them know, that they are vſed onely as ciuill names, to call things by, not for any religion or myſterie in them contained, or ſignified. In Pſal. 93.

And here I doe commend *Hieromes* two rules concerning heatheniſh names: the firſt, where he ſaith, *Libr. de veſte ſacerdotali in Iob, Arcturum & Oriona, &c.* In *Iob* we reade of *Arcturus*, and *Orion*, and other names of the ſtarres, not that the Hebrues doe ſo call them: *ſed quòd nos non poſſumus quæ dicuntur, niſi conſuetis vocibus intelligere*, but becauſe wee cannot vnderſtand what is ſaid, but vnder the common termes. So then, where vſe and cuſtome hath obtained to haue things called by ſuch names, and they are knowne by no other, there neceſſitie doth diſpenſe with Heatheniſh names.

His other rule is this, that ſuch Pagan termes, which haue no neceſſarie vſe, but proceed of propenſenes or wantonnes, ſhould bee left: *Abſit, vt de ore Chriſtiano ſonet, &c.* God forbid, that a Chriſtian mouth ſhould ſound, *Iupiter, Hercules, &c. quæ portenta ſunt magis, quam nomina*, which are monſters rather, then names. This is a good caueate for young Students, that they ſhould in

their exercises, as declamations, disputations, Comedies, Tragedies, auoid and decline these mani-festous Heathenish names, which yet are too rife among them.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE FESTIVAL dayes of Christ and the holy Ghost.

The Papists.

73. Error. THe feasts of Easter and Whitsontide, and other solemnities of Christ, were prescribed (they say) by the Apostles, *Rhemist. Matth.* 15. *sect.* 2. to be kept vpon certaine daies, and that *Peter* did appoint that Easter should not be kept the 14. day of the first Moone, as the Iewes obserued it, but the Lords day after. And of the feast of Pentecost mention is made, 1. Corinth. 16. 8. Ergo these feasts were instituted of the Apostles, *Bellarm. cap.* 12. 13.

Bellarmine to proue the celebration of Easter, as it is now obserued in the Latine Church, to be Apostolicall, alleageth the 8. Canon of the Apostles, which decreeth, *That he which obserued Easter before the vernall Equinoctium, whether Bishop or priest, should be deposed.*

Ans. It is a cleere case, that those Canons are forged and falsely ascribed to the Apostles: 1. In the last Canon the Gospell of S. *Iohn* is counted among the Canonicall bookes of the new Testament, which was not at that time written, when these Canons are said to haue been made by the Apostles assembled together: for Saint *Peter*, a principall composer of these Canons, is brought in speaking, Can. 28. who was put to death before S. *Iohn* writ his Gospell. 2. Of what validitie these Canons be, it appeareth in the Trullane Councel, Can. 12. where they forbid Bishops after their consecration to haue societie with their wiues, directly contrarie to the 5. Canon of the Apostles: and they giue a reason thereof, *Statum ecclesiasticum in pulchriorem ordinem reducere.* Their meaning was to bring the state ecclesiasticall to a more beautifull order, wherein the Apostles in the beginning of the Gospell, *ad fidelium imbecillitatem se demittebant*, did submit themselues to the imbecillitie of the weake. But if they were the Canons of the Apostles indeede, what boldnes had this been, so lightly to reuerse their decrees? 3. In the last Canon there are three bookes of the Macchabees made Canonical, whereas the Papists themselues receiue but two: why then doe they themselues transgresse the Apostles Canons? 4. *Gelasius, decret. de Apocryph.* doth in direct termes make, *Librum canonum Apostolorum*, the booke of the Canons of the Apostles Apocryphal. The authoritie therefore of these forged Canons doth little moue vs.

Againe, *Bellarmine* vrgeth a diuine testimonie, as he calleth it, how that *Paschasius* reporteth, that in Pope *Zozimus* time there being a question about the time of the celebration of Easter, the Pope with the West Church appointing the 25. of March, the East Church the 22. of April, it fell out, that in a certaine Church in Sicilie, a certaine fountaine, that vsed euery yeere to ouerflow against Easter day for those that should bee baptized, was emptie vpon the 25. of March, but was full the 22. of Aprill: whereby the Pope and the West Church, did perceiue themselues to be in an error, and the East Church in the right, *Bellar. cap.* 12.

Ans. First, if this tale beare any credit, it sheweth, that the East Church was founder, concerning the celebration of Easter, than the Pope. Secondly, this miracle alloweth that Easter day should be kept after the 20. day of Aprill, contrary to the decree of the Nicen Councell, which limited the time for Easter from the 21. of March to the 20. of Aprill, and no further. Thirdly, this famed miracle is of like credit to that vision, which Pope *Pius* affirmeth to haue been shewed to one *Hermes*: how that an Angell appeared vnto him, commaunding him to keepe Easter vpon the Lords day, *decret. p.* 2. *dist.* 3. *cap.* 21. But if the celebration of Easter were grounded vpon the institution of the Apostles, they neede not bring such beggerly stuffe, by lying miracles and visions, to make proofe of their matter.

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, we graunt that it is expedient for the Church to keepe the memoriall of the Nativitie, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension of Christ, and of the comming of the holy Ghost: and the daies instituted for the remembrance thereof, no doubt, ought to bee had in greater account, then any other holy daies instituted by the Church. Secondly, it cannot bee prooued, that they were prescribed by the Apostles; or if they were, but as indifferent ceremonies, which are subiect to alteration, and in the which the religion or worship of God doth not consist. Certaine it is, that before the time of *Constantine* the great, there were not many festiuall daies kept, in so much, that the feasts of the Nativitie of Christ, Easter, Pentecost, were not vniformally obserued for many yeeres after, as appeareth by diuers Councels. And before *Constantines* time, there was great contention betweene the Bishop of Rome and the Bishops of the East, about the celebration of Easter, they alleaging the constitution of Saint *Iohn*, the other of Saint *Peter*: wherefore it is like that the Apostles appoynted no such certaine daies: for then the Church would not haue broken them.

Concil. Aurel. 4. cap. 1.

Tolet. 10. c. 1.

Thirdly,

[illegible] Pentecost, whereof Saint *Paul* [illegible], was the feast of the Iewes, which with other [illegible] of theirs, the Apostles obserued not as a [illegible] of Christian religion, but taking oc[illegible] the meeting of the Iewes in those festiuall daies: and so [illegible] holy daies [illegible] edification of Gods people, that vse to assemble at such times. [illegible] [illegible], what cause is there, why Easter and Whitsontide should be tied to the Lords day, and [illegible] of Christ, which *Bellarmine* confesseth, was vpon the Lords day, should indifferently [illegible] vpon any day: but that hereby we vnderstand, that it is an indifferent matter whether [illegible] be kept vpon the Lords day, or any other; and whether vpon any certaine day, or vp[illegible] the discretion of the gouernours of the Church to be obserued, as any other occasion [illegible], *Fulk. annot. Apocalyps. 1. sect. 6.*

[illegible] shewed *Augustines* opinion, in the first part of this question, how he vnderstandeth [illegible] Psal. 118. This is the day which the Lord hath made, onely of the Sabboth: thereby [illegible] other holy daies either were not instituted of God at all, or else not with the like [illegible].

[illegible] further the consent of antiquitie: that the obseruation of Easter is no Apostolicall [illegible] it appeareth: 1. Because there was no vniforme order [illegible] for it before the [illegible] Councell, where, as *Theophilus Alexandrinus* witnesseth, these three rules were made for [illegible], that it should not be kept before the 21. of March, nor after the 25. of Aprill. Be[illegible] *Equinoctium* did fall then vpon the 21. of March, and Easter must in no wise be kept be[illegible] *Equinoctium*. The second, that they should wait for the 14. day of the first Moon from the [illegible] till the 24. of Aprill. The third, that they should obserue the first Lords day after [illegible] first Moone, and so keepe their Easter. This order was begun in the Nicen Coun[illegible] [illegible] the Apostles: *Ergo*, it is not Apostolicall.

[illegible] after the Nicen Councell did this order hold: for in Pope *Zosimus* time the West [illegible] Easter the 8. from the Calends of Aprill, that is the 25. of March: the East Chur[illegible] [illegible] Aprill: *Leon. epistol. 63.* Againe, *Leo epistol. 62.* maketh mention how *Theodosius* the [illegible] this matter to the Bishop of Alexandria, to compose the cycle of the Pasch: who [illegible] in his account a great error (as *Leo* saith) for in the 76. [illegible] of his order, Easter fell [illegible] of Aprill, whereas by the order of the Nicen Councell, it should not exceede the 20. [illegible] the same *Leo* writeth, *Epistol. 92.* that whereas some appointed the next Easter then [illegible] vpon the 15. from the Calends of May, some vpon the 8. he writ to the Emperour *Mar*[illegible] [illegible] to the order of the East Church, would haue it kept the 8. day: and there[illegible] [illegible] consented. This could not then be an Apostolicall decree, whereof there was no more [illegible].

[illegible] the festiuities of Christ and the holy Ghost are to be preferred before other holy daies, [illegible] graunt: as *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 12. leg. 7.* by the constitution of the Emperours, [illegible] [illegible], the feasts of the Pasch, the Natiuitie, and Epiphanie, are especially authorised. [illegible] *par. 2. caus. 7. quaest. 19.* the Natiuitie of our Lord, Epiphanie, the Pasch, and Pentecost, [illegible] vp for the principall feasts.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE solemnities of Saints.

The Papists.

[illegible] hold that holy daies may be dedicated vnto Saints, for their honour and worship: as [illegible] promised that the charitable act of *Mary Magdalene* wrought vpon him should bee [illegible] remembred, Matth. 26. vers. 13. Hereby wee learne that the good workes of Saints [illegible] recorded to the honour of Saints in the Church, whereof arise their commemorations [illegible], *Rhemist. annot. Matth. 25. sect. 1.* 74. Error.

The Protestants.

[illegible] workes of Saints may bee remembred to the honour of God, without their holy [illegible] commemorations: Christ instituted no holy day of *Mary Magdalene*, nor comman[illegible] [illegible] of her fast to bee made, but a memorie of her in preaching the Gospell. Secondly, [illegible] Christian solemnities may bee kept, as things indifferent, which the Church may [illegible] abrogate as it shall seeme best for edification, not obserued of necessitie as a part of the worship of God, not consecrate to the honour of Saints; seeing all diuine worship is wholly to be [illegible] God, not to be giuen to any other: For times and seasons, the Scripture saith, the Lord hath put onely in his owne power: therfore he is only to haue the honour of them, Act. 1. 7. Third[illegible] ly, what honor is due vnto Saints *Augustine* sheweth: *Colimus martyres cultu dilectionis, & societa*[illegible] *tis, quo & in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei*: We do honor Martyrs with the seruice of loue and fellowship, as holy men are honoured in this life. But it is not lawfull to consecrate times and daies Contra Faust. lib.2.cap.21.

daies to holy men liuing, therefore neither to Saints departed: for one and the same kinde [illegible] is due to them both.

Leon. [illegible] 4. c. 4. Nouerit dilectioni vestrae [illegible] dies Christi [illegible] conformatos [illegible] Be it knowne to your brotherhood, that all the dayes of Christ are consecrated [illegible] innumerable vertuous acts: yet if we should indifferently honour all the workes of C[hrist, all] dayes should be holy dayes, for they are all full of the miracles of Christ. From hence [illegible] these two arguments against Saints dayes. 1. The miracles of Christ are more forcible [to con]secrate an holy day, then the acts of Saints, but all his miracles make not holy dayes: E[rgo]. [By] the same reason, that all Christs acts haue not their festiuals, because then all dayes sh[ould be fe]stiuall, we doe also exclude Saints dayes, because that if all Saints should haue their [comme]morations, the dayes of the yeere would not suffise thereto: and we should haue [illegible] [fe]stiuals.

Cod. lib. 3. tit. 12. lig. 4. a law was made by *Constantinus* the Emperour, that none but [he] should, *ferias condere*, erect daies of recreation for the people. If ciuill holy daies must be [made] only by the Emperour the Lord of the earth; in the Church holy dayes should be grou[nded on] the institution of Christ Lord and King of his Church.

The Papists.

75. Error. 2. THey maintaine, that there may be holy dayes and commemorations of all Saints, [as the Rhemists] prodmiseth there should be of *Mary Magdalene, Rhemist. Matth. 25. fell. 1.*

The Protestants.

Ex Tileman. Loc. 28. THis is another principall fault, which we finde and complaine of in their holy [dayes, that] they haue pestred the Church with such a number of Saints and Saints dayes. First, [as we] partly shewed before, they appoynted a seuerall Saint almost for euery purpose, as [illegible] set it downe:

Saint *Leonard* for captiues.
Saint *Rochus* for the pestilence.
Saint *George* for warre.
Saint *Anne* giues riches.
Saint *Nicholas* and *Christopher* for the sea.
Saint *Apollonia* for the toothake.
Saint *Otilia* for the eyes.

Saint *Margaret* for women in tra[uaile].
Saint *Laurence* keepeth from the fi[re].
Saint *Catherine* giueth wit and lear[ning].
Saint *Iohn* against poyson.
Saint *Quirinus* for the fistula.
Saint *Protasius* and *Geruasius* helpe [to be]wray theft.

And thus it is true of them, as *Ieremie* complayned of the Idolatrous Israelites: th[eir gods] were after the number of their cities, Ierem. 2. 28. In like manner also haue they mu[ltiplied] Saints dayes: for beside the festiuals of Christ, the holy Ghost, and of the Apostles, th[ey ad]ded these besides.

Ex Concil. Oxoniens. sub Stephano: haec sunt festa Angliae celeberrima. These are the m[ost solemne] feasts of England, to be kept with great reuerence.

The festiuals of the

1. Annunciation
2. Natiuitie
3. Assumption

of *Mary*.

4. Chaire of *Peter*.
5. S. *Gregorie*.
6. S. *Augustine* in May.
8. Two feasts of the Crosse.
9. Translation of *Thomas*.
10. Decollation of *Iohn Bapt.*
11. S. *Margaret*.
12. S. *Mary Magdalene*.
13. S. *Peter ad Vincula*.
14. S. *Laurence*.
15. S. *Martine*.
16. S. *Edmund* Confessor.
17. S. *Edmund* Martyr.
18. S. *Catherine*.
19. S. *Nicholas*.
20. S. *Clement*.
21. The dedication of the Church.
22. The patron of the Church.

Vulgare feasts to be kept of the Clergie.

The feasts of

1. S. *Fabian*.
2. S. *Sebastian*.
3. S. *Agnes*.
4. S. *Blase*.
5. S. *Vincent*.
6. S. *Agatha*.
7. S. *Philip*.
8. S. *George*.
9. S. *Iohn port-latine*.
10. S. *Dunstane*.
11. S. *Ethelred*.
12. Inuention of the Crosse.
13. S. *Hierome*.
14. S. *Stephen*.
15. S. *Fides*.
16. S. *Michael* in the Mount.
17. S. *Denis*.
18. S. *Lucy*.
19. S. *Cecile*.
20. S. *Leonard*.
21. All Soules.

The

[illegible] number is 63. holy dayes, besides the Sabboth dayes 52. and the festiuals of Christ, [illegible] and the Apostles: so that by this [illegible] the better halfe of the yeere should be [illegible] dayes. [illegible] *Corpus Christi day*, [illegible] festiuals of [illegible] in the di[illegible]: *Reformat.* [illegible] the feasts of [illegible] the festiuals of [illegible] the [illegible] of *Mary Magdalene*. [illegible] the [illegible] these be 24. holy dayes more. [illegible] we may adioyne a supply of holy dayes made by our Rhemists, as they haue set them [illegible] in their marginals vpon the Gospels.

1. S. *Ioseph* [illegible] *Matth.* 1. [illegible] 8.	12. *Monica* *Augustines* mother. Luk. 7. 11.
2. All Hallowes and al Martyrs, Mat. 5.	13. S. *Basile*. Luk. 14. 26.
3. Of Doctors [illegible] *Mat.* 5. 13.	14. Saint *Lewis* King of France. 19. 12.
4. *Athanasius*. Matth. 10. 23.	15. Of the holy Angels. Ioh. 1. 47.
5. S. *Francis*. 11. 25.	16. Holy Roode day. Ioh. 3. 1.
6. The 7. brethren. 12. 46.	17. Saint *Thomas* of *Canterburie*. 9. 12.
7. The octaues of *Peter, Paul*. 14. 22.	18. S. *Ignatius*. Ioh. 12. 24.
8. The coronation of the Pope. 16. 13.	19. The election of the Pope. 14. 14.
9. The transfiguration. 17. 1.	20. Lammasday. Act. 12. 6.
10. Apparition of *Michael*. 18. 1.	
11. S. *Gregory thaumaturg*. Mark. 11. 22.	

[illegible] 20. more: all these ioyned together will make a round summe: we shall haue ye[illegible] play dayes enough: Of which number some are blasphemous, as to keepe the Con[illegible] in remembrance that she was conceiued without sinne: some of them fabulous [illegible] the Assumption of *Mary*, in memorie of her Assumption in body to heauen; which [illegible]: But all the rest are idolatrous and superstitious, ordained for the honor and wor[illegible]. And thus haue they cumbred the people of God with an infinite obseruations. [illegible] Lord saith to them, concerning their feasts, [illegible] the Israelites: They are a burden [illegible] weary to beare them, *Esa.* 1. 14.

[illegible] time, or who else it was that made those Sermons, when there were nothing so [illegible] as now among Papists, yet more than needed, he wrote thus in a sermon, vpon a [illegible] *sum hodiernus die propter numerum* [illegible] *quia non video* [illegible] *congregatum, quantus congregari debuit*: I am glad to day, because of this festiuall [illegible] what grieued withall, that the people were not in such frequencie, as they should. [illegible] by this, that euen then the people began to waxe weary of their many holy dayes. [illegible] in his time complained of this multitude of feasts: [illegible] *decet, non exules*: This frequencie of mirth belongeth to [illegible], not to exile, and the multitude of feasts becommeth citizens in heauen, not exiles [illegible] earth. To this purpose there is a notable saying, [illegible] *lib.* 3. *cap.* 5. [illegible] *est, quod mala mulieres dicunt, quid plus* [illegible] *&c.* It is a common thing in the mouthes of naughtie women, that they [illegible] by their sinne in one holy day, than all the weeke beside, and so of other sinnes: *Et* [illegible] *quod acceptius esset Deo, quod pauciora festa essent in ecclesia*: And therefore it seemeth to [illegible] able to God, that there should be fewer holy daies in the Church, &c.

[illegible] *tit.* 12 *leg.* 7 *Valentin. Theodos.* Beside the festiuities of Christ, as the Natiuitie, Epipha[illegible]: onely, the festiuals of the Apostles are enioyned to be kept.

[illegible], *Boniface* 8. though a corrupt Pope, yet herein not so superstitious as the rest, enioy[illegible] the feasts of the twelue Apostles, the foure Euangelists, and the foure Doctors of the Church, *Gregorie, Augustine, Hierome, Ambrose*, should bee solemnely kept aboue the rest: and in that decree there are no other holy daies particularly named: *Sext. decret. lib.* 3. *tit.* 22. *cap.* 1. De diuers. [illegible] 47.

Master *Tindall* holy martyr hath sealed this truth: The multiplication of holy daies, of feasts of *Corpus Christi*, the visitation of our Ladie, is a wicked sect and colour, and indeed foolish, vnprofitable, vaine, *Fox*. p. 1253. col. 1.

The Papists.

They impose sanctification and necessarie keeping of all their festiuities and holy daies: and so make no difference betweene the obseruation of holy daies appointed of God, and others ordained of men, requiring the like strictnes in keeping of them all, *Rhemist. annot. Gal.* 4. *sect.* 5. And *Bellarmine* also affirmeth, that men are bound in conscience to keepe all the festiuals of the Church, *cap.* 10. *prop.* 3. 76. Error.

The Protestants.

THere are no daies necessarie to be kept, but those that are of the Lordes appointment [illegible] rest, being void of superstition, may be celebrated as indifferent: and therefore [illegible] commaunded with the like strictnes, as is the Lords day. There is greater libertie [illegible] daies for bodily labour, than vpon the Sabboth: for bodily rest vpon the seuenth day is [illegible] ded of God: bodily labour vpon all other daies permitted, and may without offence [illegible] ence be vsed, when it is not by the lawfull authoritie of the gouernours of the Church [illegible] occasion restrained, as during the time of publicke praiers and fasts, hearing of the [illegible] such like.

The rest of the Sabboth, so farre as it helpeth our preparation and fitnes to spirituall [illegible] and is a part of sanctifying the Lordes day, bindeth simply in conscience, because [illegible] commaundement of God: but the rest vpon holy daies doth not in it selfe binde vs, [illegible] wise than by reason of offence, that may arise by our contempt of the constitution [illegible] Church.

We find that *Simon Islep*, Archbishop of Canterburie, directed his letters patents to [illegible] and Vicars, wherein hee straightly charged them and their parishioners vnder paine of [illegible] munication, not to abstaine from bodily labour vpon certaine Saints daies, which before [illegible] wont to be hallowed and consecrated to vnthriftie idlenes, *Fox.* p.393. *Ergo*, by their [illegible] ment, all the festiuities of their Church are not to be kept alike.

Reformat. Kolon. artic. 20. *In minoribus festiuitatibus liberum cuique facimus, &c.* In the [illegible] feasts, we giue leaue to euerie man, after hee hath heard Masse, to returne to his labour [illegible] he may prouide sustenance for him and his.

Synod. Treuerensis cap. 10. *[illegible]* [illegible] *labores, & negotia secularia [illegible]* Wee will haue men to keepe holy daie vpon [illegible] till noone, and then to returne to their labours and worldly busines, hauing first [illegible] festiuals therefore are not with the like strictnes to be obserued.

This truth hath also beene sealed: *Isabel Tracher* persecuted, because she did worke [illegible] daies. *Fox.* p. 819. col. 1. *William Wigreaue, Thomas Hawkyns*, with other persecuted for [illegible] saying, That God biddeth vs worke one day as well as another, sauing the Sundaie [illegible]

Augustine maketh three degrees of festiuall daies: in the first and highest degree [illegible] Lords day: *Quomodo Maria virgo, mater domini, principatum tenet inter omnes mulieres* [illegible] *omnes dies, hac omnium dierum mater est*: As amongst women the virgine *Marie*, the [illegible] Lord, is the chiefe; so this daie is the mother and chiefe of all other daies: speaking [illegible] Sabboth of Christians, *De tempore Serm.* 6.

In the next place or degree hee putteth the festiuals of Christ, and the holy Ghost, [illegible] memorials of his Natiuitie, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension: as in his sermon vpon [illegible] cension day he thus saith, *Cuiusdam viri beatissimi S. Leontij hodie depositio est: sed dignum* [illegible] *stella à sole.* To day wee haue the commemoration of the deposition or sepulture of S. [illegible] founder of this Church: but let not the starre thinke much to be obscured of the Sunne [illegible] third ranke he counteth the commemorations of holy men, which vnto the festiuals [illegible] were but as the starre to the Sun. We will adde a fourth place or degree, distinguishing [illegible] the commemorations of the holy Apostles, and other superstitious and popish Saints [illegible] our Church hath worthily thrust out at the doores.

Let vs see their owne decrees: *Decret. part.* 3 *distinct.* 3. *c.* 1. *Reliquas festiuitates, &c.* V[illegible] festiuals, *neque cogendi ad feriandum, &c.* men must neither bee constrained to play, or [illegible] worke, nor yet be forbidden: Therefore by this decree all their feasts are not of necessitie [illegible] kept. Againe, *ibid. cap.* 12. *Peruenit ad nos, &c.* It is come to our eare, that certaine doe forbid to worke vpon the Saturday, who are nothing else but the preachers of Antichrist. But the Papists forbid to worke vpon Saturdaies being their holy daies: *Ergo*, by the determination of Gregorie they are Antichrists preachers.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, OF THE VIgiles and night watches annexed to festiuall daies.

The Papists.

77. Error. 1. THey were wont vpon Saints eeues to giue themselues to fasting, and watching. But their night vigiles or watches they doe not now so strictly obserue, because of the great abuses which did grow thereupon, *Bellarm. cap.* 17. Yet they haue not altogether left them, for they haue their *Nocturnes* or midnight Mattens, and their prime houres in the morning, *Rhemist. annot. Act.* 10. *sect.* 6.

The Protestants.

The Christians in time of persecution had their *antelucanos hymnos*, their early and timely songs and hymnes: they met together to worship God, before the Sunne rise, because they could not safely, neither were suffered to assemble in the day time. But that is no reason, why now the Church should vse vigiles or nocturnes, seeing wee now haue free exercise of religion in the day time: in more then *Pauls* example is to be vrged, that prayed by the riuers side with the people, and there preached vnto them, because in idolatrous cities they could haue no places of meeting, plainly therefore we now ought to doe the like, hauing Churches and Oratories to assemble in. *Augustine*, if the sermon be his, thus witnesseth: *Iubente Ambrosio cessabant vigiliæ Mediolani, quia cum vigiliæ per noctem, ad ecclesiam, lucendo & chorizando conueniebant:* At Millaine by *Ambrose's* commandement the vigiles ceased, because the people, when they watched, did come by night, dauncing and sporting and playing, to the Church. Ad fratres in eremo serm.

Decretum Telesphori, Vt nocte natiuitatis domini missæ celebrarent, reliquis verò temporibus non ante horam tertiam &c. That Masse should bee celebrate the night before the natiuitie of our Lord, at other times not before the third houre of the day, because Christ was crucified at that houre, &c. Here vigils are forbidden, except onely one night in the yeere. This Canon is rehearsed *distinct. 1. cap. [illegible]*.

Synod. Colonien. sub Adulpho part. 1. cap. 7. Ne Canonici & Vicarij Cleri vestri Colonien. vigilias defunctorum &c. Lest that the Canons and Vicars of our Clergie at Colen, should be hindered from frequenting more necessarie lessons by the vigils of the dead, which they were wont to performe early in the morning; we will, that from henceforth vigils shall begin at two in the afternoone, that they may bee finished before euening prayer. Here vigils and night watches are cleane cut off, and turned to day-exercises.

And how well they kept their vigils may appeare by that decree of *Innocentius*, *decr. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 41. Dolentes referimus &c.* Wee speake it with griefe, that certaine, not onely inferiour priests, but prelates, spend the time in eating and drinking vntill midnight, &c.

The Papists.

1. They haue also another superstitious custome, to set vp waxe candles, and Taber-light before Images, and vpon the Altar, to carrie them about in procession, and euen at midday, as at noone? And *Bellarmine* would authorise this custome by the continuall burning of the Lampes day and night, as he saith, in the Tabernacle among the Iewes. 78. Error.

The Protestants.

1. First, we say of this, as we did of the vigiles of the Church before: that Christians in those times in their night assemblies vsed candle light, as S. *Hierome* saith, answering thus to *Vigilantius*: *Quòd non clara luce accendimus*, Wee doe not burne candles at noone day, as you doe falsely vsurpe: but thereby to temper, or qualifie the darknes of the night, &c. But it followeth not, that the vigiles being now left, wee should burne candles at noone day: and that this was their custome to burne their Lampes onely in the night, *Augustine* sheweth, where he speaketh of one that did vow *ceram ad luminaria noctis*, waxe candles for the lights of the Church in the night. De tempor. serm. 7.

Secondly, it is vtterly vntrue, that the Lampes in the Tabernacle burned all day: the contrary is proued, that they were lighted in the euening, and so burned al night, for those that kept the watch in the Temple, 2. Chron. 13. 11. and that in the morning againe they were put out, 1. Sam. 3. vers. 3. The Priests shall set the Lampes on fire, *inter duas vesperas*, betweene the two twilights, that is, the euening and morning, Exod. 30. 8. And he shall dresse them to burne from the euening to the morning, Leuit. 24. 3. And S. *Hierome* vpon those words, 1. Sam. 3. *before the lampe of God went out, &c.* thus writeth: *Intelligi oportet, antequam lux diurna fieret:* It must be vnderstood before it was day, when the lampe was put out. That therefore which the Iesuite made for an argument for himselfe, wee will vrge against him: that seeing the lampes amongst the Iewes, who abounded in types and ceremonies, were burnt onely in the night, and not vpon the day; it is shame for those that would bee counted Christians, in superstitious customes, to exceede and goe beyond them.

THE NINTH QVESTION, CONcerning the Vrgine *Marie*.

This question standeth of many parts. First, whether the blessed Virgin *Marie* were conceiued without sinne. Secondly, whether she vowed virginitie before the Angell was sent vnto her. Thirdly, of the assumption of her bodie into heauen. Fourthly, of the dignitie and preeminence that she hath (as they affirme) aboue all other Saints, yea, and the Angelles too. Fiftly, of the merites of the Virgin *Mary* and of the *Ave Maria*.

THE

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE VIRGIN *Marie*, were voyd of originall and actuall sinne.

The Papists.

19. Error. 1. ALl men are borne in sinne, Christ only excepted, and his mother for his honour: *Rhemist. Rom. 5. sect. 9.*

Ans. It is no more dishonour for Christ to be borne of a sinner, than to haue taken his flesh, and lineally descended, according to his humanitie, of *Thamar* that committed incest with *Iudas*, and *Rahab* which was an harlot, Matth. 1. 3, 5. Secondly, it maketh more for the honour of God that Christ was borne without sinne of a woman which was a sinner, and more setteth forth his power, than otherwise, least he should be thought to haue deriued his puritie from his mother.

20. Error. 2. They hold, that there was no actuall sinne in the Virgin *Marie*, no not in the least and smallest sinnes, which they call veniall, *Rhemist. 1. Iohn. 1. sect. 5.* Shee was especially protected, and preserued from sinning by the grace of God.

Answ. That God is able cleerely to ridde his children from sinne, and to preserue them from falling thereinto, we denie not: but, seeing you haue no scripture for this priuiledge, that should be bestowed onely vpon *Marie*, to be free from sinne: but rather the contrarie is prooued out of scripture, That all haue sinned, Rom. 3. 23. it is too rash and bold an assertion, contrarie to the will of God, to ascribe any thing to his power. He is as able to exempt all from sinning as one: vnlesse therefore you can shewe some especiall warrant out of Gods word, for *Maries* freedome, by your reason, all the children of God shall be freed from sinne as well as *Marie*, because God is able to doe it.

Let vs heare *Bellarmines* opinion: he saith that men are stained three waies with originall sin. First, the whole posteritie of *Adam* may be said to haue sinned potentially in *Adam*, being at that time in his loynes. Secondly, as soone as the bodie beginneth to haue any being in the wombe. Thirdly, when as the soule is inspired into the bodie: hee confesseth, that the Virgine *Mary* was conceiued as all other are, after the two first waies: that is, if we either respect her being in *Adams* loynes, or the first conception of her flesh: but concerning the third, her soule was without spot of originall sinne, in the verie instant of the infusion thereof into her bodie. And this he saith is a godly and probable opinion, though it be not yet determined in their Church as a point of faith: *De amission. grat. lib. 4. cap. 16.*

Ans. This distinction, which the Iesuite hath coyned, concerning these three kinds of conception in sinne, is both verie friuolous and vntrue: for the first is none at all: if all that were in *Adams* loynes, when he sinned, may be said to be conceiued in sinne, then our Sauiour Christ also, which were blasphemie to affirme. The other two kinds make indeed but one: for to be conceiued in originall sinne, implyeth a pollution both of bodie and soule: And the time of the conception is more properly referred to the beginning of the knitting of the flesh in the wombe, than to the instant of the infusion of the soule: as *Dauid* in the Psal. 51. 5. saith, In sinne hath my mother conceiued me: But the mother conceiueth onely the flesh: the soule is infused and inbred of God, as the Iesuite also thinketh. Wherfore in graunting that the virgine *Marie* was in her flesh conceiued in originall sinne, he affirmeth in a maner the same that we doe: for how can the soule remaine vnspotted, comming into a bodie alreadie infected with originall sinne? But let vs examine some of his reasons.

Argum. 1. *Adam* was a figure, as S. *Paul* saith, of him that was to come, that is, of Christ: but *Adam* was created of the earth, before it was cursed: *Ergo*, Christ also must be borne of the Virgin *Marie* void of curse, and so free from originall sinne: *Bellar. cap. 15.*

Ans. First, the Iesuit knoweth that these are but weake arguments, that are drawn from types and allegories, and conclude not. Secondly, *Adam* was a forme or figure of Christ, but not in all things, neither in this, which the Iesuit vrgeth: but *Augustine* shall speake for vs both, wherein he was a figure: *Adam forma futuri est, i. Christi, &c. Adam* was a figure of Christ to come, because, as he was cause of death by eating the forbidden meat, euen vnto those of his linage, which did not eat of the tree: so Christ vnto those, which are of him, although they haue done nothing righteously in themselues, hath giuen righteousnes by his crosse. *Cont. Iulian. lib. 1.* The words also of the Apostle doe carrie the same sense: for in the same verse he saith, That death hath reigned euen ouer those, that sinned not after the manner of the transgression of *Adam*, vers. 14. that is, ouer children: so that this must be the meaning: That as *Adams* sinne extended to those that committed it not, so Christs righteousnesse is applyed to those that wrought it not: herein then is *Adam* a figure of Christ. 3. And yet if we stretch this allegorie to this point, which the Iesuit vrgeth, it will onely enforce the virginitie of *Marie*, not her freedome from sinne: as *Augustine* elsewhere maketh this allusion: *Adam de terra virgine natus, Christus de Maria virgine procreatus*: As *Adam* was

De tempor. Serm. 77.

was made of the earth, being yet a virgine that had brought forth none before; so Christ also was borne of the virgine *Mary*.

Argum. 2. Thou art all faire my loue, and there is no spot in thee, Cantic. 4.7. this is vnderstood of the virgine *Mary*: *Ergo*, she was without spot, *Bellar. ibid.*

Answ. First, S. *Paul* I thinke vnderstood this place better than the Iesuit doth: the Apostle applyeth it to the Church of Christ, That he might make it to himselfe a glorious Church, without spot or wrinckle, Ephes. 5.27. Secondly, Christ maketh it without spot by sanctifying it and washing it in his bloud: this place therefore serueth not for any originall pureness by nature.

The Protestants.

That the virgine *Mary* was both conceiued in sinne, and was also subiect to actuall sinnes in her life, as other of the children of God: thus out of the scripture we doe declare it.

1 How else can the word of God be true, that saith, All haue sinned, Rom. 3.23. and 5.12? They will answer, that *Mary* had an especiall priuiledge: then let them shew it out of the word of God, and we will beleeue it: otherwise the generall conclusion must stand, that All haue sinned. Againe, *Marie* her selfe in her song, calleth Christ her Sauiour, Luk. 1.47. *Ergo*, she was a sinner: for how elle could she be saued from her sinnes which she had not? If they answere as they do, that Christ was her Sauiour only, because he preserued her from sinne; we doe thus reply. First, that a Sauiour in scripture is defined to be hee that saueth the people from their sinnes, Matth. 1.21. not that preserueth onely. Secondly, if *Mary* were free from originall sinne, as they say she was, she needed no Sauiour to keepe her from sinne, for she might haue preserued her selfe. Fox. p. 801.

Argum. 2. *Mary* died: *Ergo*, she was a sinner: for sinne brought death into the world, Rom. 5. 12. If shee had had no sinne, shee had not died. Christ indeed, though he were no sinner, yet bee bare our sinnes, and therefore dyed for vs.

These places also may be vrged: In whome, that is, in *Adam*, all haue sinned, Rom. 5.12. As in *Adam* all die, so in Christ we shall be made aliue, 1. Cor. 15.22. and Christ died for all, 2. Corin. 5.14. Therefore the virgine *Mary* also sinned, and was dead in *Adam*, and Christ died for her: *Ergo*, she was a sinner.

Answ. 1. *Mary* sinned potentially in *Adams* loynes: and in that respect wee confesse shee was cleansed by the bloud of Christ: and though by nature she had an abilitie to sinne, yet was shee preserued by grace, *Bellar. cap.* 16.

Contra. 1. If she sinned onely as she was in *Adams* loynes, then all that were in *Adams* loynes sinned, so Christ shall be counted in the number of sinners. 2. As we sinned in *Adam*, so we are made righteous by Christ; but we are not potentially made righteous, but verily and indeed: *Ergo*, *Mary* haue life and righteousnes in Christ, she sinned more then potentially in *Adam*. 3. She was preuented, you say, by grace, and kept from sinne, *Vt simul esset, & iusta esset in partu*: That she began to haue her being, and to be iust at one time. How then is it true, as you confesse, that *Mary* was redeemed by the bloud of Christ, and that Christ dyed for her? For *Christ dyed for vs when we were yet sinners*, Rom. 5.8. and reconciled vs being enemies, vers. 10. *Ergo*, *Mary* was borne both a sinner, and an enimie to God, if she haue any benefit by Christs death: for redemption and freedome purchased, betokeneth bondage and slauerie before.

Christ checked and rebuked his mother, Ioh. 2.4. Woman what haue I to doe with thee? *Ergo*, it seemeth she was not without fault. *Rhem. ibid. Answ.* It was rather a doctrine to others, to teach them how to doe any thing for respect of kinred, against reason, then a reprehension to *Mary*. We reply: But I pray you, how could the Apostles learne to beware of that fault, if it had been no fault in *Mary*? How could they be admonished in her, if she were not first her selfe admonished? And the manner of speech sheweth, it was a rebuke, Christ saluting her by no other name, then if he had spoken to any other woman.

Argum. 3. The Papists themselues are in a stagger, and dare not constantly affirme, that *Mary* was conceiued without sinne, but put in this clause (as many godly deuout men iudge) *Rhemist. Rom. 5. fol. 9.* And *Bellarmine* saith, *In maiori parte Ecclesia piè credit*: That the greater part of the Church doth so godly beleeue, yet he dare not determine vpon it himselfe, *De cult. sanct. lib. 3. c. 16.* But why are they afraid to hold it as an vndoubted truth, seeing Pope *Sixtus* hath cleerly determined that it was so, forbidding the Dominicke Friers to preach the contrary, and hereupon erected a new holy day of her Conception? Here then they are driuen to a great streight: for either they must absolutely hold, that she was not conceiued in sinne, against the Master of sentences, and *Thomas Aquinas*, with other Schoolemen; or els hold the contrarie, and so confesse the Pope to haue been in error. Fox. p. 800.

I marraile, that the Iesuite is not ashamed to say, that Pope *Sixtus* the fourth left this question of the virgine *Maries* conception vndetermined; seeing he erected an holy day in memorie of her conception: and tooke part with the Franciscanes, that held her pure and vndefiled conception, against the Dominickes that maintained the contrary: yea and the same Pope vpon this occasion

casion added this clause to the *Ave Maria: Benedicta sit Anna mater tua, de qua sine macula tua processit caro virginea:* And blessed be *Anna* thy mother, of whom thy virgins flesh proceeded without blot of originall sinne: granting also great Indulgence, and release of sinnes, to all those that would inuocate the blessed Virgine with the same addition. For all these euident and substantiall proues, which make this matter as cleere as noone day: yet *Bellarmine* would face vs downe, that this Pope holy father concluded no such thing, but left it as a matter indifferent, cap. 15. It was also thus determined, *Concil. Basilien. sess. 36. Doctrinam illam differentem gloriosam Virginem semper immunem fuisse ab omni originali & actuali peccato, tanquam piam & catholicæ fidei consonam definimus, nulliq; de cætero licitum esse contrarium prædicare aut docere:* This doctrine, that the glorious Virgine was free from all sinne originall and actuall, we define to be a godly doctrine and consonant to the faith, and that no man teach the contrary. And *extrauag. communi. lib. 3. tit. 12. cap. 2. Sixtus 4.* decreeth all those to be heretikes, which affirme the Virgin *Marie* to haue been conceiued in originall sinne. How then is this matter left vndetermined?

De sanct. virginit. cap. 4. *Augustine* saith, *Beatior Maria percipiendo fidem Christi, quàm concipiendo carnem Christi: quamuis propinquitatis nihil Maria profuisset, nisi fidelius Christum corde, quàm carne gestasset.* *Marie* was more happie in perceiuing the faith of Christ, then in conceiuing the flesh of Christ: neither had it profited her to be the mother of Christ, if she had not more happily borne him in her heart, then she did in her wombe. But what neede had *Marie* to beleeue in Christ, if she had been pure from her natiuitie, and had no sinnes to be forgiuen her?

In Psal. 34. conci. 2. *Augustine* yet more plainly saith, *Maria ex Adam mortua propter peccatum Adæ: Adam mortuus propter peccatum, & caro domini ex Maria mortua est propter delenda peccata: Marie* dyed because of *Adam*, because of the sinne of *Adam*: *Adam* dyed because of his owne sinne: Christ died in the flesh to take away our sinnes: *Ergo, Marie* by his sentence was borne in the sinne of *Adam*.

Augustine further saith, *Nullus exitit homo, de quo in hac vita constitutus veraciter dici posit, quod nullum habeat peccatum excepto vno mediatore:* There is no man liuing of whom it may be truly said, that he hath no sinne, our Mediator onely excepted: *Contr. Pelag. lib. 2. 29.* What now became of the Virgine *Marie?* she is found to be a sinner with the rest.

Leo epist. 91. cap. 9. thus writeth against the *Priscillianists* that said, the children of promise were borne of women, but conceiued of the holy Ghost: *Quod catholicæ fidei repugnans, at quæ contraria est, &c.* Which assertion, saith he, is repugnant and contrarie to the Catholike faith, which confesseth that euery man receiueth life in his mothers wombe, that contagion of sinne and mortalitie remayning, which is deriued into the offspring from the first parent: but they are regenerate and made the children of promise by the holy Ghost in the Sacrament of Regeneration, not in the wombe of flesh: but in the efficacie of Baptisme. Here this Catholike Bishop concludeth all men vnder originall sinne in the wombe, there is no exception made of the Virgine *Marie.*

Origen saith; *Solus Christus sine macula est, &c.* Onely Christ is without spot, he did no sinne, &c. *hom. 1. in Leuitic.* and S. *Hieromie. Conclusit Deus omnes sub peccato, &c.* God hath shut vp all vnder sinne, to haue mercie vpon all, onely he is excepted, which did no sinne, neither any guile found in his mouth, *Aligasquast. 8.* If onely Christ be excepted, then not the virgin *Marie.*

See the Testimonie of Master *Philpot* holy Martyr: Praised be God, that hath giuen you this sorrowfull heart in respect of righteousnesse, and I pray you let me be partaker of these godly sorrowes for sinne, which be the testimonie of the presence of the holy Ghost: did not the sword of sorrow pierce the heart of the elect and blessed mother of our Lord? did not Peter weepe bitterly for his sinnes? &c. pag. 1833. *Epistol. ad Ioan. Careless.* This holy Martyr confesseth, that the virgin *Mary* was a sinner, and that she sorrowed for her sinne.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER MARY vowed Virginitie before the Annuntiation.

The Papists.

61. Error. THey would gather and conclude so much out of the answere of *Marie* to the Angell, who told her, she should conceiue and beare a sonne: *How can this be* (saith she) *seeing I know no man?* That is, she plainely declareth, she could haue no child by knowing a man, because of her vow, for otherwise she needed not haue asked such a question, how a woman might haue a sonne promised her, if she had married to haue carnall copulation. *Rhemist. Luke 1. sect. 13. Iohannis de Monachis cap. 22.*

Answ. First, *Origen* thinketh, that this question of the Virgin *Marie* (*how can this be*) proceeded from doubtfulnesse, and some incredulitie or hardnes of beliefe: as thus he writeth, *homil. 1. in Genes. Si dixisset Scriptura, crescite, &c.* If the Scripture had said, encrease and multiplie, not add-

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ding father, he made them male and female, he might haue beene incredulous of this bleſſing, as the virgin *Marie* was of the Angels bleſſing, ſaying, *how can this be?* Wherefore *Bellarmine* needed not ſo to take vp *Caluine*, as deuiſer of a new fantaſie, in imputing ſome doubting to the Virgin; ſeeing this ancient father before him long agoe ſo affirmed.

Secondly, *Ambroſe* maketh this to be the cauſe why *Marie* ſo anſwered, ſhe had read the Prophecie of *Eſay*, that a Virgin ſhould conceaue and bring forth a ſonne, and therefore knew very well that this holy child ſhould be otherwiſe conceaued, then by the knowledge or helpe of man, *Fol. 1161.* Thirdly, as alſo the Angell deliuering at once his whole meſſage, and ſhewing what manner of childe it ſhould be, euen the ſonne of the moſt High, who ſhould ſit on the throne of *Dauid*, and of his kingdome there ſhould be no end: that is, that the child ſhould be the Sonne of God: ſhe ſtraightwayes conceiued that ſuch a holy ſeede could not be borne of man, and therefore aſketh, How without man he might be borne. *Sic Caluin. Beza.*

Bellarmine replieth, Firſt, that it is like the Virgin *Mary* was ignorant of the Prophecie of *Iſay*, that Chriſt ſhould be borne of a Virgin, *lib. 1. de monach. cap. 22.*

Contra. Firſt, it is a wonder, that they which do in other things aduance the Virgin *Marie* aboue the ſtate of a woman or creature, making her equall to the Angels, ſhould now ſo much deface her, imputing vnto the mother of Chriſt ſo groſſe ignorance, as not to know the moſt manifeſt Prophecies of Chriſt. Secondly, it is vntrue, that ſhee knew not the Prophets, as may appeare by her ſong, *Luc. 2. verſ. 55. As he hath ſpoken to our forefathers, to Abraham, and his ſeede.*

Secondly, ſaith he, ſhe was a moſt humble Virgine, and therefore would not curiouſly ſearch after the manner, how this child ſhould be borne, *ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, it is no curioſitie, to deſire to be further inſtructed for the confirmation of our faith, but godly ſimplicitie: as it was no curioſitie in *Gedeon* to deſire to be confirmed in his calling by the ſigne of the fleece, Iudg. 6. 36. Secondly, it proceedeth rather of pride and curioſitie, not ſeeke to be confirmed, or to refuſe the meanes of our further ſtrengthning, as *Aaz* is reproued, becauſe hee would not aske a ſigne of the Lorde for his further confirmation, Iſay 7. 11.

The Proteſtants.

That *Mary*, as ſhe was an entire virgin before the birth of Chriſt, ſo that ſhe continued alſo a virgin all her life after, we doe verely thinke, and condemne their opinion that hold the contrarie: but that ſhe vowed or purpoſed virginitie, before the meſſage of the Angell was brought vnto her, it is raſhly without Scripture, nay rather againſt it, affirmed.

Argum. 1. The text is plaine, that they had a purpoſe to conſummate their mariage: when as *Mary* was betrothed to *Ioſeph*, before they came together, Matth. 1. 18. *Ergo*, there was a meaning to come together, if ſhe had not in the meane time been found to be with childe of the holie Ghoſt: for otherwiſe, it ſhould ſeeme to haue beene a mockerie on *Maries* behalfe, to promiſe mariage to *Ioſeph*, without any purpoſe to performe the dutie of mariage. But if it were done with both their conſents, then mocked they with God, who inſtituted mariage for ſome end and purpoſe, which could not be attained out of mariage: for they ſhould haue maried neither for auoyding fornication, nor for procreation, which are the two chiefe ends of mariage: as for the third, which is mutuall comfort, it ariſeth of the former.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that this vow of *Mary* was no hinderance to their mariage, in as much as ſhe knew by reuelation, that *Ioſeph* would neuer exact mariage duties of her: *Bellarm. lib. 2. de monach. cap. 22.*

Contra. 1. Thus they build their fanſies vpon deuiſed dreames and ſpeculations, Scripture they haue none for *Maries* vow, and therefore they ground it vpon their owne conceits. 2. If *Marie* had any ſuch reuelation, it is like alſo it was reuealed vnto her, for what cauſe *Ioſeph* ſhould forbeare her companie; but this is contrarie to the Scripture: for it appeareth by the annunciation of the Angell vnto *Marie*, when ſhe muſed with her ſelfe, what manner of ſalutation that ſhould be, Luk. 1. verſ. 28. that ſhe was not vſed or accuſtomed to ſuch reuelations and viſions. 3. Your Maſter of Sentences thinketh that *Ioſeph* alſo purpoſed virginitie, *lib. 4. diſtinct. 30. b.* If they both purpoſed virginitie, and yet contracted mariage, how was it not a kinde of mockerie, or error in them? 4. Your owne Doctors are vncertaine what to hold: *Thomas Aquinas* thinketh, that *Mary* made not an abſolute vow before the eſpouſals; *Scotus* affirmeth ſhe did: wherefore agree firſt among your ſelues, and let vs know your mind, and you ſhal haue our anſwere.

Argum. 2. It was not the manner among the Iewes to vow virginitie, but it was rather a ſhame and reproch to remaine and die a virgin: and therefore *Iephtahs* daughter lamented her virginitie, Iudg. 11. 38. How then could *Mary* bee induced contrarie to the cuſtome of the Church, to vow virginitie? Yea *Auguſtine* confeſſeth as much: *Hoc mores Iſraelitarum recuſabant:* The manners of the Iſraelites did not ſuffer it, *de Virginit. cap. 4.* though he himſelfe elſewhere, and in the ſame place ſeemeth to incline to the contrarie opinion.

Againe, if *Mary* vowed virginitie, she vowed also against the bearing of children, and so her vow should haue hindred the accomplishment of that message, which the Angell brought vnto her: for she vowed not to bee a mother, if she vowed any thing, then had she vowed against her selfe, who was chosen then to be the mother of our Lord.

The Arausicane Councell saith: *Concil. 2. can. 11. Nemo quicquam vouet Deo vouerit, nisi ab ipso acceperit, sicut legitur, quæ de manu tua accepimus, damus tibi,* 1. Chron. 29. No man can rightly vow any thing to God, vnlesse he haue receiued it of God, as wee reade, that which we haue receiued at thy hands we giue vnto thee: *Mary* therefore should not haue done well, to haue vowed virginitie, hauing not at that time receiued the gift, when she espoused her selfe to *Ioseph*. It is sufficient for vs to know, that *Mary* was both before Christs nativitie, and after so continued an vnblotted virgin: As *Ambrose* saith, *Synod. Telens. Quæ est illa porta, quæ manet clausa, & nemo pertransijt per eam sed solus Deus Israel, Ezech. 44. nonne hæc porta Maria est, per quam in hunc mundum redemptor intrauit?* What is that gate which remaineth shut, and no man shall passe thorough it but only the God of Israel? is not the Virgin *Mary* this gate, by the which the Redeemer came into the world?

Let vs see their owne decrees: *Part. 2. caus. 27. qu. 2. cap. 44. Inuenta est habens in vtero, &c.* *Mary* was found to be with childe, of *Ioseph*, who though he did not touch her, yet knew almost all the secrets, *vxoris futuræ*, of her that was to be his wife. And *cap. 40. Licentia mariti*, By the right and power of an husband *Ioseph* found her to bee with childe, &c. This then being knowne to *Ioseph*, that she was with childe, and not to others, sheweth, that she was in subiection to *Ioseph*, as his espoused wife: and therefore no such vowed virginitie.

Saint *Ambrose* also thus writeth: *Ecce ancilla apparatus est officij, contingat mihi conceptus tuus.* Behold thy handmaid, here is the yeelding of her dutie and obedience, be it vnto me according thy word, here is the conceiuing of her vow, *lib. 2. in Luc.* Saint *Ambrose* maketh this to be her vow, namely, that she might beare this holy childe without the seede of man: and this vow taketh beginning after the annunciation, not before, which was long after the espousals.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE ASsumption of the Virgin Marie.

The Papists.

1. Error. THey report the storie of the death and departure of the Virgin *Mary*, after this manner: At the time of her death after she had liued sixtie three yeeres, all the Apostles, being dispersed into diuers nations, were miraculously brought together to Ierusalem, to solemnize her funerall. They buried her in Gethsemani: and for three daies together the Angels were heard to sing melodious songs: At three daies end also Saint *Thomas* came; who being desirous to see her bodie, and not finding it in the graue, they thereupon assuredly deemed that her body was assumpted into heauen, *Rhemist. Act. 1. vers. 14.*

Argum. 1. It is best agreeable to the priuiledge of the mother of God, not to see corruption, *Rhemist. ibid.* Seeing also her sonne was exempted from corruption, *& natura Mariæ excipitur*, the nature of *Marie* must be excepted: *caro enim Iesu est caro Mariæ*, the flesh of Iesus is the flesh of *Marie*. And seeing Christ came to fulfill the law, which saith, Honor thy parents: it is very like, *eum in morte speciali gratia eam honorasse*, that he did honor her by speciall grace in her death. These reasons and other are to be read in a forged booke amongst *Augustines* workes, bearing title, *De assumptione Mariæ.*

Ans. First, there is no credit to bee giuen to the forged writings which passe vnder the name of Saint *Denis*, and *Athanasius*, out of whom they doe report the assumption of *Mary*, nay their owne lesson, which they reade vpon the Assumption day, doth controll and confute the other. First, that storie saith, that without doubt she was taken vp in bodie: but your lesson leaueth it as vncertaine, whether she were raised vp in bodie or not. Secondly, the forged storie saith, she was buried in Gethsemani, which was in Mount Oliuet: your lesson saith, that the place of her buriall is in the midst of the valley of Iehosaphat, which is betweene Mount Oliuet and the citie, *Fuk. ibid.*

Secondly, it followeth not because Christ tooke flesh of the Virgin, that therefore she should also as well be exempted from corruption: for he tooke flesh also of *Dauid*, and other his progenitors, who by the same reason should be made immortall. And if she were priuiledged by being the mother of Christ, from seeing corruption; why not also from hauing any sinne? for her sonne after the flesh saw neither.

Thirdly, Christ also both did and might honour his mother as he was man, though so great a priuiledge be not graunted vnto her. The reuerence which was to bee done to his mother, was in regard of his manhood, and so was he obedient vnto them, Luk. 2. 51. and so long as he liued in the flesh: and therefore he did care for her euen vpon the crosse, commending her to the disciple whom

whom he loued. But he neither was to honour her as he was God, and therefore not to free her from corruption, which had bin a worke of his Godhead: and the naturall affection and honour due vnto parents ceaſeth after this life. It were then too groſſe a conceit, to thinke that Chriſt hath ſuch regard now of the Virgin *Mary* in heauen, as he had of her, being his mother, in the dairs of his fleſh: for Chriſt, as he is not now knowne after the fleſh, 2. Corinth. 5.16. ſo neither knoweth he any after the fleſh.

The Proteſtants.

THis vncertaine report of the aſſumption of *Mary*, with other circumſtances thereof, wee hold to be a very counterfeit ſtorie, and worthie of no credit.

*Argum.*1. If it were a matter of ſuch waight, as they make it, who haue erected a new found holy-day of the aſſumption of *Mary*, ſurely the Scriptures would not haue been ſilent therein: eſpecially Saint *Iohn* (as *Auguſtine* ſaith) to whoſe charge ſhe was committed, would haue left ſomewhat in writing of that matter: for (ſaith he) *Nullus fidelius id narrare poterit*, for no man could more truly and faithfully make relation thereof. De Sanct. ſerm. 35.

*Argum.*2. That generall ſentence pronounced vpon *Adam* and all *Adams* ſeede, muſt needes alſo take place in the Virgin *Mary*, Thou art duſt, and to duſt ſhalt thou returne, Geneſ. 3.19. Chriſt only is excepted, and that by the teſtimonie of the word of God: wherefore, vnleſſe this priuiledge of the Virgin could bee proued out of Scripture, as Chriſt is, wee muſt needes hold her ſubiect to that generall law of corruption.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Aſſumptio eius in apocrypha non in catholica reperitur hiſtoria*: The aſſumption of *Mary* is found in an Apocryphal, that is, an obſcure and vncertaine, not a Catholike or authenticall ſtorie.

Gelaſius decr. de Apocryphis: Liber qui appellatur tranſitus ſeu aſſumptio Mariæ, Apocryphus: The booke called the paſſage, or aſſumption of *Mary*, is Apocryphall: And in the end of the decree, he doth anathematize this booke and other the like, *cum ſuis autoribus hæreticis*, with heretikes the authors thereof. *Gelaſius* thought ſome heretike to bee the inuentor of this fable of *Mary* her aſſumption.

There is a booke intituled, Of the aſſumption of *Mary*, bearing S. *Hieromes* name, the author thereof ſeemeth to be more reaſonable concerning this point, than our new Maſters of poperie: firſt, whereas the tombe, where *Mary* is ſaid to haue been buried, was found emptie; the like (ſaith the author) many doe report of Saint *Iohn* the Euangeliſts graue, that there was nothing, but *Manna*, found therein: *Verum amen, quid horum verius cenſeatur, ambigimus*, Wee are in doubt, which of theſe ſhould bee moſt true. Secondly, after the ſame manner diuers learned doe thinke (ſaith he) that they roſe for euer, that were ſeene in the citie, out of their graues, at the reſurrection of Chriſt, and *Danid* amongſt the reſt: and therefore Saint *Peter* durſt not ſay, whoſe bodie, but whoſe graue is with vs, Act. 2. *for his bodie being riſen, the graue was emptie*. Like to this fanſie he thinketh the ſtorie of *Maries* aſſumption to be. Thirdly, he thus concludeth, *Melius Deo totum, quod eſt impoſſibile committimus &c.* It is better to leaue this matter to God, to whom nothing is impoſſible, then to define of our owne authoritie, that which wee cannot proue. Thus farre that author.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE HONOR and worſhip of the Virgin Mary.

The Papiſts.

THey doe aſcribe vnto her a kinde of religious honor, more then to any of the Saints beſide: For whereas they call the worſhip of Saints, δουλεία, ſeruice; the honour of the Virgin, they terme, ὑπερδουλεία, a higher kinde of ſeruice, *Bellar. de Sanct. lib. 2. cap. 15.* They call her *Regina mundi, ſcala cæli, throna, Dei, ianua paradiſi*, The Queene of the world, the ladder of heauen, the throne of God, and gate of paradiſe: yea, they giue her iuriſdiction ouer her ſonne, *Iube natum*, command thy ſonne, *Iura matris impera filio*, commaund thy ſonne by the right of a mother: *Cege Deum*, compell God to be mercifull to ſinners, *annot. Fulk. 1.15.* 83. Error.

Againe, they ſay, ſhe is to be honoured with the feaſts of her Natiuitie, Aſſumption, and Conception: for the other two, of her Purification, and Annunciation, are not proper to the Virgin, but concerne Chriſt: the one his Conception, the other his Preſentation, *Rhemiſt. aller. 1. fol. 7.*

Argum. She her ſelfe propheſieth of all Catholike generations, that they ſhould bleſſe her in keeping her feſtiuities and memorials: but if theſe feſtiuities of her Conception and Aſſumption be not kept, ſhe ſhould haue none at all: and ſo bee thought worthie of leſſe remembrance, than any other Saint, *Galat. 4. ſect. 3. Rhemiſt.*

The Proteſtants.

1. WE doe not celebrate any feſtiuall daies in the honour of creatures, neither of the Virgine *Marie*, nor any other Saint, but onely to the honor of God: and therefore the feaſts of the Annuntiation, and Purification, may much better be receiued, becauſe they belong and are referred vnto Chriſt, then the other feſtiuities of the aſſumption and conception of *Marie*, the inſtitution whereof was moſt ſuperſtitious: the one for the fayned aſſumption of her body, which your owne writers are vncertaine of; the other to maintaine the hereſie of the Franciſcanes, that ſhe was conceiued and borne without ſinne. As for the memorie of the Virgine *Marie*, it may better be kept, then by ſuch feſtiuities: as our Sauiour Chriſt taught to keepe the remembrance of *Marie Magdalen*, by preaching the Goſpell, Matth. 26. 13. *Fulk. annot. Act.* 1. 7. And if they onely are Catholike generations, that call her bleſſed in keeping theſe feſtiuities in her memoriall: then there were no Catholike generations for many hundred yeeres after, and ſo doe you condemne the age of the Apoſtles: for neither then, nor many yeeres after were theſe ſuperſtitious feſtiuities heard of. But *Marie* ſaith in her ſong, From henceforth, euen from this time forward, ſhall all generations call me bleſſed: ſo that, if her bleſſednes had conſiſted in the memorie of thoſe dayes, they ſhould immediately haue been kept, eſpecially the day of her natiuitie.

2 We doe allow all praiſe giuen vnto the virgin, without the diſhonor of God and her Sonne and Sauiour Chriſt: we doe acknowledge the honour that God vouchſafed her, not to be a meritorious or principall efficient cauſe of our redemption, but onely an holy veſſell, and inſtrumentall cauſe of the conception and birth of Chriſt, by whoſe only merit and worthines our redemption is perfited, as by a proper and principall, and onely meritorious efficient cauſe thereof. And therefore, thoſe are blaſphemous titles which are giuen vnto her, to call her the ladder of heauen, and gate of Paradiſe, and ſuch like: and ſo in a manner to make her our redeemer. *Auguſtine*, De ſanct. virgine, cap. 3. Shee was more happie, in that ſhee conceiued the faith of Chriſt, than in conceiuing the fleſh of Chriſt. If then theſe titles be vnmeet for her, in reſpect that ſhe receiued the faith of Chriſt, which is common to all the children of God, then are they more vnfit, in that ſhe conceiued the fleſh of Chriſt.

3 It is great preſumption to thinke, that the virgine *Mary* may commaund her Sonne in heauen, ſeeing ſhe had no authoritie to commaund him vpon earth, in any thing pertaining to his office, Ioh. 2. 4. And now likewiſe that carnall reſpect of children to their parents ceaſeth in the kingdome of God.

As for that ſuperioritie and higher kind of honour which ſhe hath aboue all the Saints here, wee find no warrant out of ſcripture. Shee is reſpected now in heauen, not as ſhe bare the fleſh of Chriſt, but as ſhee liued by faith in Chriſt: ſhe alſo reioyced in God her Sauiour. The Scripture therefore maketh one condition and eſtate of all that ſhall be ſaued: and ſaith generally of all, of others as well as the virgine Chriſts mother, That they ſhall be as the Angels in heauen, Matt. 22. 30. Yea, our Sauiour ſheweth, that Whoſoeuer doth the will of God, is his ſiſter, brother, and mother, Matth. 12. 50. By the which we learne, that other the faithfull ſeruants of God may by their faith in Chriſt, be as well accepted of God as if they had borne Chriſt in the fleſh. What then is that high dignitie which ſhee hath, as the mother of Chriſt, aboue all Saints? *Auguſtine* Serm. 35. de aſſump. Marie. ſaith: *Tu concinis ſine fine choris coniuncta, Angelis & Archangelis ſociata:* Thou (O Virgine) doeſt reioyce being ioyned vnto the heauenly quire, being aſſociated to Angels and Archangels. He maketh her not Lady or Queene of heauen, but onely a fellow companion of the Saints and Angels.

Synod Moguntin. cap. 45. ſancti qui vita huius curſum beato fine clauſerunt, &c. The Saints departed, as the moſt noble members of Chriſt, muſt be honored of vs with that dutie and worſhip of loue and fellowſhip, which the Saints liuing are to be worſhipped withall. If then the moſt noble members of Chriſt are no otherwiſe to be adored, then holy men vpon earth, the Virgine *Marie* can haue no greater honour: for more ſhe cannot be, then a moſt noble member of Chriſt.

This truth hath been ſealed: *Helen Stirke* perſecuted, becauſe lying in childe bedde, ſhe refuſed to call vpon the name of the Virgine *Marie*, being thereto exhorted by her neighbours, but onely vpon God, for Ieſus Chriſts ſake, *Fox.* pag. 1267.

Saint *Hierome* hath this ſentence writing againſt *Heluidius*; *Inuocandus eſt Spiritus ſanctus, vt Mariæ virginitatem ſuo ſenſu, ore meo defendat, &c.* The holy Spirite muſt be called vpon, to defend the virginitie of *Marie* by my tongue, &c. the Lord Ieſus muſt be inuocated, to deliuer from all ſuſpition the ſacred wombe, &c. God the father muſt be prayed vnto, to declare the mother of his Sonne to be a Virgin. And why, I pray you, doth he not alſo call vpon the virgin *Marie* to defend her owne virginitie, if ſhe be to be prayed vnto?

And concerning the feſtiuities of *Marie*, if you would indeed haue them ſo ſolemnely kept aboue other holy dayes, what meaneth then your owne darling *Boniface* 8. to preferre the feaſts, not

not onely of the Apostles and Euangelists, but of the foure Doctors of the Latine Church, making no mention at all of *Maries* festiuals? for these are the words of the decree, *Sext decretal. lib. 3. tit. 22. cap. 1. Merito prouidit, Apostolos, Euangelistas et confessores in vniuersali ecclesia beatitudinis materia impendys attollendos, &c.* This See hath worthily prouided that the Apostles, Euangelistes and Confessors, should through the vniuersall Church be more highly extolled, that they may be so much the more honoured of the Church, as they haue more, then others, lightened the same. This decree preferreth the commemorations of S. *Ambrose, Gregorie, Hieronme, Augustine*, before the memorie of the virgine *Marie*.

AN APPENDIX OR FIFT PART, OF THE merites of the Virgine, and of the *Aue Maria*.

The Papists.

1. THey doe teach and holde, that shee onely amongst all women deserued to beare the redeemer of the world, and so by her merites obtayned that fauour to be the mother of Christ. 84. Error.

Aspas. The Angell saluteth her, and calleth her, Full of grace, which sheweth the prerogatiue that shee had aboue other women, and the worthinesse that was in her, *Rhemist. Luk. 1. fol. 22. 15.*

The Protestants.

Aspas. WE acknowledge that herein she was blessed aboue all other women, in that she was chosen to be the mother of our Sauiour, and that she was indued fully with the graces of the holy Ghost: but those graces she had not of her selfe, but of the free gift of God, without her merites: and S. *Hieronne* sheweth how she was full of grace, *Sancta Maria, quia concepit, &c.* Holy *Marie*, because she conceaued him, in whom the Godhead dwelled bodily, is stiled full of grace, *tom. 4. ad Principium*; shee was full of grace, because shee was filled with Christ: and as S. *Ambrose* saith, *quia gratia replebatur author*, because she was replenished with the Author of grace, *lib. 2. in Luc.* It was not then her owne grace, but the grace of Christ.

The word κεχαριτωμένη, signifieth freely beloued, not ful of grace, as it is likewise taken, Ephes. 1. ἐχαριτώσατο, He hath made vs accepted in his beloued Sonne.

She her selfe confesseth her selfe in her song, to be of a low degree, poore in spirit, and hungry, whom God in mercy looked vpon, Luk. 1. 50. whereas God sent away the proud and rich: as the proud Pharisie that thought himselfe rich of good workes, obtayned nothing of God, Luk. 18. Wherefore if she had stoode vpon her owne deserts, she had made her selfe rich, not poore: neither should she haue magnified the mercy of God, but his iustice: for when a reward is giuen according to desert, it is of his iustice and not mercy.

S. *Ambrose* thus concludeth, *Simul ancillam dicendo, nullam sibi prerogatiuam tanta gratia vendicat*, and in calling her selfe handmaid, shee challengeth no prerogatiue of so great grace, for being to bring forth one, that was humble and meeke, it became her also to be humble.

S. *Hierome* vpon those words, Luc. 1. 48. *From henceforth shall they call me blessed: Animaduertat se esse dicit, non proprie merito, aut virtute, &c.* Marke, that shee calleth her selfe blessed not by her owne merite or vertue, but by the mercie of God dwelling in her, &c. *Dialog. 1. contra Pelag.*

S. *Augustine* thus commenteth vpon the words of her song, *Magnificat anima mea Dominum, & recordatur quomodo nullis suis precedentibus meritis, sed sola dei bonitate sit ab iniquitate saluata*: Let my soule praise the Lord, and remember, how that not by any merites going before, but through the only gracious goodnes of God, it is deliuered from sinne. De sanct. virginit. Serm. 35.

Bernard saith, *Regina misericordie dicitur, vt sola tribuamus diuine misericordie non meritis, quod super omnes creaturam precellens, &c.* She is called the Queene of mercy, that we should ascribe it only to Gods mercy, not her merits, that she is exalted aboue all other creatures, *Serm. super salue Regina. de Maria* not saued by her merites, nor consequently the mother of Christ, by her merites, but only by the meere fauour of God.

Thereof also wanteth not the seale, *Helen Stirke* persecuted because she affirmed in effect, That there was no merites in the Virgine, which procured her that honour, to be the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women, but Gods free mercy only exalted her to that estate, *fol. pag. 1267.*

The Papists.

85. Error. THey much commend the often vsing of the *Aue Maria*, which is done (say they) to the honour of Christ and our Lady.

They be the very summe and abridgement of the whole Gospell: and therefore to be vsed, *Rhemist. Luc. 1. sect. 11.*

The Protestants.

1. YOu do shamefully abuse those words, in making a prayer of them, which was but a forme of salutation vsed by the Angell: neither can you say them in that sense they were vttered in by the Angell. Also you offend in the vaine repetition of them vpon your beades, as the heathen did, Matth. 6, 7. and in committing idolatry, in the inuocating of the Virgine, and praying vnto her in these words: who is a creature, and not a God to be called vpon.

2 What mysterie soeuer be contained in these words, yet the people vnderstand nothing at all. And though we denie not but that the words are holy and mysticall, yet it followeth not that they should be vsed for a prayer.

3 What great account they make of the *Aue Marie*, it may appeare by this: that they thinke they may alter and change it, and adde to it at their pleasure: as by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, there
Fox.p.800. was a clause more added vnto the common *Aue Marie*, in this manner: *Haile Marie full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among st women, and blessed is the fruit of thy wombe Iesus Christ, and blessed is Anna thy mother, of whom thy virgines flesh hath proceeded without blotte of originall sinne.* What a fearefull thing is this, that they should thus dare to adde vnto the Scriptures? How can they now escape that iudgement that is threatned against al those that doe adde, or take, ought to or from the word of God? Apocal. 22. 18.

That the *Aue Marie* is no prayer, nor to be vsed as a prayer, we haue the glorious testimonie of the holy martyrs, *Claudius Monerius* Martyr, being asked whether it were not good to salute the Blessed Virgine with the *Aue Marie*, made this answere: When she was on earth, she had then neede of the Angels greeting, for then she had neede of saluation, as well as another: but now she is blessed, that no more blessing can be wished to her, *Fox.pag.905.col.1.*

Benet Remaine, a French Martyr, because he refused to say the *Aue Maria*, was tormented of the Friers, *pag.926.col.2.*

Master *Latimer* B. Martyr, molested and troubled for affirming, that the *Aue Maria* was saluation onely and no prayer, *pag.1736.col.2.*

Thus farre of such questions and controuersies, as concerne the kingdome of Christ, which is his Church: of the which we haue now entreated at large: first in generall of the whole, and then of the seuerall parts and members thereof in order. Now follow those controuersies, which belong vnto the Priesthood of Christ, the third excellent and glorious office of our Sauiour: which his Priesthod is partly seene in his intercession and mediation for vs, partly in his sacrifice, where we are to handle the great and waightie controuersies of the Sacraments, by the which the sacrifice of his death is applyed vnto vs.

THE TENTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING THE INTERCESSION AND MEDIATION of Christ, whether he be only our Mediator and Intercessor.

The Papists.

26. Error. THey seeme in these very words to confesse, that Christ is the onely singular aduocate and patron of mankinde, that by himselfe alone, and by his own merites procureth all grace and mercie, none asking or obtaining either grace in this life, or glory in the next, but by him. But this letteth not, but that there may be other inferiour mediatours, though not in that singular sense, *Rhemist. annot. 1. Tim. 2. fol. 4.*

Argum. Christ is the only Sauiour and Redeemer of the world, yet the name of Sauiour and Redeemer is giuen to men in the Scriptures, as Iudg. 3. 9. *Othniel* is called a Sauiour: Act. 7. 35. *Moses* a Deliuerer or Redeemer: and all this without derogation to him, that in more excellent manner is the onely Sauiour of the world: *Ergo*, there may be also many mediators, in an inferiour degree to that singular mediatour, to offer vp our prayers, *Rhemist. ibid.*

Answ. 1.

Answ. 1. If Christ be sufficient to procure all grace and mercy vnto vs, what need then the mediation or inuocation of Saints? for we must either doubt of his power, in ioyning other helpers with him, or make question of his good will and readines to helpe vs, in making other mediators vnto him.

2. They make other mediators and intercessors beside Christ, euen in that high and singular degree: for not onely Christ by their doctrine, by his merites procureth grace, but other Saintes also by their merites, are our mediators: as it is plaine to see in that popish prayer, *Tu per Thomæ* [illegible], etc. By the blood of *Thomas, which for thee he did spread, make vs, Christ, to climbe, whither Thomas did ascend.* In this blasphemous prayer and a thousand such, they pray onely to Christ as God, not as Mediator; men departed, and many of them no Saints, they make their onely Mediators by their owne proper merites. *See Fulke ibid.*

Againe, their Saints are not onely intercessors for grace, but conferrers of grace and helpe, which is the highest degree of Mediation. They appoint seuerall Patrones amongst the Saintes for all purposes: S. *Apollonia* for the toothach: Saint *Rooke* for the pestilence: Saint *Petronil* for the ague: Saint *Gregorie* for Schollers: Saint *Morris* for Souldiers: Saint *Luke* for Painters: Saint Crispin for Shoomakers: Saint *Nicholas* for the sea: Saint *Iodocus* for corne: Saint *Vrbane* for wine. And thereto they not onely (as they beare vs in hand) pray for these graces and blessings, but they haue power themselues to bestow them.

Answ. 3. Concerning the name and title of Sauiour and Redeemer, we answere: first, men are called in the Scripture Deliuerers and Sauiours, in respect of some temporall deliuerance, not of the spirituall or eternall redemption, which belongeth onely to Christ: but you make your Saints mediators of eternall redemption. Secondly, they whom the Scripture calleth Redeemers and Sauiours, were appointed by God for such temporall deliuerance: but you cannot shew the like appointment for Saints to be mediators of eternall saluation, though in an inferiour degree to Christ. Thirdly, seeing the name of God and Christ is giuen to men in the scriptures, as to Princes and Iudges: why may you not as well say, that there may be many Gods and Christs properly, though in an inferiour degree to him which is onely God and Christ, as to appoint other inferiour Redeemers, Sauiours and Mediators?

See more of their arguments for the mediation of Saints against the onely mediation of Christ. *cont. 9. qu. 3 part. 2.*

The Protestants.

WEe acknowledge but one onely Mediatour as well of intercession as redemption, euen Iesus Christ our Lord: to whom and through whom all our prayers and supplications ought to be made: to him we onely pray, as being one God with the Father and the holy Ghost: by him and through him we onely pray, as being the onely Mediatour betweene God and man.

Argum. 1. S. *Paul* saith, *There is one Mediatour of God and men, the man Iesus Christ*, 1. Tim. 2. 5. Hence we do frame this argument: The Mediatour betweene God and men, must himselfe be both God and man: but so is none but Christ: *Ergo*, he is the onely Mediatour. *Bellarmine* here vseth making a distinction of Mediators, whom at large with his sophisticall distinction see confuted, *Contr. 9. qu. 3 part. 2. argum. Protestan. 3.*

Argum. 2. He is onely the Aduocate and Mediatour for our sinnes, that is the propitiation for our sinnes, 1. Iohn 2. 1. Christ onely is the propitiation for our sinnes: *Ergo*, the onely Mediatour.

I will adioyne other arguments for the sole mediation of Christ out of the fathers, grounded vpon the Scripture.

Argum. 3. If any were ioyned with Christ in the office of mediation, the Angels are most like, being the next in dignitie to the Trinitie of all Gods creatures: but the Angels are not our mediatours for Saint *Paul* saith, Galath. 3. *The law was giuen by the Angels in the hand of a Mediatour*: therefore Angels are not mediatours. Saint *Augustine* saith: *Quem inuenirem, qui me reconciliaret tibi, et eundum mihi ad angelos?* Whom should I finde to reconcile me vnto thee? should I goe to the Angels, &c. *lib. confess. 10. cap. 42.*

Argum. 4. There is one and the same Mediatour, both of the Law and Gospell, as the Apostle saith, The law was giuen in the hand of a Mediatour, that is Christ, Galat. 3. 19. Thus *Origen, Chrysostome*, with most of the Greeke interpreters, expound this place: but the Saints could not be mediatours of the law, being not yet borne: *Ergo*, neither are they Mediatours of the Gospell.

Argum. 5. There is the same Mediatour of the reuocation of man, and redemption, which was of the creation: as *Athanasius* saith, *Vt creatura existerent, opus fuit mediatore:* A mediatour was necessarie, that the creatures might haue a being, *Epist. ad Epict. de synod. Nicen. decret.* But Christ only was the Mediatour of the creation of man, Heb. 1. 2. by him he made the worlds: *Ergo*, onely of the redemption.

Argum. 6. He is the onely true Mediatour, as *Augustine* saith, *Per quem solum inimici reconciliati, sanctificati*

pro omnibus: For whom no man prayeth, but he prayeth, for all. But the Saints had one neede of an others prayers, Christ onely needeth the intercession of none: *Ergo*, he is the only Mediatour.

Cont. Parmen. lib. 2. c. 8. *Augustine* thus further writeth vpon this place: *Si Apostolus ita dixerat, &c.* If the Apostle had said thus: If any man sinne, you haue me a mediatour with the Father, and I doe by my prayer obtaine pardon for your sinnes (as *Parmenianus* in a certaine place maketh the Bishop a mediatour betweene the people and God:) *Quis ficut Apostolum Christi, & non ficut Antichristum intueretur?* Who would behold him as an Apostle of Christ, and not as Antichrist? It is then Antichristian doctrine, in *Augustines* iudgement, to make any other mediatours or intercessors beside Christ.

Decretal. Gay. Licet in conspectu Domini pretiosa mors sanctorum, nullius tamen insontis occisio redemptio fuit mundi: Although in the sight of God, precious be the death of his Saints; yet the slaying of no Innocent (but Christ) is the redemption of the world. Againe, *Non est redemptio captiuitatis humanæ, nisi in sanguine eius qui dedit se redemptionem pro omnibus, ibidem:* There is no redemption of mans captiuitie, but in his blood, that gaue himselfe a redemption for all: *Ergo*, there are no more Sauiours, Redeemers, or Mediatours, but Christ.

Likewise, *Extrau. communi. lib. 3. tit. 11. c. 1. Ioann. 22. Expedire immo necessarium affirmamus ad illum, qui ad dextram patris residet in excelsis, &c.* We thinke it expedient, yea necessarie, that to him that sitteth at the right hand in the highest, whom both the windes and Sea obey, wee lift vp our heart with our hands, &c. This Canon maketh no mention of any inuocation of Saints, but of praying vnto Christ, as not onely expedient, but necessarie.

I will adde also the testimonie of a learned Papist of their owne side: *Manet igitur sum Christo mediatoris, &c.* Wherefore the title of Mediatour betweene God and man, reconciling and appeasing, doth remaine vnto Christ, as proper vnto him, and not communicable with any creature, either man or Angell: *Essenc. in 2. Timoth. 2. 202. d.*

This doctrine hath been sealed: *Richard Fourus* a French Martyr; I beleeue, as in the worke of God is testified, Iesus Christ to be ỹ only mediatour, and aduocate for al sinners: albeit the Virgin *Mary* be a blessed woman, yet the office of an aduocate belongeth not vnto her, *Fox. 1013. 1.*

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: The Scripture vseth to speake but of one Mediatour, which signifieth a maker of peace or attonement betwixt God the Father and man, 1. *Tim.* 2. there is one God and one Mediatour, &c. *Fox. pag. 1109. respons. ad articul. 15.*

HERE FOLLOW SVCH CONTROVERSIES, as concerne the Sacraments of the Church.

OF the Sacraments then, we must first intreate in generall, and afterward handle them in particular.

THE ELEVENTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, OF THE SACRAMENTS IN GENERAL.

THis Controuersie containeth diuers questions: first, of the nature and definition of a Sacrament. Secondly, of the efficacie and vertue of the Sacraments. Thirdly, of the number and order of the Sacraments, the difference and preeminence amongst them. They shall follow in their order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE NAME, nature, and definition of a Sacrament.

FIRST, OF THE NAME OF a Sacrament.

The Papists.

87. Error. FIrst, concerning the name, Sacrament, they doe enforce it, as necessarie, and would derive this word taken in this speciall signification for the mysticall rites of the Church, out of the Scriptures, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de Sacram. cap. 7.*

Argum. Epheſ. 5. verſ. 31. Saint *Paul* calleth Matrimonie a Sacrament, *This is a great Sacrament, &c.*

Reſ. Firſt, the Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe, *This is a great myſterie, but I ſpeake concerning Chriſt and his Church:* So then this myſterie is not in the coniunction of man and woman, but in the ſpirituall vniting of Chriſt and his Church; as S. *Ambroſe* alſo expoundeth this place: *Sacramentum grande in vnitate viri & fœminæ.* He ſignifieth that there is a great Sacrament, or myſterie, in the vnitie of man and woman: then it followeth, *Nec hoc prodit, ſed aliam cauſam flagitat, &c.* But the Apoſtle alleageth not this, but requireth a greater cauſe, that is of Chriſt and his Church. Secondly, if it ſhall be anſwered, that the ſpirituall vnion of Chriſt and his Church, is ſignified in Matrimonie, which is the externall ſigne or ſacrament thereof: Wee graunt, that there is ſuch a myſticall ſignification in Matrimonie; but it followeth not, that it is therefore a Sacrament, as Baptiſme and the Euchariſt are: for it being inſtituted in Paradiſe, cannot be a Sacrament of the Goſpell. Thirdly, they doe not well to tranſlate, Sacrament, ſeeing the Greeke word is *myſterium*, which ſignifieth a ſecret and myſticall thing, which name, as they well know, is giuen to many things in Scripture, which are no Sacraments. Wherefore this place ſheweth no ſuch ſpeciall vſe of this word Sacrament.

The Proteſtants.

THis word Sacrament, being the Latine of the Greeke word, μυστήριον, wee refuſe not to vſe, being fitly applied to the myſteries of Baptiſme and the Lords Supper, though in this ſpeciall ſenſe and ſignification, it cannot be found vſed in Scripture: the name (*myſterie*) is diuerſly read in the Scripture, taken ſomtime in the good part, as Rom. 16. 25. 1. Tim. 3. 16. the Goſpel is called a myſterie: ſometime in the euill, as 2. Theſſ. 2. 7. The myſterie of iniquitie: Apoc. 17. 5. the whore of Babylon is called a myſterie; yet as a ſpeciall name for the Sacraments of the Church, we finde it not expreſſed in Scripture: yet notwithſtanding we doe receiue it as a fit terme, to ſignifie the myſteries of religion.

Argum. Like as the Church of God in the diuiſion of *Arrius*, vſed the name, *homouſion*, though it were not read of found in Scripture, to expreſſe one and the ſelfe ſame ſubſtance of the Trinitie: the Arrians obiected, that the word was not to bee vſed, becauſe the Scriptures had it not: Saint *Ambroſe* anſwereth, *Quæro ſi ita credi liceat, ſi nominari non liceat:* I aske, if it be not lawfull ſo to beleeue, though not to vſe that name: If we may beleeue ſo, why not alſo profeſſe, or name it ſo? *de fide orthodox. cap.* 3. So we ſay, that this word Sacrament being agreeable to the Scriptures in this ſenſe, which we vſe it, wee ſtand not ſo much vpon the very acception of the word in Scriptures. But as S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Non eſt nobis cura de vocabulo, cum ſenſus ſit in tuto:* Wee care not much for the word, agreeing vpon the ſenſe: *aduerſ. Luciferi.*

SECONDLY, OF THE DEFINITION of a Sacrament.

WE thus define a Sacrament, to be an outward viſible ſigne, repreſenting an holy, inward, ſpirituall grace, inſtituted of Chriſt, to be vſed in that manner he hath appointed, to ſeale vnto vs the promiſes of God, and to aſſure vs of the remiſſion of ſinnes, by the righteouſneſſe of faith in Chriſt, Rom. 4. 11.

Some things there be in this definition, that are agreed vpon betweene vs and our aduerſaries: as that the Sacraments are outward ſignes of ſpirituall and holie graces, and that there muſt be a conueniencie and agreement betweene the ſigne and the thing ſignified: that not euery thing may be repreſented by a Sacrament, but an holy and ſpirituall grace: that a Sacrament ought to be inſtituted by a diuine not an humane authoritie, *Bellarm. de Sacram. in gener. lib.* 1. *cap.* 9.

The ſeuerall points then wherein wee diſſent from them, and which they miſlike in this definition, are theſe: Firſt, concerning the authoritie of inſtituting a Sacrament, which wee affirme to be deriued onely from Chriſt, and manifeſtly to be proued out of the Scriptures. Secondly, of the forme and matter of the Sacraments. Thirdly, of the inſtrumentall or miniſteriall cauſe, which is the Miniſter. Fourthly, of the vſe and end of a Sacrament, whether it be a ſeale of the promiſes of God, and inſtituted for that end.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE EFFICIENT CAVSE, that is, the author or inſtitutor of a Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

THey doe willingly graunt, that neither the Apoſtles then had, nor the Church now hath authoritie to inſtitute Sacraments: but that this power is onely in Chriſt, and that the Apoſtles did but declare and deliuer that which they receiued of Chriſt: yet for the triall of this, they re- 89. Error.

fuſe

fuſe to be iudged by the expreſſe word of God, but flie vnto their traditions, which they call the word of God not written, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de Sacram. cap. 14. & 23.*

Argum. The ſacrament of Baptiſme, and of the Euchariſt, were inſtituted without expreſſe warrant of Scripture: for at that time the new Teſtament was not written, when Chriſt ordained thoſe myſteries: *Ergo*, for the other Sacraments we neede not the expreſſe commaundement of Scripture, *Bellarm. lib. 1. cap. 14.*

Anſ. Firſt, the traditions of our Sauiour giuen vnto the Apoſtles concerning thoſe two Sacraments, were afterward written by the Apoſtles, and expreſly ſet downe in Scripture: and therefore we doubt not, but that they were of Chriſts inſtitution. But your traditions being not committed to writing, concerning your other forged ſacraments, are iuſtly ſuſpected, ſeeing the Apoſtles ſhould haue as well been charged with all the Sacraments, if Chriſt had inſtituted them, as with onely two. Secondly, how followeth it, the word of God was ſometime vnwritten, therefore it is ſo ſtill? or Chriſt, who was the author of the word written, might inſtitute Sacraments without expreſſe Scripture: *Ergo*, the teſtimonie of Scripture is not neceſſarie now?

The Proteſtants.

WE hold no Sacraments to bee of Chriſts inſtitution, but thoſe onely which the Scripture teſtifieth to haue been commaunded by Chriſt, as Baptiſme, Matth. 28. 19. the Lords Supper, Luk. 22. 20. The other which haue no teſtimonie of Scripture, were not appointed by Chriſt.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, That the Scriptures are able to make the man of God abſolute and perfect to euery good worke, 1. Timoth. 3. 17. But how can the Miniſter of God bee perfectly furniſhed and prepared for the worke of the Miniſterie, if he haue not ſufficient direction out of the Scriptures concerning the Sacraments of the Church? for how can he abſolutely execute euery part of his office, if he faile in the right vſe of the Sacraments? *Ergo*, ſeeing the Scriptures are able to make him perfect, from thence he receiueth ſufficient inſtruction for the Sacraments.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* ſaith, ſpeaking of the Sacrament, *I haue receiued of the Lord, that which I haue alſo deliuered vnto you*, 1. Cor. 11. 23. wherefore no Sacraments ought to bee deliuered to the Church, but ſuch as haue beene receiued of Chriſt: and what is receiued of Chriſt, cannot bee ſhewed but out of the Scripture. Wherefore their opinion is more reaſonable amongſt the Papiſts, that denie all the Sacraments to haue been inſtituted of Chriſt, as *Hugo*, and *Peter Lombard*, with other, becauſe they cannot finde all their Sacraments in Scripture, than *Bellarmines* aſſertion is, who graunteth, that all the Sacraments are of Chriſts inſtitution: but for the proofe thereof, he runneth from Scripture to tradition.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Chriſtus ſacramenta is numero pauciſſimis, obſeruatione facilimis, &c.* Chriſt hath ioyned his people together by the Sacraments, few in number, eaſie in obſeruation: ſuch are Baptiſme, and the partaking of his bodie and blood. Then it followeth: *Et ſi quid aliud in ſcripturis canonicis commendatur*: And if any other Sacrament be commanded in the Canonicall Scripture, *Epiſt. 118. Ergo*, we muſt attend vpon the Scripture and written word of God, if we will be inſtructed aright concerning the Sacraments.

Concil. Florentin. ſeſſ. 7. Andreas Coloſſenſ. Velim à vobis impliſſimi patres doceri, &c. I would gladly learne of you (honourable fathers) whether the moſt ſacred Goſpell doe not containe the moſt certaine doctrine of our religion: I thinke, you will not (ſuch is your godlines) make other anſwere, then that the moſt abſolute knowledge of our faith is there comprehended. If the Goſpell then doe teach the perfect rule of faith, and religion, then it muſt needes inſtruct vs concerning the Sacraments, without the which our religion is not perfect.

S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Ergo vt ad inſtitutionis plenitudinem, verbum Domini, hoc eſt Euangelium, &c.* For the fuller inſtitution, I pray you diligently reade the word of the Lord, that is the Goſpell: let vs in no wiſe reſt vpon our owne iudgement, &c.

Maſter *Philpot* holy Martyr: Our Sauiour ſaith, *Verbum quod locutus ſum, &c.* The word that I haue ſpoken ſhall iudge you in the latter day; if the word ſhall iudge vs then, much more ought it to be a iudge of our doings now: *Fox* pag. 1805. *Ergo*, wee ought to enterpriſe nothing in religion, without the warrant of Gods word in Scripture.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE FORME OF A Sacrament, and the manner of conſecration; and of the matter: firſt of the forme.

The Papiſts.

90. Error. THe Sacrament is not conſecrated (ſay they) by all the words of the inſtitution, but by a certaine forme of ſpeech to be vſed ouer the elements: as theſe words to be ſaid ouer the bread, *This is my bodie*: and the like ouer the wine, *This cup is the new teſtament, &c.* And in Baptiſme theſe:

In

In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt. Theſe are the formes of the Sacrament, and very words of conſecration, though ſpoken in a ſtraunge tongue, without further inuocation of the name of God, or giuing of thankes, or without a ſermon, which we require (as they ſay) as neceſſarie to the eſſence of a Sacrament, *Rhemiſt. 1. Corinth. 11. ſect. 11, 15. Bellarm. lib. 1. de Sacrament. cap. 19.*

Argum. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *The cup of bleſſing which wee bleſſe,* 1 Corinth. 10. 16. The Apoſtle referreth the benediction or bleſſing to the cup or Chalice, which is nothing elſe but the conſecration thereof, *Rhemiſt ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, we deny not, but that to bleſſe here doth ſignifie to ſanctifie or conſecrate: but that is not done by a magicall murmuration of words ouer the Sacrament, but by the whole action according to Chriſts inſtitution, in diſtributing, receiuing, giuing of thankes: as the Apoſtle afterward ſaith in the ſame verſe, *the bread which we breake, &c. which we breake,* ſaith he, as before of the cup, *which we bleſſe,* ſhewing thus much, that the benediction conſiſteth not onely in the pronouncing of the words, but in the whole action, of taking, receiuing, breaking, diſtributing, giuing of thankes, &c. Secondly, as for the words which Chriſt vttered in the inſtitution, we rehearſe them not, as a magicall charme to bee ſaid ouer the bread and wine to conuert their ſubſtance: but to declare what they are made to vs by force of Chriſts inſtitution, namelie, his bodie and blood.

Bellarmine alſo affirmeth, that the words of the inſtitution doe not ſerue at all for the inſtruction of the people, but onely to conſecrate the elements; and therefore they may be as well repeated in Latine, ſaith he, as in the vulgar tongue, becauſe God vnderſtandeth all languages, *cap. 19.* 91. Error.

Argum. The words to be vſed in Baptiſme; *In the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt,* are words of inuocation or benediction, not of inſtruction. *Ergo.* Origen. in 15. Iſa. lib.

Anſ. Firſt, and doth he thinke, that in theſe words there is no inſtruction? how then ſaith the Apoſtle, *whatſoeuer is written, is written for our learning and inſtruction,* Rom. 15. 4. If theſe words then be written in Scripture, they are for our learning. Againe, when the whole Trinitie is named, is it no point of inſtruction to the people to know in whoſe name they are baptized? which certaine diſciples of Epheſus were ignorant of, that had not heard, whether there were an holie Ghoſt, Act. 19. 2.

Secondly, it is no good reaſon, that the Sacraments may bee celebrate in any tongue, becauſe God vnderſtandeth: for ſo it ſhould not be neceſſarie to vſe any tongue, becauſe God vnderſtandeth the thoughts: the prieſts intention then by this reaſon might ſerue without any words at all. Againe, if the words containe a prayer and inuocation, it is fit the people ſhould vnderſtand it, that they may giue conſent and ſay Amen to the prayer.

The Proteſtants.

Bellarmine chargeth vs with three great vntruths: firſt, that we hold, that the words of inſtitution are not neceſſarie in euery Sacrament, but Baptiſme onely. Secondly, that wee ſay, a ſermon is of the eſſence of the Sacrament. Thirdly, that the words of inſtitution doe not ſerue at all towards conſecration, or benediction of the elements: but our opinion is this; We doe not hold, that an eſſentiall part of the Sacrament, alwaies to haue a ſermon before it, as they vnderſtand a ſermon; which notwithſtanding were moſt conuenient, and alwaies to bee wiſhed: but this wee affirme, that the ſacrament cannot be rightly miniſtred, vnleſſe there bee a declaration, and ſhewing foorth of the Lords death, not onely in the viſible action of breaking and diſtributing the elements; but alſo in ſetting foorth the end of the Lords death out of the word of God, with an exhortation to thankfulnes, which is alwaies obſerued amongſt vs in the daily celebration and receiuing of the Sacrament. Concerning the words of the inſtitution, wee alſo graunt, that they are neceſſarily to be vſed in the celebration of the Sacrament; but not as the Papiſts vſe them: For firſt, they make them not all of one value, but out of the whole inſtitution, picke out certaine conſecratorie words, as they call them: as, *This is my bodie, This is the cup*; whereas the other words, *Take ye, eate ye, drinke ye, doe this in remembrance:* doe as well belong to the inſtitution, as the other. Secondly, they ſay, that the words of inſtitution doe not ſerue any thing at all for the inſtruction of the people, to ſhew them the right vſe of the Sacrament, but onely for benediction and conſecration of the elements, *Bellarm. cap. 19.* Thirdly, they doe hold, that onely by the pronouncing of thoſe words, the elements are conſecrated: whereas by the whole action, and celebration of the Sacrament, the giuing, receiuing, inuocation, thankſgiuing, according to Chriſts inſtitution, the conſecration is performed vpon the elements: *Fulk. 1. Corint. 10. ſect. 4.* 91. Error.

Argum. 1. That the words of inſtitution rehearſed, doe helpe as well to admoniſh and ſtirre vp the people to a thankfull remembrance of the death of Chriſt, as to conſecrate and bleſſe the elements, it is manifeſt: whereas Chriſt ſaith, as the words are vſually rehearſed, *Doe this in remembrance of me:* And S. *Paul* ſaith, That by receiuing the Sacrament, wee doe ſhew foorth the

Lords

Lords death, 1. Cor. 11. 26. *Ergo*, the people are by the words pronounced, instructed and admonished, and taught the right vse of the Sacrament.

Argum. 2. That the words of institution doe helpe toward the benediction or consecration of the elements, wee denie not; but not by them alone, but prayer also and thanksgiuing, and the whole action beside of receiuing. To the consecration or sanctifying of any creature, two things are required: the word of God, and prayer, 1. Timoth. 4. 5. Neither the word sanctifieth without prayer, nor prayer without the word: *Ergo*, to the sanctifying and consecrating of the Sacrament, the bare rehearsall of the institution sufficeth not, without inuocation and prayer.

Augustine saith, *Accedat verbum ad elementum, & fiet Sacramentum*: Let the word be ioyned to the element, and it is become a Sacrament. And in another place, he sheweth what word he meaneth: *Facientis verbo, non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur, hoc est verbum fidei, quod prædicamus.* The word effecteth this, not because it is spoken or vttered, but because it is beleeued: this is the word of faith, saith the Apostle, which we preach: Thus farre *Augustine tract. in Iohan.* 80. Wherefore it is not the muttering of a few words in a strange tongue, after the manner of inchaunters, that by any secret force giuen vnto them hath power to consecrate: but the vnderstanding, hearing, and beleeuing the institution of Christ, with calling vpon the name of God, and thanksgiuing before him.

Also one of your great Masters *Innocent.* 3. thus decreeth: That two things are required in Baptisme, the word and the element; *Iuxta quod de verbo veritas ait &c.* Out of the word the truth thus saith, *Goe and preach the Gospell to euery creature, baptizing them.* Here he vnderstandeth by the word, the word preached: *Decret. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 42. c. 5.*

Origen. in 15. Matth. *Origen* thus writeth: *Quod sanctificatur per verbum Dei & obsecrationem, non suapte natura sanctificat vtentem, &c.* That which is sanctified by the word of God, doth not of it selfe sanctifie the vser, or receiuer: for so it should sanctifie him, that eateth vnworthily, &c. therefore then the bread of the Lord is profitable to him that eateth, when with a pure conscience, and vnpolluted minde he is made partaker, &c. We see then that consecration and benediction consisteth in the whole action of prayer, thanksgiuing, and faithfull receiuing, not in the pronouncing of certaine words.

Synod. Augustens. c. 15. *Volumus populum, quid in cuiusque sacramenti collatione agatur in concionibus & sacramentorum administrationibus frequenter doceri:* We would haue the people, when any sacrament is conferred to be taught in Sermons, and in the administration of the Sacrament, what is there done. We see then that the words vsed in the distribution of the Sacraments, serue not only to consecrate, but to teach and instruct the people.

AN APPENDIX OF THIS PART, WHETHER THE forme of words in the institution of the Sacraments may not be by some addition, or other alteration changed.

The Papists.

91. Error. THe words of institution may be changed two manner of wayes: either substantially, when the sense is also altered with the words; or accidentally, when the elements, or syllables are only changed, but the sense remaineth the same. If there be a change in the substance of the words, the Sacrament is imperfect: if the alteration be of the forme onely of words, and not of the sense, the Sacrament is not destroyed: but he sinneth that doth so alter them. Wherefore it is not lawfull any way at all to alter or chaunge the forme of words, *Bellarm. cap.* 21. *lib.* 1.

Argum. 1. It is not lawfull to adde or take, to or from the words of Scripture, much lesse to change the words appointed to be vsed in the Sacrament, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. To adde or detract to or from the word of God, with a purpose and intent, to wrest it to a contrary meaning, and destroy the true sense thereof, cannot be done without great impiety: and such is the manner of all heretikes: But to alleadge Scripture, in keeping still the full sense, though we misse of the words, is not to be counted so heynous a sinne: we see the holy Apostles in citing textes of Scripture, doe not alwayes bind themselues to the very words, as Act. 7. 43. Heb. 10. 5. The Apostle saith, *A body thou hast giuen me:* In the Psalme we reade, Psal. 40. 6. *Mine eares hast thou opened:* diuers words, yet the same sense: and in other such places many.

De doctrin. Christian. lib. 4. cap. 5. *Augustine* saith very well, they that vnderstand the Scripture, though they keepe not alwayes the words, are better then they that reade and vnderstand not: *Sed vtrisque ille melior, qui & eum videt, ea dicit, & sicut oportet, intelligit:* But he is better then both, that both remembreth the words, and keepeth the sense too: yet he also deserueth prayse, that beareth the sense in minde, though he cannot the words.

Argum. 2. To change the matter of the Sacrament, as the water in Baptisme, &c. is vnlawfull, for this were to destroy the Sacrament: *Ergo*, neither are the words to be changed. *Bellar. ibid.*

Answ. First, how then can your selues be excused, that in the *Eucharist*, take away the one part

part of the matter, namely the Wine, and when you vſe it, you mingle it with water, what is this elſe? but to change the matter of the Sacrament. Secondly, there is not the like reaſon of the words and the matter, for the element cannot be altered or changed without corruption of it, but ſome alteration in the words may be, and yet the ſenſe remaine whole and found ſtill: wherefore from the change of words, to the change of the things, the argument followeth not.

The Proteſtants.

NO ſubſtantiall change (we confeſſe) is to be admitted in the forme of inſtitution, which may alter the ſenſe: neither is any particular man by himſelfe to make any accidentall change, and bring in a new forme of words, but the publike and vniforme order of the Church muſt be kept; yea, and the Church likewiſe is bound both to reteine the true ſenſe, and, as neere as may be, the very words: but where occaſion ſerueth, to make ſome ſmall accidentall change of the words, the ſenſe being nothing diminiſhed, it is not condemned as an vnlawfull and ſinfull act.

Argum. 1. The Euangeliſts report not all the ſame forme of words, which ſhould be vttered by our Sauiour, neither yet *S. Paul* fully accordeth with them, in the preciſe and ſtricte forme of inſtitution: why comparing of them together, it may be ſeen,

Matth. 26. verſ. 27. Take, eate, This is my body.	S. Luke. cap. 22. This is my body which is giuen for you, do this in remembrance of me, verſ. 19.	S. *Paul.* Take, eate, this is my body which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of me, 1. Cor. 11. 24.
Verſ. This is my blood of the new teſtament, that is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſinnes.	This cup is the newe teſtament in my blood which is ſhed for you.	This cup is the newe teſtament in my blood: this doe as oft as you drinke it in remembrance of me.

It had beene a ſinne, to haue miſſed in ſome termes and ſillables, no doubt the ſpirit of God would not haue ſuffered theſe holy writers to haue made the leaſt ſcape. Is it to be thought a ſinne in the Church, which in ſteade of *Take ye, eate ye*, in the plurall number, hath appointed the Sacrament be miniſtred particularly in the ſingular number, to euery of the communicants, ſaying, *Take thou, eate thou, drinke thou?* Wherefore all accidentall change of words carieth not with it a gult of ſinne.

Argum. 2. In the other ſacrament of Baptiſme, the preſcript words are to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, Matth. 28. yet your owne Canons allow ſome change, and alteration in them: as *decret. part.* 3 *diſtinct.* 4. *c.* 24. *Nicolaus* alloweth Baptiſme pronounced onely in the name of Chriſt: *cap.* 30. *Pelagius* approueth Baptiſme celebrated onely in the name of the Lord: *cap.* 86. *Zacharias* determineth the Baptiſme of a certaine Prieſt, that ſpake bad Latine, ſaying, *in nomine patria, filia & ſpirita ſancta*, to be good Baptiſme: the Maſter of ſentences alſo alloweth of Baptiſme onely in the name of Chriſt, *lib.* 4 *diſtinct.* 3. *b.* wherefore in their owne iudgement the words may be altered.

Auguſtine indeede ſaith, *Certa ſunt verba euangelica, &c.* The words of the Goſpell are certaine, whereby baptiſme is conſecrated. But yet he ſaith elſwhere, *In ipſo verbo aliud eſt ſonus tranſiens, aliud manens*: In the word ſpoken the ſound which paſſeth, is one thing, the vertue or ſenſe of the words which abideth, is another. It is then the ſenſe of the words, not the ſound or ſillables, that is certaine and permanent. Contr. Donat. de baptiſ. lib. 6. cap. 25. Tractat. in Iohan. 80.

Againe, Auguſtine ſaith, *Si non ſanctificetur aqua, &c.* If the water be not ſanctified, when ſome words vnskilfully are pronounced, many as wel good, as bad men ſhould not baptize at all, &c. and this ſentence is rehearſed in the decrees, *part.* 3 *diſt.* 4. *c.* 72. If a change proceeding of error may be tolerated, much more a change tending to edifying may be admitted, as when for, *Take ye, eate ye*, we ſay in the ſingular, *Take and eate.*

Dominicus Soto, their owne darling, is of opinion, that the Greekes do truely baptize, ſaying thus, *baptizetur ſeruus*, let the ſeruant of Chriſt be baptized in this water: and yet the Latine Church vſeth to ſay: *Ego baptizo*, I baptize thee: Wee ſee then that there may be ſome alteration. Qu. 1 art. 1.

OF THE MATTER OF the Sacraments.

The Papiſts.

FOr the matter of the Sacraments, they hold it not neceſſarie to be a viſible and palpable element, but it is ſufficient, ſay they, if it be any way ſenſible, as to the eares if it be but audible onely: for in penance, they haue no materiall part, but the ſound of the words: *Bellarm. cap.* 14. §. 1. §1. Error.

Argum. The sense of hearing in the Sacraments ought not to be excluded, seeing they are the most excellent signes, that are perceiued of that sense. *Bellarmine ibid.*

Answ. First, which is the most excellent, and fittest sense for the Sacraments, it is not left vs to determine, but therein we must follow the institution of Christ. Secondly, the sense of hearing is not permitted in the vse of the Sacraments, seeing that hearing is of the word, Rom. 10.17. which accompanieth the Sacraments. Thirdly, though hearing be the most excellent sense for instruction, for faith commeth by hearing, Rom. 10. yet the sight of the eyes serueth sometime to confirme the weake, as it may appeare in *Thomas*, Iohn 20.25. And that which we haue by hearing say, is made more euident by sight; as *Iob* saith, 42.5. *I haue heard of thee, by the hearing of the eare, but now mine eye seeth thee.*

The Protestants.

WEe define a Sacrament onely to be a visible and tractable signe, obiect to the eye, taste, and feeling, not to the eare, or any other sense.

Argum. Our reason is this, Christ hath instituted onely two Sacraments, Baptisme and the Eucharist: the scripture in the new Testament maketh mention of no more: but the matter of these Sacramentes is onely obiect to the senses of seeing, tasting, handling: *Ergo* to this purpose S. *Iohn, That which our eares haue heard, which we haue seene with our eyes, and our handes haue handled of the word of life, &c.* 1. Iohn 1.1. These are the three senses, wherewith Christ is receiued, and perceiued of vs; the word we do heare with our eares; with our eyes and hands, wee see Christ, and feele him in the Sacraments.

Hugo a popish writer, thus also defineth a Sacrament, *Sacramentum est materiale, vel corporeum elementum, &c.* A Sacrament is a materiall, or corporall element; *lib.* 1 *part* 9 *cap.* 1. but a hand is not a materiall, or corporall element: *Ergo*, it is no Sacrament.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE INSTRVMENTAL cause of the Sacraments, that is, the lawfull Minister.

SOme things are yeelded vnto of both sides: First, that no man ought to take vpon him to minister the Sacraments, vnlesse he be thereunto lawfully called and ordained by the Church, sauing that they make exception of Baptisme, which in case of necessitie, as they teach, may be giuen by the hands of lay-men or women: but of this matter we shall haue fitter occasion hereafter to consider. Secondly, it is agreed, that the efficacie or vertue of the Sacrament, depended not of the faith or honesty of the Minister: but a faithfull man may receiue the Sacrament worthily, euen at the hands of an vnworthy Minister.

The Papists.

94. Error. THe point of difference betweene vs, is this: They doe teach that the efficacie, perfection, and being of the Sacrament, doth necessarily depend of the intention of the Minister, so that they hold it to be no Sacrament, if the Minister haue not, *Intentionem faciendi, quod facit ecclesia*, A full purpose and intent in ministring the Sacrament, to do that which the Church doth, that is, to consecrate the elements, & to make a Sacrament, *Trid. Conc. sess.* 7. *can.* 11. *Bellar. c.* 27. So that by this rule, if the Ministers intention be not wholy vpon the busines he hath in hand, it shal be no Sacrament.

Argum. If the Ministers intention were not necessary to make a Sacrament, when we chaunce that the Gospell is read at the table by a Minister, there being both bread and wine set before him, and he in reading saith, This is my body, and This is my bloud, straightwayes all that bread and wine should be consecrate, and become a Sacrament; but because his intention is wanting, it is none, *Bellarm ibid.*

Answ. 1. But what if the Minister should haue a fantasticall conceit and intent, as he readeth to consecrate all the bread and wine vpon the table, then it should seeme by your rule, that it must needes be a Sacrament, which were euen as absurd a thing as the other? Secondly, there are other lets and impediments, from hauing a Sacrament at the table, then the intention of the Minister being wanting or kept backe: for the elements are not consecrated, nor the Sacrament made by the bare pronouncing of the words; but the whole institution ought to be obserued: there must be eating, drinking, taking, and doing, all in the remembrance of the death of Christ: there must be distributing, receiuing, inuocation, thanksgiuing: the whole action in the Sacrament, is the consecration thereof: these things then being wanting, there can be no Sacrament.

The Protestants.

IF the Sacrament be administred aright according to the institution of Christ, whatsoeuer the Minister be, howsoeuer affected, be he neuer so prophane in his heart, without any godly purpose or intention; yet to the worthie receiuer it ceaseth not to be a Sacrament, *Calvin. in antidot. Concil. Tridentin. sess.* 7. *can.* 11.

Argum. 1. The word of God, with what intention soeuer it be preached, yet may haue his effect, and worke faith in the hearer. So Christ be preached (saith S. *Paul*) whether vnder pretence, or

or sincerely, I therein ioy, Philip. 1. 18. *Ergo*, the Sacraments also may haue their efficacie, without the intent of the Minister, *Argum. Lutheri.*

He alleadgeth also how *Alexander* B. of Alexandria ratified and confirmed the baptisme, which *Athanasius* being a child, conferred in sporte vpon other children.

Bellarmine answereth to the first: 1. that there is not the same reason of the word and the Sacraments: for the word hath not a Sacramentall effect, neither doe the Sacraments serue to beget faith, as the word doth; and therefore the word may profite without an intention, so cannot the Sacraments.

Contra. Though the word and the Sacraments worke not the same particular effect, because in the Sacraments our senses are more liuely touched, yet they tend both to the same generall end; that as the word preached begetteth faith; so the Sacraments increase and nourish it (as it followeth in the next section to be proued:) wherefore if the word, though the preachers intention be wanting, may beget faith, why may not the Sacraments likewise without the Ministers intention nourish faith?

2. The Iesuite distinguisheth, *Aliud est intendere non concionari, aliud intendere concionari, sed ad malum finem*: That it is one thing to intend not to preach; an other to haue an intention to preach, but for an euill end: of the latter (saith he) speaketh S. *Paul*: and so he truly is said to baptize, that hath intention so to doe, though to an euill end: *cap. 8. respon. ad argum. 1.*

Contra 1. It is not likely that a man that is sober minded, of discretion and well in his wittes, should not intend to doe that thing which he doth: what intention then call you this, when a man preacheth, or ministreth the Sacraments, to intend not to doe it, whereas the action proceedeth from the intention: and therefore this distinction is friuolous. 2. The Minister must haue an intent to doe that, which the Church doth: but the Church doth baptize to a good end, therefore his intention by their owne learning, will not serue to baptize, vnlesse it be for the right ende. Wherefore he answereth, that *Athanasius* had an intent to baptize indeede, though for a wrong ende, namely for sport: it is both false, that he had such an intent to make a Sacrament, being a childe, and sporting himselfe among his companions; and if he had, it should haue been insufficient, because he propounded not to himselfe the right end. Wherefore no such intention is requisite.

Argum. 2. If the effect of the Sacrament consisteth vpon the intention of the Minister, then can no man be vncertaine whether any thing be wrought in him, or he haue receiued any good by the Sacrament, because he knoweth not the intent of another mans heart, and so should be depriued of the spirituall comfort, which he might reape by the Sacrament, *Caluin.*

Bellarmine answereth, that we may haue a certaine morall and humane, that is, a coniecturall certaine of the Sacrament, though it depend of the Ministers intention, *ibid.*

Contra. The Sacraments must worke not a coniecturall, but an infallible certitude in vs: as it is shewed: To haue Christ dwelling in vs is a sacramental worke, Ioh. 6. 56. as the Papists vnderstand that place of the sacramentall eating, but we ought to be sure of Christs dwelling in vs: 1 Cor. 13. 5. *Know ye not your selues how that Christ Iesus is in you, &c. Ergo*, we must be sure of the sacramentall worke.

Augustine saith: *Sacramentum Baptismi tam sacrum est, vt nec homicida vel ebrioso ministrante polluatur*: The Sacrament of Baptisme is so holy, that it cannot, either by a murtherer or drunken man ministring it, be defiled. And I pray you, is it not like to be a good intention, that should come into the hearts of such lewd and wicked men? Therefore without any good intention, euen by the hands of such, may the Sacraments be giuen. Tractat. 5. in Iohan.

Synod. Colonien. Gratia sacramentorum non ex ipsa externarum rerum virtute, nec ex merito ministri, sed interna & diuina operationis virtute æstimanda est: The grace of the Sacraments must not bee esteemed by the vertue of things externall, or the worthines of the Minister, but by the inward vertue of the diuine operation. But the intention of the Minister is no diuine thing: *Erga, &c.*

We haue further euidence from their owne writings, *Innocent. 4. cap. Si quis puerum, &c.* affirmeth, that it is a Sacrament, *etiamsi non gerat in mente facere, quod facit ecclesia*, although the priest do not thinke in his minde to doe that, which the Church doth.

Durant. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 41. cap. 7. Innocentius decreeth against those, *qui suppressis verbis*, which suppressing the words of consecration, *per hoc, quod intendit, &c.* doth thinke, by that, which he intendeth, not to prouoke God, &c. From whence we may reason thus; Intention being present maketh not a Sacrament; therefore being absent, it destroyeth it not.

Catharinus a learned Papist holdeth no such intention to be requisite, *Opusc. de intentione Ministri*: and he alleageth *Thomas in 4. distinct. 6. qu. 1. art. 2. q. 1. Non requiri mentalem intentionem Ministri, sed sufficere expressionem verborum, &c.* That an intention of the minde is not necessarie in the Minister, but only an expressing of the words, wherein is contained the intention of the Church. Of the same minde also is the Master of Sentences, *lib. 4. dist. 13. b.*

This doctrine also is sealed: Master *Bland* holy Martyr; It is a great absurditie that the intent of the Minister consecrateth, and not the word of God: for so should mans intent bee stronger then Gods word. Againe, because the Sacrament is not the same to an vnbeleeuer, which it is to a beleeuer, the beleeuer must needes haue somewhat to doe in the consecration, so that all is not in the Ministers intention: *Fox.* pag. 1671. col. 2.

Nicholas Shetterden Martyr: Thus it should bee euer doubtfull, whether the people worship Christ or bread, because it is doubtfull what the Priests doe intend. Againe, if the minde of the Priest, and not the words, doe make the bread Christs bodie, as they say, if the Priest do then mind his harlot, or any other vaine thing, that thing so minded was there made, and so the people should worship the Priests harlot in stead of Christs blood: *Fox* pag. 1673. col. 2.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER THE SACRAMENTS be seales of the promises of God.

The Papists.

95. Error They vtterly denie, that the Sacraments be pledges and seales vnto vs of the promises of God, or that thereby our faith is nourished and confirmed, and wee assured of free remission of sinnes by the death of Christ: neither that the Sacraments were ordained for any such end, *Bellar. lib. 1 de Sacram. cap. 14.*

Argum. 1. If the Sacraments confirme vnto vs the promises of God in his word, then must they of necessitie be more euident, and better knowne vnto vs, then is the word of God: for that which is lesse knowne, and not so notorious, cannot perswade vs of that, which wee haue better knowledge of. But such are the Sacraments, which are not so euident, being called mysteries of religion, as are the words of God: *Ergo, Bellarm. ibid.*

Ans. First, it is strange to see, that you should now contend for the euidence, and plainenes of Scripture, which you haue locked vp from the people, with no other pretence, then because they are hard and obscure, and dangerous to be read of the simple. Secondly, you doe not well in comparing the word and the Sacraments together: for they cannot be diuorced or separated: for the word giueth life to the Sacraments, the Sacraments againe giue liuely testimonie and witnes to the truth of the word. But let this bee the question, not whether the writing by it selfe, and the seale by it selfe are of greatest force; but whether an instrument with a seale be not of greater euidence and strength, then without it: So the word of God, which doth but beate vpon the eares of hearing, must of necessitie, not in it selfe, but in respect of vs, worke more effectually, being ioyned by the Sacraments, where wee receiue instruction by two other senses of ours, the sight, and the taste.

Argum. 2. If the Sacraments are appointed to be seales of the promises of God, for the increase and strengthening of our faith, then children should not be baptized at all, because they haue no faith to be strengthened, *Bellarm. cap. 14. argum. 4.*

Contra. 1. This argument taketh away onely this vse of the Sacraments in children, so that it holdeth notwithstanding in all other. Secondly, although in children the seale goeth before, and righteousnesse of faith followeth after, as Circumcision was to *Isaac*, as *Augustine* sheweth, and they as yet, when they are baptized, haue no faith to make present vse of the Sacrament; yet when they come to yeeres of discretion, they are prouoked and stirred vp, by the remembrance of the seale of faith giuen in Baptisme: which was indeede receiued but once, but the vse and benefit thereof remaineth all the life long: so that this notwithstanding the Sacraments are seales of faith, whether the seale goe before faith, or follow after.

Argum. 3. If the Sacraments bee seales of the grace of God, to euery one that receiueth them, then they should many times bee false signes, when as many vnworthie receiuers are not made partakers of grace, nor of the promises of God, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Ans. First, yet notwithstanding are the Sacraments true and certaine seales on Gods behalfe, the obstacle and impediment is in those that beleeue not: The Sun is a true light to the world, yet to him that wilfully shutteth his eyes, it giueth no light; yet is it a true light notwithstanding. Secondly, by this reason, they may make Christ a false redeemer of the world, as they make the Sacraments false seales: for euery one is not redeemed by the death of Christ, but only those which beleeue: wherefore faith is required in them, which by the Sacraments will be assured of Gods promises.

Bellarmine replieth, *Fides esse debet certa*, Faith must bee certaine, and dependeth not of this condition, *si homo credat*, if a man beleeue: faith must be absolute, not conditionall.

Contra. First, he speaketh most absurdly, that faith must not haue any such condition, if a man beleeue: as though faith could bee without beleefe: for what is beleefe, but an act of faith? Secondly, faith indeede is not conditionall, but absolute: but faith is the condition it selfe, for salu-

ation

nation is not promised in Christ to any, *nisi sub conditione fidei*, but vnder the condition of faith: As *Philip* answereth to the Eunuch, who said, *What letteth me to be baptized? If thou beleevest* (saith he) *with all thy heart, thou maist*, Act. 8. vers. 37. Here Baptisme is graunted with the condition of faith.

The Protestants.

THat the Sacraments are ordained of God, to be pledges and seales of his promises made vnto vs in Christ, that as verely as the externall elements are applied to the outward man; so our soules spiritually are refreshed with an assured hope of the remission of our sinnes in Christ, and so the Sacraments to be seales only of the righteousnes of faith, and not giuers or workers of grace in vs: it is euident out of the Scripture.

Argum. 1. *Abraham* receiued the signe of circumcision, as the seale of the righteousnes of faith, Rom. 4. 11. Circumcision then was to *Abraham* a seale of the righteousnes of faith, that is, that he was iustified by faith: *Ergo*, so are all other Sacraments.

Obiect. Indeede Circumcision was a seale to *Abraham*, for he was iust before, and receiued this Sacrament, as a seale thereof afterward. But it followeth not, that it was so in all: for in *Isaac* his sonne, and so consequently in the rest, the Sacrament went before, and iustice followed, *Iunius, Rom. 4. fol. 8.* So answereth *Bellarmine* also, that vnto *Abraham* onely circumcision was a seale of the righteousnes of faith, *Lib. 1. de Sacram. cap. 17.* And he further saith, that the seale of the righteousnes of faith, and of Gods promise or couenant, are not all one.

Ans. First, the promise of God, and the righteousnes of faith, in effect are all one: for on Gods behalfe it is a promise or couenant, on our part it is called the righteousnes of faith: and thus the Apostle taketh them for the same, Rom. 4. 13. *The promise was made to Abraham through the righteousnes of faith.* And vers. 14. *If they, which are of the law, be heires, faith is made voide, and the promise of none effect*: the nullitie of faith, and of the promise is all one.

Secondly, the Apostle setteth forth the example of *Abraham*, to shew how all men are iustified before God, and what is the vse of the Sacraments in all men: and therefore it is no extraordinarie or exempt case, but the common case of all the faithfull, *that righteousnes* (saith the Apostle) *might be imputed to them also*, Rom. 4. 11.

Thirdly, although *Isaac* with many other, were first circumcised, and after iustified: yet this is certaine, they were no more iustified by circumcision, then *Abraham*, who was iustified before he was circumcised, but by faith onely: and therefore the Sacraments are seales of the iustice of faith, whether the iustice of faith goe before, or follow after.

So *Augustine* saith, *In Isaac, qui octauo die circumcisus fuit, præcessit sigillaculum iustitiæ fidei, & quomodo patres eadem imitatus est. Secuta est in crescente ipsa iustitia, cuius signaculum in infante præcesserat*: In *Isaac*, who was circumcised the eight day, the seale of the righteousnes of faith went before: and because he did follow his fathers faith, as he grew, iustice is also followed, the seale whereof went before in his infancie: *Ergo*, circumcision was a seale as well to *Isaac* as to *Abraham*, and so consequently to all. De Baptis. contr. Donatist. lib. 4. c. 24.

Argum. 2. Genes. 17. 11. Circumcision is called the signe of the couenant betweene God and *Abraham*: but Baptisme is succeeded in the place of Circumcision: *Ergo*, it also is a signe of Gods couenant.

Idem. It was a *commemorative*, not a *confirmative* signe; it brought to their memorie the couenant of God, it confirmed not their faith.

Contra. First, vers. 9. The Lord saith, *Thou shalt keepe my couenant therefore, and thy seede after thee, &c.* Circumcision then was a signe of keeping Gods couenant: but the couenant is not kept by memorie, but by faith: wherefore Circumcision was not a signe to stirre vp the memorie onely, but also to helpe their faith. Secondly, the Apostle expounding this place, Rom. 4. 11. saith, *It was a seale of the righteousnes of faith: Ergo*, it serued not for memorie, but for faith. Your owne Maister also doubteth not to call Circumcision, *signaculum iustitiæ fidei*, the seale of the righteousnes of faith, *lib. 4. cont. 1. g.*

Argum. 3. Saint *Peter* saith, that in Baptisme *the stipulation or taking to witnesse of a good conscience before God, saueth vs by the resurrection of Christ*, 1. Pet. 3. 21. Whereby we doe gather, that Baptisme is a seale vnto vs of Gods promises in Christ, being a liuely representation of his resurrection, and a pledge vnto vs and assurance of the remission of sinnes, without the which our conscience cannot be quieted before God, as here the Apostle affirmeth.

Bellarmine replieth: first, that there is great difference betweene the testimonie and couenant of God, and the testimonie of a good conscience: Baptisme is here said onely to seale or confirme the testimonie of our conscience, *cap. 17. respons. ad argum. 5.*

Contra. To seale vnto vs the promise of God, and to seale or confirme the peace of conscience, tend both to the same end: for we cannot be at peace with God, vnlesse we bee iustified by faith, Rom. 5. 1. and faith is an apprehension of Gods promises. Wherefore in Baptisme we cannot haue

peace of conscience by the inward worke of the spirit, vnlesse by faith wee bee assured of Gods promises.

Secondly, Baptisme is here said, not to seale vnto vs our iustification, but actually indeede to saue and iustifie vs, as the Arke did actually saue *Noah* from the deluge.

Contra. First, if he will so strictly vrge the figure of the Arke, then it must follow, as then *Noah* was not in hope onely, but in act saued from the waters; so wee alreadie are not onely assured by faith in Baptisme, but actually saued indeede from euerlasting destruction, which is contrarie to
Ephes.1.13. the Scriptures, which teach, that *the spirit of promise, wherewith we are sealed, is the earnest penie of our inheritance, vntil the redemption:* so that our deliuerance and redemption is not yet accomplished, but onely in hope and assurance. Secondly, Baptisme is said to saue vs by the resurrection of Christ, because by faith confirmed in Baptisme, wee haue an infallible assurance in the death of Christ, of our saluation: as our Sauiour saith, Ioh.5.24. *He that beleeueth is passed from death to life:* he is as sure thereof by faith, as if it were alreadie done. Wherefore this place of S. *Peter*, notwithstanding his obiections, doth proone directly that remission of sinnes is sealed vnto vs in Baptisme: first, because it is a liuely representation of the death and resurrection of Christ, whereby we haue remission of sinnes. Secondly, because wee haue peace of conscience before God, as the Iesuite expoundeth this place, which cannot be without remission of sinnes.

Synod. Colonien. part.7.cap.2. Excitanda est fidelium fides & deuotio in Deum, vt credentes, ac hoc mysterium intelligentes, ad Dei ac Saluatoris nostri gratiam participandam accedant: The faith of the faithfull and their loue toward God must be stirred vp, that beleeuing, and vnderstanding the diuine mysterie, they may come to bee partakers of the grace of God our Sauiour. Here wee see that by occasion of celebrating the Sacraments, our faith is more liuely stirred vp.

This truth also is sealed: *Iohn Careleſſe* Martyr; A Sacrament being ministred according to Christs institution, is a visible signe of an inuisible grace, and hath the promise of Gods mercie annexed to it, *Fox.p.1928.* The Sacraments then of the Gospell are seales of Gods promis.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE efficacie and vertue of the Sacraments.

THis question also hath diuers parts: First, whether the Sacraments doe giue or confer grace by the worke wrought. Secondly, of the difference of the Sacraments of the old and new Testament. Thirdly, whether the Sacraments of the new law doe imprint a signe or character in the soule, that can neuer be put out. Fourthly, of the necessitie of the Sacraments.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE SACRAMENTS of themselues doe giue or conferre grace.

The Papists.

96. Error. THe Sacraments giue grace, *ex opere operato*, by the worke wrought, that is, by force and vertue of the worke and word done and said in the Sacrament, *Rhemist. Act.22. sect.1.* So that not faith onely iustifieth, but the Sacraments also, and other workes of religion, *Rhemist. Rom.6. fol.5.* The Sacraments then are immediate instruments and efficient causes of our iustification, not mediately, as they nourish and increase our faith, but properly and in themselues: Faith in the receiuer giueth no efficacie to the Sacrament, but onely taketh away the lets and impediments which might hinder the efficacie of the Sacrament: as the drines of the wood maketh it to burne the better, yet is it no efficient cause of the burning, which is the fire onely, but onely a help. Thus they compare the Sacrament working of it selfe, to fire that burneth, and faith is as the drying of the wood, but a disposing and preparing of the heart, *Bellarm. lib.2. de Sacram. cap.1.*

Argum.1. Be baptized and wash away thy sinnes, in calling on the name of the Lord, Act.22.ver.16. The Sacrament of Baptisme doth of it selfe wash away sinnes, *Rhemist.* And wee see in S. *Iames*, that remission of sinnes is annexed to the vnction with oyle, *Rhemist.1.Timoth.4.14. Ergo*, the Sacraments giue and conferre grace.

Answ.1. To the first we answere, that the text ioyneth with the Sacrament, the inuocation of the name of God, to the which saluation is promised, Rom.10.13. *Whosoeuer shall call vpon the name of the Lord shall be saued:* Wherefore that place maketh nothing for your purpose. Secondly, in the other place health of body is promised by the gift of miracles, but remission of sinnes is said to be obtained by the prayer of the Elders. The prayer of faith shall saue the sicke, Iam.5.15.

Argum.2. S. *Paul* saith, He hath cleansed his Church, by the lauer of water in the word, Ephes. 5.26. *Ergo*, Baptisme is an instrumental cause of our iustification; *Bellarmine.*

Answ.1. It is not vnusuall in the Scripture to call the signe or Sacrament by the thing signified: as Exod.12.11. the Paschall Lambe is called the Passe-ouer, whereas it was but a signe and memoriall

morialll thereof. So Baptiſme is called, The lauer of regeneration, Tit.3.5. becauſe it is a ſure ſigne of our regeneration by the holy Ghoſt. Secondly, the Apoſtle in this place expoundeth himſelfe: for he ſaith, that we are waſhed by water in the word: that is, the outward element doth ſend and refere vs to the word and promiſe of God, whereof it is a ſeale.

*Argum.*3. Marke 16.16. *He that ſhall beleeue, and be baptized, ſhal be ſaued.* Here ſaluation is aſcribed to Baptiſme: and not to faith ſealed or confirmed by Baptiſme, for it were very prepoſterous, to put the effect before, and the cauſe after. *Bellar. lib.2.cap.3 argum.2.*

Anſw. Firſt, beliefe is ſet before Baptiſme, becauſe they, which were then to be baptized, were *adulti*, men of ſufficient yeeres, in whom faith and confeſſion of their ſinnes was firſt required: as Matth.3.6. *They were baptized, confeſſing their ſinnes.* Secondly, that ſaluation dependeth of faith, not of Baptiſme, it may appeare, Iohn 5.24. *He that beleeueth, is paſſed from death to life:* hee that beleeueth ſhall be ſaued: and it followeth, in this place, *He that will not beleeue, ſhall be damned;* He ſaith not, hee that will not be baptized: Baptiſme is ioyned notwithſtanding to beliefe, that no man ſhould neglect or deſpiſe the ordinance of God.

*Argum.*4. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith; *Except a man be borne of water and the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen.* Iohn 3.3. Here water in Baptiſme is made the cauſe of regeneration and newneſſe of life. *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Though it be admitted, that by water here we may vnderſtand the Sacrament of Baptiſme, which notwithſtanding doth receiue a more fit and proper interpretation, as ſhall afterward be declared more fitly in the queſtion of the neceſſitie of Baptiſme; yet this place enforceth not any thing for the element, ſeeing that the ſpirit is ioyned, which giueth the efficacie to the water; as *Auguſtine* ſaith, to whom the Maſter of ſentences ſubſcribeth: *Viſibilis ſanctificatio, quæ fit Sacramento tenus, ſine inuiſibili prodeſſe non poteſt, cùm illa ſit omnis illius vtilitas:* The viſible ſanctification, which is in the Sacrament onely, doth not profite without the inuiſible, wherein conſiſteth all the vtilitie of the other. *Mag.lib.4.diſtinct.4.d.*

The Proteſtants.

THe Sacraments haue no power to giue or conferre grace to the receiuer: neither are they immediate inſtruments of our iuſtification: inſtrumentall meanes they are to encreaſe and confirme our faith in the promiſes of God: of themſelues they haue no operation, but as the ſpirit of God worketh by them, our internall ſenſes being moued and quickened by thoſe externall obiects. Neither doe we ſay, that the Sacraments are bare and naked ſignes of ſpirituall graces; but they doe verily exhibite and repreſent Chriſt to as many, as by faith are able and meete to apprehend him. So to conclude, looke how the word of God worketh being preached, ſo doe the Sacraments; but the word doth no otherwiſe iuſtifie vs, but by working faith at the hearing thereof; So Sacraments doe ſerue for the encreaſe of our faith: faith is not a ſeruant and handmaide to the Sacraments; (as the Ieſuite declared by the homely ſimilitude of the fire and drie wood) but faith is the more principall, and the Sacraments haue no other vſe or end, then as they are helpes for the ſtrengthening of our faith. Grace of themſelues they can giue or conferre none.

*Argum.*1. Rom.1.17. The iuſt ſhall liue by faith: *Ergo*, he liueth not, that is, he is not iuſtified by any worke wrought, as by the Sacraments, but onely by faith: faith therefore giueth life and iuſtice to the Sacraments.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Apoſtle ſaith not, the iuſt onely liueth by faith; wherefore, although he liue by faith, he may alſo liue by the Sacraments, and other workes.

Contra. Firſt, if life be by faith, and beſide the life of the ſoule, other things are ſuperfluous; then all other meanes to life are ſuperfluous beſide faith: for what els is to be deſired but to liue? but life is by faith, therefore faith is of it ſelfe ſufficient, becauſe the effect of faith, which is life, is ſufficient: wherefore no other helps are requiſite vnto life. Secondly, to liue by faith, and for Chriſt to liue in vs, are all one, as Galat.2.20. *Thus I liue, not I now, but Chriſt liueth in me; and that I now liue in the fleſh, I liue by the faith of the Sonne of God, &c.* We reaſon thus: The iuſt liueth only by Chriſt, but Chriſt liueth in vs onely by faith: for the Apoſtle ſaith, *In that I liue, I liue by faith. Ergo*, there is no life but by faith.

*Argum.*2. The Apoſtle ſheweth, Rom.4.10.11. that righteouſneſſe was imputed to *Abraham* by faith, before he was circumciſed, and that circumciſion was added afterward as a ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of faith: *Ergo*, as *Abraham* was not iuſtified by circumciſion, but by faith, no more are we by the Sacraments.

Bellarmine hath nothing els to anſwere, but that this onely was a priuiledge granted to *Abraham*, to haue circumciſion as a ſeale and teſtimonie of his faith, *reſp.ad argum.*3.

Contra. The Apoſtle ſaith contrary, verſ.11. that he ſhould be the father of them that beleeue, not being circumciſed, that righteouſneſſe might be imputed to them alſo: the father and the ſonnes are iuſtified one and the ſame way: *Abraham* was not iuſtified by circumciſion, but by faith: *Ergo*. And verſ.23. it was not written for him onely, &c. but for vs, &c.

Argum.3. Saint *Peter* ſaith, Baptiſme ſaueth vs, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conſcience maketh requeſt vnto God, by the reſurrection of Chriſt, 1 Pet. 3. 21. *Ergo*, it is faith in the reſurrection of Chriſt, which worketh in vs peace of conſcience, and not the outward waſhing, that ſaueth or iuſtifieth.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that by the reſurrection is not vnderſtood faith in the reſurrection, but mention is made thereof, becauſe when we are baptized, we doe repreſent the reſurrection of Chriſt, and by Baptiſme do riſe vp to newneſſe of life.

Contra. Firſt, if by the reſurrection of Chriſt, nothing els were ſignified, but the repreſentation of Chriſts reſurrection in Baptiſme; it were an improper ſpeech to ſay, Baptiſme ſaueth by the reſurrection, that is, Baptiſme ſaueth by Baptiſme: wherefore ſeeing that the reſurrection of Chriſt giueth life and efficacie to Baptiſme, it is our faith in the reſurrection of Chriſt, which ſaueth vs in Baptiſme. Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith, not the waſhing of the fleſh ſaueth: *Ergo*, not the externall act of the Sacrament, but the teſtimonie of a good conſcience; what is that els, but the aſſurance of faith, whereby the conſcience is ſetled as the Apoſtle ſheweth, Rom. 5. 1?

Argum.4. The Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ. 5. 26. *That he might cleanſe it and ſanctifie it, by the waſhing of water through the word.* Here our cleanſing and ſanctifying is not aſcribed to the water, but to the word of God, that is, his gracious promiſe in Chriſt, apprehended by faith, which els where the Apoſtle calleth the word of faith, Rom. 10. 8.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that by the *word* here is not vnderſtood the word preached, that begetteth faith, but the word of conſecration in the Sacrament, *reſp. ad argum. 5.*

Contra. Firſt, neither do we vnderſtand in this place, the word preached, as though there could be no Baptiſme without a ſermon, nor yet the word of conſecration: for though the conſecrate word ioyned to the element doth make it a ſacrament, yet doth it not make it alwayes a cleanſing and ſanctifying ſacrament to preſent the receiuer without ſpot and blameles, as it followeth in the ſame place, but onely in the faithfull and beleeuers. Secondly, the word therefore that cleanſeth, is the word of faith, whereby our hearts are purified: Act. 15. 9. which is begotten in vs by the preaching of the word, and confirmed by the Sacacraments.

Auguſtine thus writeth: *Aliud eſt aqua ſacramenti, aliud aqua, qua ſignificat ſpiritum dei: viſibilis eſt, & abluit corpus, & ſignificat, quid ſit in anima, per illum ſpiritum anima mundatur & ſanatur.* The water of the Sacrament is one thing, the water which ſignifieth the ſpirit is another: the one is viſible, and waſheth the fleſh, and ſignifieth what is done in the ſoule: but by the ſpirit the ſoule is cleanſed. The Sacrament of Baptiſme then, by this fathers ſentence, and ſo all other Sacraments, doe not giue grace, but ſignifie onely and repreſent grace.

Synod. Colonienſ. part. 9. cap. 13. Quod præter preces, aſperſiones, & vnctiones, aliarumq; rerum ſimilis adhibentur, &c. In that beſide prayer, we vſe ſprinkling, annoynting, with other externall rites, therein lyeth a myſterie, not that theſe dead things are capable of grace, but when theſe things are viſibly done, Chriſtians are admoniſhed, that God worketh by the inuiſible vertue of his ſpirit. The externall things therefore worke not, but are ſignes of the inward working of the ſpirit.

We want not the witneſſe of their owne decrees: *Decret. part. 3. diſtinct. 4. c. 145. Melior Centurio nondum baptizatus, Simone baptizato, &c.* The Centurion being not yet baptized was better, than *Simon* baptized: for he before Baptiſme was repleniſhed with the holy ſpirit; the other after Baptiſme was poſſeſſed with an vncleane ſpirit. How then is grace annexed to the Sacrament, when as both he that wanteth the Sacrament, may haue grace; and he that hath the Sacrament, wanteth grace?

Heare alſo an euident teſtimonie of one of your owne writers: *Conſtat in omni ſcriptura, omnem eſſe & languidam operam noſtram, etiam Apoſtolicam, etiam Chriſti, &c.* It is apparant throughout the whole Scripture, that our outward endeuour is weake, and of no force, yea the labour of the Apoſtles, and of Chriſt himſelfe, vnleſſe it bee helped by the inward worke of the ſpirit, &c. *Eraſm. in 2. Timoth. p. 97.*

This doctrine hath the ſeale of Martyrs: *George Carpenter* gaue his life in teſtimonie thereof, that the very element of water in Baptiſme doth not giue grace, pag. 884. Biſhop *Ridley* holy Martyr: That the Sacrament is but an inſtrument, but the inward vertue of Chriſt giueth grace to the Sacrament. pag. 1432.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE DIFFERENCE of the olde and new Sacraments.

The Papiſt.

97. Error. THe ſacrifices and ceremonies of the old law were ſo farre from giuing ſpirit, grace, remiſſion, iuſtification, and thereupon the entrance into the ioyes of heauen, that they were but meere ſhadowes, obſcurely repreſenting the graces of the new Teſtament; whereas the Sacraments inſtituted by Chriſt, containe and giue grace, and iuſtification, *Rhemiſt. Heb. 10. fol. 3.*

Argum. 1.

*Argum.*1. They were but ſhadowes of good things, not the image of the things themſelues, Heb.10.1. They were but ſhadowes and repreſentations of the Sacraments of the new Teſtament: *Ergo*, they had not the ſame efficacie or power, *Rhemiſt.ibid.*

*Reſp.*1. Their Sacraments were onely ſhadowes of Chriſts ſacrifice, not of our Sacraments, though theſe come in the place of the other, and are anſwerable and correſpondent vnto them. Secondly, neither doe the Sacraments of the new teſtament giue grace or iuſtification, but are onely liuely teſtimonies of grace and reconcilation wrought by the death of Chriſt. Thirdly, their Sacraments were as effectuall to aſſure the Fathers of grace and remiſſion of ſinnes by Chriſt, as our Sacraments are to vs.

*Argum.*2. The Sacraments of the new law or Goſpell doe giue grace and iuſtification, ſo did not the Sacraments of the old law: *Ergo*, there is not the ſame efficacie of them both. Againe, Saint *Paul* calleth them impotent and beggerly rudiments, Galath.4.9. ſo are not the Sacraments of the Goſpell: *Ergo: Bellarm.lib.2.de Sacram.cap.14.argum.4.*

*Reſp.*1. The Sacraments of the new law are no more able by any efficacie in themſelues to iuſtifie vs, then the Sacraments of the old: It is the propertie of faith onely to iuſtifie vs, Rom.3. 28. and cap.5.1. *Being iuſtified by faith, we are at peace with God:* Where it cannot be anſwered, that faith iuſtifieth but in part, for that is perfect iuſtification which worketh peace of conſcience in vs, but faith bringeth ſuch iuſtification: *Ergo*, it iuſtifieth perfectly. Therefore in this reſpect, the Sacraments differ not, becauſe neither of them iuſtifie, but are ſeales only of the righteouſnes of faith, Rom.11.4.

To the ſecond place we anſwere: firſt, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of the Sacraments of the law, but of other ceremonious rites, as the obſeruation of dayes, moneths, yeeres. Secondly, he reſpecteth that preſent time, when ſuch ceremonies ought of right to haue ceaſed and giuen place, the Goſpell being now reuealed, and therefore he calleth them beggerly, becauſe of the ſuperſtitious vſe of them, not hauing in this ſpeech any relation to the originall and firſt inſtitution. Thirdly, they are ſaid to be impotent, not in reſpect of our Sacraments (and yet we deny not, but that as our Sacraments haue a more cleere ſignification, and liuely repreſentation of holy things; ſo the other being herein compared, may be called more impotent) but as they are ſet againſt iuſtifying faith: in reſpect whereof our Sacraments are weake and impotent: as S. *Paul* ſaith, *That neither circumciſion is any thing, nor vncircumciſion, but faith working by loue*, Galat.5.6. where faith is ſet againſt all other things whatſoeuer, as being of no value, that is weake and impotent to iuſtifie, whether appertaining to the circumciſed or vncircumciſed (as there are no Sacraments but belonging to either of theſe orders.) Wherefore onely faith is auaileable and ſtrong to iuſtifie, all other things impotent and weake.

*Argum.*3. Coloſſ.2.11. *In whom* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *ye are circumciſed with circumciſion made without hands, &c. through the circumciſion of Chriſt, in that you are buried with him through Baptiſme*, &c. Here circumciſion made with hands is oppoſed to circumciſion made without hands, that is Baptiſme: ſo that which could not bee wrought by circumciſion, is wrought by Baptiſme: *Ergo*, there is not the ſame effect of circumciſion and Baptiſme, *Bellarm.loc.7.*

Reſp. Firſt, Baptiſme is not the circumciſion made without hands, for as much as in Baptiſme there is the miniſtrie of the hands of men, as well as in circumciſion: but by circumciſion without hands the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth, the ſpirituall circumciſion of Chriſt, as he himſelfe expoundeth it. Secondly, as the externall circumciſion of it ſelfe profited not, ſo alſo the Apoſtle ſaith of Baptiſme, that, *wee are buried with him in Baptiſme, &c. through the faith of the operation of God, &c.* So it is faith by the operation of God, not the outward act of Baptiſme; wherefore out of this place no difference can be gathered.

*Argum.*4. *Bellarmine* heapeth vp many places together; as Iſay.1.11 *What haue I to doe with the multitude of your ſacrifices:* Rom.4.10. *Abraham* was counted iuſt being vncircumciſed: Galat.4. they are called beggerly elements: Coloſſ.2. the ſhadowes of things to come: *Ergo*, the Sacraments of the old law did not conferre grace.

Reſp. Firſt, the Prophets did not ſimply condemne the ſacrifices, but becauſe they were offered in ſinne and hypocriſie: and therefore the Prophet ſaith, Iſay.1.16. *waſh you, make you cleane.* Secondly, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the times of Chriſt, when as the old ſacrifices and ceremonies were out of date: the figures were to ceaſe, the bodie being come. Thirdly, they are called impotent and weake, not in reſpect of the Sacraments of the Goſpell, but being compared to faith, which is the complement both of their Sacraments and ours. Fourthly, we graunt, that the ſacrifices of the law did not conferre grace, no more doe the Sacraments of the Goſpell: wherefore he hath ſaid nothing, vnleſſe he had proued, that our Sacraments doe conferre grace, which theirs did not.

The

The Protestants.

WE doe holde and constantly affirme and teach, that the Fathers in the law receiued no lesse the truth and substance of Christ by faith in their Sacraments, then we doe in ours although in respect of more cleere and lightsome signification, our Sacraments doe farre exceede theirs, and so also may more liuely stirre vp our faith: yet the substance and effect both of their Sacraments and ours, was all one and the very same.

Argum. 1. S. *Paul* speaketh plainly, that the Israelites did all eate the same spirituall meate, and all drinke of the same spirituall rocke, and the rocke was Christ, 1. Cor. 10. 3. 4. Therefore Christ was exhibited as well to them in their Sacraments, as he is in ours.

Bellarmine answereth. First, they did all eate the same spirituall meate amongst themselues, not the same together with vs. So also say the Rhemists, that they amongst themselues did all feede of one bread, and drinke of the same rocke. The Apostle saith not, that they and we doe eate and drinke of the selfesame meate and drinke, *Rhemist in hunc locum.*

Answ. 1. Yes the Apostle saith so in effect, that there is one and the selfe same spirituall meate and drinke to vs all, both to them and vs: for what doe we eate and drinke but Christ? and so doe they: The rocke, saith the Apostle, was Christ. Secondly, *Augustine* saith so expresly, that they did eate the same spirituall meate, and drinke the same spirituall cup that wee doe: *Quemquem Manna Christum intellexerunt, eundem, quem nos cibum spiritualem manducauerunt: De vtilitate poenitent. c.* 2. They which in the eating of Manna did vnderstand Christ, did eate the same spirituall meate that wee doe: *Ergo*, Christ was as well present by faith to them in their Sacraments, as he is to vs in ours.

Bellarmine answereth, that *Augustines* meaning is, that their Sacraments and ours had not the same efficacie, but the same signification onely, because both theirs and ours doe signifie Christ.

Contra. 1. He hath not answered to this place of *Augustine*, wherein he affirmeth, that they did *eate the same spirituall meate with vs:* and if they did eate the same spirituall meate, then not in signification only, but in vertue and efficacie their Sacraments are equall with ours. 2. That Christ gaue the same vertue and efficacie to both Sacraments, *Bernard* plainly affirmeth, *Serm. de resur. Domini*, or who else vnder his name: *Christus pro salute mundi semel factus est hostia salutaris: omnibus sacramentis tam precedentibus quam subsequentibus virtutem dedit & efficaciam, vt tota & vna hostia sanctificaretur omnes liberandi per illam*: Christ to saue the world was once made an acceptable sacrifice: to all the Sacraments both going before and following after he gaue vertue and efficacie, that all might be sanctified with this worthie sacrifice, for whose deliuerance it was appointed.

Secondly, *Bellarmine* answereth, that the Manna is called a spirituall meate, either in respect of the cause, which was heauenly and spirituall, it being wrought by a miracle; and so also the water; and therfore the rocke is said to be Christ, not because Christ was the author, or the efficient cause to bring the water out of the rocke: or else in respect of the signification onely, not because it had any spirituall effect. His reasons are these:

First, the beasts and birds did drinke of the same water, therefore it was not spirituall. Secondly, we reade of no spirituall promise made to those, that did eate Manna, or drinke of the rocke, such as are annexed to the Sacraments. Thirdly, our Sauiour saith, *your fathers did eate Manna, and are dead, and Moses did not giue you bread from heauen*, Ioh. 6. wherefore it was a corporall foode onely, not spirituall.

Contra. First, the Apostle saith *they did all eate the same spirituall meate*, that is both amongst themselues and with vs, as we haue shewed: but to vs it is spirituall meate, not in respect of the author onely, but in regard of the spirituall efficacie; therefore it was so vnto them: And in that the Apostle saith, they did drinke Christ spiritually, this betokeneth not the signifying onely, but the exhibiting also of Christ vnto them: for this were a slender eating and drinking of Christ, to haue him signified onely and shadowed forth, vnlesse they should verely bee made partakers of him.

Secondly, wee answere to his reasons: to the first, that it letteth not the rocke to bee spirituall drinke, because the cattell also did drinke thereof: for your selues denie not, but that your consecrated host may be deuoured of myce and dogs: And againe, the cattell also and beasts went thorow the red sea as well as the Israelites, yet was it a Baptisme to the Israelites, though not to the other: and Sacraments are ordained for men, and not for beasts.

To the second: the Apostle saith, *they dranke of the spirituall rocke, which rocke is Christ*; they therfore did spiritually drinke Christ: but to those that eate and drinke Christ, spirituall promises are made, as Ioh. 6. 54. *Whosoeuer eateth my flesh, &c. hath eternall life, &c.* wherfore so many of them, as by faith did spiritually in Manna eate Christ, and in the rocke drinke Christ, were made partakers of this spirituall promise.

To the third we answere: that *Moses* indeede gaue but the materiall Manna, but Christ concurring

ministerie, gaue himselfe the true bread from heauen: like as in the Eucharist the Minister giueth the externall elements, Christ working together giueth the spirituall. Wherefore our Sauiour saith not, that the Israelites had not the true bread, for elsewhere he testifieth, *that Moses wrote of him*, Ioh. 6. 46. but that beside the materiall Manna, whereof their fathers did eate, and yet died, there was another spirituall and heauenly bread exhibited to all the elect both of the old and new Testament: for vnlesse they also vnder the law, had eaten the flesh of Christ and drunke his blood, they could not haue had life, as our Sauiour saith, vers. 53. but some of them had life: *Ergo*, they did eate the true bread of heauen.

Argum. 2. In Circumcision, which was a Sacrament of the old law, there was promise of remission of sinnes and of life euerlasting, as there is in Baptisme: *Ergo*, there is the same vertue and efficacie both of the old and new Sacraments.

That to Circumcision was annexed the promise of life eternall; first, it appeareth Genes. 17. 7. where the Lord maketh this couenant with *Abraham*, whereof circumcision was a signe, *I will be thy God, and the God of thy seede*: that is, thy God for euer, not onely in this world, but the next: for our Sauiour expoundeth it, Matth. 22. 32. *I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, Iacob: he is not God of the dead but of the liuing*. Secondly, Ephes. 2. 12. the Apostle saith, that *the Gentiles being vncircumcised were strangers from the couenant of promise, and had no hope, and were without God in this world*: therefore circumcision was a couenant of Gods euerlasting promises.

Bellarmine answereth: first, that *Abraham* was reputed righteous and iust before Circumcision: and to him in Circumcision there was no promise made of remission of sinnes, which he had before.

Contra. We say not, that Circumcision caused remission of sinnes: for then the effect should not be before the cause; but that it was a seale of the righteousnesse of faith, as the Apostle saith, Rom. 4. 11. and of remission of sinnes: and so it may be, whether righteousnesse goe before circumcision, as *Abraham*, or follow after, as in *Isaac*. So wee reade, Act. 10. 47. that the holy Ghost came before, and then Baptisme followed: the thing signified appeared first, and then the signe or seale was added: *Can any man forbid water* (saith S. *Peter*) *that these should not be baptized, which haue receiued the holy Ghost, as well as we?*

Secondly, saith *Bellarmine*, the Lord, in saying, *I will be thy God, and of thy seede*, maketh no promise of euerlasting saluation, but of temporall protection peculiar to that people, both to the good and bad: and the saying of Christ, *he is not God of the dead, &c.* doth but implie that God is God not of those that are not, but of those that are, whether they be good or bad.

Contra. First, the Apostle by seede vnderstandeth Christ: he saith not, to thy seedes, as speaking of many, but to thy seede, as of one, euen Christ, Galath. 3. 16. wherefore this promise, *I will be thy God, and of thy seede*, hath a spirituall relation to Christ. Secondly, this couenant appertained not to the wicked, but is applied onely by the Apostle to the faithfull, Heb. 13. 5. *He hath said, I will not leaue thee, nor forsake thee*. Thirdly, to bee God of *Abraham, Isaac, Iacob*, is to bee God not onely of those which are, but, that are liuing with God: for if God be not God of the dead in respect of this life, how much lesse of those that are dead eternally: and the Apostle speaketh euidently Ephes. 3. 15. *of whom is named the whole familie in heauen and earth*, that God doth onely owne and call himselfe by those, whether liuing or departed, that are of his familie.

Thirdly, it was not the want of Circumcision, but the want of faith, that made the Gentiles strangers from the couenant: for *Iob* and *Cornelius* were not circumcised, *Bellarmine ibid.*

Contra. So may it bee said of Baptisme, that many which haue it not among the Turkes and Iewes, if they contemne it not, may by Gods extraordinarie mercie be saued, if they beleeue; yet Baptisme hath the promise of life eternall: so though some vncircumcised might beleeue, yet ordinarily the circumcision had the promise of life and saluation in Christ.

Argum. 3. Leuitic. 5. vers. 12. 13. *He shall bring his offring to the Priest, &c.* who shall make attonement for him, as touching his sinne, and it shall be forgiuen him: *Ergo*, the sacrifices of the law had promise of remission of sinnes by the force of Christs death represented in the same.

Bellarmine answereth, that the sacrifices did purge the offerers sinnes onely in respect of the temporall punishment, and some legall vncleanesse, but they did not cleanse them simply before God in respect of euerlasting punishment: and that may appeare, for that the sacrifices were not ordained for all sinnes, but of ignorance onely committed against the ceremonies of the law. *Bellarmine c. 17. resp. ad argum. 2.*

Contra. First, it is false, that the sacrifices serued onely to purge sinnes of ignorance, for Leuitic. 6. 2. 3. there are sacrifices prescribed for the sinnes of deceite, robberie, oppression, false sweating, which were voluntarie sinnes, and not of ignorance.

Secondly, it is also vntrue, that the temporall punishment was onely pardoned, and not the sinnes truely remitted. First, where the Priest is said to make attonement, the word is כפר *Caphar*, which signifieth to reconcile, to remoue wrath: and it is vsed, Psal. 79. 9. *Be mercifull vnto our sinnes,*

sinnes, &c. will he now say, that the Church here prayeth onely for the mitigation of temporall punishment? wherefore, if the Priest made attonement for them, and Gods wrath was appeased for their sinne, then was it verily remitted. Secondly, there is confession of the sinne required Leuitic. 5. 5. and restitution, Leuitic. 6. 4. but where there is confession, and restitution, there is repentance; and where repentance is, there is remission of the sinne it selfe before God.

Argum. 4. Coloss. 2. 11. S. *Paul* saith, *In whom yee are circumcised by circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinfull bodie of the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ, &c.* Here the Apostle affirmeth, that the spirituall circumcision, which did accompany the sacramentall circumcision, in them that did beleeue, was effectuall to the putting off the bodie of sinne: We say, that the externall act of circumcision onely had this effect, but the inward grace in the circumcision of the heart in all true Israelites working with the circumcision of the flesh, was available to the remission of sinnes: as the Apostle saith, Rom. 2. 28. *He is not a Iew, which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh, &c.*

Bellarmine answereth, that in circumcision not the whole bodie, but one part onely was circumcised, and therefore it did not serue to the putting off the whole bodie of sinne.

Contra. Neither when Christ washed *Peter*, did he wash any thing but his feete, though he would haue had his hands and head also washed: yet was the washing of his feete sufficient, Iohn 13. 10. so though in circumcision the outward signe onely touched one part, yet the inward circumcision thereby represented, was sufficient to purge the whole inward man.

We want not here their owne witnesse against themselues, *decret. part. 3. distinct. 2. cap. 81. haec Apostolus (omnes eandem escam spiritualem manducarunt) &c.* The Apostle saith, they did all eate the same spirituall meate: the same spirituall meat indeed, but another corporall, because they did eate *Manna*, and we some other thing: and hee addeth, and they all dranke the same spirituall drinke; they one thing, and we another; *sed specie visibili*, but in outward shew; *Quod tamen idem est virtute spirituali*, which is notwithstanding the same in the spirituall vertue: This Canon affirmeth, that they did eate the same spirituall meat, not amongst themselues, but with vs: which though it were in shape diuers, yet in vertue is the same; *Ergo*, there is the same efficacie and vertue, both of the old and new Sacraments.

The Master of sentences alleageth thus out of *Gregorie*: *Quod apud nos valet aqua Baptismi, hoc egit apud veteres, vel per parmulis fides, &c.* That which the water of Baptisme is to vs, that only was in time past to children, and to the elder sort, the vertue of the sacrifices, &c. or the mysterie of Circumcision, *lib. 4. distinct. 1. §.* If Circumcision was auaileable then, as Baptisme is now, then the vertue and substance of the Sacraments was the same.

Likewise *Innocentius* 3. thus decreeth, *decret. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 42. c. 3. Originalis culpa remittebatur per Circumcisionis mysterium, et damnationis periculum vitabatur*: Original sinne was remitted by the mysterie of circumcision, and the perill of damnation auoided. Here is an euident testimonie of one of their most learned Popes, that remission of sinnes was had by the Sacraments of the old law.

Further, it is the opinion of some of their best schoolemen, that circumcision did conferre iustification *ex opere operato*, by the very worke that was wrought; which efficacie the rest of them ascribe only to the Sacraments of the new Testament; thus holdeth *Alexander, Bonauenture, Scotus, Gabriel*: so that in their opinion, between Circūcision a Sacrament of the old Testament, & the rest of the Sacraments of the new, there was no difference: yea, as *Bellarmine* confesseth, it is *Communis sententia Theologorum*, the common sentence of popish diuines, that the old sacraments did onely iustifie *ex opere operantis*, by the worke of the doer, that is, the faith and deuotion of the receiuer: and the new Sacraments do no more; for though we truely hold, that we are iustified onely by faith, not by the Sacraments, yet by them is iustifying faith confirmed; and without the faith of the receiuer, they are altogether vnprofitable: for S. *Paul* biddeth euery man to examine himselfe before, 1. Cor. 11. 28. which examination, is to prooue, *whether they be in the faith*, 2. Cor. 13. 5. Wherefore neither old nor new Sacraments are profitable without faith.

See also this doctrine sealed: *Iohn Frith* holy Martyr; *They did all eate the same spirituall meate, and did drinke the same spirituall drinke, all one spirituall thing, but not all one corporall matter: for they did eate Manna, and we another thing, but the selfe same spirituall thing that we doe: Fox.* pag. 1033.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE CHARACTER or badge, which (as they say) is imprinted in the soule by the Sacraments.

The Papists.

98. Error. FIrst, there is a certaine seale, and spirituall marke or badge, imprinted by the Sacraments, in the soules of the receiuers, which can neuer bee blotted out, neither by sinne, apostasie, or heresie.

reſie. Secondly, but it perpetually remaineth for the cogniſance of their Chriſtendome, and diſtinction from others, that were neuer of Chriſts fold, by which alſo they are conſecrated and deputed to God. Thirdly, this indeleble Character, is giuen by three Sacraments onely, Baptiſme, Confirmation, Orders; which is the cauſe they are not reiterable, nor euer to be receiued but once. *Rhemiſt. annot. 2. Corin. 1. ſect. 7. Trident. Concil ſeſſ. 7. can. 9. Bellar. lib. 2 de ſacram. cap. 19.*

Argum. 1. 2. Corin. 1. 22. *He hath ſealed vs, and giuen the earneſt of the ſpirit into our hearts:* Likewiſe Ephe. 1. 13. *Ye were ſealed with the holie ſpirit of promiſe.* Ephe. 4. 30. *Greeue not the ſpirit of God, by whom ye are ſealed againſt the day of redemption.* This ſealing is nothing elſe, as they ſay, but an imprinting in the ſoule of this indeleble marke or character.

Anſw. First, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh manifeſtly of the ſpirituall and inward ſeale of the ſpirit of God, whereby the promiſes of God are ſealed and aſſured vnto vs, whereof Baptiſme is an outward ſeale in our bodies. Secondly, it is an abſurd thing to holde, that he that hath vtterly and maliciouſly renounced Chriſtianitie, and blaſphemed Chriſt himſelfe, ſhould ſtill retaine this Character of Baptiſme, as cogniſance of his Chriſtendome. Thirdly, Baptiſme is not reiterable, that is, to be iterated or repeated, not becauſe it leaueth an indeleble character in the minde of the baptized; which is but a meere deuiſe and fanſie: but becauſe, as it ſufficeth once to be borne in the fleſh, ſo once to be borne againe, and to be regenerated by the ſpirit, (of the which regeneration, Baptiſme is a ſeale and pledge) it is ſufficient. As for confirmation, and orders, we acknowledge them to be no Sacraments: and therefore to haue no ſuch indeleble character.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that theſe places cannot be vnderſtood, of the ſealing or aſſuring of Gods promiſes by his ſpirit in our hearts in the Sacrament: firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, he hath ſealed vs, not ſealed the promiſes.

Contra. First, in the ſecond place the Apoſtle ſaith, *we are ſealed with the ſpirit of promiſe*: to bee ſealed with the promiſe, and to haue the promiſe ſealed vnto vs, are all one. Secondly, in the firſt place, where he ſaith, *he hath ſealed vs*, a little before he ſaid, in him the promiſes of God, *are yea, and Amen*, ver. 20. What is that elſe, but the promiſes are ſealed in him?

Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith, *after you beleeued, ye were ſealed*, Ephe. 1. that is, in Baptiſme, which commeth after faith, *Bellar. cap. 20.*

Cont. First, here *Bellarm.* leaueth the Vulgar text, which readeth, *credentes*, beleeuing, and preſſeth the Greeke word of the preter tence, πιστεύσαντες, hauing beleeued: ſo inconſtant are they, ſometime preferring the Latin, ſometime the Greeke. Secondly, though Baptiſme came after faith then, it is required before faith now. Thirdly, it followeth not: this ſeale was after faith: *Ergo*, in Baptiſme: for vpon their very beleeuing they were ſealed. Fourthly, wee denie not, but that Baptiſme is a ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith, as S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of Circumciſion, becauſe thereby the promiſes are ſealed to vs: yet there is no ſuch character in Baptiſme, as there was not in Circumciſion.

Now further, that theſe places cannot be vnderſtood of any ſuch character, or marke, or infuſed, inherent, or imprinted qualitie in the ſoule by their three Sacraments, it may thus appeare.

Firſt, 2. Cor. 1. 22. As we are ſaid to be ſealed, ſo alſo are we annoynted: but our annoynting, or vnction, is the holie Ghoſt, 1. Ioh. 2. 20. as the Rhemiſts themſelues expound it: *Ergo*, the ſame is alſo the ſeale.

Secondly, *He hath ſealed vs, and giuen the earneſt of his ſpirit to our harts*: the ſame is both the ſeale, and the earneſt, the ſpirit of God is our earneſt vntill the day of redemption: *Ergo*, alſo the ſeale.

Thirdly, Ephe. 4. 30. *We are ſealed to the day of redemption*: which is not in Baptiſme, as *Bellarmine* fondly expoundeth, taking *of* for *in*, and redemption for Baptiſme: for this ſeale none haue, but they for whom the inheritance is purchaſed, Ephe. 1. 14. but all that are baptized ſhall not be ſaued: *Ergo*, there is no ſuch ſeale in Baptiſme.

Fourthly, as we are ſealed, ſo doe wee ſeale: Ioh. 3. 33. *He that receiueth his teſtimonie, hath ſealed that God is true.* If by being ſealed wee receiue a character, then by ſealing wee giue a character: theſe places then ſerue not his turne.

Obiect. 1. They which were baptized with *Iohns* baptiſme, were afterward baptized againe, Act. 19. 4, 5. And this was the reaſon thereof, becauſe *Iohns* baptiſme did not imprint an indeleble character in the ſoule, as Chriſts baptiſme did, *Bellar. cap. 22. reſpond. 1. ration.*

Anſw. First, it cannot be proued, that the Apoſtles baptized thoſe that had receiued *Iohns* baptiſme, neither hath that place, Act. 19. 5. any ſuch meaning: ſee the full anſwere for this afterward, *Contr.* 12. of Baptiſme, *qu.* 7. *arg.* 2. *Papiſtar.* Secondly, though that after *Iohns* baptiſme they had been baptized againe, it followeth not, that it was becauſe of any ſuch character. *Hierome* giueth another reaſon: *Iohannis baptiſma imperfectum, &c. Iohns* baptiſme was imperfect, and did not giue remiſſion of ſinnes, therefore they were baptized againe with *Iohns* baptiſme, *adverſ. Luciferian.* Though this be an error alſo, yet it is againſt them.

The Protestants.

THat by Baptisme and some other sacraments, there is imprinted in the soule a marke, or character, which can neuer bee blotted out, no not by Apostasie; and that this is the cause why Baptisme cannot be iterated, wee holde it to bee a meere deuise, and inuention of men.

Argum. 1. Where the ende and fruites of Baptisme are vtterly extinguished, there cannot remaine any character or badge, or signe of Baptisme: The fruites of Baptisme are repentance, and regeneration by the spirit: But it is possible for these, in some that are baptized, to bee vtterly lost, as in them that fall away by Apostasie, they cannot be renewed by repentance, Hebr. 6.6. Therefore in such there is not to be found any character, badge or signe of Baptisme, which they haue vtterly renounced: onely the memoriall thereof is kept before God, they being so much worse, then they that were neuer baptized, because they haue wilfully reiected their profession.

Argum. 2 The cause why Baptisme is but once to be giuen is not, as they alleage, because it leaueth such a sure marke behinde, so deeply died in the soule, that it cannot be blotted out. There are other causes that come neerer the trueth: First, as God is but one, who maketh a couenant with vs in Baptisme; and the faith but one, into the which we are entred by that Sacrament: so Baptisme is one and the same, Ephes. 4.5. and as it sufficeth once to be borne in the flesh; so once to be regenerated by the spirit in Baptisme. Secondly, the institution of God is another cause, who hath appointed the other Sacrament often to be receiued, 1. Corinth. 11.25. But for the iteration of Baptisme, wee haue no such commaundement. Thirdly, Baptisme commeth in the place of Circumcision: as that was but once ministred, so likewise it must be in the other. Fourthly, In Baptisme God maketh a perpetuall couenant with vs, which he alwaies remembreth; and therefore needeth not to be put in minde, by the often vsing of that Sacrament. These and the like reasons may be alleaged, why baptisme is not often to be required: and not that, which by them without any ground is pretended.

Bellarmine thus obiecteth against these reasons: Against the first, that Baptisme is not iterated, because it is our spirituall birth: First saith he, we are also borne by the word, yet sermons are often repeated. Secondly, though our carnall birth cannot be iterated, yet our spirituall may, as in the resurrection: for as the bodily death is but once, the spirituall often; so the spirituall birth may be renued, as the carnall cannot.

Contra. First, though faith is begotten by the word, Rom. 10.17. and we by faith are made the children of God, yet because Baptisme is a seale and confirmation of this faith, it is properly called in Scripture, *the lauacre of regeneration or new birth* Tit. 3.5. Secondly, the resurrection is a regeneration of the bodie, not of the soule, and therefore improperly alleaged. Thirdly, as the bodie dieth but once, no more doth the soule, when it finally falleth away from God, whereof the Apostle speaketh, Heb. 6.6. *That if they fall away, they cannot be renued by repentance*: but as the bodie once borne, may be in danger of death by sicknes, and not die; so the soule may be weaked and decay by sinne, and so be renued: as the Apostle saith, *our outward man is renued daily*, 2. Cor. 4.16. but the soule once begotten vnto God, cannot die by sinne, *because his seed remaineth in him, neither can he sinne*, that is vnto death, *because he is borne of God.* 1. Iohn. 3.9. Here the Apostle euidently speaketh, that the spirituall birth cannot be lost.

To the Second he obiecteth, that as in Scripture it is not written, that Baptisme should be iterated; so neither it is found, that it should not.

Contra. First, in that the often receiuing of the Eucharist is commaunded, 1. Cor. 11.25. but no such charge giuen of Baptisme, it is euident that the holy Ghost in this respect hath set a difference betweene them: if the Scripture had beene silent as touching both, there had borne some colour in *Bellarmines* obiection, but now there is none. Secondly, it is vntrue that the Scripture forbiddeth not Baptisme to be iterated: for Iohn. 13.10. our Sauiour saith, that he which hath his feet washed, that is, is regenerate in his affections, whereof Baptisme is a seale, *need not to be washed*, but more euidently, Hebr. 6.6. *He that falleth away cannot be renued by repentance*: that is, as the Rhemists expound it, *it is impossible to be baptized againe. Annot. in hunc locum.*

Leo also in his decree, proueth thus out of Scripture that Baptisme is not to be iterated: *Lauacrum semel in istum nulla iteratione violetur*: The lauacre once entred vnto must not by any iteration be violated, the Apostle thus saying, *one God, one faith, one Baptisme: decr. p. 2. can. 1. q. 1. c. 51.*

Thirdly, he obiecteth, that circumcision was therefore not repeated, because it left a character, or scarre in the flesh, as Baptisme doth in the soule, which print of circumcision was a cognizance betweene the Iewes and the Gentiles, *Bellarm. cap. 22.*

Contra. The outward marke in the flesh by circumcision, was not that mark, wherby the Iewes were discerned, but the circumcision of the heart: First, because circumcision was a signe betweene the Lord and them, Gen. 17.11. *But the Lord looketh to the heart.* 1. Sam. 16.7. *not to the outward appearance.* Secondly, the women amongst the Iewes were counted among the circumcised, and

and diſcerned from heathen women: but they were not circumciſed in the fleſh, therfore it was the inward circumciſion, whereby they were ſanctified, as by their faith: this your Maſter confeſſeth. *lib. 4. diſtinct. 3. g.* Thirdly, the marke in the fleſh, being in the ſecret parts, and remote from the eye could be no cognizance to know a Iew by: If the fleſhly marke were any thing, it ſhoulde haue beene in the hand, or forehead; as the Angell is commaunded, *to marke them in the foreheads*, Ezech. 9. 4. Fourthly, the Apoſtle ſaith, he is not a Iew, that is one outward: neither is that circumciſion which is in the fleſh, Rom. 4. 28. wherfore the fleſhly mark was no cauſe of the not iterating of circumciſion.

Fourthly, to the firſt reaſon he obiecteth, that the perpetuitie of Gods couenant made in Baptiſme can be no cauſe why it is not iterated: Firſt, becauſe God maketh no couenant in Baptiſme: for a couenant is made betweene two conſenting: but children in Baptiſme being without faith, cannot conſent. Secondly, God couenanteth as well with vs in the word, and in the Euchariſt; yet that is often preached, the other often receiued. Thirdly, Gods couenant is alwaies conditionall; ſo to him that keepeth not the condition it is not perpetuall.

Contra. Firſt, *Bellarmines* firſt reaſon is ridiculous: for though children in their own perſon cannot conſent, yet are they within the couenant, which God maketh to vs and our ſeed. Gen. 17. Otherwiſe Gods couenant ſhould be weaker then the couenant of men, who do make couenants for themſelues and their ſeed: as *Dauid* and *Ionathan*. 1. Sam. 20. 42. And againe, if circumciſion were a ſigne of Gods couenant, how much more Baptiſme which is more excellent: and S. *Peter* perſwadeth the Iewes to be baptized, becauſe *the promiſe was made to them, & their ſeed.* Act. 2. 39. therfore it is great impudecy in him to deny ſo manifeſt a truth, that there is no couenāt made in Baptiſme.

Secondly, there is difference betweene the writing of a couenant, and the ſealing, as Nehem. 9. 38. the people make a couenant with God, they both write it and ſeale it: ſo the word of God, is as the writing of the couenant, & therfore is repeated; Baptiſme is as the ſure ſeale, that remaineth inuiolable: Likewiſe God couenanteth with vs in the Euchariſt: but it is a diuers couenāt from that in baptiſme: for this is the couenant of adoption, which once ſufficeth; the other of continual feeding and preſeruation, and therefore may be often vſed: as in circumciſion there was a couenant made, whereby the Iſraelites became his people; in the paſſeouer a promiſe and couenant of protection and preſeruation. Exod. 12. 27.

Thirdly, Gods couenant in it ſelfe remaineth ſtedfaſt, though men be deceitfull: and therefore it is called *a couenant of ſalt.* 2. Chro. 13. 5. ſo that God doth not make a new couenant, when men returne vnto him, but remembreth the old, as Exod. 31. 13. *Remember Abraham, Iſaac and Iacob, to whom thou ſwareſt, &c.* And Saint *Paul* thus reaſoneth, Epheſ. 4. 5. *One Lord, one faith, one Baptiſme*: from the conſtancie of God, to the ſtablenes of Baptiſme: wherefore *Bellarmine* hath babled much, and ſaid little: other arguments might alſo be adioyned, as theſe.

Argum. 3. Circumciſion vnder the law was the ſame in effect, which Baptiſme is vnder the goſpell: ſo the Maſter of ſentences confeſſeth. *lib. 4. diſtinct. 4. g.* but circumciſion left no indeleble character in the ſoule, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth. *cap. 19. propoſ. 7. Ergo*, neither doth Baptiſme.

Argum. 4. There was no character imprinted in the ſoule of Chriſt by Baptiſme: confeſſed by *Bellarmine cap. 19. propoſ. 8.* but we are baptized with the ſame baptiſme, that Chriſt was baptized with: vnleſſe they will ſay, that the head and members are baptized with diuers baptiſmes; which were moſt abſurd, and contrarie to the Apoſtle, who ſaith, *There is one Lord* (that is Chriſt) *and one faith* (that is in Chriſt) *and one baptiſme* (that is in the name of Chriſt:) but if Chriſts baptiſme were diuers, there ſhould not be one Lord, one baptiſme.

Ambroſe alſo ſaith. *ſerm. 41. Ergo fratres tingi debemus eodem fonte, quo Chriſtus, &c.* Therefore brethren, we muſt be dipped in the ſame fountain with Chriſt, that we may be the ſame, that Chriſt is.

We haue alſo their own witnes againſt them: *Durandus* ſaith, that this character is but *reſpectus rationis*, a relation or reſpect vnto the miniſter, no permanent or infuſed qualitie, *in 4. diſt. 4 qu. 1.* *Scotus* holdeth, that it cannot be proued by any manifeſt teſtimonie of Scripture. *diſt. 6. q. 9.* *Gabriel* doubteth, whether the Church hath defined it. *ibid. qu. 2.*

Innocent 3. ſaith, that they which are baptized being madde, or aſleep, *characterem non ſuſcipiunt*, do not receiue this character: *Ergo*, Baptiſme doth not alwaies imprint a character. Greg lib. 1. tit. 41. c. 3.

Auguſtine is flat againſt them, for the iteration of confirmation: *Manus impoſitio non ſicut baptiſmi repetitio poteſt. Quid enim eſt aliud, niſi oratio ſuper hominem?* The impoſition of hands is not as Baptiſme, neuer to be iterated againe: for what is it elſe, but praier ouer a man? *de baptiſ. cont. donat. lib. 3. c. 16.* Confirmation in his opinion may be iterated, & therfore imprinteth no ſuch character.

Neither doth Orders leaue any ſuch character behinde it: *Concil. Agathenſ. can. 50. Clericus falſum teſtimonium dicens, &c.* A Cleargie man bearing falſe witneſſe, let him be depoſed from his office; *Et laicam tantummodo communionem accipiat*: Let him communicate only as a lay man. What is now become of your indeleble character?

See the teſtimonie of *Walter Brute* holy confeſſor: *The Pope ſaith, that in the adminiſtration of*

euery Sacrament he doth imprint a certaine character or marke into the soule of him that receiueth, &c. I know that in a Sacrament are two things: the sacrament all signe, which is giuen to man of man, the sacrament all grace giuen of Christ.

In giuing of Orders the Bishop doth imprint the corporall markes, but of the spirituall markes I know none, &c. pag. 500. The reason is, that man in the ministery of the Sacrament conferreth only the external things, but this inuisible character is internal, & therfore not conferred by man.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE NECESsitie of the Sacraments.

THey willingly grant, that no Sacraments are absolutely necessary in their nature, but in respect of the institution and commaundement of God; for he is as able to worke without Sacraments, as with them. In this point, we are agreed: the points of difference are these.

The Papists.

99. Error. 1. THese three Sacraments are absolutely and simply necessarie, as they are instituted of God: Baptisme vnto all: penance to those that fall after Baptisme: Orders simply necessary to the whole Church. And thus they vnderstand necessarie, that without the which a man cannot be saued: without the rest of the Sacraments men may be saued, so there be no negligence or contempt, *Bellarm. lib. 1 de sacram. cap. 22.* yea, he is not ashamed to say, that the Sacraments are more necessary then faith: his reason is, because without the Sacramẽts, as Baptisme, or the desire therof, none, neither children nor others, can be saued: but without faith children are saued, *Bellarm. lib. 1 de sacram. cap. 22.*

Answ. First, he may be ashamed so impiously to contradict the Scriptures: for our Sauiour saith, *One thing is necessary*, Luk. 10. 42. speaking of *Maries* diligent hearing of the word, whereby faith is obtayned, Rom. 10. 17. so that faith comming by the hearing of the word, is the onely or chiefe necessary thing. Againe, Mark. 16. 16. our Sauiour saith, *He that shall beleeue and be baptized, shall be saued; but he that beleeueth not, shall be damned*: he saith not, he, *that is not baptized, but he, that beleeueth not*: therefore faith is more necessary then baptisme.

Secondly, it is vntrue, that none can be saued, no not children without baptisme: seeing that *Dauids* child dying the seuenth day, before it was circumcised, 2. Sam. 12. 18. was saued, as *Dauid* himselfe saith, vers. 23. *I shall goe to him*: and there was as great necessitie of circumcision then, as of baptisme now: Likewise the children which *Herod* slew, from two yeeres and vnder, some of them being but newly born, were neither circumcised, nor baptized, yet we hold thẽ all to be innocents.

Thirdly, children are not capable of faith, as they are of baptisme, and therefore in them ther can be no comparison between faith & baptisme: seeing one is required in them, & not the other.

Fourthly, this argument may better be returned vpon his owne head: that seeing children without baptisme may be saued, as they are an holy seed, 1. Cor. 7. 14. and so vnder the couenant, of the which Sacrament they are capable; but none can be saued without faith, that are capable of faith, that therefore faith is more necessary then baptisme.

The Protestants.

THough the Sacraments being appointed for our comfort, are necessary & profitable as holsome meanes to be vsed for the increase of our faith, and much to be desired & sought for: yet God hath not laid such a necessitie vpon any of them, as that the want of them should cause iarard of saluation. The theefe vpon the crosse was saued both without Baptisme & Penance: I pray you what penance did *Peter* after his thrice denial of Christ, but that he wept bitterly, & earnestly repented him of his fall? as S. *Ambrose* saith, *lacrymas Petri lego, satisfactionem non lego*: I read of *Peters* teares, not of his satisfaction. Such repentance we hold to be necessary, but a Sacrament of penance we acknowledge none. So the ordaining of ministers to preach, is the ordinary meanes to beget men vnto the faith: yet many haue beene called without such preaching: as *Paul* was conuerted by the voyce of Christ from heauen, *Nabuchadnezzar* was called by the great miracle of the preseruation of the three children in the fiery ouen.

So *Augustine* saith, *Vndique vocat nos Deus ad penitentiam, vocat per lectorem, vocat per tribulationem, vocat per nostram cogitationem, vocat per flagellum corripiens, vocat per misericordiam consolationis*: God calleth vs euery way to repentance; he calleth, by the reader, by the preacher, by the inward thought, by the scourge of correction, by the mercy of consolation: *in Psalm. 102.* God therefore may call and instruct vs by more waies then one, he is not tyed to any.

The Papists.

100. Error. 2. THe Sacraments of the new law are necessary to saluation, that is, it is impossible to obtaine the grace of iustification, by faith alone, without the celebrating of the Sacraments, *aut sacramentis, aut eorum voto*, or at least, hauing a will, purpose, and desire to celebrate and vse them, *Concil. Trident. Sess. 7. can. 4.*

The

The Protestants.

A Necessitie of the Sacraments we graunt, as also of other profitable meanes, as of preaching the word, of prayer, and the like: but no simple or absolute necessitie, as we haue said: neither are the Sacraments necessarie at all to any such purpose (being ordained for no such vse) as to be a meanes to applie the grace of iustification vnto vs: but our iustification is onely applied and apprehended by faith, as Saint *Paul* concludeth, Rom. 3. 28. that a man *is iustified by faith onely, without workes of the law*: yea, all workes whatsoeuer are excluded, as destroying grace, Rom. 11. vers. 6. The Sacraments are profitable instruments, to stirre vp the gift of faith, and other graces in vs, but not by their proper worke to iustifie vs.

Augustine saith: *Primò fides catholica Christianos necessaria est, per ipsam renascimur in baptismate, & salutem æternam impetramus*: First of all, the Catholike faith is necessarie for a Christian, by the which in Baptisme wee are borne againe, and obtaine eternall saluation. He saith not that Baptisme but that faith is necessarie, and that it is faith which giueth life to the sacrament: it worketh not by it owne proper act: which is contrarie to *Bellarmine*, who saith, that *fides non trahit vim sacramento*, that faith doth not adde any force to the Sacrament, *lib. 1. de sacram. cap. 22.* whereas the Apostle saith, that he which *eateth the bread, and drinketh the cup of the Lord vnworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation*, 1. Cor. 11. 27. so that the worthie receiuing consisteth in the examination of our selues, vers. 28. and to examine our selues, *is to proue whether we are in the faith*, 2. Corinth. 13. 5. Wherefore by faith wee are made worthie receiuers, and the Sacrament is vnto vs to life, which was before vnto death. De tempor. Serm. 55.

Bernard also saith: *Nos si sanguinis testimonium non habemus, id est Martyrij, &c.* If we haue not the witnesse of blood, that is of Martyrdome, let vs haue the witnesse of the spirit and water: for without the spirit, neither blood, nor water sufficeth: yea, if we haue the spirit without both blood and water, the witnesse thereof is sufficient. Baptisme then is not necessarie, and if it bee not, none is.

Synod. Trullan. can. 59. In oratorio priuato baptismus nullatenus peragatur, sed ad catholicas ecclesias accedat: si quis contrà fecerit, Clericus deponatur, Laicus excommunicetur: In a priuate oratorie, Baptisme must in no case be administred; but they must goe to the common Church: if any man doe contrarie, if a Clergie man, he shall be deposed; if a lay man, excommunicate.

It should seeme that Baptisme was not in those dayes counted so necessarie, seeing they forbad it to be kept in priuate houses.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE NVMBER and order of the Sacraments.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE number.

The Papists.

Their generall sentence and opinion is this, that there are seuen Sacraments, neither more nor lesse: Baptisme, the Eucharist, Confirmation, Penance, Matrimonie, Orders, extreame Vnction. If any man say that any of these are not truly and properly Sacraments, or that they are not all of Christs institution, let him be anathema or accursed, *Concil. Trident. sess. 7. can. 1.* 101. Error.

Argum. 1. The number of seuen is mysticall, propheticall, perfect: the Prophet commaunded *Naaman* to wash himselfe seuen times, 2. King. 4. The Altar must bee cleansed seuen dayes, Exodus 29. 37. *Iob* offered seuen bullocks and seuen rammes for his friends, Iob. 42. So in the Apocal. seuen Churches, seuen Angels, seuen Starres, seuen Candlestickes, seuen Thunders, and the like: And why not also seuen Sacraments? *Bellar. lib. 2. cap. 26. Rhemist. annot. Apocal. 1. sect. 3.*

Answ. First, the number of seuen is sometime applied, to describe mysteries of wickednesse, as well as of godlinesse: As the beast with seuen heads, Apocalyps. 17. 8. is called a mysterie, or as your Vulgar Latine hath it, a sacrament. And with greater reason may wee conclude, that this beast with seuen heads, is Antichrist, with his seuen popish sacraments, than you out of *Naaman* seuen times washing, can picke out seuen sacraments. But if you will needes make a mysterie of seuen: it may as well be a mysterie of iniquitie as of godlines, euen the mysterie of the beast with seuen heads, as wee haue said. Secondly, what though the number of seuen, and of some other numbers, bee sometime mysticall and significatiue, when it pleaseth the Lord in his word so to applie and appoynt them? doth it therefore follow, that men vpon their owne heads, may superstitiously applie numbers to sacramens, prayers, fastings, times, as though there were any religion in numbers, or that the Lorde had the rather respect vnto such things, because of the number?

*Argum.*2. Man hath seuen wounds to be healed or cured: *Ergo*, there ought to be seuen sacraments as remedies against the same: Baptisme is a remedie against originall sinne, Penance against actuall, extreame Vnction against the reliques of sinne, Confirmation against infirmitie of faith, the Eucharist against malice, Matrimonie against concupiscence, Orders against ignorance. *Bellarm. lib.2. cap.26.*

Answ. First, the Sacraments are not properly of themselues remedies against sinne: no otherwise than they are tempered with faith, from whence they haue their whole strength and vertue. Secondly, if they were such remedies, what neede so many? as though one medicine may not heale diuers diseases. Thirdly, the Iesuite hath not well matched the diseases and remedies together: first, the efficacie of Baptisme, which setteth forth our spirituall washing by the blood of Christ, serueth as well against actuall, as originall sinne: seeing we are cleansed from both by the blood of Christ. Secondly, if Baptisme serue against originall, and Penance against actuall sinne, what other sinne remaineth to bee helped by the other remedies? Thirdly, if Matrimonie be auaileable against concupiscence, why doe ye forbid your lustfull and belly-fed priests to marie? and if Orders helpe ignorance, how commeth it to passe that you haue so many doltish and ignorant Masse-priests?

Bellarmine hath other arguments, shewing in particular that euery one of their seuen are Sacraments, which shall be answered in their seuerall places.

The Protestants.

THis word or name, Sacrament, may be taken two wayes: first, generally for any mysticall signe or symbole, which may represent an holy thing: and so wee will graunt, that there may bee not onely seuen Sacraments, but seuen and seuen; which are more properly symboles and signes, than Sacraments: As the couering of the head in the woman is a symbole of subiection, 1. Cor. 11. 10. the Sabboth day a symbole or sacrament of the heauenly rest, Hebr. 4. In this sense

De symbol. lib. 3. cap. 9. *Augustine* calleth the mysterie of the Trinitie a sacrament: yea hee saith, the sacrament of fire, because therein in some sort, by the vndeuided and inseparable properties thereof, the heate, light, and shining brightnes; the Trinitie, saith he, is shadowed forth. Wherefore euery signe or symbole of a holy thing, that hath a spirituall signification, either found in scripture, or deuised by men, is not by and by a sacrament.

Secondly, if wee will take a sacrament in the strict and proper sense, there are especially three things required thereunto. First, that they doe not onely signifie, but exhibite and represent vnto vs after a liuely manner, the spirituall things which are signified. Secondly, they must haue the institution and perpetuall commaundement of Christ. Thirdly, the sacraments of the new law must succeede in the place of the old. Hereupon wee will inferre, that there are but two sacraments in the new Testament, Baptisme, and the Lords Supper.

*Argum.*1. These two alone are not onely signes of heauenly things, but seales and pledges vnto vs thereof, whereby our faith is strengthened, and our hope confirmed in the promises of God: as the remission of sinnes is represented in Baptisme, Act. 2. 38. the death of Christ shewed forth in the Eucharist, 1. Corin. 11. 26. The like commendation is not giuen of any other of their sacraments.

*Argum.*2. Christ onely commaunded these two sacraments to be vsed for euer in his Church: to such spirituall purposes, as Baptisme is instituted and commaunded, Matth. 28. 19. the Lords Supper likewise, Matth. 26. Many other ceremonies Christ vsed himselfe, as lifting vp of hands, the tempering of clay and spittle, his Apostles imposition of hands, and annoynting with oyle: But hee hath not laid his commaundement vpon these ceremonies, inioyning vs perpetually to keepe them, as he hath charged vs with the other two.

*Argum.*3. The sacraments of the new Testament succeede in the roome of them of the old: Baptisme standeth in stead of Circumcision, the Lordes Supper is come in place of the Paschal Lambe. But they cannot shew what old sacraments, those fiue other newly inuented, Confirmation, Orders, Penance, Matrimonie, extreame Vnction, doe succeede and supplie: *Ergo*, they are none. And beside, if all these should bee sacraments, and so seuen in all: wee should haue more in number than the Iewes had, which is not to be admitted: for they had but two ordinarie sacraments, Circumcision, and the Paschall Lambe: two extraordinarie, as their baptisme in the red sea and the clowde, and their eating of the Manna, and drinking of the rocke, 1. Cor. 10. 2. 3. So they should haue but foure sacraments, for your seuen. Other legall rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices they had, and many typicall shadowes and significations, but no more sacraments than wee haue heard.

Other arguments we haue in particular against their fiue sacraments, which I referre to their seuerall places, which being prooued to be no sacraments at all, they must needes faile of their seuen.

Augustine

Augustine yeeldeth to haue no more sacraments than onely two: As *Eue* was made out of *Adams* side as he was asleepe: *Sic ex latere domini dormientis in cruce manauerunt sacramenta, ex quibus formatur ecclesia*: So out of the Lords side sleeping vpon the crosse, the sacraments of the Church issued: that is, water and blood: by the which he vnderstandeth the two sacraments. Tract. in Iohan. 119. & exposit. in Psal. 56.

Bellarmine answereth, that though Baptisme be fitly vnderstoode by water, and the Eucharist by bloode: yet issued but of Christs side, yet are not the other sacraments excluded: as Heb. 6. 2. there is mention onely made of Baptisme and imposition of hands, yet were there more sacraments, *lib. 2. cap. 27.*

Ans. First, we doe not greatly vrge this analogie, to prone two sacraments: but onely shew what *Augustines* iudgement was herein: neither can the proposition hold, if there should be more sacraments than two: for as out of *Adams* side onely *Eue* was made: so out of Christs side the sacraments issued, whereof the Church consisteth: if this collection be good, there can bee no more but two sacraments: vnlesse they can shew, that somewhat else beside water and blood was shed from Christs side. Secondly, that place to the Hebrues is not like: for the Apostles purpose is not to set downe there all the sacraments of religion, but onely such principles, as young beginners were to learne, who after these beginnings were admitted to the Eucharist.

Now lastly in defence of this truth, that Christ hath left vnto vs two sacraments to his Church, many holy Martyrs haue giuen their liues: As *Thomas Whittle, Butler Grimes*, with fiue other, condemned for denying the seuen popish sacraments, *Fox* pag. 1844. Likewise thirteene holy Martyrs burned at Stratford the bow for the same cause. pag. 1914.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE ORDER AND degree of the sacraments among themselues.

The Papists.

IF any man shall say, that these seuen sacraments are of equall dignitie, and not one in some respect to be preferred before the other, let him bee accursed, *Concil. Trident. Sess. 7. can. 3.* In diuers respects one sacrament may excell another, as Baptisme excelleth the rest, because of remission of sinnes thereby effected, or, as we say, represented. Orders excell, in respect of the Minister, because they are onely, say they, conferred by a Bishop. Matrimonie excelleth, in respect of the signification, the coniunction of Christ and his Church. But simply the Eucharist exceedeth all, because of the substance of the sacrament, the reall and bodily presence of Christ, *Bellarm lib. 2. cap. 28.* 102. Error.

Ans. First, that Baptisme and the Eucharist exceede all the other, wee doe easily admit: for we hold them to be no sacraments: and therefore wee stand not vpon their seuerall priuiledges. Secondly, neither Baptisme is more excellent than the Lords Supper, because it representeth the remission of sinnes: for that also is insinuated in the other: for how can we shew forth the Lords death, which is done in that sacrament, vnlesse wee call to minde the benefits purchased by his death, as remission of sinnes? Neither doth the Eucharist goe beyond Baptisme, in regarde of a more full presence of Christ: for hee is not otherwise present in one sacrament, than in the other, presenting himselfe in both spiritually to be apprehended of the worthie receiuer: as for that carnall and grosse presence of the bodie of Christ in the sacrament, wee acknowledge none: as afterward it shall more fully appeare, when we come in order to that question.

Augustine sheweth, that Christ is no otherwise present in the Eucharist, than in the preaching of the worde, for the manner of his presence: *Eucharistia panis noster quotidianus est, & quod vobis tractis, panis quotidianus est, & quod in ecclesia lectiones quotidie auditis, panis quotidianus est*: The Eucharist or Sacrament of thanksgiuing is our daily bread, that which I handle and preach to you, is our daily bread, that which you heare read daily in the Church, is our daily bread. If Christ then be no more really present in the sacrament than in the word, what is become of the preeminence, that the one sacrament in that respect should haue aboue the other? De diuers. serm.

The Protestants.

THat the one sacrament should be so much extolled aboue the other, namely, the Lords Supper to be preferred before Baptisme, as the more worthie and excellent sacrament, wee finde no such thing in the word of God: but that both of them are of like dignitie in themselues, and to be had equally and indifferently in most high account: thus it is proued.

Argum. 1. They are both commaunded and instituted by the same authoritie of our Lord Iesus Christ: as Baptisme, Matth. 28. 19. the Lords Supper, Luk. 22. 19. *Doe this in remembrance of me*: neither is one by the first institution aduanced aboue the other. Secondly, there is the same matter and substance of both sacraments, Christ Iesus with all his benefits, as Baptisme is sayd to saue vs by the *resurrection of Christ*, 1. Pet. 3. 21. and the cup, and the bread in the Eucharist are *a*

communion of the bodie and blood of Christ, 1. Corinth. 10. 16. Thirdly, one and the same end of them both, which is the increase and strengthening of our faith in the promises of God: as Rom. 6. 5. we are said to be grafe in Baptisme to the similitude of Christs death and resurrection: and 1. Corinth. 11. 26. the receiuing of the Communion is a shewing forth of the Lords death: *Ergo*, they are both of equall dignitie and worthines.

Argum. 2. As Circumcision was vnder the Law to the Passeouer, so is Baptisme now vnto the Eucharist: but Circumcision then was equall in dignitie, and commaunded vnder as great a punishment, as the celebration of the Passeouer, and eating of the Paschall Lambe: for both are enioyned vnder the same paine of being cut off from the congregation. Circumcision, Genes. 17. 14. the Passeouer, Exod. 12. 19. *Ergo*, Baptisme, and the Lords Supper are Sacraments of equall dignitie and excellencie.

I might vrge them also with their owne fansies: for by like reason, as *Bellarmine* would preferre Baptisme before faith, because children are saued without faith, and yet not without Baptisme (in their opinion) so because without Baptisme children cannot be saued, as they hold, and yet may without the other Sacrament: therefore Baptisme is more necessarie, and so consequently more worthie: wherefore they doe contrarie themselues in their owne fansies.

Let them say now, which is the more worthie thing, Baptisme, or the word preached? no doubt they will preferre Bapetisme: for they holde that the sacraments doe giue grace by the worke wroughe, and so doth not the word: yea, they are offended, because wee say, that the sacraments are no otherwaies instruments of our iustification, than the word preached is; but that the one worketh by the hearing, the other by the senses of seeing, handling, tasting: but they all serue to one end, namely, to beget and increase faith in vs. This our assertion they vtterly mislike, *Iohn. lib. 2. de sacram. cap.* 2. Whereby it appeareth, that they prefer Baptisme before the word. Wethen thus reason out of *Augustine*: he thus writeth: *Dicite mihi, quid plus videtur vobis, verbum Dei, an corpus Christi? respondere debetis, quod non sit minus verbum Dei*: Tell me, which is the chiefer in your opinion, the word of God, or the bodie of Christ? (that is the sacrament of his bodie:) ye must answere, that the word of God is not inferiour, *Homil.* 26.

Hence we frame this argument: The word of God is equiualent to the Sacrament of the Lords bodie: Baptisme is equiualent to the worde of God, by our aduersaries owne confession: *Ergo*, also it is of equall value and dignitie with the other Sacrament.

THE THIRD BOOKE OR CENTVRIE, CONTAINING A THIRD HVNDRED OF POPISH ERRORS AND HERESIES:

CONSISTING OF SVCH CONTROVERSIES, AS ARISE CONCERNING THE TWO RIGHT SACRAMENTS of Baptisme and the Lords Supper, and the fiue other *Popish Sacraments.*

Saint *Paul* saith, I haue receiued of the Lord, that, which I haue deliuered vnto you: 1. *Corinth.* 11. *vers.* 23.

Hieron. Rogo, vt ad institutionis plenitudinem, verbum Domini, hoc est, Euangelium, diligentius legas: nullomodo passim, nos nostro iudicio committamus, ne nobis exclamet Esaias, væ, qui prudentes sunt apud seipsos: I pray you more fully to imitate the institution, to reade diligently the word of God, that is, the Gospell: let vs not in any wise refer our selues to our owne iudgement, least *Esaias* crie out against vs, woe to them that are wise in their own conceite: *de scient. diuin. legis.*

AT LONDON
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ILLVSTRISSIMO DOMINO, ET VERE NOBILI HEROI D. THOMÆ EGERTON, MAGNI SIGILLI CVSTODI, ET REGINEÆ Maiestati Consiliario primario, Mæcenati suo optimo.

QVod Damasus Hieronymo scripsit: Dormientem te longo iam tempore legentem potius, quàm scribentem excitare disposui: illud in me aptè cadit, (obseruande Domine) quem vsi tam in scribendo negligentem, quam in gratijs honori tuo peragendis dormitantem meritò quis excitandum & extimulandum iudicet: vtrinque tamen constringor, incertus quid faciam, silerem ne, an pergerem? silentium, vereor, ne ingrati animi indicium sit; sermo, ne temeritatem prodat; illud ne obliuiosum, hoc ne nimis officiosum indicet: sed cum in officio reddendo præstat nimium, quam nullum esse, & in via satius sit festinando præcurrere, quam deficiendo excurrere; vigilare malui stilum, officio faciendo, quam dormitare, mihimet ipsi indulgendo: pergo igitur quoniam & officium me vrget, nec vt spero (Domine) tibi molestum erit, sed cum Bernardo professus, doleo quod plenum affectum exili cogar designare stilo, & breui chartula latam comprehendere charitatem: Tibi enim grauioribus occupato, longiori præfatione importunus esse non debeo. Epistol.96.

Tria præfabor breuiter, primum quid hoc sit, quod molior operis, cur tuo honori consecratum velim, tertio cur hoc tempore ... compulerim: primo, cum passim grassari cernerem luem Papisticam, & virus pontificium latè serpere, atque multos non vnciatim tantum potissantes, sed pleno haustu & auidiuscule de meretricio illo poculo sorbillantes conspicerem, mihi anglicanæ ecclesiæ ministro vna cum alijs, hoc onus incumbere credebam, vt veluti ad commune hoc incendium restinguendum, ex tenui meo fonte aquam comportarem, & pesti huic plurima loca peruadenti, antidotum adhiberem. Hæc cura omnes omni ætate studiosis curauit, vt quamprimum religionis hostibus & aduersarijs se opponerent, Moses Magis Aegyptiorum in faciem restitit, Ieremias pseudopropheta Hananiæ, Petrus Simoni Mago, Paulus Demetrio, Ioannes Diotrephi, singuli singulis Christi hostibus bellum certamen indixerunt: idem & nobis hodie faciendum est, sicut Israelitæ vna manu strenuè agebant in opere, altera tenebit gladium, quo hostem repellerent; ita nos non tam operi promouendo attentos, quam hosti propulsando intentos esse oportet. Vos (honoratissimi viri) pars domi consilijs, pars foris armis certatis: nos precibus & scriptis pugnamus, preces domi fundimus, scriptis eminus hostem petimus: prima laus vestra est, secunda militis, nostra non vltima. Cum igitur omnibus in hoc studium incumbendum esse viderem, vt hostiles impetus arcerentur, & vis Papistica quassata succumberet, & deinceps illud mihi occurrebat in mentem, non posse quempiam peritè aduersario vulnus infligere, nisi nuditate eius primo conspecta, nec satis diligenter suas partes tueri, nisi quo in loco hostis vrgeret, animaduerteret: feci igitur, vt totum Papismum veluti vno intuitu conspectum haberet, & vt vniuersa acies pontificia simul prodiret, vt ex qua parte petamus nos, ex qua denique illi petendi vicissim, & feriendi essent, omnibus palàm fieret. Memini Augustinum sic suggessisse Hieronymo, vt omnium hæreticorum dogmata vno libello breuiter digesta ederet, in noticiam eorum, quibus aut non vacat, propter alia negotia, aut non valent propter alienam linguam tam multa legere & cognoscere: optarem quidem vt Hieronymus quispiam hoc præstitisset apud nos Anglos, atque proprio idiomate: id dum facere detrectant alij, huic oneri ferendo multo magis pares & idonei, ego tertio (Domine) ego qualicunque conatu hoc opus aggredior, & tertiam hanc huius libri editionem paro: Quæ illud quocunque modo effici, vt simul collectis, quæ sparsim vagabantur fruerentur alij, ne dum ipsi in vnum fasciculum congerere studerent, quæ varie dispersa occurrerent, tædio fatigati desisterent. Vt bene ergo s... Cyprianus, laboro semel, ne alij semper laborent. Ad Fortunatum.

Tibi verò (obseruande Domine) quod scripserim, id feci tum meo, tum reipublicæ nomine: Cum enim communis salus à duobus pendeat, vt ciuilis iusticia floreat, & res ecclesiastica crescat, tibi vtrinque omnes debitores sumus: primo te iudice curia forensis multis fucis & corruptelis purgata est: causæ ciuiles, quæ numero infinitæ, sumptibus onerosæ, temporis mora molestæ omnibus fuerant, vestra, vt audio, cura ad mediocritatem redactæ sunt, vt numerus decrescat, expensæ moderatiores sint, & litium exitus satis maturus & expeditus sit. Tua opera effectum est, vt veteres illæ bonæ leges reuiuiscant quibus cautum est, 1. ne ius aut donis corrumpatur. 2. aut calumnia proteletur. 3. aut expensis oneretur: Antonini lex fuit, Cod.lib.7. tit.49.leg.7. Qui corrumpit iudicem actionem amittit, & Diocletianus sic iubet, Cod.lib.7.tit.64.leg.7. Venalis sententia nulla. Gratianus Imperator dixit, Cod.lib.9.tit.27.leg.3. Iudex nihil accipere debet pro sententia. 2. Porro legibus præceptum est, ne lites immortales fierent vel vitæ hominum modum excederent, vt criminales causæ biennio terminentur, Justinian. Cod.lib.3.tit.1.leg.13. Vnde etiam statutum est, vt litigator iuramentum de calumnia præstaret, quod non causa differendi litem prosequeretur: similiter litigantes ex vtraque parte & patroni causarum iureiurando confirmant, existimare se bonam causam habere, Cod.lib.2.tit.59.leg.1.2. Justinian. atque eam ob causam promulgatæ istæ leges sunt, ne lites iusti temporis terminum prætergressæ, in infinitum serperent: hinc credo est, quod stata iuris dicendi tempora apud nos terminorum nomine significentur, quod litibus terminandis destinata sunt. 3. Ista porro cura nobiles olim imperatores exercuit, ne litium immoderatis expensis premerentur subditi, vnde decretum est, Cod.lib.4.tit.7.leg.3. Officialis, qui per concussionem aliquid acceperit, restituit, & punitur. Et Cod.lib.2.tit.6.leg.3. prohibitum est ne salarium plus æquo aduocato penderetur, & leg.6. Valentin. et aspernanter aduocatus accipiat, quod offertur. Sed quid hæc apud te incutio (iurisconsultiss. Domine) ipse ne legulius quidem? scilicet id indicare tantum volui, quam rectè ad veterum legum normam forensium disceptationum cursum reuocare cœperit dignitas tua, pergas deinceps ex animo precor, & feliciter perficias, quod prudenter proposueris: sed bene me monet Bernardus, pro iustitia multum laborare apud iustitiæ amatorem superfluum. epist.12.

Vnum porro est (Domine) (quod nisi audacter fecisse indicer) suppliciter ab honore tuo in nostri ordinis gratiam petere velim, vt veteres illæ leges, quæ Clericis in curia agitatis opitulari solebant, vsu restituantur. Martiani lex fuit, vt expensæ litis à clericis pauciores, humanioresque præstentur. Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.25. Fredericus iussit, vt qui iustitiam denegauerit clerico tertio requisitus iurisdictionem amitteret, Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.31. & Anthemius author est, ne lis Clericorum vltra.2.menses extendatur: ibid. consentiunt canones decr.par.2.caus.11.qu.1.c.45. Disceptatio litis inter clericos duorum mensium spatium non excedat. Nos de expensis mitigandis non contendimus, neque de iustitia rectè dispensanda dubitamus: id vnum est, quod volumus, vt cum studiosi in ius vocentur, propediem post auditam causam dimittantur, ne diutius, legis vinculis irretiti, à gregibus suis detineantur: illi ex nostris, qui lites amant, & quamcumque litigandi occasionem arripiunt, fustibus, si opus esset à tribunali

tribunali iudicis obiigendi sunt. Faciunt enim quod non decet, & quod canones vetant, quibus prohibitum est, ne Clericus ad forum, vbi publica iudicia exercentur, pergat, nisi vt aut viduis & pauperibus succurrat, aut de verbo dei iudicia a iudicibus lege imperatoria alia causa excipitur: Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.17.Honor. Ne clericis ad iudicium accedendi licentiam permittimus, nisi ad proprias necessitates. Qui vero dum paci studere, volentes ad certamen legis prouocantur, interim musse dum fient & gregis cura negligitur, hos dignos putamus quos in tutelam vestram suscipiatis, vt quamprimum strepitu forensi liberati domum redeant, pro vestra salute & regni totius statu preces fusuri: vellem enim (vt bene ille) si fieri posset, omnes seruos dei vestros fieri debitores: Bernardus ad Theobald.qu.41.

Nunc quantum ecclesia tibi debeat (fidelissime Custos) non ideo memoro, ac si tibi cordi esse putarem, laudes tuas efferri, aut quod me virtutis tuæ prædicatore indigeas, sed vt intelligas beneficentiam tuam, quam plurimi senserunt, non perire apud nos, nec ingrata obliuione sepeliri. Quod ergo tu dignos & bene literatos viros ex Academia ad ecclesiasticas dignitates vocas, recte tu quidem facis; quod vero non vni plurima beneficia velati prodiga manu accumulas, sed æqua lance pensitans, singulis singula destribuis, id plane honorificum est: atque quod sciam, tu vnus & primus es inter proceres nostros, cui pia hec in conferendis ecclesijs æquitatis regula complacuerit & probata est. Veteres canones illos notant, qui plurium gregium curam suscipiunt curam, quam percipiunt commoda: decr.par.2.caus.13.qu.1.c.1.Dionysius. Ecclesias singulas singulis presbyteris dedimus. Caus.16.qu.7.c.20.Alexander.2. Nullus presbyter duas habeat ecclesias. Caus.21.qu.1.c.1. Clericus in duabus non connumeretur ecclesijs: negotiationis enim hoc est & turpis lucri propriū, & ab ecclesiastica consuetudine alienum, audiuimus enim ex ipsa dominica voce quod nemo potest duobus dominis seruire. Decret. Gregor.lib.1.tit.&c. Cupiditatis vitium ex pluralitate beneficiorum incurrit, &c. furtum commisit & rapinam, &c. in suæ salutis & multarum animarum dispendium plures ecclesias retinet. Lib.3.tit.4.cap.3.ex concil.Lateran. Cum vnum officium vix implere sufficiunt stipendia sibi vendicant plurimorum, ne de cætero id fiat, distinctius inhibemus. Item decret.Greg.lib.3.tit.7.cap.2. Alexander. Ad secundum non potest canonicè consecrari, adhuc coniugaliter alteri alligatus. Illa fere omnium canonum sententia est, in illos qualescunque ecclesiarum venatores lata. Memorabile etiam illud quod de Clemente Papa. 4. perhibetur, qui nepoti suo tres simul ecclesias possidenti denuntiauit, vt reliquis dimissis vnam tantum retineret, quam vellet, neque sententiam Papa mutare voluit, licet cum eo amici instanter hac de re egissent. Sed molestus tibi sum (inclytissime Domine) dum obsoleta hec veluti e puluere & sepulchro in lucem eruo: præclarè quidem facis, qui, antiquitatis vestigijs inhærens, illo modo ecclesiæ commodo, & animarum multarum saluti optime consulis: vt vno verbo dicam, non solum ecclesiam regis, Euangelium ornat, studiosos adiuuat, sed & Dei gloriam promouet, pia hæc vestra ecclesiasticæ hereditatis administratio, nam vt bene Sanct. Cyprianus, quemadmodum militis virtus, serui probitas redundat in gloriam ducis & heri, sic vita refulcidet in gloriam Dei. Ad meipsum venio, ad quem etiam ex vestræ bonitatis fonte riuulus non minimus dimanauit, cui fontem tui thesaurum abundè aperuisti. Alij dominis suis supplicant, officium præstant, obsequium exhibent, vix tandem prece vel premio obtinent, quod petunt: mihi fauor vester singularis fuit, & expectatione mea & meritis maior; qui neque petenti mihi, neque seruienti, gratiam hanc largitus es, vt in me beneficium ecclesiasticum satis opimum conferres, quod ego & pro tenuitatis mea conscientia sperare non debui, neque pro amicorum inopia petere audebam: nunc illa ecclesia relicta, quam tua beneficentia sortitus sum, aliò legitimè vocatus migraui; viuit tamen & viget apud me recentis beneficij memoria, neque dum valet spiritus, frigescet vnquam aut morietur. En igitur (Domine) quas possum tibi rependo gratias, sed muneri longe impares: accipe pro gratia gratiam, pro beneficentia beneuolentiam, pro liberalitate vestra, libellum hunc: tenuis hæc compensatio, & longè indignissima: sic studiosi nos patronos remuneramur: aliter non possumus, compensabit deus, vbi nos deficimus. Dicam cum Augustino, Videor mihi debitum huius operis (honori tuo) reddidisse adiuuante deo: atque iterum cum illo, ad compellendum non potest esse molestus exactor, quando ad reddendum deuotus est debitor: Sed nec isto modo, quæ tibi debeo, omnia præstiti: debeo quæ possum, omnia, nec video me esse soluendo: animi proposito supplendum erit, quod operis debitum est, vt eleganter Augustinus: Vis vt te literis quæram, ego te affectu & officio quæram, quæ omnes literas superant.

Lib.22.de ciuitat.Dei.c.30

Epist.7.

Nunc tertio in loco tuo Honori scribere decreui, ne tibi molestum, aut graue sit, meis quibuscunque hortamentis ad cursum, quem coeperis alacriter & strenue conficiendum inuitari. Non ignoramus quibus machinis, quanto molimine beneceratos supplantare, aut remorari studeat communis aduersarius: & prospere nauigantes in seculi illius oceano, nunc ad scopulos allidit, nunc conijcit in syrtes, nunc fluctibus agitat: modo prosperis tentat, mox pungit aduersis, nunc superbos attollit, nunc humiles deprimit. Vnus Iob exemplo satis est luculento: Qui cum iustitiæ amator esset, & sibi proposuerat æquabilem & rectum vitæ cursum tenere, Satanæ astutijs & insidijs præpeditus est: Inuidebat illi ille inuidus vitæ sanctitatem & innocentiam, contra eum omnes producit copias, omnem in illius fidem impetum facit, vt inuictum illius animum paupertate, orbitate, summa miseria, si fieri possit frangeret, diuitijs spoliat, filijs orbat, corpus vlceribus vexat, animum doloribus torquet: ille stabilis & immotus manet. Eadem prorsus conditio seruorum dei est, qui multis tentationibus probantur: quem enim diligit deus, castigat, vt pie Apostolus, Heb.12.6. & recte Hieronymus: Nauigium nostræ vitæ agitationibus gaudet, sola tranquillitate turbatur, stupet cursus cessantibus ventis; periclitatur, si periculis non probetur. Idem ad Iulianum scribens, illius afflictiones enumerat: audio te breui tempore duas virgunculas filias iunctis pene extulisse funeribus, & fidelissimam coniugem Faustinam, in qua sola post amissos liberos acquiescebas, subita tibi dormitione subtractam. Idem casus & aliquando nec certe alienus a vestris ædibus fuit. Sed vereor, ne dum hæc memoro, mæroris vulnus refricare veluti temporis cicatrice obductum: illud tantum cogites (optime vir) quod in nostri solatium Apostolus; Minime paria esse, quæ præsenti tempore patimur futuræ vitæ gloriæ Rom.8.18. & recte Ambrosius, Vbi multæ coronæ, multa certamina; & bene Hieron. Tribulationem super tribulationem debemus suscipere, vt spem super spem mereamur accipere: epitaph.Paul. Hac ergo cogitatione nobis erigendæ mentes sunt, & isto velut pharmaco leniendi dolores, quod afflictio præmij [illegible] sit, & patientia comes, & pedissequa gloria: vt eleganter Ambrosius, super illo Psal.119. Tribulatio & angustia inuenerunt me: quærunt tribulationes iustum, interdum inueniunt, interdum non inueniunt; inuenitur, cui corona debetur, non inuenitur qui idoneus certamini non probatur, serm.18.in Psalm.119. Te ergo (Domine) afflictiones apprehenderunt & inuenerunt, qui iam maturus & oneri ferendo par deprehenderis & inueniris. Macte igitur virtute, & faxit deus, ne impedimenta tibi sed incitamenta ista sint, vt ad felicem exitum, quæ bene coeperis alacriter perducas, & vt ad optatum portum post varias procellas feliciter appellas, vt tibi tandem, qui iustitiæ fidelis minister fueris, in cœlis repositam mercedem retribuat iustitiæ retributor Deus. Interim ego vt Cyprianus verbis hanc consignem paginam, de agno per quem redempti sumus, lanam tibi & purpuram misi, quam cum acceperis, tunicam tibi pro voluntate conficies: ad Fortunat. Dixi. Dat. Barleiæ decimo die Calendas Nouembris. anno 1600.

Tuo Honori deditissimus,

Andreas Willet.

THE TWELFTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, OF THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISME.

THis controuersie standeth vpon diuers questions. First, of the name, and definition of Baptisme. Secondly, of the parts of Baptisme. Thirdly, of the necessitie of Baptisme. Fourthly, of the Minister of Baptisme. Fiftly, of the parties which are to be baptized. Sixtly, of the effects of Baptisme. Seuenthly, of the difference of Christs Baptisme and Iohns. Eightly, of the ceremonies of Baptisme.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE NAME and definition of Baptisme.

COncerning the name, there is no question betweene vs, for the name of Baptisme hath the originall and beginning from the Scripture: S. *Paul* vseth this word, Coloss. 2. vers. 12. *We are buried with him through Baptisme.* And againe, Heb. 6. 2. All the question is about the definition of Baptisme.

The Papists.

THey define Baptisme to be a Sacrament of regeneration by water in the word: that is, not which signifieth and sealeth vnto vs our regeneration, and assureth vs of remission of sinnes; but actually iustifieth and regenerateth vs, *Bellarm. lib. 1 de Baptism. cap. 1.* 1. Error.

Argum. Bellarmine groundeth his definition vpon those words of our Sauiour, Iohn 3. 5. *Except a man be borne of water and the Spirit*: and Ephes. 5. 26. *That he might sanctifie it by the washing of water through the word*: Hence he would inferre, that we are sanctified by the water in Baptisme, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. It is manifest by those places, where the spirite and the word are ioyned to the outward washing by water, that the efficacie is not in the water, but in the spirit, and the word or promise of God, which is apprehended by faith: these places proue that Baptisme is a Sacrament, signe and seale of regeneration, but no efficient or working cause thereof.

The Protestants.

WE rather, according to the Scriptures define Baptisme, to be a signe or seale of our regeneration and new birth, whereby we are assured, that as verily by faith in the bloud of Christ we are cleansed from our sinnes, as our bodies are washed with water, In the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost: So that Baptisme doth not actually bestow remission of sinnes by the worke wrought, but is a pledge and seale of the righteousnes of faith, as S. *Paul* saith of Circumcision, Rom. 4. 11. For it is not the washing of the flesh by water, but the establishing of the heart with faith and grace, that saueth vs, 1. Pet. 3. 21. See this poynt handled more at large, *Chemnit.* 11. next before, *quest. 2. part. 1.*

Augustine saith, *Per fidem renascimur in baptismate*: by faith we are borne againe in Baptisme, *De temp. Serm. 53.* It is then the proper act of faith, to regenerate vs, not of Baptisme; the vse and end whereof, is to strengthen and increase our faith.

We haue against this actuall iustification, by water in Baptisme, the euident testimonie out of their owne decrees, *decret. p. 2. caus. 1. qu. 1. c. 54. Vnde ista tanta virtus aquæ, &c.* From whence is this so great vertue of the water, that it toucheth the bodie, and cleanseth the heart, *Nisi fiat verbo* vnto, but by the working of the word; *Non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur*: not because the word is spoken, but beleeued.

Caus. 27. qu. 2. c. 45. Gloss. Fides est causa, quare in Baptismo à peccatis mundemur: Faith is the cause, that our sinnes are cleansed in Baptisme.

Dist. 3 dist. 4. c. 1. Sine Sacramento visibili, et fide inuisibili nemo salvatur: Without the visible Sacrament, and inuisible faith, no man is saued.

Ibid. 2. Per fidem et Baptismum, &c. By faith and Baptisme wee are freed from our sinne. And yet more euidently *cap. 39.* of the same distinction, vpon those words of our Sauiour, *Iam vos mundi estis*, and now you are cleane through the word, that I haue spoken vnto you; *Quare non ait, mundi estis propter Baptismum, &c.* Why doth he not say, you are cleane because of Baptisme,

where-

wherewith ye are baptized, (but because of the word) but because the word cleanseth in the water. We see then, that the vertue of the Sacrament dependeth vpon faith, so that *Bellarmines* assertion, That faith addeth no force to the Sacrament, *lib.1 de Sacram.c.22.* is not onely repugnant to Scripture, but contrarie to their owne Canons.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE parts, which are the matter and forme of Baptisme.

AS touching the matter: that is, the externall element vsed in Baptisme, there is no question betweene vs, but that it ought to be plaine and common water, Act.10.47. S. *Peter* saith, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized? Wherefore we condemne the foolish and vngodly practises and inuentions of heretikes, that either exclude water altogether, as the Manichees, with others; or doe vse any other element, as the Iacobites, that in stead of water burned them that were to be baptized, with a whot yron; or as the Æthiopians, which are called Abissines, that vsed fire in stead of water: misconstruing the words of the Gospell, Matth.3.11. That Christ should baptize with the holy Ghost and with fire: which is not literally to be vnderstood, but thereby is signified the internall and forceable working of the spirit, which kindleth zeale and loue in our hearts as fire.

Bez. Matth.3. vers.11.

Concerning the forme of Baptisme: we all agree, that no other is to be vsed, then that prescribed by our Sauiour Christ: To baptize in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghost: that it is neither lawfull to change this forme in sense, as many heretikes haue done, nor yet in words, as to leaue out any of the three persons in Trinitie, and inclusiuely to vnderstand them by naming of one: for whereas some alleage that place, Act.2.38. Be ye baptized in the name of Iesu Christ, for remission of sinnes; to proue, that it is lawfull onely in the name of Christ to baptize, we are to vnderstand, that the forme of Baptisme is not in that place expressly set downe, but the scope onely and end of Baptisme, which is to assure vs of remission of sinnes in the name of Christ, as *Beza* very well noteth vpon that place: Wherefore it is a manifest Error, which is imputed to Pope *Nicholas*, who defineth Baptisme in the name of Christ onely to be sufficient, *decret. part.3. distinct.4.c.24.* *Bellarmine* would helpe this matter, and saith, that he bringeth in S. *Ambrose* to authoritie, but determineth nothing himselfe, whereas the very words of the Pope are these, *Sufficiat eos deinceps non esse baptizandos*: It is euident, that such are not to be baptized againe, namely, they, that were baptized onely in the name of Christ: what are these els, but definitiue words? Wherefore wee allow rather the decree of *Alexander* 3 *decret. Greg. lib.3. tit.42.c.1. Si quis non dixerit, ego baptizo*: Vnlesse a man say, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, he baptizeth not: this is agreeable to the Scripture, where Christ commandeth his disciples to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, Matthew 28. but the very forme of speech, as whether to say, I baptize, or according to the vse of the Greeke Church, Bee thou baptized, is not of like necessitie, as to vse the name of the Trinitie. The poynt then of difference betweene vs, concerning the forme of Baptisme is this.

The Papists.

2. Error. THey are bolde to affirme, that this forme of Baptisme, to baptize in the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, is not fully concluded out of Scripture, but deliuered by tradition: for (say they) the commaundement of Christ, to baptize in the name of the Trinitie, Matth.28. may be vnderstood thus: to baptize them into the faith of the Trinitie, or by the authoritie of the Trinitie. And it were sufficient, by those words, to doe and performe it in act, without saying the words; were it not, that we haue otherwise learned by tradition, that this very forme of words is to be kept, *Bellarm. de baptism. lib.1 cap.3.*

The Protestants.

WE neede no tradition for this matter; the very forme which is to be vsed in Baptisme is plainely proued out of the Scriptures: for that commandement of Christ, *Go and baptize, &c.* doth necessarily imply a forme of speech to be vsed. We graunt, that in the Scriptures, this word (name,) is taken for power, vertue, authoritie, as Act.3.6. In the name of Iesus arise and walke. So also, as there is a Baptisme with water, there may be a baptizing with fire, Matth.3.11. Wherefore if part of the commandement be to be taken properly and literally, as this, Goe and baptize, why not the rest also, In the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost? If then the whole commandement be properly and plainely vnderstood: how can they baptize in the name of the Trinitie, vnlesse the Trinitie be spoken and named?

Secondly, it appeareth also out of other places of Scripture, that this forme was vsed in the apostles time: As Act.10.47. *Can any man forbid water, why these should not be baptized, which haue receiued*

receiued the holy Ghoſt, as well as we? As if S. *Peter* ſhould haue reaſoned thus: theſe haue receiued the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt: *Ergo*, they may be alſo baptized in the name of the holy Ghoſt. Likewiſe, Act. 19.2. When the brethren at Epheſus had anſwered *Paul*, that they had not heard, whether there were a holy Ghoſt: he ſaith vnto them, Vnto what then were you baptized? By this interrogatorie it appeareth, it was their manner to baptize in the name of the holy Ghoſt, and ſo conſequently of the whole Trinitie. We haue no cauſe then to flie vnto tradition, this matter being ſo plainely decided by the Scripture.

Auguſtin. tract. in Iohann. 80. Vpon thoſe words of our Sauiour, Iohn. 15.3. You are cleane through the word, which I haue ſpoken vnto you. *Detrahe verbum, & quid eſt aqua niſi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, & fit ſacramentum:* Take away the word, and what remaineth in Baptiſme but bare water? Let the word be ioyned to the element, and it maketh a Sacrament. The forme then of Baptiſme, is the word, which Chriſt ſpake: and where elſe ſpeaketh Chriſt, but in the Scriptures? *Ergo*, the forme of Baptiſme, is the word of Chriſt, preſcribed and commanded in the Scriptures. Away therefore with your vncertaine and deceitfull traditions. Our Baptiſme is builded vpon a ſurer foundation: namely, the word of God.

Concil. Florentin. ſeſſ. 7. Andreas Coloſſenſ. Velim à vobis ampliſſimi patres doceri, &c. I would learne of you (reuerend fathers,) whether the moſt holy Goſpell doe conteine the moſt perfect doctrine of our religion: I thinke (ſuch is your godlineſſe) that you will not anſwere otherwiſe, but that the moſt abſolute knowledge of our faith, is therein conteined: *Ergo*, the perfect doctrine of Baptiſme is expreſſed in the Goſpell.

The Maſter of ſentences thus determineth this matter: *lib. 4. diſtinct. 3. g. Non tunc illam formam Chriſtus, &c.* Chriſt did not firſt giue that forme of Baptiſme to his Apoſtles, when he ſent them to preach to the Gentiles, but before when he ſent them to preach to the Iewes: ſo that the inſtitution of Baptiſme may be better ſaid to haue bin made when Chriſt was baptized of *Iohn* in Iordane, &c. *Tunc ergo inuocato nomine Trinitatis, &c.* Then was the Baptiſme of Chriſt inſtituted, the name of the Trinitie being inuocated, which there appeared in myſterie, &c. Your Maſter groundeth the forme of Baptiſme in the name of the Trinitie, vpon the Baptiſme of Chriſt, where the whole Trinitie appeared in myſterie, the Father ſpake from heauen, the holy Ghoſt deſcended like a Doue, the Sonne himſelfe was in the waters: wherefore here is no neede to runne vnto tradition.

Hereunto the holy Martyrs giue conſent: The word of God written by the Prophets and Apoſtles, left and conteined in the Canonicall bookes of the whole Bible, I doe beleeue to conteine plentifully all thinges neceſſarie to ſaluation, &c. *Iohn Bradford*, pag. 1626. But the doctrine of Baptiſme is neceſſarie to ſaluation to be knowen, both concerning the forme & matter; *Ergo*.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE neceſſitie of Baptiſme.

The Papiſts.

They affirme, that Baptiſme is ſimply neceſſarie to ſaluation by Gods appointment: ſo that all which die vnbaptized, vnleſſe the want of Baptiſme be recompenced either by Martyrdome or penance, muſt needes periſh, and be depriued of eternall life, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 7. can. 7. Bellar. lib. 1. de Baptiſ. cap. 4.* 3. Error.

Argum. Ioh. 3.5. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *Vnleſſe a man be borne of water and the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of God: Ergo*, it is neceſſarie to ſaluation to bee baptized, *Bellarm. ibid. Rhemiſt in hunc locum.*

Anſw. Firſt, it is not neceſſarie by water here to vnderſtand materiall water, but the purifying grace of Chriſt, which is called the water of life, Iohn 4.11. Water then is here added as an Epithete of the ſpirit, becauſe it clenſeth and purgeth as water: as Iohn 7.38. He that beleeueth, out of his bellie ſhall flow riuers of waters of life: *Quid aqua ſit* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *euangelium interroga:* Inquire of the Goſpell, what this water is. Then it followeth, verſ. 39. This ſpake he of the ſpirit, which they that beleeued in him, ſhould receiue. By water then it is no rare thing, to vnderſtand the ſpirit. Secondly, why may not water bee here figuratiuely taken, to expreſſe the working of the ſpirit, as fire is added to the ſpirit, Matth. 3.11. *He ſhall baptize with the holy Ghoſt and with fire?* What greater neceſſitie is there in this place, to vnderſtand water literally, than fire in the other? Tractat. in Epiſtol. Ioh. 6.

Obiect. Bellarmine replieth: that water muſt needes be here vnderſtood literally: firſt, becauſe the words in Scripture, if there follow not apparent abſurditie, muſt be properly vnderſtood. Secondly, if water be not here ſignified, then it will bee hard to proue, that Baptiſme ought to bee miniſtred only with water: for other places, where mention is made of water, do proue that men may be baptized with water; but they proue not, that they cannot be baptized with other things: *Lib. 1. de Baptiſm. cap. 4.*

Anſ. Firſt, it is true that where any abſurditie may follow, the words are not to be taken properly: as when Chriſt ſaid (*this is my bodie*) becauſe it is an abſurd thing and inconuenient to eate mans fleſh, wee ſay the ſpeech is figuratiue: but it followeth not of the contrarie, that where no abſurditie followeth, there the words are properly to bee taken, as Matth. 3. where mention is made of Baptiſme with fire; it were no very abſurd thing, if Chriſt had ſo appointed, for children to be ſomewhat ſinged with fire, as they were in the law circumciſed and cut with a knife: yet fire properly is not there vnderſtood. Secondly, if the element of water were here ſignified, a great abſurditie would follow, that for want of a little ſprinkling of water, children ſhould bee vtterly loſt. Thirdly, wee haue other places to prooue the neceſſitie of water in Baptiſme beſide this place: As firſt, the example of Chriſt, Matth. chapt. 3. who was baptized onely in water. Againe, the commaundement of Chriſt, Matth. chap. 28. *Goe and baptize*: which worde ſignifieth properly to waſh with water: As alſo the practiſe of the Apoſtles that onely vſed water, Act. 10. Saint *Peter* ſaith *Who can forbid water?* &c.

Thirdly, as you expound theſe words of Baptiſme, ſo ye doe applie another place, Ioh. chap. 6. verſ. 53. to the other Sacrament: *Vnleſſe you doe eate the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blood, you ſhall not haue life in you.* If this bee ſpoken of the Sacrament all eating and drinking of Chriſt, as the Rhemiſts take it; then belike there is as great neceſſitie of the Euchariſt, as of Baptiſme: and ſo indeede *Auguſtine* ſometime thought, that the one was as neceſſarie to ſaluation as the other: *Sine Chriſti carne & ſanguine, nec parvuli vitam habere poſſunt in ſemetipſis*: Without the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, neither can infants haue life in themſelues. And therefore it was the cuſtome of thoſe times, to giue of the Sacrament to children: *Parvulis adhuc & infirmis ſtillatur quidam de Sacramentis*: Some part of the Sacrament is inſtilled and powred into the mouthes of young and tender children.

Cont. 1. epiſt. Pelag. lib. 4. c. 4. in Pſal. 64

But our aduerſaries in no wiſe will admit that the Euchariſt is as neceſſarie as Baptiſme: wherefore they doe thus comment vpon our Sauiours wordes: That they alſo doe eate the fleſh of Chriſt and drinke his blood, which ioyne in heart and deſire to bee partakers of the Sacrament, and ſo myſtically, and ſpiritually doe receiue it, *Rhemiſt. Ioh. 6. ſect. 8.* And why, I pray you, may there not bee as well a myſticall and ſpirituall receiuing of Baptiſme without the Sacrament, as of the Euchariſt or Lordes Supper, ſeeing this place, Iohn 6. 53. doth as neceſſarie enforce the receiuing of this Sacrament, as that place, Iohn 3. 5. doth lay a neceſſitie vpon Baptiſme?

Fourthly, If this ſaying of Chriſt, *Except a man bee borne of water, &c.* doe implie a neceſſitie of Baptiſme, then Baptiſme began to bee neceſſarie immediatlie vpon this ſpeech of our Sauiour: for he ſaith not, except a man ſhall bee, but except hee bee, *niſi renatus fuerit*, in the preter tenſe. But *Bellarmine* himſelfe ſaith, that Baptiſme began not to bee neceſſarie, till after Chriſts death, *cap. 5.* therefore it is not like, that any ſuch neceſſitie ſhould bee laid at all vpon Baptiſme. For it had been great reaſon, that Chriſts baptiſme, which was giuen while he liued in the fleſh, ſhould haue been as neceſſarie as his Apoſtles baptiſme, which was miniſtred afterward.

Laſtly, the Maſter of Sentences thus expoundeth this place: *Intelligendum eſt de illis, qui poſſunt & contemnunt baptizari*: It is to be vnderſtood of thoſe, which may, and yet contemne to be baptized: *vel ita intelligendum eſt, &c.* or it muſt be thus vnderſtood: *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of water and the ſpirit, &c.* that is by that regeneration, which is done by water and the ſpirit: but that regeneration is not onely by Baptiſme, but by repentance, &c. *lib. 4. diſt. 4. c.* If either of theſe expoſitions be receiued, children dying without Baptiſme ſhall not bee condemned: for firſt, they doe not contemne Baptiſme, if they dye without it. Secondly, that regeneration, which others haue by the ſpirit and water, others by repentance, is ſupplied vnto them by the couenant of grace.

Or wee refuſe not the interpretation of this place, which *Innocentius* 3. one of your Popes hath in his decree, *Decret. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 42. cap. 3.* where hauing recited this place of ſcripture, *Vnleſſe a man be borne of water and the ſpirit, &c.* with diuers other places, he inferreth thus: *Ex vi tamen iſtius patet pradictas auctoritates, &c.* By the very letter it is apparant, that the foreſaid authorities muſt onely be vnderſtood of thoſe that are of age, which haue a multitude of ſinnes, and cannot be vnderſtood of little ones, which onely haue originall ſinne, and ſo alſo is that authoritie to bee reſolued, *he that beleeueth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaued.* If ye will bee iudged then by your holy father, this place cannot be enforced againſt infants, that dye vnbaptized.

The Proteſtants.

WE acknowledge no greater neceſſitie in Baptiſme, then in the other Sacrament: both which we graunt to be neceſſarie as helpes and props, and profitable meanes to increaſe our faith: but not ſo ſimplie neceſſarie, as that without them (there being no neglect, or contempt had of them) it were impoſſible to be ſaued.

Argum.

Argum. 1. The children of the faithfull are holie alreadie, euen before they bee baptized: for they are within the couenant, and to them also belongeth the promise. The Lord saith, I will bee thy God, and the God of thy seede, Genes. 17. 7. And S. *Paul* saith, that the children of the faithfull are holie, 1. Corinth. 7. 14. If the Lord then be the God also of children, and if they bee holie, being borne of the righteous seede, how can they possiblie perish, although they dye vnbaptized?

Bellarmine answereth. First, that the promises made to *Abraham*, were temporall, not spirituall.

Contra. Saint *Paul* sheweth, they were spirituall: by seede (not seedes) vnderstanding Christ, Galath. 3. so that the promises made to *Abraham*, and his seede, were such, as were to bee accomplished in Christ.

Bellarmine. 2. Such spirituall promises, as were made to *Abraham*, belonged not to the carnall posterine of *Abraham*, but to the true sonnes of *Abraham*, that is, his faithfull seede, *cap. 9. reprobi ad obiect. 1.*

Contra. We graunt, that only such as beleeued, after they came to yeeres capable of faith, were the true sonnes of *Abraham*, though otherwise both carnally begotten of his stocke, as also outwardly signed with circumcision: but no such condition of faith was required in infants: but they were saued euen dying before circumcision by the couenant of grace, which was made to *Abraham* and his seede, Genes. 17. 7. before circumcision, which is the signe of the couenant, was giuen.

Bellarm. Thirdly, the children are said to be holie: either after a ciuill kinde of holines, that is to say, they were legitimate: or else because the beleeuing parent doth consecrate the children vnto God, and so they are made holy by Baptisme, and are brought vp in godlines: or else, the vnbeleeuing part is said to be sanctified by the beleeuing, in that he is taught the right vse of mariage; whereas Infidels doe abuse matrimonie, and vse it immoderatly, and at such times, as they ought to abstaine, whereby their children are vncleane, and their mariage polluted, *Bellarmine ibid.*

Contra. First, no such ciuill sanctification, that is legitimation, can bee here vnderstood: for though both the parents were Infidels, yet are their children legitimate, they being lawfully linked together in mariage: but now the Apostle saying, *The vnbeleeuing husband is sanctified by the wife*, meaneth a further degree of sanctification, then is betweene both being Infidels. Secondly, neither doth the Apostle meane, that the children are holie by any act of holinesse wrought vpon them by the beleeuing parent, as by consecrating them vnto God, or bringing them to bee baptized, or seeing them well brought vp; but such an holines, as whereby both the vnbeleeuing parent *is sanctified*, and his seede also: But first, by godly education the children onely are sanctified, it is nothing to the sanctification of the parents. Secondly, neither are all children made holie or vertuous, by their good education, as *Esau* wanted no good bringing vp, as well as *Iacob*, yet he is called a prophane person, Heb. 12. 16. but the Apostle speaketh of all the children of such, that they are holie. Thirdly, and again the Apostle meaneth not only such children as are brought to baptisme, or of age to be nurtured, but all the children and seede of the faithfull parent: wherefore cannot be so vnderstood. Fourthly, yet further, it is possible that an adulterer may haue a care for the good education of his adulterous seede, as *Augustine* had for his sonne *Adeodatus*, and yet his vnlawfull copulation is not thereby sanctified.

Thirdly, this sanctification cannot be vnderstood of the right vse of mariage: first, because that though the abuse of mariage in the parents is a pollution to them, yet it extendeth not to their seede. Secondly, it is possible for Infidels to attaine to this ciuill gift, to moderatly and soberly to vse their wiues, as some of them had the gift of perpetuall continencie, doth it therefore followe, that their seede shall be holie? Thirdly, yea this infirmitie in the immoderate vse of mariage is incident to the mariage of the faithfull: as *Augustine* saith, *Naturalis vsus, licet immoderatus, venialis est vxoribus.* The naturall vse, though it be immoderate, is pardonable in the wife: *huius delictum habent meretrices nuptiae, sed deprecatrices*: Mariage is not an exhorter thereunto, but an intreater: *de nupt. & concup. c. 11.* shall the children therefore of the faithfull bee vnholie? So then vnstable these three expositions, which *Bellarmine* hath brought, can stand.

2. Wherefore the meaning of the Apostle is this, that the children of parents, where one of them is a beleeuer, are holie, that is within the couenant, and being within the couenant, they are also partakers of the promise: Where we see a difference betweene the law of Christ, and the lawes of men: for by the Ciuill law, *partus sequitur ventrem*, the birth did follow the wombe, the childe did follow the condition of the mother; as *Cod. lib. 5. tit. 5. lig. 3. Constantin.* If the father were a free man, the mother a seruant, so should the childe be: Solikewise decreeth *Gregor. 9. decr. Greg. lib. 4. tit. 21. cap.* But the rule of Christ is more fauourable, that if either father or mother are free in Christ, that is beleeuers, the child is free also, that is holie: so that the faith of the one of them is

more auaileable to include the seede within the couenant, then the infidelitie of the other to exclude it. So then the vnbeleeuer is sanctified by the beleeuer, that is, is made a fit instrument, notwithstanding his infidelitie to conuey the holie seede. And the Ciuill law hath a rule not much vnlike the saying of the Apostle here, *Uxor concrescat marito:* The wife doth increase and grow with her husband, *Cod lib.5.tit.4.leg.28.Iustinian.* Like as the wife, though a seruant, being maried to a man of honourable order, was partaker of his honor: so likewise faith in either partie, being the true honor of a Christian, doth sanctifie the other in this behalfe.

*Arg.*2.. Circumcision was as necessarie to the Israelites, as Baptisme is to vs: but their children, which died before the eight day, when they were to be circumcised, perished not: for *Dauid* doubteth not to say of his childe that died the seuenth day, *I shall goe to him, he cannot returne to me*, 1 Samuel 12.18.23. He pronounceth that the childe was saued. And *Bellarmine* confesseth, that some of the children that *Herod* slew were not eight daies old, and so not circumcised; yet they were all saued and are counted innocents, *lib.1.de Baptis.c.6.prop.1. Ergo,* neither children dying without Baptisme now are condemned.

The Master of Sentences answereth, that either children dying before circumcision did perish and were damned, or else in case of necessitie they might circumcise before the eight day, *lib.4. distinct.1.l.*

Contra. His first assertion is very cruell and vncharitable, and contrarie to the Scripture: for *Dauids* childe was saued dying before the eight day; and some of the children that *Herod* did slay might be vnder eight daies old, and so not circumcised, and yet they are all held to bee innocents and Saints.

His second assertion hath no ground, seeing that in the institution of circumcision, Gen. 17. it is limited to the eight day: so that they which circumcised before that day, did contrarie to the institution.

Bellarmine answereth: that it is vncertaine, whether the Iewes had any other remedie against sinne for their children dying before circumcision, because the Scripture maketh no mention thereof: but now it is certaine, there is no remedie beside Baptisme for infants, *Bellar.ca.4.*

Ans. First, neither Circumcision then, nor Baptisme now, is a remedie against originall sinne, but a signe onely and seale of our spirituall washing by the blood of Christ. Secondly, if the Iewes had another remedie for their children, shall we thinke that the Gospell hath laid an harder yoke vpon infants, then the law did? Thirdly, infants then, and now dying before the Sacrament, haue one common remedie to be saued by, namely the couenant of grace, in that the Lord promised, to be their God, and the God of their seede: and the children by the Apostle are called holie, 1.Corinth.7.14.

*Argum.*3. The holy Ghost may be giuen without Baptisme, so it be not contemned and neglected, when it may bee had: therefore life eternall may bee had without Baptisme: for the holie Ghost is able without the Sacrament, to regenerate vs, and bring vs to eternall life.

The first is proued, Act. 10.47. Who can forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which haue receiued the holy Ghost, as well as wee? They had the holy Ghost before and without Baptisme, as *Augustine* saith, *Adhuc loquente Petro, non dico nondum imponente manum, sed nondum baptizante, venit spiritus sanctus:* While *Peter* yet spake, before he laid on his hand, or baptized them, the holy Ghost came: *Ergo,* Baptisme not necessarie.

*Argum.*4. You your selues make two exceptions, of Martyrs, and them that doe penance, which may bee saued without Baptisme: *Ergo,* Baptisme is not simplie necessarie. And if our Sauiour speake of Baptisme, Iohn 3.vers.5. as ye say he doth, there is no priuiledge for any, no not for Martyrs, for all must be borne of water and the spirit: that is, say you, baptized. Neither are your two exceptions generall enough: for the theefe vpon the crosse was saued, and yet neither dyed a Martyr: for he himselfe confesseth, that he was righteously punished, Luk.23.41. neither did he any such penance, or made any such satisfaction, as you require.

*Argum.*5. If all children dying without Baptisme are damned; then it would follow, that an infinite number of children should perish without their fault, which were a most cruell and vncharitable thing to affirme.

Bellarmine answereth: that Gods iudgements are most iust, though they be secret, neither are children damned without their fault, because they haue originall sinne: but it is most certaine, that there is no remedie for children without Baptisme, *cap.4.*

Contra. First, it is true, that Gods iudgements and decrees are most iust, though wee perceiue them not, and so are they full of mercie to: but it is not apparant out of Scripture, that God hath set downe any such decree for the children of the faithfull vnbaptized, but the contrarie; as Mark.10.14. they brought little children vnto our Sauiour, who said, *of such is the kingdome of heauen:* he saith not of little ones baptized, but simply of little ones being the seede of the faithfull, as these were. Secondly, though children haue originall sinne, yet seeing Baptisme is appointed

ted as a remedie against it, which they dying before, are depriued of without their fault; how then consequently are they not condemned without their fault, seeing that which should preserue them from condemnation (as they say) is denied vnto them without their fault? Thirdly, that there is no remedie for children dying without Baptisme, it is contrary to the decree of *Innocent. 3 decret. Greg. tit. 42 c. 3. Absit vt vniuersi paruuli pereant, &c.* God forbid, that all children should perish, whereof so great a multitude daily dieth; but that the merciful God, who would haue none to perish, hath for them also prouided some remedie to saluation. Some also of your own Doctors, as *Paludanus, Gabriel*, with others, doe hold, that there is some remedie for children departing before Baptisme.

Lastly, it was the heresie of the Hieracthites, *qui regnum coelorum parulis habere negant*, which denied, that children did goe to heauen, *decret. par. 2 caus. 24. qu. 3. c. 39.* How farre now are the Papists from this heresie, that exclude all children out of the kingdome of God, that are not baptized?

Bernard thus writeth of this matter: *Nequaquam possum omnino desperare salutem, si aquam non susceperint, sed sola prohibeat impossibilitas: Epistol. 77.* I cannot altogether despayre of their saluation, that are not baptized, if it bee not done of contempt, but when as Baptisme cannot possible be had.

Againe in the same place he saith: *Vide etiam, ne forte ob hoc Saluator rem dixerit: qui credidorit & baptizatus fuerit, saluus erit, caute & vigiliter non reperierit, qui baptizatus non fuerit, sed iustus, qui non crediderit, condemnabitur: nimirum intuetus solam interdum fidem sufficere ad salutem, & ipsa sufficere nihil.* See also if our Saviour Christ for this cause, when he had said, he that beleeueth and is baptized, shall be saued, did not of purpose in repeating the sentence, omit to say, hee that is not baptized; but onely, he that beleeueth not shall be damned: for he saw, that faith only may suffice to saluation, but without faith nothing can suffice.

Chrysost. epistol. 4. Bonum est & puritati conueniens etiam corpus aqua diluere; bonum dico, non quasi principale illud, in quo mens purificatur, sed quod sit sequela illius boni huic in quo caro diluitur. It is good and conuenient to wash the bodie in water, good I say, but not that principall good, whereby the minde is purified, but a second or a consequent good thing to that, &c. There is then a more principall thing in Baptisme then the washing of water, which is the spirituall grace: so as not this a man cannot be saued, without the other he may.

Richard Woodman holy Martyr thus writeth; The Scripture saith, he that beleeueth and is baptized, shall be saued; and he that beleeueth not shall be damned; but no Scripture in all the new Testament saith, that he which is not baptized, shall be damned: neither dare I say so for all the goods vnder heauen: *Fox* pag. 1994.

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER THE WANT OF Baptisme may be by any other meanes supplied.

The Papists.

OVr aduersaries make three kindes of Baptisme, *Baptismum flaminis, Baptismum sanguinis, Baptismum flaminis*: The Baptisme of water, the Baptisme of blood, which is Martyrdome, and the Baptisme of the spirit, which is contrition and penance; By these two, the first, say they, may be supplied. 4. Error.

They affirme, that Martyrdome, and penance or contrition, doe by the very act or worke wash away remit sinnes, and iustifie the workers, and not in respect of the faith onely, which is in Martyrs or penitent persons; *Bellarm. tom. 3. lib. 1. de Baptismo.*

Answ. The Innocents, which were slaine by *Herod*, were saued onely by their martyrdome, they had neither faith, nor workes. So the theefe vpon the crosse was not onely iustified by his faith, but by the act and worke of contrition.

Answ. 1. First, it is not necessarie to hold all those children to be Martyrs, and so to bee saued; for *Marlorat* writeth, that one of *Herods* sonnes, which was hurled in those stirres, was slaine among the rest: the infants which were saued, were within the promise, and belonged to the couenant, and could not bee lost: their saluation depended of their free election before God; it was not purchased by the very act of their dying.

Secondly, the theefe also vpon the crosse was iustified by his faith and beliefe in Christ. And therefore *Augustine* doth chiefly commend his faith: *Tolle fidei eius de ligno florui, quando discipuli eius euanuit*: Then his faith did as it were bud and flourish out of the tree of the crosse, when the faith of the disciples withered.

Answ. 2. Many Confessors haue greater charitie, than Martyrs, and yet they had not remission of all their sinnes, as Martyrs haue. And a man being not yet iust or righteous, yet chooseth rather to dye, than denie Christ; this man cannot deserue any thing, being not iustified, and there-

fore it is his martyrdome, which by the very act wrought, doth purchase forgiuenes of sinne, *Bellarm. de iustif. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

Ans. First, that Confessors may haue greater charitie, than Martyrs, it is contrarie to the saying of our Sauiour, Iohn 15. *No man hath greater loue than this, to giue his life for his friends.* Secondly, Confessors dying in the faith of Christ, doe finde forgiuenes of sinnes as well as Martyrs: as Reuelat. 14. 13. *Blessed are they which dye in the Lord*, not onely they which dye for the Lord, but in the Lord, that is in the faith of Iesus. Thirdly, they which giue their liues for Christ, being not iust before, are either in that instant conuerted, as the theefe vpon the crosse, and so they are iustified by their faith: or else if they dye rather of manlines and stomacke, then of faith, Saint *Paul* in this case saith, that dying without loue the fruite of faith, their death doth not profit them, 1. Corinth. 13. 3.

The Protestants.

NEither the outward worke of Martyrdome nor contrition doe iustifie, or giue remission of sinnes: but the faith onely of Martyrs and penitent persons, whereby they apprehend Christ.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* saith, 1. Corinth. 13. 3. *That if a man giue his bodie to be burned, and haue no loue, it profiteth not: Ergo*, it is not the outward act of martyrdome, but an effectuall and liuely faith working by loue, which pleaseth God.

Bellarmine answereth: first, that this place proueth not, that charitie of necessitie must go before martyrdome, but that there must bee charitie in martyrdome, by the force whereof there is charitie infused into the Martyrs heart; so that it is not possible he should dye without charitie. Secondly, it may be said as well of Baptisme, as of Martyrdome, that it saueth not without charitie, and yet it giueth, or conferreth grace.

Ans. First, neither doe we hold it necessarie, that faith and charitie should alwaies go before martyrdome in time: for faith may be wrought in an instant, as in the theefe vpon the crosse, but that faith and charitie doth sanctifie the death of the Martyr, which is proued by this place. Secondly, charitie is not infused or effected by martyrdome, for then martyrdome should alwaies bring forth this effect; and then were the Apostles speech needlesse, and his supposition false, *if a man giue his bodie to be burned, and haue no loue, &c.* for by their saying the bodie cannot be giuen to be burned without loue, if loue bee the effect of martyrdome: But contrariwise martyrdome is the effect and fruite of faith, and charitie; as Rom. 5. 8. *Christs loue is herein commended, that he died for vs*: his loue appeareth by the fruites and effects, namely his dying for vs. Thirdly, neither doth Baptisme conferre grace, but is a seale onely of the righteousnesse of faith: neither is it true, that profiteth not without faith, seeing infants haue neither faith nor charitie, to whom Baptisme is profitable by the couenant of grace: Wherefore the instance of Baptisme is not herein like the other; and yet in those that are of yeeres, and capable of faith, neither Baptisme, or Martyrdome is auaileable without faith.

Argum. 2. Neither is the bare worke of sorrow and contrition in it selfe acceptable to God for there is a worldly repentance that causeth death; there is a godly repentance not to be repented of, which worketh in vs care, zeale, feare, desire, which are the fruits of faith, 2. Cor. 7. 10. *Ergo*, it is faith onely that maketh all our works to be accepted before God: for without faith it is impossible to please him, Heb. 11. 6.

We want not here their owne testimonie: *Decret par. 3. dist. 4. cap. 37. Baptizandus confitebitur fidem suam, &c.* He that is to be baptized confesseth his faith before the priest, and being asked answereth; the same doth the Martyr before the persecutor, who also confesseth his faith, &c. Wherefore it is the confession of the faith, that maketh martyrdome acceptable.

Dominicus a Soto, and *Martinus Ledesmius* two archpapists doe holde, that martyrdome doth not conferre grace by the worke wrought, and therein consent with vs, *in 4. dist. 3. qu. un. art. 3.*

The Papists.

5. Error. 2. MArtyrdome and contrition or conuersion of the heart vnto God, though they be no Sacraments, yet may supplie the lacke of Baptisme, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Argum. 1. Martyrdome in the Scriptures is rightly called a Baptisme: as Christ speaking of his death, saith, I must bee baptized with a Baptisme, Luk. 12. 50. And therefore it may fitly stand in stead of Baptisme.

Answ. If euery thing, that hath the name of Baptisme, may be vsed in place thereof; then adde vnto your number of such deuised supplies, the Pharisaicall washing of cups, for they are called *Baptismata calicum*, the Baptismes, or clensings of cups, Mark. 7. 4.

Argum. 2. Martyrdome hath the same effects, that Baptisme hath, namely the conforming of vs to Christs passion, more liuely than in Baptisme; for the conformation in Baptisme is but sacramentall, the other reall. Likewise it remitteth both sinne and the punishment thereof, as Baptisme doth: *Ergo*, it is a kinde of Baptisme.

Ans.

Ans. First, that the want of Baptisme may by other meanes be recompensed, as by Martyrdome, by faith in Christ, by the desire and earnest purpose of the heart; we denie not; yet we hold not any of these to be as Baptisme. Secondly, the conforming of vs onely to Christs death and suffrings, maketh not Baptisme; for then we shall haue so many Baptismes as suffrings, because therein we also are made partakers of Christs suffrings, 1. Pet. 4. 13. not onely when we die for Christ, but if we be but rayled vpon. And againe, Baptisme doth graffe vs not onely into the fellowship of Christs death, but of his resurrection also, Rom. 6. 5. which Martyrdome doth not. And yet further, we are two wayes conformed to Christs death, by imitation, as in dying for Christ, by application, as when the righteousnesse of Christ and the merites of his death, are sealed vnto vs in the Sacraments: the first conformation of vs is in Martyrdome; the second is not, which is sacramentall. Thirdly, neither Baptisme, nor Martyrdome do actually remitte sinne, but declare the same to be remitted, Baptisme as a seale, Martyrdome as an effect and consequent of faith and charitie: so that herein also they are vnlike.

The Protestants.

WE neede not any such supplies to make good the want of Baptisme, neither is it safe so to doe.

1. It is great presumption and boldnes, without warrant of Gods word, to giue the effect and blessing, which God hath annexed to the Sacraments, to any other externall worke: for what is this else, but to institute other Sacraments, then Christ left? And shall we not thinke, that God by his spirit can better supply the losse and the want of the Sacraments, then we by our owne inventions can helpe our selues? And whereas *Bellarmine* saith, that they haue the like institution of Christ for Martyrdome, as for Baptisme; when he can shew it out of the Scriptures, wee will beleeue him: Christ hath instituted Martyrdome, to shew our obedience, but not to be a seale of the righteousnesse of fayth, whereunto he hath appointed Baptisme.

2. Concerning contrition of the heart, if you vnderstand by it true repentance, and withall a vowe and true desire to receiue the Sacrament of Baptisme, which cannot be obtained because of some remediless necessitie; then in such a case it standeth as auailable, as if a man had been actually baptized: for thus the Rhemists expound themselues, *annot. Ioh.* 3. 2. I pray you what greater necessitie is there now of Baptisme, then of the other Sacraments? For this true, and we willingly grant: that euery man that shall bee saued, must either receiue the Sacraments, or haue a desire vnto them: for the neglect and contempt of the Sacraments without repentance, is a sinne damnable. And thus you ouerthrow your selues, making Baptisme necessarie without necessitie.

3. *Augustine* admitteth none of these supplies, but only Martyrdome: *Nemo fit membrum Christi, nisi aut baptismate Christi, aut morte pro Christo:* No man is made the member of Christ, but either by the baptisme of Christ, or in dying for Christ. Here *Augustine* maketh but one supply of baptisme, they make two. When men follow their owne inuentions, there can bee no agreement. De anima Origin. lib. 1. cap. 9.

Ierom speaketh fully for vs: *Si martyrium vicem baptismi possit implere, quod non facit poena, sed fides, quod dare alteri valet, sola non poterit obtinere? aquè enim magnam fortassis deus in corde cuiusque in pace morientis inspicit fidem, martyrio quidem non interrogatam, sed martyrio idoneam:* If martyrdome may supply the roume of Baptisme, which not the paine maketh, but faith, how commeth it to passe, that it selfe cannot obtaine that, which it giueth to another? for God may finde as great faith in a man that dieth in peace, who is not called to martyrdome, yet fit to be a Martyr: *Epist.* 77. Hiarason is this, that martyrdome of it selfe cannot stand for Baptisme; seeing of it selfe it is nothing: but faith both without baptisme and martyrdome is auailable.

The owne decrees thus testifie, *decret. p.* 3. *distinct.* 4. *c.* 34. *Quibus rebus ostenditur, &c.* whereby it is euident, that the Sacrament of Baptisme is one thing, the conuersion of the heart another, &c. but they do both tend to mans saluation: there is not then one and the same effect of both.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, WHETHER women and Lay-men ought to baptize.

The Papists.

THey holde, that not onely Lay-men, but Pagans, that are not baptized themselues; yea and women also, may be ministers of Baptisme, in a case of necessitie, *Bellarm. cap.* 7. 6 Error

Arg. Exod. 4. *Zipporah* circumcised her sonne, and the Lord was pleased therewith, and was angry from *Moses*, whom he came against to haue slaine him; *Ergo*, women may as well now minister Baptisme.

Ans. First, there is not the like strict necessitie of Baptisme, as there was then of Circumcision: for if euery man childe were not circumcised the eight day, the Lord threatned to cut him off from

from among the people, Genes: 17.14. But Baptisme is not tyed or limited to any such time or number of dayes. Secondly, there was great necessitie, which enforced *Zipporah* to circumcise her childe: for they had neglected the time, and passed the stint of dayes: wherefore the Lord stroke *Moses* with sicknes; and being not able himselfe to performe that dutie, his wife in great haste taketh the childe and cutteth him, to saue her husbands life: but she in great indignation cast away the fore-skin from her, knowing that she was constrayned to commit an vnwomanly act. There cannot be any such necessitie of Baptisme, as there was then of Circumcision; which was to be done within a certaine compas of dayes. Thirdly, you may as well proue by this example, that a woman may baptize, the Bishop, Priest, or Deacon standing by, (which notwithstanding you hold vtterly vnlawfull) as that it is lawfull for her to baptize: for *Zipporah* did it in the presence of *Moses*.

Bellarmine answereth, that God was well pleased with *Zipporahs* act, in that *Moses* presently thereupon recouered, and the Angell left him: *Ergo*, it was lawfully done.

Answ. First, there is great difference betweene the necessitie of Circumcision then, and Baptisme now: for then the childe must not passe eight dayes vncircumcised: and therefore *Zipporahs* doing herein was, because of the imminent daunger and present necessitie, more tolerable. Secondly, in that God tooke off his hand from *Moses*, it appeareth that God accepted of the deed done; but it followeth not, that he approued the manner of the doing: As it cannot be gathered, that because the plague ceased among the Philistines, 1. Sam. 6. after they had sent home the Arke with a gift, that this their offering was perfectly acceptable before God: or that the Samaritans who serued God and their Idols together, did therefore please God, because they were deliuered from the Lions, 2. King. 17. But God in mercie accepted this maimed seruice, rather then none at all: So *Zipporahs* act was rather allowed, then that it should haue been altogether left vndone.

Argum. 2. *Philip* being but a Deacon baptized, Act. 8. and *Ananias* a meere Lay-man baptized *Paul*, Act. 9. Therefore other beside Ministers may baptize, *Bellarm. cap.* 7.

Answ. First, *Philip*, though at the first a Deacon, yet afterward was called to be an Euangelist, Act. 21. 8. and so admitted both to preach and baptize. Secondly, it is too boldly affirmed that *Ananias* was but a Lay-man: though the Scripture make no mention of his calling by the Apostles: yet was it sufficient that he was called of God extraordinarily to baptize *Paul*, as *Paul* was so called to be an Apostle. It followeth no more that he was a lay man, because he was not called by the Apostles, then that *Paul* was so for the same cause.

The Protestants.

NEither Lay-men, of what calling soeuer, nor yet Midwiues, or any other women, ought to be suffered in a well reformed Church to baptize infants: neither are they authorized so to do amongst vs.

Argum. 1. The commission and charge to baptize, was giuen onely by our Sauiour Christ to his Apostles, and all lawfull Ministers their successors, Matth. 28. 19. *Ergo*, Lay-men and women, in baptizing, goe beyond the commission of Christ.

Bellarmine answereth, that when Christ gaue this commission, there were many present beside the Apostles.

Contra. We deny not, but that many beside might be present, but he spake onely to his chosen disciples, who are immediatly named before vers. 17. vnlesse you will say, that he made all the rest (those fiue hundred whom Saint *Paul* speaketh of) Apostles also: for he sendeth them into all the world, Mark. 16. 14.

Argum. 2. The preaching of the Word, and administration of the Sacraments, are and ought alwayes to be ioyned together. And the care and charge of both is committed to Pastors and Ministers lawfully ordayned: Goe, saith our Sauiour, and teach all nations, baptizing them, Matth. 28. 19. But it is not lawfull for women to preach the word, 1. Cor. 14. vers. 35. *Ergo*, not to baptize.

Bellarmine also would thus returne the argument: that as in case of necessitie it is lawfull both for lay men and women to teach, as *Aquila* and *Priscilla* instructed *Apollos*, Act. 18. so may they also in case of necessitie baptize.

Contra. 1. Priuately to teach and instruct, is a common dutie of all Christians, and not incident onely to the Ministerie: so euery housholder may teach his familie, the mother the children; this dutie lay men and women may performe: But they are not to meddle with publike teaching, nor consequetly with the Sacraments, which though they be in priuate places ministred, yet are publike actions: *Aquila* and *Priscilla* publikely taught not, but priuately expounded to *Apollos* the way of God. The like storie hath *Theodoret*, *lib.* 3. *c.* 14. how that a heathen Priests sonne vnder *Iulian* the apostata, was conuerted by a woman: and it was the office of the widowes of the Church priuately to prepare, and instruct such of their owne sexe, as were to be baptized,

baptized, to teach them how to answere, when they came to Baptisme, as may appeare, *Carthag. 5. can. 12.* but they were neuer admitted to any publike office in the Church. Secondly, it followeth not, though it be granted, that vpon an extraordinary occasion, as in the conuersion of some Countrie (as the people Iberi were conuerted, by the preaching of a woman) where there is no set Ministerie, Lay men and women may baptize, that therefore it is lawfull for them to do it in a setled Church, and where there is an ordinarie calling.

Argum. 3. If it be lawfull for such to baptize, it is onely in the time of necessitie: but there is no such necessitie, as wee haue shewed, of Baptisme: *Ergo*, it is not at all lawfull for them.

Augustines iudgement is this: If a Lay-man doe giue Baptisme: *Nescio an pie quis dixerit esse rependum*: I cannot tell whether any man may safely or godly say, that it is to be iterated or repeated: He doth not allow Lay-men to baptize: but is of opinion, that they are not to be baptized againe, that receiue baptisme at their hands. Yet he speaketh vncertainly, (I cannot tell saith he) and so wee will conclude with *Augustine*: *Si Laicus baptismum dederit, nulla cogente necessitate, alieni muneris vsurpatio est*: If a Lay-man doe baptize, where there is no necessitie, it is an vsurping of another mans office. But there is no such necessitie to cause him so to do: *Ergo*. This testimonie of *Augustine* is ratified, *decret. part. 2. caus. 1. quest. 1. c. 87.* Lib. 1. cont. Parmen. cap. 13.

Concil. Carthag. 4. can. 99. Mulier quamuis sancta & docta vires in conuentu docere non præsumat: *can. 100. Mulier baptizare non præsumat*: Let not a woman, though neuer so holy or learned, presume to teach men in an assembly: Let not a woman presume to baptize: this Canon is ratified, *dist. 21.*

Cod. lib. 2. tit. 13. leg. 4. Per mulieres aliena negotia agi non possunt, Businesse not belonging to women, can not be done by them: but to baptize, is not appertaining to women. *Leg. 18. Alienam suspecti defensionem, virile est officium, et vltra sexum muliebrem esse constat*: To take the defence of an other, is a mans office, and beyond the Sexe of women: so may it be said much more of Baptisme, that it exceedeth their sexe: *tit. 56. leg. 6. Mulier non potest esse arbiter*: A woman cannot be a Iudge, that is, in her owne person to sit in iudgement, and to receiue the triall of causes; how much lesse can a woman haue the office of a Minister to baptize: for the chiefe ciuill authoritie may rest in a woman, though the execution thereof be put ouer to others; but women can neyther haue authoritie, nor execution to baptize.

See also their owne Canons, *decret. part. 3. distinct. 2. c. 29. Ne Presbyteri laico vel fœmina corpus domini tradant deferendum ægrotis*: That Priests deliuer not the bodie of the Lord to a lay man or woman to be carried to the sicke: If women and lay men cannot consecrate the one Sacrament, neither can they minister the other, for they are both of equall dignitie, and of the like necessitie.

Decret. Greg. lib. 5. tit. 7. c. 14. Gregor. 9. Interdicas laicis, cuiuscunq; ordinis censeantur, vsurpare officium prædicandi: Forbid lay men, of what degree soeuer, to vsurpe the office of preaching: If it be not lawfull for them to preach, much lesse to baptize.

And concerning the Baptisme of Pagans it is decreed thus by *Gregor. 2. decret. par. 3. dist. 4. c. 52. Quod Paganis baptizatos asseruisti, denuo baptizes*: Baptize them againe in the name of the Trinitie, whom thou affirmest to haue beene baptized by the Pagans: *Ergo*, the Baptisme of Pagans is no Baptisme, for then it should not be iterated, or repeated.

THE FIFT QVESTION, OF SVCH AS are to be admitted to Baptisme.

Of the baptisme of Infants. *Part.* 1.

That infants are to be baptized, it is fully agreed and concluded betweene vs. Which poyne we doe strongly maintayne by the Scriptures against the Anabaptists of our age. But herein we dissent from our aduersaries,

The Papists.

1. They affirme, that the baptisme of children and infants is grounded vpon tradition, and not vpon Scripture, *Bellarm. lib. 4. de verbo dei. cap. 9.* 7. Error.

The Protestants.

It were very hard, if we had no more certaine ground for the baptizing of infants, then tradition, which is but a feeble weapon to fight against hereticks withall: we haue manifest proofes out of the Scripture for it.

First, they belong vnto the couenant: Genes. 17. I will be thy God, and the God of thy seede: *Ergo*, they haue right to the signe of the couenant.

Secondly, they are called holy, which are borne of faithfull parents, 1. Cor. 7. 14. *Ergo*, are not to be denied Baptisme.

Thirdly, they are redeemed by the bloud of Christ, who dyed for all the children of God,

Ioh.

Ioh.11.52. To them belongeth the kingdome of God, Mark.10.14. *Ergo*, also Baptisme, which is a pledge of remission of sinnes and eternall life.

Fourthly, it is also proued by the practise of the Apostles, who baptized whole families, with all that thereunto belonged, Act.16.33. These with other effectuall reasons to the same purpose see more at large, *Epistol. Iohan. Philpot. martyr. pag.* 1840. & 41.

Fiftly, *Augustine* also proueth it out of Scripture, by comparing our Baptisme with the Circumcision of the Iewes: *Veraciter coniicere possumus, quid valeat in paruulis baptismi sacramentum, ex circumcisione carnis, quam prior populus accepit:* How auaileable Baptisme is in little ones, we may gesse by the circumcision, which the former people in the law receiued: *Ergo*, not onely by tradition, but chiefly by Scripture the lawfulnes of childrens Baptisme is confirmed.

De Baptis. contr. Donatist. lib. 4. cap. 24.

So also *Innocentius* the 3. one of their most learned Popes, proueth the Baptisme of children by Scripture, *decret. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 42. c. 3. Cùm ergò circumcisio tam adultis, quàm paruulis ex præcepto Domini, &c.* Seeing that Circumcision by the commandement of God, was conferred both vpon children, and the elder sort; Baptisme also, which succeedeth in the place thereof, and is more generall both to men and women, must likewise be conferred to both.

The Papists.

6. Error

2. BAptisme, they say, giueth grace and faith to the infant that had none before, *Rhemist. Gala. 3. sect. 6.* This then is their opinion, that infants, though actually and fully they haue not faith, as other haue, yet there is a certaine habite of faith and hope infused into them in Baptisme; so that partly they do beleeue of themselues, and partly by the faith of others, namely of them that bring them to Baptisme, *Bellarm lib. 1 de baptism. cap. 11.*

Argum. Without faith it is impossible to please God, Heb. 11.6. Rom. 3.28. We hold that a man is iustified by faith: *Ergo*, children, if they haue no faith, are neither iustified, neither yet do please God: Ephes. 3.1. Christ dwelleth in our harts by faith: but he dwelleth in children; *Ergo*, they haue faith. *Bellarm.*

Answ. First, these places doe as well proue that children haue an absolute, perfect, and actual faith: (for it is a perfect faith that iustifieth vs, and maketh vs acceptable to God) which I am sure our aduersaries will not yeeld vnto. Secondly, the iustification and saluation of children dependeth of the free election of God, Rom. 9. 11. that the purpose of God might remaine according to election, saith the Apostle: And that which faith worketh in those that are of vnderstanding, the spirit of God is able to effect in infants, by some secret way, best knowne to himselfe.

Thirdly, it is manifest, that these places are to be vnderstood of those that are of yeers, and capeable of faith, as it followeth, Ephes. 3.18. *That you may be able to comprehend with all Saints.* Faith then is of them, that are able to comprehend; but this comprehension, capacitie and vnderstanding is not in children: Thus also one of your principall pillers *Innocent.* 3. vnderstandeth these and the like places, as that, *He that beleeueth, and is baptized, shal be saued: Hæc tantummodo de adultis*: all these authorities must be vnderstood of those, that are of yeeres, *decret Greg. lib. 3. tit. 42. c. 3.* Fourthly, Christ dwelleth in Infants by his holy spirite, though they haue no faith: then the argument followeth not, Christ dwelleth in them: *Ergo*, they haue faith, for in the kingdome of heauen fayth shall cease, yet then shall we be the habitation of Gods spirite.

Bernard also thus answereth this obiection: *Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo, & sine fidem sunt, qui in fidei testimonium baptismi gratiam perceperunt:* Without faith indeed it is impossible to please God: and they are not altogether without faith, which in testimonie of their faith, haue receiued the grace of Baptisme: *in Cantic. serm. 66.* Children then haue no otherwise faith, then as they haue receiued Baptisme the signe and Sacrament of faith,

The Protestants.

THat infants neither haue faith in themselues, nor yet are profited or furthered to their saluation by the faith of others, it is thus prooued.

Argum. 1. S. *Paul* saith, Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, Rom. 10. 17. But infants can neither heare nor vnderstand the word of God: *Ergo*, no faith is wrought in them.

Argum. 2. There is no habituall or potentiall faith that pleaseth God: but the iustifying faith is alwayes actuall, working by loue, Galath. 5. 6. *Ergo*, children haue either no faith, or it must needes be an actuall or working faith.

Argum. 3. Infants are not iustified, nor relieued or helped forward towards their saluation by the faith of thir parents, or Godfathers, when they are baptized: for the Scripture saith, The iust shall liue by faith, Rom. 1. 17. that is, by his owne faith, not the faith of another.

Bellarmine answereth, that they do not affirme, that children are iustified, or do liue by the faith of their Parents, and of others, but that their faith is profitable to the Infants, being by them meanes brought vnto Baptisme, and because they do professe their faith in Baptisme by the mouth of others. *Bellarm. cap. 11. propos. 5.*

Contra.

Cauils. First, that it is a benefite to be borne of faithfull Parents, who are carefull to bring their children to be baptized, and to see them well brought vp, we graunt: but what is this to the infants themselues before God? Secondly, the confession of their faith by others is profitable, to put them forward in remembrance of their solemne promise made in Baptisin; but before God, they are no more helped, by the confession of anothers mouth, then by the beleefe of anothers heart: whereas it is not either the faith of the Parents, or the confession of the witnesses, that supplieth the want of both in Infants, but the grace of God inwardly working, as *Augustine* well saith, and is alleaged in the decrees; *decret. par. 3. distinct. 4. c. 34. Gratiâ omnipotentis implere credendo &c.* The grace of the Almightie doth supplie that, which they, by the infirmitie of age, can neither beleeue with the heart to righteousnesse, nor confesse with the mouth to saluation.

Augustine denyeth that children are illuminate in their minds, when they are baptized: *Si illuminari ipsum baptismum læti susciperent, gaudemus eos cum magnis fletibus reluctari:* If they were illuminate, they would ioyfully receiue Baptisme, which we see them to striue against with great crying. And why should the Apostle say, Be ye not children in vnderstanding, 1. Cor. 14. 20. if so be their mindes were illuminate? Wherefore that saying in the Gospell, sayth he, This is the light that lighteneth euery one that commeth into the world, Iohn 1. 9. whereby they would proue, that children doe receiue light at their very first comming into the world, is thus to be vnderstood: *Nemo alius hominum illuminatur, nisi lumine illo veritatis:* Because no man is lightened, but only by that light. What now is become of that *lumen fidei*, the light of faith, which you say is infused into children in Baptisme? De peccat. merit. & remiss. lib. 1. cap. 25.

How children are to bee counted beleeuers, Master *Philpot* holy martyr doth thus testifie: That children are accounted of Christ in the Gospell among the number of such as beleeue, it appeareth by these words: *He that offendeth one of these little babes, which beleeue in me, &c.* Matt. 18. where plainly Christ calleth such, as be not able to confesse their faith, beleeuers, because of his meere grace he reputeth them for beleeuers: pag. 1841. Not that they haue any beleefe in themselues, but they are so reputed by grace: God doth of his meere mercie as well accept of them through grace in Christ, as if actually they did beleeue.

Decret. part. 3. distinct. 4. c. 76. Infans licet fidei non habet affectum, respondetur fidem habere ob fidei sacramentum: The Infant although he haue not faith in his affection, is said to haue faith, because hee hath the Sacrament of faith. *c. 129. Fidem nondum habet in cogitatione*, the Infant hath not faith in his mind or cogitation: as before he saith, they haue not faith in affection, so neither in their cogitation, that is, they haue neither the act, nor habite of faith: contrary to the decree of the Tridentine Concel. *sess. 6. c. 7. In Baptismo fidem infundi, et mentis inhærere*: That faith is infused in Baptisme, and fixed in the mind of infants.

Neither are children helped by their Godfathers faith, for what if they bee all vnbeleeuers, by this reason such children should be Baptized in no faith: *Richard Woodman* Martyr, pag. 1995.

These reasons also to the same effect, may be gathered out of their owne decrees: as first, *decr. par. 2. caus. 1. qu. 4. c. 3. Ne parentum illius error impediat, &c.* The error of the parents being heretikes did not hurt or hinder the children. If the errot of the parents hinder not, then their faith profiteth not. Secondly, *decret. p. 3. distinct. 4. c. 114.* It is decreed, that the Infant is not baptized, being in the mothers wombe, the mother being at that instant baptized. If the mothers faith doth not profite the child, being not yet *Anima separatim viuens*: A soule liuing by it selfe, while it is in the wombe, as it is *ibid. ca. 129.* much lesse when the child is now borne, and made a liuing soule by it selfe.

AN APPENDIX OF THE POPISH vse in baptizing of bels.

The Papists.

They begin now to be ashamed of the blind practises of their superstitious and ignorant forefathers: for *Bellarmine* flatlie denieth, that bels are baptized amongst them: but they are onely consecrate and hallowed for diuine vses, as other Church vessels are, *lib. 4. de Roman. pontific. cap. 12.* 9. Error.

The Protestants

It is great shame for them, to deny so manifest a thing. For in the hallowing of bels, first there were Godfathers chosen: Secondly, they gaue names to the bels: Thirdly, the bels had new garments put vpon them, as is accustomed to be done to Christians in their Baptisme: Fourthly, the Baptizing of bels was onely permitted to the Bishops suffragane, whereas their Priests and Deacons did vsually baptize infants: all this sheweth, that it was not onely a Baptisme, which they bestowed vpon bels, but in a more principall kind, then common Baptisme was. This was one of the greeuances which the princes of Germany complained of in the assembly at Noremberg, that the Fox. Martyrol. pag. 865. col. 1. edition. 4.

the ſuffraganes exacted of the people ſuch great ſummes of money for the baptizing of bels. With what face then can they deny this vngodly cuſtome of theirs, in Chriſtening and baptizing of bels.

An. 973. Pope *Iohn.* 14. at the coronation of *Otho* the Emperor, gaue vnto the great bel of the Church of Laterane his own name: the Chriſtening of bels in ỹ popiſh Church teſtified by B. *Ridley* holy martyr pag. 1779. col. 2. Which ſuperſtitious vſe in baptizing of bels, thereby aſcribing vnto them a ſpirituall power againſt euill ſpirits, thunder, lightening, &c. hath been condemned in ſome of their Councels. *Concil. Coloniens. part. 9. cap.* 14. They correct the error of former times of thoſe that thought, that diuels were frayed away with the ſound of bels: *Qui potius precibus ſeruor. riti abſcedant, illiſq; ſubmotis fruges, mentes & corpora fidelium ſeruentur:* Diuels rather are frayed away by prayers, vnto which men are called by the bels: and ſo the euil ſpirits being remoued, the bodies and ſoules of men are preſerued, and their corne, &c.

THE SIXT QVESTION, OF THE EFfects and fruites of Baptiſme.

THe partes of this queſtion are theſe: firſt, whether our ſinnes are wholy remitted and cleane taken away in Baptiſme. Secondly, whether Baptiſme ſerueth only for the remiſſion of ſinnes that are paſt. Thirdly, of the liberties and priuiledges, which are obtained by Baptiſme: which parts are now ſeuerally to be handled.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER IN BAPtiſme our ſinnes be cleane taken away.

The Papiſts

10. Error. THe ſins which are paſt, they affirme, not onely by the grace of Chriſt receiued in Baptiſme, to be forgiuen and pardoned, and no more imputed, but euen wholy to be raſed and rooted out: *Et ioſſi omne illud, quod veram habet & propriam rationem peccati:* And al that wholy to be taken away, which hath the nature and qualitie of ſinne, *Concil. Tridentin. ſeſſ.* 5. For the concupiſcence or originall ſinne, remaininge after Baptiſme, is now no more to be called ſinne. In Infants then newly baptized, there is neither mortall nor venial ſin, *Rhemiſt.* 1. *Iohn* 1. *ſect.* 5. Decret. de Original. peccat.

Argum. 1. The Scripture ſaith, *Behold the Lambe of God, that taketh away the ſinnes of the world,* Ioh. 1. 29. Chriſt doth ſanctifie and cleanſe his Church by the waſhing of water, through the word, Epheſ. 5. 26. *Ergo*, by remiſſion, ſinnes are cleane taken away, *Rhemiſt. Roman.* 4. *ſect.* 7. *Bellarm. cap.* 13.

Anſ. Firſt, if ſinne in Baptiſme were wholy remoued, not onely the guilt, but the very ſtaine and blot of ſinne: how commeth it to paſſe, that many which are baptized, doe fall afterward into deadly ſinnes; yea there is no man that liueth without ſinne? If ſinne once haue been veerily expelled and baniſhed out of the fleſh, how commeth it in againe? If their iuſtification haue euer cleerely rid them from ſinne, how can they be ſubiect to it againe? for the grace of iuſtification, being once obtained, can neuer be loſt: the gifts of God are without repentance, Rom. 11. 29.

2 The Scripture is true, that Chriſt by his blood, cleanſeth, waſheth, taketh away our ſinnes: not by actually purging vs from all corruption, but in freely acquiting and diſcharging of vs before God, both of the guilt and puniſhment of ſinne: ſo the Scripture ſaith, *Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen, and to whom the Lord imputeth no ſinne,* Rom. chap. 4. verſ. 7. 8. Our ſinnes therfore may be truly forgiuen, though ſome corruption of ſinne doe ſtill remaine in vs.

3. The Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ. 5. 27. *That he might make it to himſelfe a glorious Church, without ſpot or wrinkle:* ſignifying, that not here, or now, but then and there the Church ſhall bee perfectly cleane, and without ſpot, when it ſhall be made glorious: but now although ſhe bee cleanſed by the waſhing of water in the word; yet ſhe ſaith truly of her ſelfe, in reſpect of her infirmities that remaine, *I am blacke,* Cantic. 1. 4.

Argum. 2. Rom. 5. 19. *As by one mans diſobedience many were made ſinners, ſo by the obedience of one ſhall many be made righteous:* but in *Adam* we are verely made ſinners: *Ergo*, by Chriſt wee are truly made righteous without ſinne, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſheweth, that this compariſon betweene *Adam* and Chriſt is not to be vrged in euery point: as verſ. 16. *The gift is not ſo, as the offence:* for the guilt is of one offence to condemnation, the gift is of many offences to iuſtification: The compariſon is betweene one, and one; as in one we dye al, ſo in one we are al made aliue: It holdeth not in the manner: for our corruption from *Adam* is natural, but our iuſtification by Chriſt is ſupernatural. Secondly, we grant, that in Chriſt wee are truly made righteous by the imputation of his righteouſnes; yet it followeth not that we ſhould be void of ſinne: for Chriſts righteouſnes which is imputed by faith is one thing,

thing our owne righteousnes another; that is perfect, and maketh vs righteous before God, the other is imperfect. Thirdly, holding their sense, the comparison may very well stand: for as in *Adam* though we all are made sinners; yet, they say, there doe remaine, *pura naturalia*, certaine pure naturals still, notwithstanding the corruption of our nature: so though we be iustified and made righteous by Christ, there may bee found in vs, some *impura naturalia* and dregs of corruption still.

Argum. 3. 2. Cor. 6. 14. *What fellowship hath righteousnes with vnrighteousnes, light with darknesse? Ergo*, after we are once made righteous, and receiued the light, there remaineth no darknesse or vnrighteousnes of sinne, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Ans. First, the Apostle speaketh not of light and darknesse in the same, but in diuers subiects, as vers. 15. *What fellowship hath the beleeuer with the Infidell?* Secondly, though in the righteous some imperfections remaine, yet there is no fellowship, but a continuall warre and strife betweene the spirit of God and the corruption of our nature; as Galath. 5. 17. *They are contrarie one to the other, so that ye cannot doe the things ye would.* Thirdly, though some relickes of sinne remaine in the faithfull, yet they doe not raigne in them, Rom. 6. 12. but as darknesse toward the rising of the Sunne is mixed with the light; yet so, that the light ouercommeth, and chaseth away darknesse: so saith the Apostle, Rom. 7. 25. *In my minde I serue the law of God; in my flesh* (that is the corruption and darknesse of my nature) *the law of sinne.*

The Protestants.

There are three things to be considered in sinne: first, the staine or blot, corruption or remnant of sinne in vs. Secondly, the guilt, fault, and offence of sinne. Thirdly, the punishment and stipend due vnto it. By our spirituall washing in the blood of Christ, whereof Baptisme is a seale, both the guilt, and punishment of our sinnes are not onely hid and couered in Gods sight (as our aduersaries doe falsely charge vs to say:) but they are truly forgiuen vs for Christs sake, and shall neuer be remembred any more. But yet there is left in vs some remnant of sinne so long as we liue in this flesh, which in the end together with the corruption and mortalitie of the bodie, shall be cleane taken away.

Argum. 1. *If we say we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues, and the truth is not in vs*, 1. Ioh. 1. 8. *Ergo*, there are none liuing at any time voide of sinne, no not in their Baptisme. Saint *Paul* also exhorteth to bee renewed in minde, and to put on the new man, and put off the old, Ephes. 4. 23. *Ergo*, there remaineth some sinne and corruption after Baptisme: what needs else this renewing of the minde, and putting on the new man afterward?

Bellarmine answereth: These and such like places must be vnderstood of such sinnes as are committed after Baptisme, or else of the mortifying of the senses and corrupt inclinations which may prouoke vnto sinne, but properly are not sinne.

Contra. The Iesuites twofold answere is at once ouerthrowne by that place of the Apostle to the Colossians, chap. 3. vers. 5. *Mortifie your earthly members, fornication, vncleannes, &c.* Here first appeareth, that the Apostle speaketh not onely of corrupt inclinations, but of the sinnes themselues; as fornication, couetousnes, &c. Againe, he saith, *Lie not one to another, seeing you haue put off the old man, with his workes*, vers. 9. Here the Apostle sheweth, that though in Baptisme they had put off the old mans workes, that sinne did no longer raigne in them: yet there remained some corrupt inclination still, which he warneth them to take heede of. The seedes then of sinne and corruption were not vtterly extinguished in Baptisme.

Thirdly, that the Apostle speaketh not onely of sinnes committed after Baptisme, but euen of that corruption, which remaineth in Baptisme, Saint *Augustine* sheweth, as he is alleaged by *Gratian. dec. par.* 3. *dist.* 4. *cap.* 146. *Nam in baptismo, quamuis plena fiat remissio peccatorum, &c.* For in Baptisme, though there bee full remission of sinnes, yet there is no perfect change, because there remaineth still some corruption not only in the bodie, but the minde, which is the inner man: which if it were perfectly renewed, the Apostle would not say, that *he is renewed from day to day*, 2. Cor. 4. vers. 16. Fourthly, if sinnes were fully taken away in Baptisme, they could not afterward set vpon vs again: *for whom God loueth, he loueth to the end*, Ioh. 13. 1. so that they should not commit sinne after Baptisme: as now followeth to be shewed.

Argum. 2. If sinne be vtterly extinguished in Baptisme, then they which are baptized can sinne no more: for sinne being once extinct, returneth not, neither returneth being abolished, as the Apostle saith, *with one offring he hath consecrated for euer them that are sanctified*, Heb. 10. 14. Therefore if they be perfectly consecrated in Baptisme by the extinction of sinne, they are for euer consecrated: but we see, that the baptized may afterward commit sinne. *Ergo.*

Ans. Bellarmine graunteth, that the baptized may lose the grace of God, and so consequently the remission of sinnes receiued in Baptisme: and this grace being lost, they may afterward sinne notwithstanding, *cap.* 14. *propos.* 1.

Contra. It is a great question among the Papists themselues, whether sinnes remitted in Bap-

tisme doe returne againe, some holding that they may returne, some that they may not. The Master of Sentences dare giue no resolution in so doubtfull a question, but leaueth vs in the briers, concluding thus: *Alicui parti non præiudicans studioso lectori iudicium relinquo:* Not being preiudiciall to either part, I leaue the iudgement hereof to the reader, *lib.4 distinct.22.b.* But others of better account then the Master, doe resolue, that sinnes once forgiuen, returne not: as *Greg. Ariet. par.2.cans.33.dist.4.c.14. Qui recedit à Christo, &c. non in id quod remissio est, recidit, &c.* He that departeth from Christ, doth not fall againe into that, which is remitted, but he shall be condemned to death for his latter sinnes, which was due vnto those that were remitted. But yet more plainly *Gelasius, ibid.c.24. Diuina clementia dimissa peccata in vltionem vlterius redire non patitur:* The diuine clemencie doth not suffer sinnes once remitted, to returne vnto our punishment. And the Master of Sentences better remembring himselfe, alloweth these sayings of *Augustine: Sacramenta in solis electis efficiunt, quod figurant:* The Sacraments doe onely effect that, which they figure in the elect. And, *Communis est baptismus omnibus baptizatis, sed non virtus baptismi:* Baptisme is common to all that are baptized, but not the vertue of Baptisme, that is remission of sinnes, *lib.4.distinct.1.a.b.* Wherefore the elect in Baptisme finde remission of sinnes for euer, so that their sinnes are no more imputed vnto them; the rest doe not at all obtaine that grace.

*Argum.*3. Originall sinne is not taken away in Baptisme, therefore some sinne remaineth still: And that this originall corruption is properly called sinne, and is sinne indeede, Saint *Paul* sheweth euidently, Rom.7.vers.7,8. where he nameth lust and concupiscence sinne.

De peccat. merit. & remiss. lib.1.c.25

Augustine thus writeth: *Meminisse debemus peccatorum omnium plenam remissionem fieri in baptismo, hominis verò qualitatem non totam continuò mutari:* Wee must remember, that all our sinnes are fully remitted in Baptisme: but the qualitie of man (that is, the corruption, and staine or blot of sinne) is not wholy changed. This sentence of *Augustine* is ratified, *decret.par.3.distinct.3.c.14.*

Concil. Milevitan.cap.8. Placuit, vt quicunque verba ipsa dominicæ orationis, vbi dicimus, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, ita volunt à sanctis dici, vt humiliter, non veraciter hoc dicatur, anathema sit: qui non ferat orantem, & non hominibus sed ipsi Deo mentientem: Wee decree, that whosoeuer taketh those words of the Lords prayer, where we say, *forgiue vs our debts*, so to bee said of holie men, that they rather say so of humilitie, then truly, let him bee accursed: for so he that prayeth, should lie vnto God, not vnto men. But this they must needes say, which affirme sinne vtterly to be taken away: for being taken away, it remaineth not: and so they haue no cause to pray for remission of sinnes which are cleane wiped away before.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER BAPTISME serue onely for remission of sinnes past, and not for the sinnes also to come.

The Papists.

11. Error.

CHrists death applied to man by Baptisme, wipeth away all sinnes past, for new sinnes other remedies be daily requisite, *Rhemist. Heb.*10. *sect.*4. The Councell of Trent holdeth them accursed, that thinke all sinnes to bee forgiuen, *fide Baptismi susceptæ*, by faith of Baptisme receiued, *sess.7.can.*10.

Hereupon their saying ariseth, that *Baptismus est prima tabula post naufragium:* that Baptisme is the first boord of refuge after shipwracke: *& pœnitentia est secunda tabula post naufragium* Penance is the second boord of refuge: So that if a man doe fall after, he must vse other helpes and meanes for the remission of sinnes: for Baptisme is not auaileable for sinnes afterward committed, *Bellar. cap.*18.

Argum. It is impossible, saith the Apostle, *for them that haue bin once lightened, and tasted of the heauenly grace, if they fall away, to be renewed by penance*, Heb.6.6. that is, they which fall away from faith and grace, after Baptisme, cannot be baptized againe, or be illuminated, or renouated, by so easie a cleansing of sinnes, as the Sacrament of Baptisme did yeeld: for to be illuminate, to be renewed, and to crucifie Christ, are proper vnto Baptisme, wherein we are illuminate, renewed, and imitate Christs death: *Ergo*, Baptisme is not auaileable for remission of sinnes, which men fall into afterward, *Bellarm. cap.*18.

Ans. First, he very vnskilfully here confoundeth Baptisme and repentance, whereas the Apostle doth distinguish them, vers.1,2. making repentance from dead workes, and the doctrine of Baptisme two diuers things; and they themselues say, that Baptisme is the first table of refuge, penance the second: how then can they by repentance here enforce Baptisme? And I maruele, that *Bellarmine* hath so soone forgotten himselfe, that whereas he said before, *lib.2.de Sacram.*2. *resp. ad 2. ration. solid.* that it is not found in Scripture, that Baptisme should not be iterated, he remembred not this place, where after his sense, the Apostle denieth repentance the second time by the Sacrament of Baptisme.

Secondly,

Secondly, the Apostle speaketh not of this or that kind of repentance, but generally of al, shewing, that there is no hope of remission nor grace to repent left for those which fall into the grieuous sinne of apostasie, which he here describeth; for they crucifie againe the Sonne of God, and make a mocke of him, vers. 6. And that the Apostle vnderstandeth the sinne of apostasie, and the sinne against the holy Ghost, it appeareth by comparing that other place, Heb. 10. 29. with this: for there they are said, to tread vnder foote the Sonne of God, and to despite the spirit of grace. The Apostle then cutteth off such from all hope of grace, and repentance; not only barreth them from some speciall kinde of repentance: as he saith, Heb. 10. 26. if wee sinne willingly, that is obstinately and of malice, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinne, that is, there is no remedie at all.

Thirdly, that children are not illuminated in Baptisme, *Augustine* denieth, as we haue seene before, *quest. 5. part. 2.* and *Bellarmine* most absurdly taketh the crucifying of Christ in the good part, whereas the Apostle doth giue it as a reason, of their great impietie, why they cannot be renewed, because they doe crucifie to themselues the Sonne of God, and make a mocke of him. The second clause expoundeth the former: They crucifie Christ, that make a mocke of him: which can in no sense be taken in the good part: And so doth *Origen* very well expound those words: *Vides, quia in persecutione &c.* We see that in sinners Christ is not said onely to dye, but to bee crucified; but in the holy Ghost is said to liue, &c. *Hom. 2. in Iudic.*

The Protestants.

THe externall act of Baptisme neither wipeth away sinnes going before, or comming after: but it is the inward working of the spirit of God, which by the vertue of Christs death, testified and shewed forth in Baptisme, that washeth away our sinnes. And Baptisme is a seale of remission of sinnes, for the confirmation of our faith, euen of those which are committed after Baptisme, as well as of sinnes done before: and although the ceremonie of Baptisme bee not repeated, yet the vertue of Gods spirit testified thereby, remaineth to our liues end.

Argum. 1. Mark. 16. 16. *He that shall beleeue and be baptized, shall be saued.* Wee reason thus, Baptisme is a seale of that faith, whereby men are saued, or to the which saluation is promised: but that faith beleeueth remission of all sinnes both past and to come: therefore Baptisme also sealeth vnto vs the remission of all our sinnes, going before or following after. And here is no other thing required, but for a man to beleeue, and to apprehend Gods couenant made in Baptisme.

Obj. This promise of Christ is conditionall, that so long as they continue beleeuing, Baptisme is a sufficient remedie: but if they fall away from faith, then Baptisme sufficeth not: for if there were not a condition, then apostataes should be saued, because they once beleeued: *sic Bellar. c. 19. respond. ad argum. 1.*

Contra. First, there needs no condition of perseuerance to bee annexed to faith, seeing it is a propertie of true faith, neuer finally to be lost: otherwise our Sauiour would not haue said, Ioh. 5. vers. 24. *He that beleeueth, hath passed from death to life:* he pronounceth as though it were already done, which is but in faith, because of the assurance thereof: wherefore apostataes and backsliders though they seemed once to beleeue, yet had no true faith, as S. *Iohn* saith, 1. 2. 19. *they went out from vs, but were not of vs.* Secondly, to admit his condition, then if a man doe continue a beleeuer, Baptisme is a sufficient remedie for all sinnes that follow after: for euen in the faithfull there are sinnes committed after Baptisme: and if it bee sufficient for sinnes, that follow in some, why is it not by the same reason in all?

Argum. 2. The promise of Baptisme is, *that we being iustified by his grace, should be made heires of eternall life*, Tit. 3. 5, 7. But this promise of iustification is generall against all sinnes before Baptisme, and after: *Ergo*, so is Baptisme.

Bellarmine answereth, that iustification by Christ is promised as wel in the Eucharist as in Baptisme; and therefore it followeth not, that they, which after their fall are iustified by Christ, are iustified by Baptisme, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. We graunt that iustification by Christ is exhibited in both the Sacraments, and that both of them, as Sacraments, are remedies against sinnes committed afterward: so then the argument thus followeth very well; Iustification by Christ is a remedie against all our sinnes whatsoeuer: Baptisme is a seale of iustification by Christ: *Ergo*, it is auaileable for remission of all sinnes. We doe not inferre Baptisme onely is a seale thereof, which *Bellarmine* supposeth, neither doe wee conclude, that Baptisme onely is auaileable: it is sufficient that Baptisme hath this vertue and efficacie, together with other helpes and remedies, as to extend it selfe to the sinnes of the whole life.

Argum. 3. Baptisme is a signe and seale of our mysticall washing in the blood of Christ: but all our sinnes both before and after are washed away by the blood of Christ: *Ergo*, Baptisme doth assure vs of a perfite remission of all our sinnes.

Bellarmine denieth the assumption, that we are iustified formally by the righteousnes of Christ, but by our owne righteousnes inherent in vs, *resp. ad argum. 4.*

Contra. This is a great blasphemie, and contrarie to the Apostle, who saith, that *I might be found, not hauing mine owne righteousnes, which is by the law, but the righteousnes of God through faith*, Philip. 3. 9. The righteousnes of God by faith, is not our owne righteousnes: but wee are iustified by the righteousnes of God. *Ergo.*

So saith *Augustine: Eodem lauacro regenerationis, & verbo sanctificationis, omnia prorsus mala hominum regenerationum sanantur, etiam quæ posterius humana ignorantia aut infirmitate committuntur:* By the same lauer of regeneration, and word of sanctification, all the sinnes in men regenerate are healed; yea euen those, which by humane ignorance afterward are committed: *Non vt Baptismus, quoties peccatur, toties repetatur, sed quia ipse, quod semel datur, sit vt non solum antea, verum etiam postea quorumlibet peccatorum venia fidelibus impetretur:* Not that Baptisme, so oft as a man sinneth, is to be repeated; but by vertue of that which is once giuen, it commeth to passe, that the faithfull haue remission of their sinnes, not onely before, but also after: *Ergo*, Baptisme hath it force not onely for the present, but it reacheth vnto the time following.

Bellarmine answereth to this authoritie by a distinction, that Baptisme, though not immediatly, yet mediatly serueth to purge sinnes done afterward, because he that is baptized, by that grace, which he receiued in Baptisme, obtaineth remission of sinnes.

Contra. First, neither doe wee say, that Baptisme worketh immediatly, for the Sacraments are instruments and meanes of grace, and so mediate workers. Secondly, as he confesseth the sinnes following to be remitted in Baptisme, no otherwise are the sinnes past, but by the grace of Christ sealed vnto him, that is baptized, in Baptisme.

Concil. Viennens. sub Clem. 5. Credimus Baptismã, quod celebratur in aqua, &c. esse tam adultis, quàm paruulis communiter perfectum remedium ad salutem: Wee beleeue that Baptisme celebrated with water, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghost, is both to little ones, and men of yeeres, a perfect remedie to saluation: If it bee a perfect remedie, then it is auaileable against all sinne.

Synod. Mogunt. in cap. 11. Credimus baptismi virtute, omne prorsus peccatum, tam originale quàm actuale, remitti: We beleeue, that by the vertue of Baptisme, all sinne both originall and actuall is remitted. If all sinne, then none is excluded.

Also wee haue plentifull testimonie from their owne decrees: *Part. 1. distinct. 23. c. 2. Iohannes omnia peccata, &c.* In Baptisme all sinnes whatsoeuer, not onely originall, but voluntarie, are remitted. *Part. 3. distinct. 4. c. 136. Regenerante carne tantummodo contrahitur, &c.* By the generation of the flesh originall sinne onely is contracted, by the regeneration of the spirit, there is not only remission of originall, but of voluntarie sinnes. *Clementin. lib. 1. tit. 1. c. 1. Non attendentes pauorem efficaciam mortis Christi:* We considering the generall efficacie of Christs death, which by Baptisme is applied to all, that are baptized, doe hold their opinion to be more probable, that thinke, not onely the fault to be remitted in Baptisme, but grace also infused. By this grace infused in Baptisme, euen the sinnes afterward are remitted; how could the generall efficacie else of Christs death be set forth in Baptisme?

The Master of Sentences also confesseth, that in those, which come fainedly to Baptisme, *postea cum pœnituerint, baptismus incipit prodesse*, Baptisme beginneth to profit them afterward, vpon their repentance, *lib. 4. dist. 4. c.* Wherefore by their owne sentence Baptisme is effectuall for afterward, as well as for the time past.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE LIBERTIE and priuiledges obtained by Baptisme.

The Papists.

32. Error. 1. THey haue defined, that a man, by Baptisme, is not onely *debitor fidei, sed etiam vniuersæ legis Christi implendæ*, is not onely a debter of the faith, but is made a debter to performe the whole law of Christ, *Concil. Trident. sess. 8. can. 7.* that is, Baptisme is not onely a signe of free iustification by faith, neither doth he which is baptized professe himselfe onely by faith to bee iustified, but partly also by his workes, and the keeping of the commandements of Christ, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de Baptis. cap. 15.*

Argum. Matth. 19. 17. Christ saith *to the young man, if thou wilt enter into life keepe the commandements.* 2. Cor. 5. 10. *Euery man shall receiue according to that, which he hath done, whether good or euil. Ergo*, we are bound to keepe the law, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Ans. First, Christ maketh that answere to the young man, to the intent he should know himselfe, who thought, that by his owne workes he might attaine vnto life: for otherwise the doctrine of the Apostle is plaine, that life is not by the law, as he saith, Galath. 3. 21. *If there had beene a law, which*

which could haue giuen life, surely righteousnes should haue been by the Law. Secondly, the Apostle saith, that we shall *receiue according to our workes*: but he saith not, for our workes sake: for as *Bernard* saith, our workes are *via regni, non causa regnandi*, are the way to the kingdome, not the cause of the kingdome. Thirdly, these places alleaged are altogether impertinent, for they onely shew, that we are bound to doe good workes, which we denie not, not that wee professe to be saued by our workes.

The Protestants.

Ans. IN Baptisme wee make profession of our obedience, to die vnto sinne, and rise vp to newnes of life, Rom. 6. 2. yet not thereby to be iustified: but in being baptized wee shew our faith and hope, onely to looke for remission of sinnes and saluation of our soules by the death of Christ.

Argum. 1. Circumcision, in place whereof Baptisme is giuen to vs, is called by the Apostle a seale of the righteousnes of faith, Rom. 4. 11. not of the righteousnes of works: much more then is Baptisme, which is a Sacrament of the Gospell, a pledge vnto vs of the iustice of faith.

Argum. 2. By Baptisme wee are freed from the curse of the law: for it is a Sacrament of the death of Christ, and of all the benefits thereof: and Christ by his death hath borne for vs the curse of the law, Galath. 3. 13. but if by Baptisme wee binde our selues to the obseruance of the law, to be iustified and finde life thereby, wee must needes fall into the curse, because wee are not able to keepe the commaundements. Wherefore seeing Baptisme deliuereth vs from the curse, it also exempteth vs from the workes of the law, to finde life and iustification thereby.

Their owne decrees are for vs: *Part. 3. dist. 4. c. 3. Ab ira Dei nullus liberatur nisi per fidem mediatoris &c.* No man is deliuered from the wrath of God but by the faith of the Mediatour. But in Baptisme we are deliuered from the wrath of God: *Ergo*, in Baptisme onely we professe to be saued by the faith of the Mediatour.

Cap. Per fidem & baptisma iustificamur à peccatis: By faith and Baptisme we are iustified from our sinnes: *Ergo*, nothing else in Baptisme requisite, but faith.

The Papists.

1. ALthough Christians are bound by solemne vow in Baptisme to walke in obedience before God, and to keepe his commaundements: yet are they not therefore freed and exempted from the obseruance of the lawes and ordinances of men, which they are bound in conscience to keepe, and vnder paine of damnation, *Bellarm. cap. 16.* 13. Error

The Protestants.

BAptisme onely bindeth vs to keepe the commaundements of God; and so farre forth also to obey men, as they commaund things lawfull: but wee must not bee brought in bondage to mens traditions, and obseruations, seeing we are the Lords free men, and by Baptisme consecrate to his seruice.

Argum. Matth. 28. 19. Goe and teach, baptizing them, &c. and teaching them to obserue all that I haue commanded you: *Ergo*, Baptisme bindeth vs onely to the obseruation of Gods precepts. 1. Cor. 7. 23. Ye are bought with a price, be not the seruants of men: Baptisme is a signe of the death of Christ, the price of our redemption: *Ergo*, we are freed from all meere humane seruitude, in receiuing of Baptisme. For this cause is it called the Baptisme of Christ. *Augustine* saith; *Paulus dixisse legitur Euangelium meum: baptismum autem Christi nemo Apostolorum in vnquam memoriam, vt auderet dicere suum: Paul* is read to haue said, My Gospell; but neuer any of the Apostles durst call the Baptisme of Christ their Baptisme: *Ergo*, seeing it is the Baptisme of Christ, and we are onely baptized in his name, not in our owne name, or the name of men: we must onely hope to be saued by faith in him, and become his seruants wholy. Contr. Petil. lib. 3. 55.

Bellarmine answereth, first Christ in bidding his Apostles to obserue all, that he had commanded, doth also implie, that they should teach to bee obserued the lawes of Prelates, for that is one of his commandements also: Luk. 10. 16. *He that heareth you, heareth me.* Secondly, S. *Paul* forbiddeth not the seruice of men absolutely, but as it is contrary to the seruice of God: *Bellarmine cap. 16.*

Contra. To the first we replie, 1. To heare the Apostles and Ministers of the Church teaching the same that Christ taught, is to heare Christ himselfe, and so is one of his commandements: but when Prelates do clogge mens consciences with superstitious rites, contrary to the doctrine of Christ, as popish Prelates doe, they are not to be heard, nor obeyed: no, an Angell is not to be receiued preaching otherwise, then Christ and his Apostles haue laid the foundation, Galat. 1. 8. Secondly, concerning the lawes of Prelates, it must be considered, that they are of three sorts: for either they are as touching faith and doctrine, which, if they be agreeable to the doctrine of the Apostles, are of the same authoritie, and simply to be receiued: either they are of externall orders and politike constitutions, which, though obedience must be yeelded vnto; yet they do not simply bind in conscience, as the lawes of God, but onely so farre, as we are bound in conscience

generally, do obey our Superiours in all lawfull things; eyther they are the meere deuises, and superstitious inuentions of men, such as the Apostle speaketh of, Coloss.2.21. *Touch not, taste not, handle not, which are after the doctrines of men, &c.* The first kind wee professe obedience to in Baptisme absolutely, because they are no other but the precepts of Christ; to the second not absolutely, but as we haue said; to the third not at all.

To the second we replie, first, that to be a seruant of men, is no sense allowed in the Scripture, as Matth.6.24. *No man can serue two Masters*: and Galath.1.10. *If I should please* (that is serue) *men, I should not be the seruant of Christ*: so, when we serue men for the Lords sake, in lawfull things, we serue not men, but God. Secondly, to yeeld to the superstitious iniunctions of Prelates, such as most in Poperie are, is a meere seruice of men: for such the Apostle calleth the precepts and doctrines of men, Coloss.2.22. and therefore obedience to such is contrary to our dutie and seruice to God.

Lastly, as touching the ceremonious rites and obseruations of men, their owne decrees do testifie for vs, *par.1. distinct.12.c.12. Quamuis ne hoc inuenire possit, &c.* Although it appeare not, how they are against the faith, yet they do oppresse Religion with seruile burdens, which God in mercie hath left free with most few and manifest Sacraments, so that the condition of the Iewes is more tolerable, who were subiect onely to legall prescriptions, not to humane presumptions: if ceremonies not apparantly contrarie to the faith, must be restrained for their multitudes, how much more such as do oppugne the faith.

The Papists.

THey hold, that notwithstanding the vow of Christianitie, and obedience made solemnely in Baptisme, yet other vowes made before or after vnto God or Saints, as vowes of single life, to go in pilgrimage, to offer to such a Saint, and such like do stand still in force, and ought to be performed: *Bellarm.c.17.* And, whosoeuer shall say, that such vowes made after Baptisme, do derogate to the faith professed in Baptisme, as to Baptisme it selfe, let him be accursed, *concil. Trident. de Baptismo can.9.*

The Protestants.

THat all such vowes being some of them impossible, some of them impious, and superstious, some superfluous and vnnecessary, are disanulled by the vow of Baptisme, neither can stand in force without great derogation to the same, thus we doe proue it.

Argum.1. The things which are vowed are either commaunded, or not commaunded: such things, which are commaunded vs of God, wee doe professe and vow to keepe in Baptisme, as to forsake the diuell, the world, and the flesh: but such things as are not prescribed of God, but commaunded of men, wee doe not vow in Baptisme to keepe; nay, they are contrarie to our vow in Baptisme, whereby we are made the seruants onely of God, and not of men: *Ergo*, vowes of such things are contrarie to the vow of Baptisme.

Bellarmine answereth, that wee are bound rather by Baptisme to keepe our vowes, because wee vow to keepe all Gods commaundements, whereof this is one, not to breake our vowes, *ca.17.*

Contra. All lawfull vowes and promises of obedience are indeede faithfully to bee performed vnto God: but vnlawfull vowes, such as are many in Poperie tending to superstition, are neither to bee made, nor being made are to bee kept: neither doth God commaund vs to performe such vowes; but they are like *Iephthahs* vow, and *Herods* oth, both which might better haue been mocked, then performed, as they were.

Argum.2. If other vowes to be made after Baptisme are requisite, then were the vow in Baptisme insufficient, other vowes being added thereunto: but now it is most sufficient. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine answereth, that the argument followeth not, for after Baptisme receiued, it is necessarie to heare the word of God, and to celebrate the other Sacraments; yet these doe not make Baptisme insufficient for the proper end thereof, which is the saluation of man: no more then doth the accession of other vowes derogate to the sufficiencie of the vow in Baptisme, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. First, there is no comparison betweene the word of God and the Eucharist (which are of Gods institution, and therefore to bee vsed as necessarie helpes of our faith,) and the vnprofitable inuentions of men, which are not ordained of God: they cannot derogate to Baptisme, hauing all one author; but the other doe, for as much as mans inuentions cannot stand together with Gods institution. Secondly, the word preached, and the Eucharist doe not make Baptisme insufficient, because they haue all their speciall vses and ends; Baptisme to seale vnto vs our new birth, the word to beget faith, and the Eucharist to confirme it: but like as, if another Baptisme should bee added to the first, the one were a derogation to the other; so many vowes comming after the vow of Baptisme, must needes make the first insufficient.

Augustines iudgement is this: *De temper. serm.7. Sunt multi, qui vouent, &c.* There bee many that vow, one a cloake, another oyle, another a waxe candle; another, that he will drink no wine; another, that he will fast; another, that he will eate no flesh: this is not the best, nor the perfectest kind

of vowing; God neither careth for thy comely apparell, nor for thy oyle, or fasting: but offer that vnto him, which he hath redeemed, that is, thy soule.

Likewise *Origen* thus writeth, *homil.13.in Exod. Non vult Moses vt offeras aliquid quod extra te est &c. Moses* will not haue thee offer any thing without thee: Take (saith he) from among your selues, and offer vnto God, as euery man hath conceiued in his heart. What, doth siluer or gold grow within me? offer vnto God gold for the Tabernacle, that is, the faith of thy heart: this then is the onely vow, which we offer vnto God, which we promise and professe in Baptisme.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, OF THE DIFFERENCE betweene the Baptisme of our Sauiour Christ, and the Baptisme of *Iohn*.

The Papists.

THe Baptisme of *Iohn* (they say) was of another kind then Christs Baptisme was, neither was it sufficient without Christs Baptisme, nor had the like force or efficacie, as his Baptisme had: and therefore such as had been baptized of *Iohn*, were afterward admitted to Christs Baptisme, *Concil. Trident. sess.8.can.1. Bellarm. lib.1. de baptis. cap.20.21.* 14. Error.

Argum.1. Matth.3.11. *Iohn* himselfe saith, I baptize you with water, but he shall baptize you with the holy Ghost: *Ergo, Iohns* Baptisme and Christs not all one: for *Iohns* Baptisme gaue not the holy Ghost, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. Iohn speaketh not of diuers Baptismes, but of diuers operations and ministeries, in one and the same Baptisme: for *Iohn*, as all other ministers doe, did but giue water; and Christ working together with them, giueth the holy Ghost. But it will be answered, that *Iohn* saith not, he doth baptize, but he shall baptize: *Ergo*, Christ did not baptize together with *Iohn* by his spirit. *Bellarm. cap.21.*

Answ. The same *Iohn* in another place speaketh of Christ in the present tense, Ioh.1.33. *This is he which baptizeth with the holy Ghost: Ergo*, Christ did both then baptize with his spirit, and afterwards also more manifestly, when the gifts of the spirit began to be shed forth more plentifully vpon men. Also he saith, *Behold the Lambe of God that taketh away the sinnes of the world*, Ioh.1.29. he did then, when *Iohn* baptized, did take away sinnes. And againe, *Iohn* testifieth of him, vers.16. *of his fulnes haue we all receiued*: euen then Christ baptized with the spirit, which was to receiue of his fulnes.

Bellarmine replieth: first, that Christ is said to baptize with the spirit, not that then hee baptized, but to signifie, that when he baptized, he should not onely baptize with water, but with the spirit. Secondly, Christ did not then take away sinnes, but it is signified, that he afterward by his death should take away the sinnes of the world. Thirdly, they receiued of his grace and fulnes, but by other meanes, than by the baptisme of *Iohn*. *Bellarm. cap.21.*

Contra. First, if Christ then onely began to baptize with the spirit, when he baptized with water, it would follow, that he neuer baptized with the spirit: for it is certaine that he baptized not with water, Ioh.4.2. Againe, that he at that instant baptized with the spirit, it is euident by *Iohns* words, vers.33. *He that sent mee to baptize, said vnto mee, vpon whom thou shalt see the spirite come and rest, the same is he which baptizeth with the holy Ghost*: Christ then immediatly at the comming downe of the spirite, baptized with the spirite: vnlesse they will say he receiued the spirite in vaine. Secondly, it is very grosse and absurd to say that Christ did not take away the sinnes of the world before his death; for the Prophet *Dauid* saith, Psal.32.1. *Blessed are they, whose sinnes are forgiuen*: euen vnder the law by faith in Christ to come they found remission of sinnes. Thirdly, that *Iohns* Baptisme and ministrie was not an instrument of the grace of Christ, it is contrary to the Scripture, Luc.1.16. *He shall turne many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God.*

Lastly, that Christ and *Iohn* baptized together, the one visibly, the other inuisibly, S. *Ambrose* thus testifieth, vpon these words, *I baptize you with water: Ego probauit &c.* He proueth that he is not Christ, because he worketh visibly, &c. The bodie is washed with water, the soule by the spirite: we do one thing; and call vpon another; *Sed hæc inter se diuersa esse non possunt &c.* But these things cannot be deuided, *in 3.cap.Luc.*

Obiect.1. Saint *Paul* baptized tweelue men at Ephesus with Christs Baptisme that had receiued *Iohns* before, Act.19.4.5. *Ergo, Iohns* Baptisme was not the same that Christs was, *Bellarmine.*

Answ. There can be no such thing gathered out of that place, for those words in the 5.vers. *When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Iesus*, are parte of the narration which *Paul* maketh of *Iohns* Baptisme: so that the sense is this, they that heard *Iohns* doctrine, were baptized in the name of the Lord Iesus. It is not so to be read, as though they were baptized againe of *Paul* but he layeth onely his hands vpon them, that had before receiued the baptisme of *Iohn*.

Bellarmine

Bellarmine replyeth, that this place cannot be so expounded: for if the fourth and fift verse containe onely a narration of *Iohns* Baptisme, then were the people baptized twise: for in the fourth verse it is said, *Iohn* baptized with the Baptisme of repentance. And againe, in the fift verse, when they heard it, they were baptized.

Contra. First, it followeth not that they were twise baptized, because the word is here twise vsed: for first the Apostle setteth downe *Iohns* office in whole together, and then prosecuteth the two parts thereof; first his preaching in the fourth, and then his baptisme in the fift verse.

Secondly, but that this is a narration, not of Saint *Luke* concerning Saint *Pauls* baptisme, but of Saint *Paul* concerning *Iohns* baptisme; thus it appeareth: first, by the Greeke particles μὲν in the fourth verse, and δὲ in the fift, which doe one answere to another, and shew a necessary coherence and connexion of both verses together. Secondly, *Iohns* preaching and his baptisme doe best agree together: *Iohn* preached to the people that they should beleeue in Iesus Christ, vers. 4. and then it followeth, they were baptized in the name of Iesus, vers. 5. So then Iohn baptized in his name, whom he preached: but he preached Iesus Christ, therefore he baptized also in his name: and if he baptized in Iesus name, then would not Saint *Paul* haue baptized them againe. Thirdly, how is it like, that these men being at Ephesus, so farre off from Iudea, where Iohn baptized, and so long time after, not lesse then 30. yeeres from the death of *Iohn Baptist*, could haue been baptized of *Iohn*? wherefore they are said to bee baptized to *Iohns* baptisme, not that they were baptized by the hands of *Iohn*, but had receiued that baptisme, whereof *Iohn* was the first Minister, for Christ baptized not, but *Iohn* in Christs name. Fourthly, if Saint *Paul* had baptized them, it is most like he would haue baptized them in the name of the holy Ghost, whereof they doubted: but they are baptized in the name of Iesus: that is, the people that heard *Iohn*, not the twelue men, whom *Paul* found at Ephesus. Fiftly, the Apostles by laying on of hands without Baptisme conferred the holy Ghost, as it may appeare, Act. 8. 17. where *Simon* would haue giuen money, that on whomsoeuer also he laid his hands, they might receiue the holy Ghost: neither doe we find, that the imposition of hands, was vsed in Baptisme. So then as Act. 8. 16. it is said, *The holy Ghost as yet was come downe vpon none of them, but they were baptized onely in the name of the Lord Iesus*: and it followeth, *Then layd they their hands vpon them, and they receiued the holy Ghost*: they are not baptized againe, but onely confirmed with laying on of hands: so in this place, they had receiued the Baptisme of *Iohn*, which was nothing els, but to be baptized in the name of Iesus, and then the Apostle layeth on his hands, and they receiue the gift of the holy Ghost: they are no more baptized, then the disciples at Samaria, Act. 8. 16. Lastly, S. *Ambrose* iudgement vpon this place is this, *lib. 1 de spirit. c. 3. Iohannes in remissionem peccatorum in aduenientis Iesu nomine in suo baptizabat, &c.* *Iohn* did baptize in the name of Christ, not his owne name for the remission of sinnes: but they in the 19. of the Actes had not receiued Baptisme in the name of Christ, as *Iohn* vsed to baptize: and therefore they were baptized in the name of Christ Iesus, neither was Baptisme iterated in them, but renewed, for there is but one Baptisme. S. *Ambrose*, though hee thinke, that these twelue were baptized by S. *Paul*, yet so thinketh, because indeed they had not receiued *Iohns* Baptisme, which hee holdeth to be one Baptisme, with the Baptisme of Christ.

Argum. 3. The Baptisme of *Iohn* had not the inuocation of the Trinitie, as the Baptisme of Christ hath: *Ergo*, it is not the same: *Bellarmine cap. 20.*

Answ. First, that there was the presence and inuocation of the Trinitie in the Baptisme of *Iohn*, it appeareth Matth. 3. where, when Christ came to *Iohn* to be baptized, God the father spake from heauen, God the Sonne was in the water, the holy Ghost descended in the likenesse of a Doue: and Iohn 1. 33. *He that sent me to baptize with water*: Here is the authoritie of God the father in *Iohns* Baptisme: *Said vnto me, vpon whom thou shalt see the spirit come downe, &c. hee it is that baptizeth with the holy Ghost*, here is the name and authoritie of God the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. The Master of sentences is of this opinion; *Tunc inuocato nomine Trinitatis, institutum in Iordane Baptismum, &c.* Then in Iordane the name of the Trinitie being inuocated, Baptisme was instituted, when the mysterie of the Trinitie appeared: *lib. 4. dist. 3. g.* Secondly, *Iohn* vsed the same forme in baptizing, which the Apostles did; they baptized in the name of the Lord Iesus, Act. 2. 38. Act. 8. 16. and so did *Iohn*, Act. 19. 4. and this S. *Ambrose* testifieth, that *Iohn* baptized in the name of Christ, *lib. 1. de spiritu, c. 3.* and therefore it is not vnlike, but that *Iohn* baptized in the name of the Trinitie, as the Apostles did: though the name of Iesus onely be expressed, because thereby is signified the end and scope of Baptisme for remission of sinnes, rather then the exact, and precise forme of Baptisme.

The Protestants.

THat *Iohns* Baptisme was not diuers from Christs Baptisme, but was all one with it in propertie and effect: and that they which were baptized by *Iohn*, were baptized in the name of Christ, and therefore needed not againe to be baptized: thus it is made manifest out of Scripture.

Argum. 1.

*Argum.*1. *Iohns* Baptiſme differed not in the matter of the Sacrament, for he baptized with water as Chriſts Apoſtles did. There was alſo the ſame forme of both, the word of God: for *Iohn* alſo taught the people to beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt that was to come, Act.19.4. There was alſo the ſame ſcope and end of *Iohns* Baptiſme: For he preached the Baptiſme of repentance, for remiſſion of ſinnes, Mark.1.4. *Ergo*, it was the ſame with the Baptiſme of Chriſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that *Iohn* did not baptize vnto remiſſion of ſinnes, but vnto repentance: his Baptiſme did incite and ſtirre vp to repentance, and ſo conſequently they which repented, obtayned remiſſion of ſinnes.

Contra. Firſt, *Iohn* preached the Baptiſme of repentance to remiſſion of ſinnes, Luk.3.3. which is all one with the Baptiſme which *Peter* miniſtred, Act.2.38. *Repent and be baptized in the name of the Lord Ieſus, for remiſſion of ſinnes*: repentance and remiſſion of ſinnes is the ſcope both of *Iohns* and *Peters* Baptiſme. *Bellarmine* replieth, that repentance went before *Peters* Baptiſme, as a preparation vnto it, but it followed *Iohns* as the effect. *Contra.* Firſt, it appeareth, Luk.3.12. that the Publicanes which came to be baptized, firſt confeſſed their ſinnes, ſaying, *Maſter, what ſhall we do?* and therefore repentance alſo went before *Iohns* Baptiſme. Secondly, if *Iohns* Baptiſme wrought repentance, then conſequently alſo it aſſured them of remiſſion of ſinnes: for where there is true repentance, there is remiſſion. Thirdly, S. *Ambroſe*, as I haue ſhewed, ſaith, that *Iohn* did baptize *in remiſſionem peccatorum*: for remiſſion of ſinnes.

*Argum.*2. If the baptiſme inſtituted by Chriſt were another Bapeiſme, then *Iohns* was, and yet he himſelfe was Baptized of *Iohn*: then it would follow, that we are baptized now with another Baptiſme, then Chriſt himſelfe was, for he receiued *Iohns* Baptiſme: but this were very abſurd to ſay, that there is not the ſame Baptiſme of the head and the members, of Chriſt and his Church: *Ergo*, *Iohns* Baptiſme all one with Chriſts.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that it was more conuenient for Chriſt to receiue *Iohns* Baptiſme, then his owne, leaſt he ſhould haue been thought himſelfe to ſtand in neede of regeneration.

Contra. 1. *Iohn* alſo baptized for remiſſion of ſinnes: therefore if there had been any ſuch danger, Chriſt might haue been thought to neede remiſſion of ſinnes, by receiuing *Iohns* Baptiſme. 2. Chriſt was not baptized for any cauſe in himſelfe, but to giue an example to vs: *For ſo it became him to fulfill all righteouſnes*: not to preſcribe lawes to others, whereof he had not been the firſt practizer himſelfe: ſo was he circumciſed, his mother purified: ſo did he celebrate his laſt Supper with his Apoſtles, not for his owne vſe, but for our example: In his owne perſon for our benefite to conſecrate theſe holy inſtitutions.

Againe, the Apoſtles were baptized with none other, then *Iohns* Baptiſme, for Chriſt baptized none neither doth the Scripture make mention of any Baptiſme that they receiued, ſauing when he waſhed their feete, Iohn 13. S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh doubtfully, as hee is alleaged alſo, *decret. part.3 diſtinct.4.c.147. Apoſtolos intelligimus iam fuiſſe baptizatos, &c.* We vnderſtand that the Apoſtles were baptized, eyther with the Baptiſme of *Iohn* as ſome thinke, or which is more credible, with the Baptiſme of Chriſt: but it is contrarie to the Scriptures, that Chriſt baptized any, Ioh.4. therefore they were baptized with *Iohns* Baptiſme: ſeeing then that both Chriſt and his Apoſtles receiued *Iohns* Baptiſme, it muſt needs be the ſame with Chriſts.

So witneſſeth *Leo* 1. *Epiſtol. cap.6.* and it is rehearſed in the decrees, *part.3.diſt.3.c.14. Sic voluit Chriſtus baptizari, &c.* Chriſt ſo was baptized, as it pleaſed him to be circumciſed. And a little after: He did conſecrate in himſelfe the Sacrament of his owne baptiſme, ſo ſhewing himſelfe, as he is the chiefe, ſo in all things to be the firſt: Chriſt therefore was baptized with his owne Baptiſme.

S. *Ambroſe* alſo thus ſaith, *Serm.41. Ergo fratres tingi debemus eodem fonte, quo Chriſtus*: Wherefore brethren we muſt be dipped in the ſame fountaine with Chriſt, that we may be the ſame that he is. And the Maſter of Sentences ſaith, *Inſtitutio facta eſt baptiſmi, &c.* Baptiſme was inſtituted, when Chriſt was baptized in Iordane: *Ergo*, Chriſt was baptized with his owne baptiſme.

*Argum.*3. The Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ.4.5. *One Lord, one faith, one baptiſme*: but *Iohns* faith was the ſame with Chriſts faith, for he taught the people to beleeue in Chriſt, Act.19.4. *Ergo*, his baptiſme was one with Chriſts.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, by this reaſon wee may proue, that *Moſes* and *Dauid* had alſo the baptiſme of Chriſt, for they had the ſame faith, &c.

Contra. Firſt, he anſwereth very abſurdly, ſeeing the Apoſtle ſpeaketh manifeſtly of thoſe times then preſent: therefore he ſhould haue firſt ſhewed that *Moſes* and *Dauid* had any Baptiſme at all, and then wee would alſo haue anſwered, what kinde of Baptiſme it was. Secondly, and yet that Baptiſme wherewith *Moſes* and the Iſraelites were baptized in the red ſea, and the clowd, was ſpiritually the ſame that Chriſts Baptiſme is, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, 1.Cor.10.2.

Secondly, ſaith he, it would alſo follow by this reaſon, that heretikes haue not the Baptiſme of Chriſt, becauſe they haue not the ſame faith: and therfore the Apoſtle doth not thus reaſon, There

is one faith, therefore one Baptisme: but exhorteth them to vnitie, because they had all one faith, and one Baptisme.

Contra. First, heretikes haue the Baptisme of Christ, if they baptize in the faith of Christ; otherwise they haue not the same Baptisme: for an heretike baptizing in the name of the Trinitie, baptizeth in the faith of the Trinitie, howsoeuer he beleeue to himselfe: and therefore this obiection notwithstanding, there is one faith and one Baptisme. Secondly, how could the Apostle perswade to vnitie, because they had all one Baptisme, writing to the Ephesians, amongst whom there were some, that had receiued onely *Iohns* Baptisme, Act. 19.43. if *Iohns* Baptisme and Christs had not beene all one? Thirdly, S. *Ambrose* proueth that *Iohns* Baptisme could not be iterated by this place, *vnum Baptisma*, one Baptisme, *lib. 1. de spirit. c. 3.* And so also *Leo* enforceth this place, that Baptisme is not to be iterated, because there is but one.

Decret. p. 2. c. 1. qu. 7. c. 51.

Bellarmine denieth, that the proper end and scope of *Iohns* Baptisme was for remission of sinnes: yet *Augustine* granteth it, who notwithstanding being carried away with the error of the time, doth elsewhere put some difference betweene the Baptisme of *Iohn* and Christ: *Si quis autem in baptismo Iohannis dimissa esse peccata, non ago pugnaciter*: If any man wil contend, that remission of sinnes also was giuen in *Iohns* Baptisme, I will not be against it. There being then the same proper end and scope of both these Baptismes, how can they choose but be all one?

De Baptist. cont. Donatist. lib. 5. c. 14.

I will lastly vrge against them their owne Master, who thinketh, that they which did not *sonare in Baptismo Ioannis*, put their trust in *Iohns* Baptisme were not baptized againe, *lib. 4. dist. 5.* but none by him baptized so did; for hee taught them to beleeue in Christ. Act. 19.4. Ergo, his Baptisme was not iterated, and so consequently was the same with Christs Baptisme.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF THE CEREmonies and rites of Baptisme.

The Papists.

15. Error

THey haue brought into the Sacrament of Baptisme a multitude of superstitious ceremonies, whereby they haue greatly polluted the holy sacrament of Baptisme, mixing therewith their owne inuentions.

First before Baptisme, they haue deuised these toyes to be vsed. First, they doe exorcise, coniure, and exufflate the euill spirit from the partie to be baptized. Secondly, they touch the eares and nostrels with spittle, that his eares may be opened to heare the word, and his nostrels, to discerne betweene the smell of good and euill. Thirdly, the Priest signeth his eyes, eares, mouth, brest, forehead, nostrels, with the signe of the crosse, that all his senses thereby may be defended. Fourthly, then hallowed salt is put into his mouth, that he may be seasoned with wisedome, and be kept from putrifying in sin. Fiftly, the partie is annoynted then with oyle in his breast, that he may be safe from euill suggestions, and betweene the shoulders, which signifieth the receiuing of spirituall strength.

Secondly, these ceremonies doe accompany Baptisme it selfe. 1. The font and water therein is consecrated and hallowed, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghost. 2. He himselfe dipped in the water, to signifie the being of Christ 3. dayes in the graue.

Thirdly, after Baptisme, they haue this vse, 1. He is annointed with holy Chrisme in the top of the head, and thereby is become a Christian. 2. A white garment is put vpon him, to betoken his regeneration. 3. A vaile is put vpon his head, in token that he is now crowned with a royall Diademe. 4. A burning taper is put into his hand, to fulfill that saying in the Gospell, *Let your light so shine before men, &c. Bellarm. lib. 1. de Baptism. 25. 26. 27. Catechism. Rom. p. 310. Gabr. Biel lib. 4. distinct. 6. quæst. 3.*

The Protestants.

AGainst these popish ceremonies, which they vse in Baptisme, we doe reason thus.

1. It is contrary to the rule of the Gospell, that there should be such types, shadowes, significations, brought into the seruice of God, as they make in Baptisme: for seeing we haue the bodie which is Christ, all such shadowes ought to be abolished. Coloss. 2. 17.

2 In one Sacrament they haue forged and found out many, as their chrisme, oyle, salt, spittle: which they make not onely seales of holy things, but giuers and conferrers of grace, which is more then any Sacrament can haue: and it is contrary to the Scripture: for the spirit of God is as the winde that bloweth, where it listeth, Ioh. 3. It is not tied to creatures, elements, externall signes, as they include the spirit (as it were) in these outward things, which haue power (as they affirme) to giue wisdome, strength, power against the diuell, and such like. But S. *Paul* saith, that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, 2. Cor. 10. 4. The meanes whereby Christians both obtaine spirituall graces and shend them from euil, are spiritual: For if in Christ Circumcision auaile not any thing, which was notwithstanding instituted of God; but faith is all in all, Gala-

lath.

lath.5.6. much more vaine and vnauailable are the deuises and inuentions of men.

3 This beggerly company of ceremonies doth also deface and impugne the sincere and pure institution of Christ: None of those ceremonies were vsed when Christ himselfe was baptized, Matth.3. which notwithstanding had been most fitte, considering the worthines of his person that was baptized: Neither did Christ giue any such thing in charge to his apostles, but biddeth them onely preach, and baptize in the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, Matth.28.19. nor yet were any such ceremonies in vse in the Apostles time, S. *Peter* saith, Act.10.47. Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized? He calleth not for oyle, salt, spittle, or any such thing, but onely for water.

Augustine vtterly misliketh this cumbersome rabble of needles ceremonies, *Ipsam religionem, quam Deus paucissimis sacramentis liberam esse voluit, seruilibus premunt,* &c. They doe cumber religion with their burdensome inuentions, which Christ made free with a very fewe Sacraments: so that the Iewes case was more tolerable, who though they knew not the libertie of the Gospell, yet were subiect to the legall ceremonies, not to the inuentions of men. Epistol.119. cap.1. alleaged decret.part.1. dist.12.cap.12.

And is it not euen thus (I pray you) in the popish Church? for neuer was Iewish Circumcision burdened with the third part of ceremonies, which their Baptisme is defiled withall.

Against the superstitious vse of some of these ceremonies, as against the thrice dipping of the child in the water, we haue the manifest decree, *Concil. Tolet. an.4. cap.5.* and it is ratified *decret. part. 3. dist.4. cap.* *Propter vitandum schismatis scandalum, vel haeretici dogmatis vsum, simplicem teneamus baptismi mersionem,* &c. To auoide the scandale of schisme, and the vse or fashion of heretikes ye let vs in Baptisme dippe but once, lest they, which vse to dippe thrice, seeme to approoue in so doing the heretikes assertion, following their custome, who deuide the deitie, as they doe number their dippings. The Tritheistes that made 3. Goddes, vsed to dippe thrice: and therefore the Counsel thought good, that Catholikes should dippe but once.

Decret. Greg. lib.3. tit.42. c.5. Innocentius 3. determineth that they were not baptized, *Quos saliua conspersione,* &c. Whom certaine did annoint with spittle, &c. their owne Master saith, *Non in alio liquore consecrari potest Baptismus, nisi in aqua:* Baptisme cannot be consecrated in any other liquor, but water: *lib.4. distinct.3. b.* what neede then, oyle, creame, spittle, and such like, &c.

See the testimonie also of the Martyrs: *Thomas Haukes:* I deny in Baptisme all things inuented, and deuised by man: as your oyle, creame, salt, spittle, candle, coniuring of water, *Fox.* pag.1583.

Iohn Denley holy Martyr. The Eunuch said to *Philip: See here is water:* we doe not reade, that he asked for any creame, oyle, spittle, coniured water: for it seemeth that *Philip* had preached no such thing vnto him, &c. p.1685.

THE THIRTEENTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORDS SVPPER, OR EVCHARIST.

This Controuersie hath two partes: First, of the Sacrament it selfe. Secondly, of the sacrifice, which they say, is offered vp in the Sacrament: which they call the sacrifice of the Masse.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE SACRAment of the Eucharist.

This part of the controuersie standeth vpon diuers questions: First, whether the body of Christ be really and substantially in the Sacrament. Secondly, whether the elements of bread and wine be changed, conuerted, and transubstantiate into the very body and flesh of Christ. Thirdly, whether the Eucharist remaine a Sacrament after the vse and celebration. Fourthly, of the outward elements in this Sacrament. Fiftly, of the words of consecration. Sixtly, of the proper effect of the Lords Supper. Seuenthly, of the manner of celebrating it. Eightly, whether it ought to be ministred in one kind. Ninthly, whether it is to be adored.

THE FIRST QVESTION, CONCERNING the reall presence of Christ in the Sacrament.

The Papists.

16. Error. IN the Sacrament of the Eucharist, vnder the formes of bread and wine, by the efficacie of the word of Christ spoken by the Priest, is really, verily, and substantially present, the naturall body and bloud of Christ, which was conceiued of the virgine *Maria*; the same body, that is now in heauen, *Rhemist. Matth.* 26 *fol.* 4. yet after another manner: For he is in heauen according to the naturall existence of his bodie: in the Sacrament, he is really present in his flesh, yet sacramentally by his omnipotent power, *Concil. Trid. sess.* 13. *can.* 1.

Fox. 1135. articul. 1. 6. articul. 1.

Argum. 1. The figures must be inferiour to the things that are figured and represented: the Sacraments of the lawe were figures of the Sacraments in the Gospell: therefore they ought to be inferior. But vnlesse the bread and wine should be the verie blood and flesh of Christ in the Sacrament, their Sacraments in the law should not onely not be inferior, but farre superiour to ours. As for example, the Paschall Lambe is in nature to be preferred before bread, and the slaying of the Lambe did more liuely represent the death of Christ, then the breaking of bread; the eating of flesh doth also better set forth the spirituall nourishing, then the eating of bread. Wherefore, vnlesse we beleeue a reall presence in the Sacrament, their sacrifices, in dignitie and excellencie, should farre exceede and excell ours, *Bellarmin. lib.* 1. *de sacram. Eucharist. cap.* 3.

Answ. 1. It is not true, that their Sacraments were figures of ours: But S. *Paul* sheweth, that both their Sacraments and ours doe figure out and represent the same thing, as the spirituall eating and drinking of Christ, 1. Cor. 10. 2. 3. Our Sacraments are indeed figures correspondent and answerable to theirs, and theirs also had a certaine reference and relation to ours: but they were not types of ours: for then our Sacraments should be the body of theirs, whereas Christ is the body both of their Sacraments and ours. S. *Peter* saith, that Baptisme is an antitypon, a figure answerable to the sauing of the eight persons in the flood, 1. Pet. 3. 21. They are correspondent one to the other, and had mutuall relation and respect one to the other. But that was not properly a type of Baptisme, but both baptisme and that are figures and signes and liuely representations of our saluation in Christ.

2. If the reall presence of Christ onely commendeth the Sacrament, and aduanceth it aboue the rites of the Law, which in all other respects are better: by this argument Baptisme shall remaineth inferior to the Sacraments of the Law: for you affirme no reall presence in Baptisme, as you doe in the Eucharist: and in all other respects it must needes giue place to Circumcision; for the cutting off of the flesh is a more liuely representation of regeneration, then is the washing by water: and the flesh of man is in nature more precious then water. So by this reason, though you haue wonne credite for the Eucharist, yet you haue lost it for Baptisme.

3. We answere therefore, that although the reall presence be set apart, yet our Sacraments are more excellent then theirs. First, the price and worth of things in their nature are not to be weighed in a Sacrament, but they must be considered in respect of the vse, to the which they are ordayned by the institution. Flesh, you say, is better then bread: so is wine and milke better then water in their nature: but in Baptisme water is better then they, because Christ hath now set it apart for a more holy vse. Secondly, the slaying of the Lambe doth more liuely represent, say you, the death of Christ, then the breaking of bread.

Answ. Wee graunt, that if breaking of bread had been vsed in the Law, it had not been then so significant as the slaying of beasts: but the breaking of bread now in the light of the Gospell, a this abundance of knowledge and instruction, being a signe of a thing alreadie done and finished, must needes be more pregnant and liuely in representation, then the killing of sacrifices in the law, which were types of things to come, the mysterie of the Gospell being not yet opened to the world. And againe, the words of institution, and consecration vsed and pronounced in the Sacraments of the new Testament, are cleerer and more significant, then any prescribed in the shadowes of the Law, and therefore doe make a more liuely and effectuall representation in the elements. Wherefore our Sacraments are more excellent then theirs, in respect of the more cleere light and fuller signification, which they haue by the word of God, and the preaching of the Gospell ioyned vnto them: as the Apostle saith, *his Gospell was not hid*, 2. Cor. 4. 3. *and Iesus Christ, was by his preaching described to their sight*, Galath. 3. 1. We neede not deuise any other way of excellencie for our Sacraments, then this, which we haue said, agreeable to the Scriptures.

Bellarmine answereth: First, that it is but an accidentall thing in our Sacraments, that they betoken a thing done and past, and therefore for all this essentially the elements of the Sacraments of the Law are better.

Contra. First, as though the excellencie of the accident doth not make the thing, being in substance

stance lesse worthie, more excellent: as wine in the nature and substance thereof is more worthie then water, yet water in Baptisme in respect of the accidentall vse is more excellent then wine. Secondly, it is not now a thing accidentall in our Sacraments to represent a thing alreadie done; but it is of, and belonging to the nature of them, which otherwise were no Sacraments.

Secondly, saith he, the Eucharist ordained by Christ, at his last Supper, did represent his death to come; and therefore in this respect, was no more worthie then the Sacraments of the old law, which did shew also things to come, *Bellar. cap. 4.*

Contra. First, as *Iohn Baptist* was greater by the testimonie of our Saviour, than a Prophet, because they did long before prophecie of him; but he did point him out with the finger, being alreadie come: so the last Supper of Christ representing his death, then instant, is more excellent than the Sacraments of the law, foreshewing it long after to bee fulfilled. Secondly, he hath gained nothing by this reason, but a derogation to Christs last Supper, seeing that our Sacraments now doe demonstrate Christs death alreadie past. But as the Passe-ouer at the first institution thereof being eaten the euen before their deliuerance, was no lesse excellent then the feasts of the Passeouer, afterward celebrated in remembrance of their deliuerance past: no more is Christs last Supper going before his death, herein inferiour to the celebration of the Lords Supper now since his death.

Thirdly, the words of institution are not of the essence of the Sacrament, which they say make the elements more excellent; the words of consecration are of the essence, which are by them denied, and refused, as words of enchauntment, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, an accidentall excellencie may make the subiect more excellent, as I haue shewed; as the accession of honour, being but an accident, yet maketh one man more worthie than another. Secondly, the words of institution doe make a Sacrament, and therefore are of the essence thereof, giuing the forme, as the elements yeeld the matter. Thirdly, words of consecration we refuse not simplie, but your words of consecration, therein misliking these three things: First, that you make not all the words of institution, consecratorie; but some few of them. Secondly, that by the very sillables of those words pronounced without relation to the prayers of the Church, the elements should be conuerted. Thirdly, that onely by the words of consecration the Sacrament is made; whereas the whole action, of giuing, receiuing, distributing, giuing of thankes, doth helpe toward the consecration. Fourthly, you doe then graunt, that the words of consecration doe make the Sacraments of the Gospell more excellent: wherefore not the reall presence only.

Argum. 2. Ioh. 6. 55. Christ saith, *My flesh is meate indeede, and my blood is drinke indeede: he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.*

First, this place must be vnderstood not of any spirituall eating or drinking of Christ without the Sacrament, but is properly meant of the manducation and eating of him in the Sacrament. First, verse. 51. *The bread* (saith Christ) *that I will giue*: he speaketh of a thing to come, for the Sacrament was afterward instituted: but if this bread were to be taken for his word, and the eating thereof for beleeuing in him; in this sense the bread was giuen alreadie.

Act. Christ also speaketh in the present tense, verse. 32. *My father giueth you the true bread from heauen*: And, *I am the liuing bread that came downe from heauen: if any man eate of this bread he shall liue for euer*, verse. 51. He saith not, he that shall eate, but he that euen now eateth. And afterward he speaketh of the time to come; *The bread that I shall giue*, because his death and passion was not yet fulfilled: therefore he saith, *The bread that I shall giue, is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world*. But he speaketh euery where of the eating of his flesh in the present tense, verse. 35. 50. 51. 53. which cannot be vnderstood of the sacramentall eating, the Sacrament being not yet instituted, but of a spirituall manducation.

Secondly, say they, those words being applied to the Sacrament, must needes also bee vnderstood properly and literally, for the very eating of the flesh of Christ, and drinking his blood, not tropically, or figuratiuely.

The flesh of Christ, which Christ promiseth to giue them to bee eaten, he preferreth before the Manna, which their fathers did eate in the wildernesse: the true bread which he giueth them, is more excellent then the bread of Manna. But if the bread in the Sacrament doe but signifie the flesh of Christ, and be not it in very deede, it should be no better then Manna, which also did signifie and shew forth Christ, *Bellarm. cap. 6.*

Act. First, Christ compareth not the materiall Manna, and the sacramentall bread together, but he speaketh of the true bread, which is himselfe, as verse. 33. *The bread of God is he, which commeth downe from heauen*: The Sacrament, neither sacramentall bread was yet giuen or instituted, neither yet could be eaten: but this bread, whereof Christ speaketh, was euen at that time giuen; as verse. 32. *My father giueth you the true bread from heauen*: and it was euen then to be eaten: verse. 58. *He that eateth of this bread, shall liue for euer*: So then the true bread, that is, Christ is preferred before Manna. Secondly, the sacramentall bread, without any carnall presence, is more excellent

then *Moses* Manna, being a more liuely and full representation of the spirituall manducation of Christ.

Thirdly, that Christ speaketh of a sacramentall eating and drinking of Christ, *Bellarmine* thus further proueth: because that the Iewes vnderstood Christ to speake of the very eating of his flesh, and were offended at it: neither doth Christ correct their opinion, as he doth instruct *Nicodemus* ignorance, Ioh. 3. further expounding himselfe: and if Christ had meant onely, that he should bee spiritually eaten, they needed not to haue taken any offence, *Beller. cap. 5. argum. 5.*

Contra. First, it is false, that our Sauiour correcteth not the error of the Capernaites, seeing hee further thus expoundeth himselfe, vers. 63. *The flesh profiteth nothing, the words that I speake are spirit and life:* shewing, that he must be spiritually vnderstood. Secondly, it is true, that they needed not to haue taken offence at Christs speech, being altogether of a spirituall eating, if they had rightly conceiued him: but because they vnderstoode him grosly of a carnall eating, as the Papists do, thereof proceeded the offence. This argument he might very well haue concealed, for it maketh most against himselfe.

Fourthly, this distinction of speech vsed by our Sauiour Christ, and so often repeated, *except ye eate the flesh, and drinke his blood*, vers. 54. 56. sheweth, that hee speaketh of the sacramentall eating and drinking vnder the signes of bread and wine: for otherwise in the spirituall receiuing of Christ by faith, it is all one to eate him and drinke him, *Bellarm. arg. 4.*

Contra. First, you your selues also make no difference betweene the sacramentall eating and drinking of Christ, ministring onely vnder one kinde: wherefore you are answered by your owne practise. Secondly, the Scripture speaking of the spirituall participation of Christ by faith, doth often vse this distinction of eating and drinking, to shew, that Christ is the absolute foode of our soule; as Ioh. 6. vers. 35. *He that commeth vnto me shall neuer hunger, and he that beleeueth in me shall neuer thirst.* And Ioh. 4. 14. *Whosoeuer drinketh of this water, shall neuer be more a thirst:* which places are onely vnderstood, of the receiuing of Christ spiritually by faith.

Now on the contrarie side we will proue, that this place contained in the 6. chapter of Ioh. cannot be so vnderstood as they expound it.

First, Christ speaketh not only of the sacramental eating of his flesh, and drinking of his blood, but generally of the spirituall participation by faith, whether in the Sacrament or without, which is wrought in vs by the holy Ghost.

Argum. 1. If it be vnderstood of the Sacrament, then it will follow that no man can be saued, vnlesse he doe receiue the Sacrament: for Christ saith, vers. 53. *Except you eate my flesh and drinke my blood, you cannot haue life in you.* This, I am sure, they wil hardly graunt, that the Eucharist also should be necessarie, as they make Baptisme, to saluation.

Bellarmine answereth: first, by this reason not the sacramentall eating onely of Christ, but the spirituall also, which is by faith, is excluded: for infants haue no faith, whereby they should euer drinke Christ. Secondly, this place then of necessitie must bee vnderstood of men of yeeres, who either in act, or at the least in vow and desire must bee partakers of the Sacrament: which appeareth, because Christ saith, vers. 53. *Except ye eate, &c.* speaking to those that heard him; but treating of the necessitie of Baptisme, he saith not, *except ye be borne of water, &c.* but in generall words, *except a man be borne of water, &c.* And beside Christ speaketh of eating of bread, whereas children are fed with milke, and not bread, *cap. 7. resp. ad argum. 3.*

Contra. First, though infants haue no faith, yet the life of Christ is applied vnto many of them as are saued by the secret operation of Gods spirit: for seeing Christ giueth life vnto the world, and he no otherwise giueth life, then as he is the true bread of God, ver. 33. for it is the propertie of bread to giue life: then infants also, if they haue life and saluation in him, must also some waies be made partakers of this bread. Secondly, be it graunted, that this place is properly vnderstood, of those that are, *adulti*, of yeeres (which we will not much stand vpon) yet it will follow vpon their exposition, that many, which are preuented by death, before they receiue the Communion, should be damned: for although they doe much in heart and vow desire it, that is not sacramentally, but spiritually by faith to eate Christ: which wee say is the true meaning of this place. Thirdly, why may not also that place of Baptisme, Ioh. 3. *Vnlesse a man bee borne of water, &c.* be expounded of those of perfect age, as well as this? They haue therefore put an answere in our mouthes for that place so much vrged for the necessitie of Baptisme. The difference, which *Bellarmine* pretendeth, is nothing: for in this place also, vers. 54. Christ speaketh in the third person, *whosoeuer eateth my flesh, &c. hath eternall life:* so that the contrarie, though pronounced in the second person, *except ye eate, &c.* vers. 53 appeareth to haue the same meaning. Fourthly, his obiection, that children eate milke, not bread, is nothing; seeing our Sauiour speaketh not of materiall, but spirituall bread: and therefore, as men of yeeres may be fed with spirituall milke, 1. Corinth. 3. 2: so children in yeeres may be nourished with spirituall bread.

Argum. 2. That Christ speaketh of that bread, which is spiritually eaten by faith, it is euident out

cont of the text, verſ. 47. *He that beleeueth in me hath euerlaſting life.* Verſ. 48. *I am the bread of life.* And verſ. 50. *This is the bread, that commeth downe from heauen, that he that eateth of it, ſhould not dye.* By this it appeareth, that to beleeue in Chriſt, is to eate Chriſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt indeede ſpeaketh of the true bread, which is himſelfe, communicated vnto vs by faith; as alſo he maketh mention of the ſacramentall bread, verſ. 51. *The bread that I will giue is my fleſh.*

Contra. It is euident that Chriſt ſpeaketh in this place of one and the ſame bread, which is himſelfe: firſt, he ſaith, *I am the liuing bread*, verſ. 51. And againe, *the bread that I will giue is my fleſh:* but Chriſt and his fleſh are all one; and therefore Chriſt and his fleſh are one and the ſame bread. Secondly, verſ. 58. Chriſt ſpeaketh of the bread which came down frō heauen; but the ſacramentall bread commeth not from heauen: *Ergo*, Chriſt ſpeaketh not of that bread. Thirdly, the effects of the bread are the ſame, *he that eateth Chriſts fleſh, hath eternall life*, verſ. 54. And, *he that eateth the bread, that came from heauen, ſhall liue for euer*, verſ. 58. Wherefore the bread Chriſt, and the fleſh of Chriſt, are taken for the ſame.

Argum. 3. Chriſt ſaith, *He that eateth my fleſh ſhall liue for euer*, verſ. 54. but euery one that eateth Chriſt ſacramentally, is not ſaued: wherefore Chriſt ſpeaketh not of a ſacramentall eating.

Bellarmine anſwereth, the words of Chriſt muſt bee vnderſtood conditionally, if they doe eate Chriſt aright: as in like manner the Scripture ſaith, Ioel. 2. *Whoſoeuer calleth vpon the name of the Lord, ſhall be ſaued:* and yet it is ſaid Prou. 1. *They ſhall call vpon me, but I will not heare*: becauſe they call not aright.

Contra. This condition is ſomtime requiſite to be vnderſtood in ſuch things, as may be without it: as in prayer, becauſe all prayer is not in truth: and therefore S. Iames ſaith, *The prayer of faith* (not euery prayer) *ſhall ſaue the ſicke*, Iam. 5. But in this caſe of eating and drinking Chriſt this condition is ſuperfluous, becauſe it is impoſſible to eate and drinke Chriſt, if it bee not done aright: a man may eate the bread, and drinke the cuppe of the Lord vnworthily, as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1. Cor. 11. 27. but he cannot eate or drinke Chriſt vnworthily: for he either eateth him not at all, or if he doe, it muſt bee effectuall: for Chriſt himſelfe ſaith, verſ. 55. *My fleſh is meate indeede:* wherfore he that eateth Chriſt, if he doe eate him at all, muſt needes haue meate indeede, and ſo conſequently be nouriſhed to eternall life.

Argum. 4. Theſe words, verſ. 51. *The bread that I will giue is my fleſh*, cannot in their owne ſenſe be vnderſtood of the Sacrament, ſeeing they themſelues hold, that the bread, after tranſubſtantiation, is annihilate, and is bread no more.

Bellarmine is here driuen to this ſhift, to ſay, that bread is not here taken properly, but generally for meate.

Contra. Firſt, he himſelfe in his anſwere to our firſt argument obiected, that infants were not comprehended in this generall ſpeech of Chriſt, *except ye eate &c.* becauſe they eate not bread, but milke: where he taketh bread properly, and not for any meate; for milke alſo is meate: and yet forgetting himſelfe, he taketh it here improperly. Secondly, if Chriſt ſpeake not of bread properly, then neither of drink properly: then not of the Sacrament, which is celebrated not with any meate, but onely with bread.

Argum. 5. If Chriſt hath relation to the Sacrament, then muſt it of neceſſitie be miniſtred in both kindes; for in euery place he ioyneth both theſe together, the eating of his fleſh, and drinking of his bloud: but this is contrarie to their practiſe.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the fleſh and blood of Chriſt is as fully receiued vnder one kinde as both, as he himſelfe ſaith, verſ. 57. *He that eateth me, ſhall liue by me:* ſo that he which eateth Chriſt doth both eate and drinke him, *reſpond. ad argum.* 10.

Contra. Firſt, to eate and drinke Chriſt ſpiritually by faith is all one: but ſacramentally to eate him, and drinke him, are two diuers things; for otherwiſe the one element were ſuperfluous. Secondly, *Bellarmine* himſelfe, *cap.* 5. *argum.* 4. enforceth this diſtinction of eating and drinking, to be vnderſtood of the Sacrament, where Chriſt is both eaten and drunk vnder the formes of bread and wine, whereas ſpiritually, ſaith he, it is all one, to eate and drinke Chriſt; but now forgetting himſelfe, he would take away this diſtinction: wherefore all this while he hath ſaid nothing.

Auguſtine alſo thus writeth vpon theſe words, *Hoc eſt manducare illum eſcam, & illum bibere potum, in Chriſto manere, & illum manentem in ſe habere:* This it is to eate that fleſh, and to drinke that drinke, to abide in Chriſt, and to haue him abiding in vs: But this may be done without the Sacrament: *Ergo*, it is not neceſſarie to vnderſtand it of the Sacrament. Tract. in Ioh. 26.

Secondly, though we ſhould graunt, that this whole treatiſe Ioh. 6. may fitly be referred to the Sacrament, yet the words muſt be taken figuratiuely, for the ſpirituall eating and drinking of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and not otherwiſe.

Argum. 1. Verſ. 35. Chriſt ſo expoundeth his owne words: *I am the bread of life, he that commeth*

so we shall not hunger, and he that beleeueth in me shall not thirst. To eate then, and to drinke Christ, is to beleeue in him.

Bellarmine answereth: first, if the bread in the Sacrament be but figuratiuely the flesh of Christ, and not the very flesh it selfe, then Christ should giue no better thing than *Moses* did, who also gaue them Manna, which was a type and figure of Christ, *cap. 6. resp. ad argum. 1.*

Contra. First, though Manna to the faithfull amongst the Israelites were not onely a materiall, but a spirituall food, as the Apostle sheweth, 1. Cor. 10. 3. yet in this place mention is made thereof, as it was a materiall foode: as vers. 35. *Moses gaue you not bread from heauen*; but as Manna represented Christ it was a heauenly bread: wherefore the sacramentall bread compared with the materiall Manna, is much more excellent. Secondly, Manna signified Christ, yet darkly and obscurely: but in the Eucharist he is after a more liuely and sensible manner exhibited and represented vnto vs; and therefore in respect of the spirituall vse also it excelleth.

Secondly, saith he, they asked a signe, and miracle of Christ, vers. 30. but in the representation of Christs flesh onely there is no miracle, neither in apprehending him by faith, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. First, the comming of the true bread from heauen, which Christ giueth here as a signe, vers. 32. and the incarnating of the Sonne of God, is the greatest miracle in the world, which the Angels doe wonder at, and desire yet to behold, 1. Pet. 1. 12. Secondly, to beleeue in Christ and to apprehend him by faith, is called by the Apostle a great mysterie, 1. Timoth. 3. 16. And *Augustine* saith, *Prorsus minus hoc dixerim, quàm cœlum & terra:* I say it is a greater worke, than the heauen and the earth, *Tract. 71. in Ioan.*

Argum. 2. Christ vnderstandeth another manner of eating of his flesh, then the Capernites did. But they imagined that Christ would giue his very flesh and bloud to be eaten: and therefore they went away offended, and said, This is an hard saying, vers. 60. Therefore Christ to correct their erronious conceit, saith vnto them, that His words were spirit and life, that is, spiritually to be vnderstood, vers. 63.

So *Augustine* interpreteth those words of Christ, as if he had said, *Spiritualiter intelligite, quòd locutus sum:* You must vnderstand spiritually, that which I haue said. You shall not eate the body which you see, nor drinke that bloud, which shall be shed for you: *Sacramentum vobis aliquod commendaui, spiritualiter intellectum vinificabit vos:* I haue commended a certaine mysterie and Sacrament vnto you, which being spiritually vnderstood, shall quicken you.

Origen thus interpreteth this place, *Hom. 7. in Leuit. Propterea caro eius verus cibus & sanguis verus potus, &c.* Therefore his flesh is very meate, and his blood very drinke: for by the flesh and blood of his word, he nourisheth mankinde.

Bernard also thus expoundeth these words: *Quid est manducare eius carnem, & bibere sanguinem, nisi communicare passionibus eius, & eam conuersationem imitari, quam gessit in carne? Serm. 3. in Psalm.* What is it to eate his flesh and drinke his bloud, but to communicate with his passions, and to imitate his conuersation in the flesh?

Againe, in another place: *Qui manducat carnem & bibit sanguinem meum, &c. hoc est, qui mortem meam & exemplo meo mortificat membra sua, quæ sunt super terram, habet vitam æternam. de diligendo deo:* He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud: that is, he which remembreth my death in his minde, and by my example doth mortifie his earthly members, hath eternall life. This father applieth not these words, as we see, to the sacramentall eating.

Lastly, concerning this place enforced out of the sixt of *Iohn*, diuers of the Papists and of the more learned sort amongst them doe hold, that it is not to be expounded of the Eucharist: as *Gabriel. Iolion. 84. super canon. Missæ. Nicolaus Cusanus epist. 7. ad Bohemos. Thomas Caietan. 3. p. qu. 8. artic. vltim. Ruardus Tapper. in explicat. artic. 15. Louaniens.* So that we want not their owne testimonie against them.

The Papists.

Argum. 3. Christ in the institution of this Sacrament, said vnto his Apostles, after he had giuen thankes and blessed: *Hoc est corpus meum:* This is my body: that is, that which is contained in this bread, or vnder the formes of this bread, is my very body, *Bellar. cap. 9.* So that these words must needes be taken properly, not to be a trope or figure.

1. It is not the manner of the Scriptures to set downe flat precepts and commandements, and directorie rules in obscure termes, or figuratiue speeches, but plainely and euidently: therefore it is not like, that Christ, being now to prescribe vnto his Apostles the perpetuall Lawe and forme of this Sacrament, would speake obscurely.

2. Though he spake by parables and signes to the Pharisies, yet there was no cause why he should so doe, none being present but his Apostles, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. 1. It is very well, that you will now (though I thinke vnawares) grant vnto vs, that the precepts and rules in Scripture are set downe simply and plainly: wherefore the Scriptures cannot

matter so hard and obscure, as you would beare vs in hand they are: for if the precepts and rules of faith be euidently in Scripture expressed, as you seeme to confesse, what reason haue you to keepe backe the people from the reading of Scripture?

3 It is false that the Scriptures vse no figures nor tropes, in the declaration of the lawes and Sacraments of the Church: for saith not S. *Paul*, speaking of the Sacraments of the Iewes, *Petra erat Christus*, the rocke was Christ, 1. Cor. 10. 4. that is, signified Christ? Likewise in the 17. verse, *We that are many are one bread*: that is, our spirituall vnitie and coniunction is represented, in that we are partakers of one bread.

Bellarmine answereth, that where the Apostle saith, *the rocke was Christ*, he speaketh not of the materiall or visible rocke, but of the spirituall, and inuisible: *they dranke of the spirituall rocke that followed them*, saith the Apostle, vers. 4. and then it followeth, *the rocke was Christ*. This proueth no trope in the Sacrament, which was the materiall, not the spirituall rocke, *Bellarm. cap. 9.*

Contra. First, the Apostle calleth the materiall rocke spirituall, as vers. 3. he called the visible Manna, spirituall meate, as *Augustine* saith, *Spirituale aliquid significantem, in Psal. 77.* Because it had a spirituall signification. Secondly, it may appeare to be so, both because this spirituall rocke, that is, the water out of the rocke, is said to followe them; that is, the water did runne along by them for their continuall vse: but Christ went before them in a pillar of fire, he should improperly be said to follow them. Againe, they all dranke of this spirituall rocke; but of the true spirituall water none but the faithfull drinke.

3. Sometimes our Sauiour would speake darkly, being alone with his Apostles, thereby to stirre them vp more diligently to attend vnto his words, as when he biddeth them beware of the leauen of the Pharisies, Mark. 8. 15. Yet this speech of our Sauiour Christ vttered in the hearing of his Apostles, *This is my bodie*; was neither so darke nor obscure, that the apostles neede much be troubled about the vnderstanding. Nay, many things being spoken in borrowed and metaphoricall words, are vttered with greater grace, and carrie a fuller sense: When Christ said, *I am the doore*, Ioh. 10. 9. *I am the vine*, Ioh. 15. 1. he spake by a figure as he doth here, for neither was he a vine, or a doore, as the bread was not his body: yet which of the Apostles was there, that vnderstood him not, when he called himselfe a vine, and a doore? Neither could they doubt of our Sauiour Christs meaning here.

Thirdly, these words, saith *Bellarmine*, *This is my bodie*, neither any other speech of Scripture is to be taken figuratiuely, vnlesse some other Scripture doe shew it so to bee taken, or it bee repugnant to some article of the faith, as this speech of Christ is not: for whereas they alleage, that it is contrarie to the article of Christs ascension, we Catholikes doe beleeue the ascension of Christ, and yet hold the reall presence of Christ notwithstanding, *Bellarm. cap 9. argum. 3.*

Ans. First, other places of scripture, which must bee vnderstood in a figure, as where Christ saith, *I am the doore, the vine, &c.* doe also insinuate how Christ is to be vnderstood here. Secondly, they did beleeue the ascension of Christ aright, as S. *Peter* doth, Act. 3. 21. saying, *whom the heauens must containe vntill &c.* they would not containe him in earth vnder the formes of bread and wine, who must yet bee contained in heauen: for if Christ could bee contained in diuers places at once, the Angell had not reasoned soundly, Matth. 28. 6. *he is not here, for he is risen.*

Bellarmine againe thus reasoneth from the words themselues: first, this article (*hoc*, this) cannot signifie bread, which both in Latine, and in Greeke, is of the masculine gender; but the article is of the neuter: therefore by (this) Christ vnderstandeth his bodie contained vnder those formes.

Contra. 1. This article (*hoc*) is vsed substantiuely, not adiectiuely, and signifieth as much as this thing, and therefore is put in the neuter gender: neither is it so strange or vnusuall a thing (as the Iesuite taketh it) to demonstrate some thing in sight in such generall termes, not naming the thing: As Ioh. 6. 9. *There is a boy which hath fiue barly loaues and a few fishes*, (both in the masculine gender) *sed quid hæc sunt, &c.* but what are these things, which is put in the neuter? 2. If Christ by (*this*) did meane his bodie, there should be a tautologie or idle repetition of the same thing, as if he had said, this body is my bodie.

Secondly, he vrgeth these words, *my body which is giuen for you*: but his true body, not the figure of his body, was giuen for vs: *Ergo*, he meaneth his true and naturall body.

Contra. As *Luke* readeth, *This cup is the new testament in my blood, shed for you*: where the participle *ἐκχυννόμενον*, *shed*, agreeth with *τὸ ποτήριον*, *the cup*, not with (*αἵματι*) *in my blood*; as the Euangelist saith the cup was shed, by a double figure, first taking the cup for the wine, and secondly wine for Christs bloud: so this sense may very well hold, this bread is my body, that is, a signe of my body, which is giuen for you.

Thirdly, if, *this is my bodie*, be nothing else, but this is a signe of my bodie, why may we not pronounce in like manner of the sacrifices and Sacraments of the Law, which were also signes and symbols of Christ; and likewise of Baptisme, and of the word of Christ, that they are his very bo-

die, and fleſh, becauſe they are ſignes thereof: but the Scripture ſo ſpeaketh not, but onely of the Euchariſt: *Ergo*, it is not a figuratiue ſpeech.

Contra. Firſt, although a reaſon might eaſily be rendred, why the Sacraments of the law ſhould not haue their denomination of the body & blood of Chriſt, as the Euchariſt hath, becauſe Chriſts death was not then ſo plainly deſcribed, as at the inſtitution of the Lords Supper; yet we ſee that this phraſe of ſpeech is alſo vſed of thoſe legall Sacraments: as the rocke is ſaid to be Chriſt, 1. Corinth. 10. 4. being but a type of him: and Chriſt is called the Paſſe-ouer, or Paſchall Lambe, 1. Corith. 6. 7. Secondly, though in Baptiſme the water in Scripture bee not ſo euidently called Chriſts blood, as the cup in the Euchariſt (the reaſon whereof is plaine, becauſe in Baptiſme the blood of Chriſt is ſet forth as the worker of our regeneration, and new birth; but in the Euchariſt it is propounded as our ſpirituall drinke, and nouriſhment) yet wee ſee, that the Scripture is not ſilent in this behalfe, as Ioh. 7. 38. the water is called the ſpirit: and Tit. 3. 5. the waſhing the new birth: and Reuel. 7. 14. *They haue made their long robes white in the blood of the Lambe:* the waſhing of water in Baptiſme, whereby they are ſanctified in the worde, Epheſ. 5. 26. is called the blood of Chriſt. Thirdly, as touching the word of God, it may alſo in ſome ſenſe be called the very fleſh of Chriſt: for by hearing of the word Chriſt commeth in vnto vs, and ſuppeth with vs, Reuelat. 3. 20. but he dwelleth in vs onely by eating his fleſh, and drinking his blood, Ioh. 6. 56. wherefore the hearing of his word, is the very eating of his fleſh. And ſo *Origen* expoundeth, *Carnibus & ſanguine verbi, &c.* He doth feede vs with the fleſh and blood of his word, *Hom. 7. Leuitic.*

Contra. Now on the other ſide, we will make it plaine, that theſe words of Chriſt are ſpoken tropically.

Argum. 1. Where Chriſt ſaith according to S. *Luke*, *This cup is the new Teſtament in my blood*, Luk. 22. 23. wee muſt needes admit a double trope or figure: for firſt, the cup is taken for that which is contayned in the cup. Secondly, the wine in the cup was not the new teſtament, but a ſigne of the new teſtament. If then in one part of the Sacrament he ſpake by a figure, why not alſo in the other, when he ſaith, *This is my body*, that is, a liuely ſigne and ſeale thereof?

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that in theſe words, *this cup is the new teſtament, &c.* a trope muſt needes be admitted; but ſuch a trope, as doth explicate it ſelfe: for, whereas Chriſt ſaith, *Drink ye all of this*, and, *which is ſhed for you*, euery man may vnderſtand of himſelfe, that not the cup it ſelfe is drunken, or ſhed, but the liquor in the cup. And againe, *Matthew* and *Marke* doe thus write, *this is my blood*, who doe ſhew vs how Saint *Luke* is to be expounded, ſaying, *this cup, &c.* that is, the blood in the cup, *cap. 11. reſp. ad argum. 8.* but all the Euangeliſts ſay, *this is my bodie*: therefore the like figure cannot be admitted in theſe words.

Contra. Firſt, as men vſe not to drinke or ſhed cups, ſo neither to eate humane fleſh, or mens bodies: and therfore common vſe will find out a trope in the one ſpeech as well as in the other: as well, when Chriſt ſaith, *take, eate, this is my bodie*; as when he ſaith, drinke of this cup. Secondly, euery figuratiue ſpeech in Scripture, though it bee not expounded by another place, yet may bee vnderſtood to be figuratiue by the nature and propertie of the thing ſpoken of: as S. *Paul* ſaying, *the rocke is Chriſt*, though he expound not himſelfe, yet euery man knoweth that a ſtone cannot be Chriſt, no more can bread be his bodie, but in ſignification. Thirdly, yet our Sauiour himſelfe expoundeth theſe words: *this is my bodie*, in another place, where he had ſaid, *the bread is my fleſh*, Ioh. 6. 51. and then ſhewing his meaning he ſaith, verſ. 63. *the fleſh profiteth nothing, my words are ſpirit and life:* ſo then he muſt bee vnderſtood ſpiritually. Fourthly, neither doth *Matthew*, ſaying, *this is my blood of the new teſtament*, expound S. *Luke*, *this cup is the new teſtament in my blood*: for if by the cup, be vnderſtood blood; then the meaning ſhould be this, *this blood is the new teſtament in my blood*, which were abſurd. But *Bellarmine* would take away this abſurditie by a diſtinction, ſaying, that blood is taken here diuerſly; in the firſt place for the blood in the Sacrament; in the ſecond, for his blood ſhed vpon the croſſe, and he maketh this to bee the meaning: this blood here contained vnder the ſhew of wine, is my new teſtament conſecrated in my blood vpon the croſſe.

Contra. Firſt, thus he will make Chriſt to haue two diuers bloods, one in the Sacrament, which is the teſtament; the other ſhed vpon the croſſe, whereof it is a teſtament. Secondly, he ſaith, *Matthew* expoundeth *Luke*: but S. *Matthew* ſpeaketh of the blood ſhed vpon the croſſe: which *is ſhed for many*, verſ. 26. then *Luke* alſo ſaying, this cup, that is my blood in the cup, ſpeaketh of the blood ſhed vpon the croſſe: ſo that blood in the firſt and ſecond place, is to be taken for the blood ſhed vpon the croſſe.

Secondly, as he graunteth a figure, in theſe words (*this cup*) ſo he denieth any figure at all in the words following (*is the new teſtament*) for the blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament is the teſtament it ſelfe: and a teſtament (ſaith hee) is taken two waies, either it ſignifieth the will of the teſtator it ſelfe, or elſe the authenticall inſtrument, wherein the will of the teſtator is contained; and ſo Circumciſion was both a ſigne of Gods couenant, and the couenant it ſelfe, that is the inſtrument, whereby

whereby the couenant was applied: and so is the Eucharist both a signe of the testament made in Christ, and so S. *Matthew* saith the blood of the testament; and it is the testament it selfe, that is, the authenticall instrument; and so Saint *Luke* saith, It is the Testament in my blood. *Bellarmine ibid.*

Contra. First, the authenticall instrument of a Testament being vnder witnesse and seale, is not the Testament it selfe, but onely a ratification of it; and so are the Sacraments seales and ratifications vnto vs of Christs Testament. Secondly, there is no Testament without death, Hebrew 9.16. wherefore the Eucharist is not the Testament, vnlesse they will haue Christ dayly to die in the Sacrament. Thirdly, circumcision is called the couenant, because it was the signe onely thereof; and so S. *Paul* the best expounder of *Moses*, calleth it the seale of the righteousnesse of faith, Rom. 4.11. Fourthly, the Euangelists speake all of the same Testament, and S. *Luke* speaking figuratiuely is to be expounded by *Matthew*, who sayth, *The blood of the Testament*; which answereth to the figure of the Law, for *Moses* sprinkling the blood said, *This is the blood of the Testament*, Heb. 9.20. So then the blood is not the Testament, but of the Testament, that is, a signe thereof.

Argum. 2. It is no vnusuall phrase in the Scripture to say, (this is) that is, signifieth, as Genes. 17.10. Circumcision is called the couenant it selfe, where it was a signe onely of it, and so is it called, vers. 11. and Exod. 12.11. the Lambe is called the Lords Passeouer, which it betokened onely: and S. *Paul* calleth the rocke Christ, being onely a figure of him, 1. Cor. 10.4. In the same sense Christ saith, *This is my bodie*: that is, exhibiteth and representeth vnto you my bodie.

Bellarmine his best answere here is, that in all these examples alleaged, in the same place the trope or figure is expounded; as, where circumcision is called the couenant, it is also said to be the signe of the couenant: and Exod. 12.11. the Lambe is said to be the Lords Passeouer, that is, the sacrifice of the Lords Passeouer, vers. 27. and 1. Cor. 10. where the rocke is said to be Christ, the Apostle speaketh of the spirituall not materiall rocke, which followed them, which spirituall rocke indeed is Christ. *Bellarmine resp. ad argum. 6. cap. 11.*

Contra. First, it is sufficient for our purpose to shew in Scripture, that (*this is*) is taken for (*this signifieth*) though the explication of the Trope be not inserted straightway in the same place; neither is this maner of figuratiue speech alwayes expounded, as Galat. 4.25. *Agar is the mountaine Sina in Arabia*; that is, signifieth, or figureth that place, where the Law was giuen: which explication, though it be not directly mentioned, yet is necessarily implied. Secondly, this figuratiue speech of Christ notwithstanding (*this is my bodie*) is as I shewed by himselfe expounded Iohn 6.51. where hauing said, *the bread is my flesh*, as here (*this is my body*) he further openeth his meaning verse 63. *My words are spirite and life*, that is, spiritually to be vnderstood. Thirdly, the Apostle saying the rocke was Christ, speaketh of the material rocke, which was a figure of Christ, not of the inuisible rocke. First, the Apostle saith, *the rocke was*, not, *is*; but Christ is alwayes the inuisible rocke. Secondly, they did all drinke of this rocke, but they all did not spiritually receiue or drinke Christ: for verse 5. With many of them God was not pleased: but with all the faithfull he was pleased: wherefore they did drinke all of the materiall, not of the spirituall rocke. Thirdly, it is called spirituall, as *Manna* is called spirituall meate, for the spirituall signification: so here we haue the very like trope vsed by the Apostle, and yet not expounded. Fourthly, all figuratiue speeches of Scripture, though their interpretation be not expressed, yet is implied by some consequence: and so where Christ saith, *This is my body*, we are forced to vnderstand a figure by implication, it being an vnwonted and inhumane thing to eate mans flesh.

Argum. 3. Christ in saying, *this is my bodie*, did demonstrate or shew something in figure: for a thing absent or inuisible cannot be demonstrated: but Christs body, which they imagine was hid vnder the formes, was not seene: *Ergo*, it could not be shewen.

Bellarmine here runneth, as it were in a maze; one while he saith, (*Hoc*) *non demonstrare accidentia*: That the word (*this*) doth not demonstrate the accidents of the bread: and againe he affirmeth, *Formaliter in hac propositione demonstrari speciem*: That formally in this proposition (*this is my body*) the shewes or outward shapes are demonstrated: and he resolueth to say with *Scotus*, that (*hoc*) is as much to say, as this substance: but with *Aquinas*, this substance contained vnder the formes of bread. *Bellarmine resp. ad argum.* 1.

Contra. First, it is precie sport to see how they busie themselues about the meaning of this word (*This*) some say it signifieth Christs bodie, but this *Bellarmine* himselfe misliketh: some, as *Scotus*, expound it, (*hoc ens*) this thing: neither doth *Bellarmine* agree vnto this, but saith with *Thomas*, that (*hoc*) is this thing, or substance contained vnder the forme of bread: thus are they at their wittes end, neither vnderstanding what they speake, nor whereof they affirme, as the Apostle speaketh, 1. Tim. 1.7. Secondly, this Pronoune (*hoc*) whether betokeneth Christs bodie, for that were as if he said, *this*, that is, *my body*, *is my body*, which were absurd to affirme the same thing of it selfe: nor yet the forme only of bread, for they will not say, that the shape of the bread is Christs bodie:

neither

neither yet doth it demonstrate any other substance vnder the shew of bread, because it is inuisible, and cannot be demonstrated, neither in their owne learning can there be any new substance before the words of consecration be all vttered: wherefore it remaineth, that this demonstratiue (*hoc*) must be referred to the bread, which Christ consecrated to be a figure of his bodie.

Argum.4. That which Christ did take, he blessed, that which he blessed, he brake, that which he brake, he gaue to his disciples: but he tooke bread, blessed bread, brake bread: therefore also he gaue bread, and so consequently, the demonstratiue, *hoc*, this, sheweth the bread.

Bellarmine answereth, that betweene Christs taking and giuing, there commeth blessing, so that he blessed that he tooke, and by blessing changed it, and so gaue it: And they themselues also confesse, that he gaue not the same bread, which he tooke; for he tooke common bread, but gaue sacramentall bread: so as we say, he stroke *Peter*, slew him, and buried him, and yet *Peter* was not buried aliue, though he were striken aliue; so it followeth not that Christ gaue the same bread he tooke. *Bellarm. c.11. resp. ad argum.1.*

Contra. First, S. *Matthew* saith, *He blessed*, S. Luk. 22.19. *He gaue thankes*; so that blessing and giuing thanks is al one, which was an action directed vnto God, not vnto that which was blessed: neyther was the bread by this blessing changed into Christs bodie; because the words of consecration were not yet vttered: And againe after he had blessed, he brake it, but hee brake not his bodie, but the bread. Againe, the words are plaine, Matth. 26.26. *Iesus tooke bread, and when he had giuen thankes, he brake and gaue to his disciples*: what else now did Christ breake and giue, but bread, that he tooke? for otherwise no construction can be made of the words. Secondly, we say there was a sacramental change of the bread, after Christ had blessed it, but it was a change in the qualities, not in the substance; so that notwithstanding this change, Christ gaue the same thing he took, though otherwise qualified. And the example brought in, is not to the purpose: for the same *Peter* in substance is buried, that was stricken, though altered in condition, being liue, now dead: but they say there is no bread at all remaining, so that in their meaning Christ deliuereth another thing, then he tooke, contrarie to the words of the text. Thus then it appeareth by these reasons alleaged, whatsoeuer is obiected to the contrary, that these words of our Sauior, *this is my bodie*, cannot be otherwise then figuratiuely taken, and so S. *Augustine* expounded: *Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui*: The Lord doubted not to say, *this is my bodie*, when he gaue a signe of his bodie: *cont. Adimantum cap.12.*

The Papists.

Other arguments out of the Scriptures are alleaged by them for proofe of the carnall and real presence, which must not here be omitted.

Argum.1. Bellarmine vrgeth that place 1. Cor. 10.16. *The cuppe of blessing which we blesse, is it not the communion of the bloud of Christ? the bread which we breake, is it not the communion of the bodie of Christ?* From this place he draweth three arguments: first, the Apostle maketh mention of benediction and consecration, whereby the wine is conuerted into Christs blood, which consecration needed not, if there were but a figuratiue consecration, but the first institution would suffice: therefore we see in Baptisme, no such kinde of consecration vsed, *cap.12.*

Contra. First, we graunt a consecration necessarie, whereby the elements are sanctified and separated from the common vse, to a speciall holy vse in the Sacraments; neither are the bread and wine otherwise consecrated in the Eucharist, then the water in Baptisme, which is sanctified by the word of God. Secondly, wee graunt also that to this consecration the institution of Christ in his word sufficeth: for the word being applied to the element, as *Augustine* saith, maketh a Sacrament: if they require to their consecration any thing more then Christs institution, it is a meere humane and superstitious inuention. Thirdly, the argument then followeth not, the elements are blessed and consecrated, and therefore conuerted into another substance: it is sufficient that they are turned to another vse, as the Paschall Lambe was separated from the flocke, and sanctified for an holy vse, Exod. 12.3. yet remained a Lambe still: the vse was altered, the same substance reserued.

Secondly, the Apostle saith, *the bread which we breake*: by breaking he vnderstandeth, the oblation and immolation of the bodie of Christ, as 1. Cor. 11.24. Saint *Paul* thus rehearseth the words of Christ, *this is my bodie, which is broken for you*, that is, offered vp in sacrifice: but bread is not broken, or offered in sacrifice: for it is the bodie of Christ, *Bellar. ibid.* And againe, this clause, *the bread which we breake*, must answere to the former, *the cuppe which we blesse*: that as the Apostle speaketh there of consecration, so he doth here of oblation, which is done by the words of consecration.

Contra. First, there is great difference betweene that saying of Christ rehearsed by Saint *Paul*, *this is my bodie, which is broken for you*, and this of the Apostle, *the bread which we breake*: for there he speaketh of his bodie, here of bread, but bread is not his bodie: there his bodie is broken by the tormentors vpon the crosse, here, the bread is broken by beleeuers in the Sacrament. Againe, as in the first institution Christ first brake the bread, and then said, *this is my bodie, giuen for you*: so

breaking

breaking was one thing, the giuing, or offering his bodie, another: ſo is it here. Secondly, as the cup is conſecrated by bleſſing and prayer in part, ſo is the bread conſecrated in part by breaking and diſtributing: for not by the words of benediction onely, but by the whole action of giuing, receiuing, thanksgiuing, are the elements conſecrated: ſo that in this ſenſe, one part of the ſentence fitly anſwereth to the other.

Thirdly, the Apoſtle ſaith, *the bread is the communion of the bodie of Chriſt*, that is, wee are reallie and corporallie made partakers of the bodie of Chriſt in the Sacrament: for if there were but a repreſentation of Chriſts fleſh onely, and not his very fleſh indeede, the Apoſtle ſhould haue reaſoned but weakly, perſwading them from the ſacrifices of the Gentiles, and eating of things ſacrificed to idols, if he had not alſo inuited them to a more excellent ſacrifice and a better table, where the very fleſh of Chriſt is preſent, and not the figure onely: for this were to offer a ſilke garment painted onely, in ſtead of a true ſilken one.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle meaneth a ſpirituall communion of the bodie of Chriſt, as it followeth, verſ. 17 *We that are many, are one bread, and one bodie, becauſe we are partakers of one bread*: as wee are one body amongſt our ſelues, ſo are we one bodie with Chriſt: but we are myſtically one body amongſt our ſelues: *Ergo*. Likewiſe the Apoſtle ſaith, *the bread is the communion, and wee are partakers of the bread*: if it remaine bread ſtill, then is it not the bodie of Chriſt. And the Apoſtle further ſheweth how we are ioyned vnto Chriſt, Epheſ. 2. 22 *In whom ye are built together, to be) habitation of God by the ſpirit*: So then by the ſpirit wee are vnited vnto our head: and *following the truth in loue we grow vp vnto him*, Epheſ. 4. 15. Secondly, the Apoſtle reaſoneth not, as *Bellarmine* pretendeth, promiſing one fleſhie ſacrifice for another: but his reaſon ſtandeth thus, That as they which communicate in the Sacrament, are partakers of Chriſt; ſo they that communicate with the ſacrifices of idols, haue fellowſhip and communion with diuels, to whom they are offered: and therefore ſaith the Apoſtle, I would not that ye ſhould haue fellowſhip with diuels, verſ. 20. Thirdly, the Sacrament of Chriſt being celebrated with bread, is a better banket, then the ſacrifices of diuels furniſhed with fleſh: like as the Wiſeman ſaith, *Better is a drie morſell, if peace be with it, then a houſe full of ſacrifices with ſtrife*, Prou. 17. 1. ſo to eate bread in the remembrance of Chriſt with peace of conſcience, according to his owne inſtitution, is much better, then to be fatted with the ſacrifices of idols, which maketh ſtrife betweene vs and God: and who will not preferre the linen garment of a chaſt matrone, before the ſilken ornaments of a ſtrumpet?

Argum. 5. Saint *Paul* ſaith, 1. Corin. 11. 29. *He that eateth and drinketh vnworthily, doth eate and drinke his owne iudgement, not diſcerning the Lords bodie*. And verſ. 27 *he is guiltie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt*: they cannot be guiltie of that which they receiue not: neither in the vnworthie receiuing of any other Sacrament are they made guiltie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt, but onely in this: *Ergo*, the bodie and blood of Chriſt are really preſent: *Rhemiſt. annot. in hunc locum*, and *Bellar. cap.* 13.

Anſ. Firſt, it is falſe that none els but they which prophane the Euchariſt are guiltie of the blood of Chriſt: for as in Baptiſme alſo the faithful are made partakers of the body and blood of Chriſt, as is confeſſed out of *Auguſtine* in your owne decrees, *par.* 3. *diſtinct.* 4. *c.* 131. *Nulli eſt aliquatenus &c.* No man muſt doubt, that then euery faithfull one is made partaker of the bodie and blood of our Lord, when in Baptiſme he is made a member of Chriſt: So they which prophane Baptiſme, are guiltie of Chriſts blood, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of ſuch, *that they doe tread vnder foote the Sonne of God, and doe count the blood of the teſtament an vnholy thing wherewith they were ſanctified*, Heb. 10. 29. Secondly, as theſe doe tread vnder foote the Sonne of God, and prophane the blood of the teſtament, not really or perſonally, but in the malice and prophanenes of their hearts; ſo are the wicked guiltie of Chriſts blood, in as much as they prophane the holy ſignes thereof: for the defacing of the Kings image or ſeale redoundeth to the diſhonour of the King himſelfe; ſo they are guiltie of the blood of Chriſt, not which they receiued in ſubſtance, but in abuſing the ſignes and ſeales thereof exhibited vnto them.

Bellarmine replieth: firſt, if the diſhonour of the image be the diſhonour of the King, how then dare you deface the images of Saints, which tend to their diſhonour? Secondly, an iniurie is not done to an image, if it be by chaunce rather than purpoſed violence defaced: but many may receiue the Euchariſt vnworthily, that maliciouſly doe not contemne it. Thirdly, if it bee ſuch a ſinne to abuſe the image of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, then for ſuch to heare the word alſo, which is alſo the image of Chriſt.

Contra. Firſt, if you can ſhew, that God hath commaunded Images to be erected for the honor of Saints, as the Kings ſeale and image is for his honor; then we will graunt alſo that it is a diſhonor to deface them. Secondly, though euery vnworthie receiuer be not malicious againſt Chriſt, yet he is a contemner and deſpiſer, ſeeing that he cannot be ignorant, but that it is the ſeale and image of Chriſt, as not the violator onely, but the contemner of the Kings image is an offender. Thirdly, an vnworthie hearer of the word is alſo a tranſgreſſor, as the vnworthie receiuer:

and

and the Apoſtle ſaith of ſuch, as fall away hauing had a taſte of the word, they do crucifie the ſoone of God, Hebr.6.6. in the which ſenſe the vnworthie receiuer is here ſaid to be guiltie of Chriſts blood, and ſo alſo doth crucifie Chriſt to himſelfe.

The Proteſtants.

THat Chriſt is preſent with all his benefites in the Sacrament, we doe willingly graunt: neither doe we thinke that the elements of bread and wine are bare and naked ſignes of the body and blood of Chriſt, but Chriſt is verily by them exhibited vnto vs, and ſpiritually by faith we are truly made partakers of his precious body and blood; not that Chriſt deſcendeth from heauen to vs, but we aſcend by faith and in ſpirit vnto him: yea, we confeſſe as much as the word ſaith, whoſe ſpeech they themſelues allow, *In ſacramento exhiberi verum carnis Chriſti ſubſtantiam, ſed ſpiritualiter non carnaliter:* That the very ſubſtance of Chriſts fleſh is exhibited vnto vs, in the Sacrament, but ſpiritually, not carnally. This *Bellarmine* acknowledgeth to be true, though he would not haue the word (ſpiritually) to be vſed, leaſt it might be, as he ſaith, by vs miſconſtrued. This then is our faith and iudgement, that we are verily in this Sacrament engrafted into the body of Chriſt, and doe truly eate his fleſh and drinke his blood: but all this is done ſpiritually only and by faith: As for their carnall eating and deuouring of Chriſt, we vtterly reiect, and condemne it.

Cap.2.lib.2.

*Argum.*1. In the receiuing of the Sacrament there is a double coniunction, we are ioyned to Chriſt, and make one body alſo amongſt our ſelues: ſo ſaith S. *Paul*, 1.Cor.10.16.17. We are made partakers of the body of Chriſt, and we that are many are one bread, and one body by our participation with the myſticall body of Chriſt is ſpirituall: *Ergo*, alſo our communion with his naturall body, *Fulk in hunc locum.*

*Argum.*2. If the body of Chriſt be in the Sacrament, then is it eaten, and torne with the teeth: And what is eaten goeth into the belly, and is caſt out into the draught, Mark.7.19. I pray you, what is now become of the body of Chriſt? doth it paſſe the ſame way that other meate doe?

Bellarmine anſwereth, *lib.*1.*cap.*11.*ad argum.*5. that they are the accidents of the bread and wine which are eaten, and chawen, or rent by the teeth, and not the body of Chriſt: and yet the body of Chriſt goeth downe into the ſtomacke, but no further: but when the formes of bread and wine begin to be corrupted there, the body of Chriſt goeth away, *Bellarm.cap.*14.

*Anſw.*1. This is new learning, that the accidents of meate are chawen in the mouth, and not the meate it ſelfe: and that the formes onely, not the ſubſtance is altered, and corrupted in the ſtomacke. Say alſo that men are nouriſhed with accidents and not with the ſubſtance: if the Prieſt chaunce to drinke too deepe of the chalice, and ſo become drunke, I pray you what is it that maketh him ſo light headed? Is it, thinke you, the accidents onely of wine? Surely a drunken man would not ſay it. If a Mouſe chance to creepe into your pixe, and fill her hungry belly with your god-amight, what is it that the Mouſe feedeth vpon? trow you they be accidents only? for you ſay that the conſecrated hoſt goeth no further then the ſtomacke: and yet it is too much that the houſell of Chriſtians ſhould be houſed in a mouſes belly. Theſe are but ridiculous and light queſtions, yet ſuch as haue troubled your graueſt and ſageſt heads, and remaine vnanſwered.

2 *Bellarmine* denieth, that the body of Chriſt being eaten, goeth any further then the ſtomacke: But our *Rhemiſts* goe further; they ſay, that we are made a peece of his body and blood: they ſhould rather haue ſaid that his body and blood is made a peece of vs, being conuerted into our ſubſtance. But ſilly men, wee pittie them: If wee ſhould preſſe them ſtill with their queſtions, they would ſooner runne mad, then finde out any reaſonable and ſober anſwere for vs.

Rhemiſt 1. Corinth.10. ſect.5.

It ſhall not be amiſſe to ſee the iudgement of other Popiſh doctors of this matter, that it may appeare to the world, how well they agree together.

The Maſter of ſentences rehearſeth foure opinions: firſt, ſome thinke, that in the Sacrament there is ſaid to be a fraction, breaking, or diuiſion of Chriſts bodie, becauſe it ſeemeth ſo to be, but is not. Secondly, others thinke, that as there is the outward forme of bread, and yet no bread; ſo there is a fraction, and yet nothing broken. Thirdly, ſome are of opinion, that the very body of Chriſt is ſenſiblie handled by the Prieſt, and verily broken, and rent with the teeth. A fourth opinion there is, that not the bodie of Chriſt, but the accidents onely are chawne and diuided by the teeth. The firſt opinion of theſe is ridiculous, that Chriſts bodie ſeemeth to be broken, and is not, and maketh the *Euchariſt* but a kind of iuggling tricke: the ſecond is impoſſible, that there may be a fraction without breaking: the third is groſſe and abſurd, to thinke that Chriſts bodie may be deuoured: the fourth is vnreaſonable, as I haue ſhewed, that accidents may be deuided without a ſubſtance: To this opinion ſubſcribeth the Maſter, as likewiſe *Bellarmine*; yet is it contrary to the decree of *Nicolaus*, who receiued the confeſſion of *Berengarius* vnder this

Lib.4.diſt.12. b.c.d.

this ſortie, *Corpus & ſanguinem Domini ſenſualiter non ſolum Sacramento, ſed re vera manibus ſacerdotum tractari, frangi, & fidelium dentibus atteri*: That the bodie and blood of Chriſt is ſenſible not onely in Sacrament, but verily handled by the Prieſt, broken and rent with the teeth of the faithfull: *par. 3. diſtinct. 2. c. 42.* How then dare they preſume to goe againſt the determination of a Pope, to ſay the accidents of bread onely are eaten, and not the bodie of Chriſt it ſelfe?

A ſecond doubt there is, what becommeth of the bodie of Chriſt, when it is eaten? *Bellarmine* thinketh, it goeth but downe to the ſtomacke: the *Rhemiſts* thinke, as we haue ſeene, that we are made a piece of his bodie and blood: ſo alſo *Leo* in his decree, *p. 3 diſt. 2. c. 58. In carnem ipſius transeamus &c.* Taking the heauenly food, let vs be changed or paſſe into his fleſh. *Clemens 5.* determineth the contrary, *lib. 3. Clementin. tit. 16. Hic panis ſumitur, ſed veri non conſumitur; manducatur, ſed non transmutatur, quia in edentem minimè transformatur*: This bread is aſſumed, not conſumed; it is eaten, but not changed nor tranſformed into the eater: But another decree graunteth, that the bodie of Chriſt may be conſumed, and mingled with other meates; to ſay no more: and therefore they which haue eaten the Lords bodie in the morning, are enioyned to faſt till the ſixt houre, which is noone, *Ne putent ſanctæ portioni miſceri cibum, &c.* Leaſt they ſhould mixe with the holy portion the meate, that goeth into the draught, *decret. par. 3. diſt. 2. c. 23.* And another decree puniſheth thoſe with 40. dayes penance, that chaunce to vomite vp the *Euchariſt. ibid. decret. 28.* So then by their learning, Chriſts bodie may be vomited vp: thus are they deuided in their fooliſh imaginations.

A third doubt there is moued: that if a mouſe, dogge, or cat chance to eate the *Euchariſt*, what it is that they eate? their iudgement in time paſt, hath beene, that it is the very Sacrifice it ſelfe, which the mouſe eateth: as *decret. p. 3. diſt. 2. c. 94. Qui bene non cuſtodierit ſacrificium, &c.* He that keepeth the ſacrifice negligently, ſo that a mouſe or other beaſt chance to eate it, muſt do penance 40. dayes: but hee that looſeth it, that it cannot be found, 30 dayes. Thus they thought, that Chriſts bodie might both be eaten of beaſts, and be in danger to be loſt. But the Maſter of ſentences being aſhamed of this, asking the queſtion, what it is, that beaſtes do eate, when they meete with the hoaſt, maketh this clarkelie anſwere, *Deus nouit*, God knoweth: *lib. 4. diſt. 13.* Thus they varie themſelues with their reſtleſſe brainſicke fantaſies.

Argum. 3. Chriſt in his fleſh is aſcended vp to heauen, and there muſt remaine till his comming againe, Act. 3. 21. Againe he ſaith, *The poore you ſhall haue alwayes, but me alwayes you cannot haue*, Mar. 14. *Ergo*, Chriſt being now in his humanity in heauen, cannot be preſent in ỹ Sacrament vpõ earth.

Bellarmine anſwereth to the firſt place, that the carnall preſence of Chriſt dooth not draw him out of heauen: his naturall body remayneth there ſtill: yet by his omnipotent power he can make *his body to be in many places at once, cap. 14.*

Anſw. If Chriſts body be in heauen and in earth, and in many places at once, it muſt either be in one naturall body which was borne of the Virgin *Marie*, or he muſt euery day creat himſelfe new body: but this were to too abſurd to be granted, that euery day there ſhould be a new Chriſt. Neither can the firſt be admitted: for a naturall body hath a naturall preſence; but ſo hath not Chriſts body in the Sacrament: for it is not there naturally, being without ſhape or forme, neither viſible nor ſenſible. And how can it ſtand with the propertie of a true naturall body, to be in 1000. places at once? for ſo muſt Chriſts bodie needes be, and in more too, ſeeing he is kept and hanged vp in euery popiſh Church. And further, if *totus Chriſtus*, whole Chriſt, be in the Sacrament, both with his bodie & ſoule; you muſt either graunt, that there are many whole Chriſts, ſeeing he is in many places at once: or elſe if there be but one whole Chriſt, his humanitie muſt be diſpred euery where as his Godhead is: & ſo are you againſt your wils become *Vbiquitaries*.

Againe, if this be not a good argument, Chriſts bodie is in heauen, and therefore not in the Sacrament; then the Angels reaſon is not good, Matth. 28. 6. *He is not here, for he is riſen*: but if this be a good conſequence in the Angels argument, becauſe Chriſts bodie was not in more places then one, at once, it doth alſo neceſſarilie follow in the other.

Bellarmine to the ſecond place anſwereth, that as we alwaies haue the poore, ſo haue we not Chriſt, that is viſiblie, to annoynt his bodie, or to doe other ſuch ſeruices of loue and dutie vnto him: yet this letteth not, but that we may haue his preſence inuiſible in the Sacrament: ſo alſo anſwere the Rhemiſts, Matth. 26. ſect. 3.

Contra. Firſt, we reade in Scripture but of two ſorts of Chriſts preſence, one as he is God preſent in his power and diuinitie, and ſo he is with his Church alwaies, Mat. 28. 20. the other, as he is man, by which preſence he ſaith, *me you cannot haue alwaies with you*, Mat. 26. 11. If they can ſhew vs a third kinde of preſence out of Scripture, ſuch as they imagine, we will heare them: Secondly, our Sauiour commendeth the woman, that ſhe had wrought a good worke vpon him, verſ. 10. and ſaith, they ſhall not haue him any more in ſuch ſort, that is, to worke a good worke vpon: but if Chriſts bodie were preſent in the Sacrament, it were a good worke, to adore it, to adorne it with cloth of golde, and to giue all outward reuerence to it: but Chriſt is not bodily preſent now,

to haue any good worker minister̃d vnto him: *Ergo*, he is no waies either visiblie, or inuisiblie present in his bodie.

Argum.4. Matth. 15.17. All that entreth into the mouth, goeth into the bellie and is cast out into the draught; the bodie of Christ is not cast into the draught, but bread onely: *Ergo*, the bodie of Christ doth not enter in at the mouth.

Bellarmine answereth, that Christ speaketh onely of such meate, as is receiued to nourish the bodie: for after the resurrection Christ did verilie eate, and yet it was not cast into the draught, that he did eate, because he eate not for nourishment. And whereas we answere, that this example is vnduly alleaged, because Christ speaketh of mortall men, that eate, but he was then immortall: he replieth, that in like maner Christ speaketh of mortall and corruptible meate, not of immortall and incorruptible, such as his bodie is. *Iustum. de Euchar. lib.4. resp. ad argum.2.*

Contra. First the words of our Sauiour are generall; *Whatsoeuer entreth in at the mouth*; and therefore nothing, that goeth that way, can be excepted: Secondly, the way for immortall and incorruptible foode is not to goe in by the mouth into the bellie; for that which is corruptible is not capable of that, which is incorruptible, and immortall, as S. *Peter* sheweth: *You are borne anew of mortall seede but immortall by the word of God &c.* Then it followeth, verſ. 24. *All flesh is grasse &c. but the word of the Lord endureth for euer*: flesh which is grasse and corruptible is not capable of the immortall seede of the word, no more is it of the immortall foode of Christs bodie: wherefore they may as well say that mortall foode may goe into the soule, as immortall into the bellie. Thirdly, the same thing that is cast into the draught, first commeth in by the mouth: then I aske of them, what it is that goeth out into the draught? not the accidents of bread, (that were absurd) nor yet Christs bodie, (it were impious once to thinke it) *Ergo*, the substance of bread goeth forth, and came in by the mouth before. *Bellarmine* saith he will not meddle with this question now, what is become of the accidents of bread, being corrupted in the stomacke: yet I would his leasure had serued him to haue resolued this doubt now: but I thinke we must giue him a longer day to consult with the Popes chayre, and then tell vs his mind. The Papists are all here in such a streite, that they know not how to shift to winde themselues out: for seeing they affirme, that Christs bodie entreth in at the mouth, and somewhat must goe forth againe, they must graunt, that it is either the accidents of bread, or bread it selfe, or some new substance supplied in that instant, or the verie bodie of Christ, which commeth out of the bodie: but not the first, for it as substance that is cast forth into the draught, and the accidents of bread are corrupted and gone; and where there is corruption, there of necessitie is a subiect and a substance: It is not bread, for that they say was chased away before, and annihilated: it is no new substance; for the same thing, that commeth in by the mouth, goeth forth againe: therefore it followeth, that it is the substance of Christs bodie: for how can they shift it, seeing Christs bodie being once eaten must remaine? for our Sauiour saith, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood remaineth in me, and I in him*, Iohn 6.56. and if Christs flesh remaine, no other substance commeth vnto it, neither of bread, nor any other, (for this is the Lutherans consubstantiation, which the Papists abhorre.) They haue therefore but two euasions, one is to say, that Christs flesh goeth from the bodie, as it came into it, as a Popish Priest reasoning with *Robert Smith* martyr, was not ashamed to graunt, saying further, that it was no greater derogation to Christ, then to be spit vpon: *Fox.* pag. 1691. But this so great blasphemie our aduersaries seeme in words to mislike: yet holding the carnall presence, they are driuen so to say, or else to say nothing. The other way to satisfie all doubts, is to leaue these filthie dregs of error, and with *Origene* to confesse the truth: *Quod si quicquid ingreditur per os &c.* If that whatsoeuer entreth in by the mouth, goeth into the bellie, &c. euen that meate, which is sanctified by the word and prayer, in respect of the materiall part thereof goeth into the bellie, and so out into the draught. Wherefore it is bread, and not the Lords flesh, that is eaten in the Sacrament, and so deliuered againe, as all other meates are.

In cap. 15. Matth.

Hearken what *Augustine* saith, *Cauendum est ne ita diuinitatem adstruamus hominis, vt veritatem corporis auferamus*: We must take heede we doe not so maintaine the diuine nature of the man Christ, that we take away the nature of his bodie.

Ad Dardan. epist. 57.

Argum.5. The fathers in the law did eate the same spirituall meate, and drinke the same spirituall drinke in their Sacraments that we doe, 1. Corin. 10.2.3. but they did not eate the flesh of Christ, nor drinke his blood, but onely spiritually by faith: *Ergo*, no more doe we.

Bellarmine here answereth no otherwise then he did before, that the Apostle meaneth not, that the Israelites did eate the same spirituall meate that we doe, but the same meate among themselues, both good and bad, *Bellarm. lib. 1 de Euchar. cap. 14. respons. ad loc. 12.*

Contra. We haue likewise shewed before, that they did spiritually eate and drinke the same meate and drinke, that wee doe, namely Christ: as the Apostle saith the rocke, whereof they dranke, was Christ, 1. Corin. 10.4. See also *Augustines* iudgement before of this place, and likewise *Bernards*, Controuersie 11. question 2. part 2.

Here

Here *Bellarmine* firſt refuſeth *Auguſtines* expoſition, ſaying that the Apoſtle doth euidently ſhew, that they did eate the ſame meate onely amongſt themſelues, becauſe that all both good and bad did eate the ſame meate; but the good onely amongſt them, did eate the ſame ſpirituall meate with vs, in our aduerſaries iudgement: ſecondly, he ſaith, that *Auguſtine* did meane, that they did eate the ſame meate in ſignification onely, not in vertue and efficacie: *Bellarm. cap.* 14. *reſp. ad let.* 12.

Contra. Firſt, it is euident by the Apoſtles words, that he meaneth the ſame ſpiritual meate and drinke both among themſelues, and together with vs: *for the rocke* (ſaith he) *was Chriſt:* but Chriſt is our ſpirituall foode, as well as theirs. Secondly, his reaſon, that all both good and bad did eate the ſame meate, doth make againſt his expoſition, as well as ours: for it was the ſame ſpirituall meate whether amongſt themſelues, or the ſame with ours: but the wicked did not eate it, as it was ſpirituall meate. We ſay then, that it was the ſame ſpirituall meate ſacramentally to all both good and bad, though effectuallie onely to the beleeuers: as Chriſt ſaid to all his Apoſtles, *Drinke ye all of this, for this is my blood, &c.* Matth. 26. 26. It was ſacramentallie Chriſts blood to them all, amongſt whome *Origene* thinketh that *Iudas* was one, and that he receiued the Sacrament with the reſt, *Tract.* 35. *in Matth.* yet it was ſo effectuallie onely to his faithfull Apoſtles. Thirdly, that *Auguſtine* meaneth, it was the ſame ſpirituall meate with ours, not in ſignification onely, but in vertue alſo and efficacie, it is euident by his owne words, rehearſed in the decrees, *part.* 3. *diſt.* 2. *c.* 81. *Aliud ibi, aliud nos, ſed ſpecie viſibili, quod tamen idem eſt virtute ſpirituali:* They did eate one thing, we another, but in outward ſhew, which is the ſame in ſpirituall vertue.

Argum. 6. There remained wine ſtill after the conſecration and diſtribution amongſt the Apoſtles: for Chriſt ſaith, *He will drinke no more of the fruite of the vine,* Matth. 26. 29. So S. *Paul* calleth the other element bread after the conſecration, 1. Cor. 10. 17. We that are many are one bread, becauſe we are partakers of one bread. Likewiſe, cap. 11. 26. *Ergo,* there remaineth ſtill bread and wine in the Sacrament. And therefore no bodie of Chriſt: for they cannot be there both together, as they teach.

Bellarmine anſwereth, firſt, that Chriſt ſaying, *I will drinke no more, &c.* meaneth that wine which was vſed in his legall ſupper, at the eating of the paſchall Lambe, before he inſtituted his laſt ſupper: as *Luke* maketh manifeſt mention of two cups, which our Sauiour gaue to his diſciples, one before the conſecration, the other after: *cap.* 11. *reſp. ad argum.* 10.

Contra. 1. That Chriſt ſpake theſe words after the inſtitution of his laſt ſupper, it appeareth both by S. *Matthew* and *Marke,* who both agreeing together report theſe words as ſpoken after. As S. *Luke* indeed chap. 22. verſ. 17. firſt ſpeaketh of the cup, and afterwards of the diſtribution of the bread, and againe of the cup, verſ. 20. But as *Auguſtine* ſaith, he ſpeaketh in the firſt place by way of anticipation, meaning the ſame cuppe, which was giuen after Supper. *Bellarmines* anſwere here is, that Auguſtine was deceiued, *cap.* 11. *reſp. ad argum.* 10. But it further may be ſhewed thus: The Euangeliſtes ſet downe three things concerning the cup: Firſt, that Chriſt gaue thankes. Secondly, that he gaue it to his diſciples. Thirdly, he ſaid, *This is my blood of the new Teſtament:* Now *Matthew* and *Marke* ioyne all theſe three together: *Luke* doth report them ſunderly: in the firſt place, he ſaith, Chriſt gaue thankes, and ſaid, *Take this and deuide it amongſt you,* that is, as the other Euangeliſtes ſay, *drinke ye all of this:* and then in the ſecond rehearſall of the cup, he ſupplieth that which is wanting, namely this clauſe: *This cup is the new teſtament in my blood, or my blood of the new teſtament.* So then before he ſpake of the Sacrament, both becauſe of the Euchariſticall act, the giuing of thankes, and the words of inſtitution, take, drinke, or deuide.

Bellarmine to the ſecond place anſwereth: firſt, S. *Paul* calleth it bread after conſecration, becauſe it hath the ſhew, and ſhape of bread: as the braſen ſerpent, was called a ſerpent, and Angels in Scripture are called men, becauſe they ſo appeared: *reſp. ad argum.* 13.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of ſuch bread as is eaten and broken, 1. Corinth. 11. 26. *As often as ye ſhall eate this bread:* and 1. Corinth. 10. 16. *The bread which we breake:* but not the ſhape, but the ſubſtance of bread is eaten and broken. Secondly, the Angels did not appeare only in the ſhape of men, but had mens bodies indeed, their feete were waſhe, they did eate and drinke with *Abraham* and *Lot:* the braſen ſerpent was not onely in ſhew, but in ſubſtance and throughout of braſſe: theſe examples helpe you not. Thirdly, the Apoſtle calling it bread after conſecration ſo many times: thrice in the 10. chapter verſe 16. 17. and thrice chapter 11. verſe 26. 27. 28. muſt be taken to ſpeake properlie, and to call the thing as it is.

Secondly, it is called bread, becauſe it was bread before: as Exod. 7. 12. *Aarons* rod is ſaid to deuoure the Sorcerers rods, whereas it was then a Serpent, and not a rod; but ſo called, becauſe it was a rod before, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, there is mention made in the text, how *Aarons* rod was turned into a Serpent; if you can ſhew the like Scripture for the turning of the bread into Chriſts body, you ſhal ſay ſomewhat. Secondly, *Aarons* rod was turned into a Serpent, and then returned to bee a rod againe;

you likewise must shew that the substance of bread returneth againe, or else this example is not like. Thirdly, *Aarons* rod was (being turned) a Serpent in shew, and not a rod: but in the Eucharist the shew of bread remaineth still by your own confession: herein also this example is vnlike.

Thirdly, saith he, it is called bread, either after the Hebrue phrase, which taketh generally bread for meate; or else because it is the true substantiall bread indeed, as our aduersaries doe expound it, in the sixt of *Iohn*, where Christ is called the true bread, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, that the Apostle meaneth bread properly, not generally any meate, it thus appeareth, 1. Cor. 10. 16. *the bread which we breake, &c.* it is proper to bread to bee broken, and not so proper for other meate, which is rather cut and diuided then broken. Againe, there is no other meate vsed in the Communion to betoken Christs bodie, but the breaking of bread. Secondly, neither doth the Apostle speake here of spirituall bread, as Ioh. 6. but of materiall bread, as vers. 17. *we are one bread, &c. because we are partakers of one bread:* this bread is not the flesh of Christ for the congregatiō, though they make one mysticall bodie, cannot be said to be Christs flesh, as they are said to be one bread, and one bodie: they are Christs bodie mysticall, but not his reall and fleshie bodie. Again, the eating of bread, and drinking of the cup, are both taken alike, 1. Cor. 11. 21. but the Apostle speaketh of a materiall cup, yet by a figure comprehending the wine in the cup: therefore he also insinuateth materiall bread.

Argum. 7. Luk. 24. 39. Christ saith, *handle me, and see me, a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me haue:* but Christs bodie in the Sacrament, can neither bee handled nor seene: *Ergo*, it is not there.

Bellarmine answereth: The argument followeth very well affirmatiuely, This is seene and felt: *Ergo*, it is a bodie, and so our Sauiour reasoneth: but negatiuely it followeth not, It is not seene, nor felt: *Ergo*, no bodie: for a bodie may be couered with another bodie, and God may blinde the eyes, that they shall not see, as when Christ passed in the middest amongst them, that would haue throwne him downe headlong, Luk. 4. *Bellarm. resp. ad argum. 6.*

Contra. First, the argument followeth as well negatiuely, as affirmatiuely, where there is no other impediment: It cannot bee felt or seene: *Ergo*, no bodie; as in the Sacrament there is such impediment: neither in the obiect, for there is the same thing seene and felt, which was done; neither is Christs bodie hid vnder another bodie: nor yet is our sight hindred, or a mist laid before our eyes, as he pretendeth there was, when Christ escaped from the Nazarites (and yet the text saith not he passed inuisible, but escaped miraculously, as at other times:) wherefore there being no impediment, the argument followeth strongly. Secondly, our Sauiour reasoneth thus: *see my hands and feete, for it is I:* I am here: *Ergo*, you may see my hands and feete; which were no good reason, if Christs bodie could bee present, and neither hands, nor feete seene. Wherefore the Apostles were perswaded by seeing and handling of Christ, that his bodie was present; so likewise we may be so perswaded, we are not bound to beleeue Christs bodily presence.

Argum. 8. Ioh. 6. 63. *It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: Ergo*, the flesh of Christ is not eaten otherwise then spiritually in the Sacrament.

Bellarmine and the Rhemists likewise answere, that by flesh here is not vnderstood the flesh of Christ, but their fleshly vnderstanding of Christs words: for the Capernaites thought grossely, that Christ would diuide his flesh, and giue it amongst them to bee eaten: and they also vnderstanding taking Christs flesh, for the flesh of a meere man: wherefore he onely reproueth their carnall vnderstanding of Christ, whereas he saith, his words were spirit and life, that is spiritually to bee vnderstood; *Bellarm resp. ad argum. 7. Rhemist. in hunc locum.*

Secondly, be it graunted, that Christ speaketh of his flesh, that it profiteth not; yet it followeth not, that it is not in the Sacrament: for by the same reason, there should bee no bread there neither, because of it selfe it also profiteth not, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, we doe not so conclude, the flesh of Christ profiteth not of it selfe: *Ergo*, it is not in the Sacrament: but by warrant of these words, wee say that Christs flesh is not otherwise, but spiritually to be eaten, and therefore his carnal presence is not requisite at all: for Christ saith not, that the spirit and the flesh quicken, but that *the spirit onely quickeneth*, which is the spirituall eating of his flesh: for to all other purposes the flesh of Christ is profitable, as that it was borne, died, and rose againe for vs: but as touching any fleshly eating it profiteth not at all. Secondly, that Christ speaketh of his flesh, it is euident: for Christ remoueth the offence, which they tooke at his words, saying, vers. 52. *How can this man giue vs his flesh to eate?* and therefore he telleth them that his flesh would not profit them to bee eaten, otherwise then spiritually. And thus *Augustine* expounded it, as he is alleaged in their owne decrees, *par. 3. dist. 2. c. 44. Caro non prodest quicquam, sed quomodo illi intellexerūt, &c.* The flesh profiteth nothing, but as they vnderstood it: for they so vnderstood flesh, as it is sold, and cut out in the shambles, &c. Here S. *Augustine* expounded this place of the flesh of Christ. But because *Bellarmine* seemeth to take aduantage of these words of *Augustine*, as though he should not condemne all carnall eating of Christ, but onely in such grosse

manner,

manner, as the Capernaites imagined: It followeth in the same place, *Gratia eius non consumitur morsibus*: His gracious flesh is not consumed with biting: that is, is not eaten at all. And againe, *Donec seculum finiatur, sursum est Dominus*: As long as the world endureth, the Lord is aboue: *Corpus Domini, in quo resurrexit vno loco esse oportet*: The bodie of the Lord, wherein he rose againe, must be but in one place; but the veritie of his bodie is diffused euery where. Here S. *Augustine* affirming, that Christs bodie is no where now, but in heauen, sheweth, that it cannot any kinde of way, either visibly or inuisibly be eaten in the earth. Thirdly, the Papists are the Capernaites of these times: for they imagined, that Christs flesh should be eaten with the mouth, whether after a visible or inuisible manner, it is not expressed; and so doe the Papists hold. Againe, the Capernaites dreamed of a dead mans flesh without life: and so the Papists doe separate Christs flesh from the spirituall vertue thereof, affirming that wicked men may eate Christs flesh, and yet receiue no grace or vertue by it. And this impious distinction betweene the veritie and vertue of Christs flesh, *Innocentius* 3. seemeth to be the author of: *Decr. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 41. c. 6. Distinguendum est subtiliter inter tria &c.* We must subtilly distinguish betweene three things in the Sacrament; the visible forme of the bread and wine; the veritie which is of the flesh of Christ; the vertue in vnitie and charitie: What doe they now else, in diuiding the veritie of Christs flesh from the vertue thereof, but together with the Capernaites, make it a meere humane and dead flesh without life or vertue? Fourthly, that this place is to be vnderstood only of the spirituall eating of Christ, I haue shewed before at large, in the answere to the second argument of the Papists for the reall presence, whither I referre the reader.

Argum. 9. Ioh. 12. 26. Our Sauiour Christ saith, *Where I am, there shall my ministers be*, that is, they shall be with him in his glorie. But now Christ is in glorie: *Ergo*, his Ministers and Saints are with him: but they are not in the Eucharist: *Ergo*, neither is Christ present bodily there. Wherefore, they must confesse that it is either glorious to Christ to be in the Sacrament, or inglorious: if it be glorie to him, the Saints must be there present to see and be partakers of his glorie: if it be inglorious, it is the greatest sacrilege in the world to depriue Christ of his glorie.

Bellarmine at the first sight maketh light of this argument, (which indeede wee our selues doe not vrge, as any of our best reasons) yet it doth so trouble him, that he knoweth not which way to turne himselfe; answering by a distinction, such as it is: for as Christs holy soule, while it is in the Eucharist, doth behold God, so is it in glorie: but to be in the Eucharist vnder the formes of bread and wine, is no glorie to him, and therefore the presence of his Saints is not necessarie there. Secondly, he granteth notwithstanding, that the Angels are there present with Christs bodie, attending vpon him: *respons. ad argum.* 8.

Contra. First, he hath giuen vs an answerlesse answere: for still wee vrge as before, either it is glorious for Christ to be in the Eucharist, or inglorious: he granteth both, that is partly glorious, partly inglorious, that Christ being there is in his fathers glorie, and is not: if hee bee any way in glorie, then must his Saints bee with him, according to his promise, *for they are euer with him*, 1. Thes. 4. 17. and *they follow the Lambe whither soeuer he goeth*, Reuel. 14. 4. If it be in part not glorious for Christ to bee there, they doe more then in part commit blasphemous sacrilege against Christ, to pull him from his glorie in heauen. Secondly, you giue the Angels a good office to attend vpon Christ to see him dishonored: If the Sun withdrew his light in the passion of Christ, & could not endure to see the Son of God sacrificed in his own shape; how much lesse can the angels endure to see him offered vp vnder the base formes of bread and wine? The Angels *doe still desire to behold Christ in his glorie*, 1. Pet. 1. 12. but to see him dishonoured, and vnclothed of his glorie, they haue no will or desire at all. This sillie argument of ours (as he counteth it) doth make this great Rabbin speechlesse, that he is constrained to lay his hand on his mouth.

Argum. 10. Ioh. 16. 28. *I leaue the world, and goe to the father: Ergo*, Christ is no more in his humanitie in the world; and so consequently not in the Eucharist. But here it will be, and is answered, that Christ hath left the world, in his visible presence, but yet inuisiblie his body may be in the world still. We then further say, that therefore Christ sent the holy Ghost to comfort the disciples, and to supplie his absence, and to be in his stead: but if Christ were bodily present still, there needed no such supplie.

Bellarmine answereth: first, that the comming of the holy Ghost did not supplie euery presence of Christ, for he saith, Ioh. 14. 18. *I will not leaue you comfortlesse, but I will come vnto you*; but onely the visible presence of Christ, whom they should no longer see, nor heare, as they did: so that the comming of the spirit doth not take away the inuisible presence of his flesh. Secondly, as the holie Ghost did verely descend, yet remained in heauen still: so Christ verely ascended as hee is man, and yet remaineth still in the Eucharist, *resp. ad argum.* 9.

Contra. First, the holy Ghost supplieth not the presence of Christs diuine nature, for so Christ and his spirit are one, and the one cannot be present without the other: but it supplieth his whole bodilie presence, as may thus appeare: First, there is mention made, Iohn. 14. of two kindes of

Christs comming againe to the world: the one is by his spirit, and so he saith, Ioh. 14. vers. 18. *I will not leaue you comfortlesse, but will come againe vnto you.* And vers. 23. *If any man loue me, &c. my father and I will come vnto him, &c.* Thus Christ in spirit and power is alwaies present, as his father is, and this presence the spirit supplieth not. The other comming is in his body, and so he saith, ver. 3. *I will come againe, and receiue you to my selfe, that where I am, there may ye be also.* This is his comming in the end of the world: but in the Eucharist Christ doth not receiue vs to glorie to himselfe: *Ergo*, he commeth not there in bodie.

Secondly, Ioh. 16. 7. *If I goe not away, the comforter will not come:* but the comforter is come: *Ergo*, Christ in bodie is gone, not onely after his visible but inuisible manner: for Christs bodilie presence, as it was comfortable, is taken away; and therefore he saith he will send another comforter, Ioh. 14. 16. but the inuisible presence of Christs bodie is comfortable: now as he was our comforter in his flesh, he is absent: for what neede a second comforter, if the first be still present? *Ergo*, in respect of his inuisible bodily presence he is absent.

Thirdly, Ioh. 16. 15. *He shall take of mine and shew it vnto you:* But if Christ himselfe be present, might he not rather take of his owne himselfe and shew vnto vs?

Secondly, *Bellarmine* in comparing the holy Ghost and Christs humanitie together, that Christs bodie may be in heauen and earth at once, as the holy Ghost is, is become an vbiquitarie, bringing in an omnipresence of Christs bodie, and so is not farre from the Eutychian heresie, in confounding Christs humane and diuine nature together.

Argum. 11. Our bodies in the resurrection shall be like to Christs bodie, Philip. 3. 21. *who shall change our vile bodie, that it may bee fashioned or conformed to his glorious bodie:* but our bodies in the resurrection shall haue no such propertie or qualitie, to be in many places at once: *Ergo*, neither now is Christs bodie at once in many places.

Bellarmine answereth, that Christs bodie is in many places, it doth not arise from any propertie of a glorious bodie, but from Gods infinit power, *respons. ad argum. 14. c. 14.*

Contra. First, so doth the conforming of our bodies to Christs glorious bodie arise from the power of God: as it followeth in the same place, *according to his mightie power, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himselfe:* wherefore euen the properties of our transfigured bodies shall bee wrought by the mightie power of God: and therefore herein is no difference betweene Christs glorified bodie and ours. Secondly, our Sauiour prayeth, Iohn. 17. 21. *that as he and his father are one, so we may be one with him:* Like as then Christ as he is God, is one with his father; so wee in our glorified bodies shall be one with Christ as he is man. And further he saith, vers. 22. *the glorie that thou gauest me, I haue giuen them:* It followeth then, that all the properties of Christs glorified bodie shall by his diuine power be communicated to ours: but our bodies shall haue no such omnipresence then, no more hath Christs bodie now.

Argum. 12. Christ is there onely in bodie, where he is to be sought: but he is to be sought only aboue in heauen, Coloss. 3. 1. *Seeke those things that are aboue, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God: Ergo*, Christ is bodily onely in heauen, and not in earth.

Bellarmine answereth, to seeke Christ aboue is not vnderstood of the place, but of the eleuating and lifting vp of the affection: for otherwise Astronomers and starre-gazers should be the deuoutest men, that are alwaies looking vpward: so they that seeke Christ in the Sacrament, may haue their heart aboue, *cap. 14. respons. ad argum* 15.

Contra. First, neither doe we speake of a seeking of Christ aboue onely in place without eleuating of affection, as the Apostles were rebuked, Act. 1. for gazing after Christ into heauen; but of such a seeking of Christ in the heauenly place, as hath our heart and affection also: as it followeth vers. 2. *Set your affection on heauenly things.* Secondly, howsoeuer this word, *aboue*, may otherwhere be referred to the affection, and not to the place; yet it is euident, that the Apostle here meaneth, the heauenly place aboue, where *Christ sitteth at the right hand of God:* but Christs bodie in the Eucharist sitteth not at the right hand of God (for then you must say also that the formes of bread and wine, vnder the which you say Christs bodie is, doe sit there together with Christ:) *Ergo*, Christ is not to be sought aboue in the Eucharist. Thirdly, vers. 2. the Apostle to *things aboue* opposeth *things on the earth*, or earthly things: but bread and wine are earthly things: *Ergo*, for Christ to be vnder earthly things, is not to be aboue.

Argum. 13. Christ saith, *Doe this in remembrance of me:* but we remember onely things absent; Christ is in the Eucharist remembred: *Ergo*, he is absent.

Bellarmine answereth, the Apostle sheweth what it is, *to doe it in remembrance of Christ*, that is, *to shew the Lords death, till he come*, 1. Cor. 11. 26. so then the death of Christ is remembred, which is in deede absent and past, and not present, *Bellarm. cap. 11. resp. ad argum. 9.*

Contra. First, if the Eucharist bee a remembrance of Christs death, and so consequently of his sacrifice, then is it not a sacrifice; for it cannot be both the thing it selfe, and a memorie of it to: so though you should gaine here by the reall presence, you haue lost in your sacrifice. Secondly,

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Christs death cannot be remembred without a memorie also of his bodie, for it was his bodie that died: neyther is Christs death, himselfe; but his bodie, that dyed, it himselfe: wherefore *in remembrance of me*, must be vnderstood of his bodie, that died, which is therefore absent, because it is remembred. Thirdly, if the Eucharist be *a shewing of the Lords death till he came*, and you say, hee commeth straight vpon the words of consecration: then is the Eucharist tyther not at all, or a very short while, a shewing of his death: And thus you confound your selues.

Lastly, we must vnderstand, that this their deuised and forged opinion of the reall presence of Christ, is of no antiquitie in the Church: neither was there any question about it for 1000. yeeres after Christ, till the time of *Berengarius*, who liued about *Anno* 1060. who was sore troubled, for maintaining the trueth against the carnall presence, and vnder Pope *Leo* the 9. and *Nicolas* the 2. was constrained twise to recant: yet there was no publique law or decree made in the Church concerning transubstantiation, till the Councell of Laterane, which was held vnder Pope *Innocent* the 3. *Anno* 1215. Fox. p. 115.

And that this grosse opinion sauoureth not a whit of antiquitie, it may appeare by the resolute iudgement of *Augustine*: *Sacramenta ex similitudine ipsarum rerum nomina habent, secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi, corpus Christi est, &c.* The Sacraments, because of some likenesse, do beare the names of the things themselues: as the Sacrament of the body of Christ is after a certaine manner called his bodie. Epistol. 23.

Christus corporis sui figuram discipulis commendauit: Christ did commend to his disciples a figure of his bodie. *Quid paras dentem & ventrem? Crede, & manducasti.* Why doest thou make ready thy teeth and thy belly? Beleeue in Christ, and thou hast eaten him. Comment. in Psal. 3.

Secundum præsentiam maiestatis semper habemus Christum: secundum præsentiam carnis recte dictum est discipulis, Me semper non habebitis: According to the presence of his Maiestie we haue Christ alwaies: according to his carnall presence, it was truely said to his disciples, You cannot haue me alwayes. By these and many such places in this ancient father, it is manifest, that in those dayes there was no such opinion held of the carnall presence.

Bernard also testifieth euidently for this point. *Vsque hodie eadem caro nobis, sed spiritualiter non similiter exhibetur, &c.* The same flesh of Christ euen to this day is exhibited, but spiritually not carnally: we haue the true substance of his flesh, but in spirit and power: we haue Christ, not as the Angels in the presence of his Maiestie, as the Apostles in the sight of his humanitie, but as the Church hath Christ in faith in the Sacraments.

Againe, *Cibus iste non est ventris, sed mentis: iste est panis Angelorum qui nescit putrescere, non abit in sessum, sed tendit in excelsum*: This foode is of the minde, not of the belly, this is the bread of Angels, that putrieth not, it goeth not into the draught, but ascendeth aloft: *Sermon. in cœna Domini.*

We haue the testimonie also of the 7. generall Councel, *Constantinop.* as it is alleaged. *Nicen. 2. act. 6. Tom. 3.* vpon these words of our Saviour, *Hoc est corpus meum*: This is my bodie; they thus reason: *Ecce igitur vivificantis illius corporis imaginem totam, panis scilicet substantiam, quam nobis apponi, ne scilicet humana effigie figuratam, Idololatriæ inducerentur*: Behold therefore the whole or onely image of that quickening body, the substance of bread, which he commanded to be set before them, least if it had had an humane shape, they might haue committed idolatrie to it. They say, the substance of bread, not the forme onely was deliuered the Apostles, and, that it was the image and figure onely of Christs bodie.

Let vs see, what their owne decrees say for this matter, *decret. par. 3. dist. 1. c. 44. Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis, &c.* You shall not eate this bodie, which you see, nor drinke that blood, which they shall shedde vpon the Crosse, &c. *ibid. c. 49. Dupliciter intelligitur caro Christi & sanguis, spiritualis illa & diuina, &c.* The flesh and blood of Christ is vnderstood two wayes, eyther his diuine and spirituall flesh, whereof he saith, *my flesh is meate indeed, &c.* or his flesh, which was crucified vpon the Crosse. But Christs flesh supposed to be in the Eucharist, is neyther spirituall (for a spirituall presence we denie not) and they hold a carnall presence, which is not spirituall: neither is it his flesh or blood vpon the Crosse, for that the former Decree denieth to be eaten, or drunke: *Ergo*, there is no flesh of Christ present at all.

Againe, *dist. 4. c. 131. Nulli est ambigendum, &c.* It is not to be doubted, but that they which are baptized, are made partakers of the bodie and blood of Christ, &c. Againe, *Origen* saith, *tract. 35. in Matth. Potum iste, quem Deus sanguinem sunm fatetur, &c.* This drinke, which God calleth his blood, is the word; so then Christs blood is in Baptisme, it is in the word, but yet there is no carnall presence: *Ergo*, his bodie and blood may be and are in the Eucharist, and yet no carnall presence. And S. *Ambrose* speaking of Baptisme, saith, *lib. 1. de Sacram. c. 2. Si hoc est corpus Christi, hic et Angeli constituti sunt, &c.* If the bodie of Christ be here, then the Angels also are present, for where the body is, there will the Eagles be gathered together: The body of Christ is then as well in Baptisme, as in the Eucharist, and yet there is no reall presence. Ibid.

Ibid.cap.87. Chriſtus ipſe conuiua, et conuiuium; ipſe comedens, et qui comeditur, &c. Chriſt is both a gueſt, and the feaſt; he himſelfe eateth, and is eaten: but Chriſt did not eate his owne fleſh; and yet he did eate, that which his Apoſtles eate: *Ergo*, his fleſh was not in the Euchariſt. Wherefore we ſay with *Origen, tract.35. in Matth. Ipſe eſt panis, et manducat nobiſcum panem*: He is the bread, and eateth bread with vs: He did eate bread therefore with his diſciples, and not his owne fleſh, *cap.47. Quid paras dentes & ventrem, &c.* What doeſt thou prepare thy teeth and thy bellie? beleeue, and thou haſt eaten Chriſt: *Ergo*, Chriſts fleſh is not preſent in the Euchariſt to be eaten with the mouth, and ſo to goe downe into the bellie. Likewiſe *cap.76. De hac beſtia, &c.* Of this hoaſt, which is done in remembrance of Chriſt, it is lawful to eate; but of that hoaſt, which Chriſt offered vpon the Croſſe, it is lawfull for none to eate of it ſelfe: but Chriſts fleſh which they ſay is in the Euchariſt, is the ſame, that was offered vpon the Croſſe: *Ergo*, it is not to be eaten of any. This euidence and witneſſe againſt the reall preſence we haue from their owne decrees: whereunto I will adioyne one other euident place, *decret.par.3. diſt.2.c.55. Dicit ſacerdos, &c.* The Prieſt or Miniſter ſaith, Make this a reaſonable and acceptable oblation, *Quod eſt figura corporis et ſanguinis Domini, &c.* which is a figure of the bodie and blood of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. If the oblation then be a figure of Chriſts bodie and blood, it is not the bodie and blood it ſelfe.

We will adioyne the glorious teſtimonie of the holy Martyrs, with ſome of their reaſons.

Biſhop *Ridley* holy Martyr: That which Chriſt did take, on the which he gaue thanks, the which he brake, he gaue to his diſciples, he called his body: but he tooke bread, gaue thankes ouer the bread, brake bread: *Ergo*, it was very bread which he called his body.

Againe, the carnall preſence of Chriſt deſtroyeth the inſtitution of the Lords Supper, which was commanded to be continued vntill the Lord himſelfe ſhould come: if therefore he be now really preſent in his fleſh, then muſt the Supper ceaſe: for a remembrance is not of a thing preſent, but of a thing paſt and abſent. See more arguments of this worthie Martyr, *Fox.pag.1443.* and *1387.*

Maſter *Braidford*: The Sacrament is no otherwiſe Chriſts body, then Circumciſion was the couenant of God, and as Baptiſme and the water of Baptiſme is regeneration. Here when it was denyed, that no where in the Scriptures it could be ſhewed, that Baptiſme & the Lords Supper were coupled together: The Martyr bringeth forth that place, 1.Cor.12. *As we are baptized into one body*, ſo are we, *potati in vno ſpiritu*, we haue drunke of one ſpirit: then was it anſwered, that *Paul* had no ſuch words: *vid.plur.p.1619.col.1.*

M. *Bland*, diſputing with one M. *Molles* a popiſh Prieſt, about the carnall preſence, driueth him to confeſſe, that men were made drunke with the qualities and accidence, not the ſubſtance of wine, and that mice might liue with the accidence of bread, pag.1672.

R. Smith, compelleth a popiſh doctor to confeſſe, that the body of Chriſt being eaten in the Sacrament, goeth downe into the belly, and ſo is caſt into the draught: ſaying further, that it was no more a derogation to Chriſt, then to be ſpit vpon: to whom the Martyr anſwereth: if the Iewes being his enemies, did but ſpit in his face, and wee being his friends throw him into the draught, which of vs haue deſerued the greater damnation, *Fox.p.1691.* Thus it may appeare how groſſe this popiſh opinion is, the patrones whereof are conſtrained to fall into ſo many vnreaſonable abſurdities: for this truth againſt this carnall and groſſe manner of Chriſts preſence, theſe holy Martyrs, with thouſands, yea 10. thouſands more, haue not doubted to giue their liues.

Theſe and many other arguments of the Martyrs, both againſt the reall preſence and tranſubſtantiation I had collected together, and digeſted them into ſome order: but committing the copie to a deceitfull meſſengers hand, to cary it to the preſſe, by his negligence it was loſt: and ſo I was put to a ſecond trouble, and others depriued of my ſimple collections: which I had no leaſure to frame anew, the preſſe ſtaying for worke: let this therefore ſerue for a iuſt excuſe (Chriſtian Reader) if thy minde be not fully ſatisfied here in this behalfe. And I pray God forgiue him his fault, that hath put me to this trouble, and hindred the profit of many, and deliuer me hereafter from the hands of ſuch.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS QVESTION, WHETHER it ſtand with the power and will of God, that Chriſts bodie ſhould be carnally preſent in the Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

37. Error. THere are two difficulties or impoſſibilities, which do hinder the real preſence of Chriſts body in the Sacrament: Firſt, it would follow, that a naturall body, ſuch as Chriſts is, might be in two places at once: for they ſay, that it is in heauen, and in the Euchariſt all at once. Secondly, that a naturall body may be in a place, and yet not occupie or fill a place: for if Chriſts body be in

in the Sacrament, it occupieth no place: the compasse of a thinne and round cake is not answerable to the proportion of Christs body.

Notwithstanding both these difficulties, it is agreeable both to the power and good pleasure of God, that the body of Christ should be included in the Sacrament, *Bellarm.*

Argum. 1. It is possible for the body of Christ to be in many places at once; and it also standeth with his will: as Act. 9.4. Christ appeared to *Saul*, either vpon the earth, or in the ayre next to the earth: for how could he either heare the voyce of Christ sitting in heauen, or see the light so far off? Ergo, Christ was in two places: he appeared to *Paul* vpon earth, and he was at the same time in heauen, from whence he shall not moue till the day of iudgement, *Bellarm. de sacram. Eucharist.* lib. 3. cap. 3. *Rhem. Act. 9 sect. 1.*

Anſw. 1. The text is plaine, that Christ spake from heauen, from whence the light shined, verſ. 4. he was neither in the ayre nor vpon the earth. 2. Doe you make question, whether *Paul* could see a light, or heare a voyce from so farre; seeing that the Sunne, whose body is so farre distant from vs, doth disperse his beames ouer the face of the earth, and the voyce of the thunder is heard very farre? Will ye deny Christ to haue that power, which we see to be in his creatures? 3. And why was it not as possible, that Christ from heauen should be heard and seen of *Paul*, as he was seene of *Stephen* sitting on the right hand of God? Act. 7. 56.

Bellarmine replieth: first, that it is certaine, that *Paul* did see Christ in the way to Damascus, for the text saith, that the other which were with him, saw no man, Act. 9. 7. Whereby is insinuated, that *Paul* did see: and againe Act. 22. 14. *Ananias* saith to *Saul*, *God hath appointed thee, &c. that thou shouldest see that iust one, and heare the voyce of his mouth*: and Act. 26. 16. Christ said to *Paul*, *I haue appeared vnto thee for this purpose, &c.* 1. Cor. 9. 1. *Haue I not seene the Lord?* and 1. Cor. 15. 8. Last of all, *He was seene also of me*: out of these places he inferreth, that *Paul* did see Christ.

Contra. First, we denie not, but that *Paul* did see Christ in his humanitie, which might be as well at other times as now, as Act. 22. 18. At Ierusalem he saw Christ speaking vnto him: and 2. Cor. 12. He was taken vp into the third heauen, &c. where no doubt he saw Christ. Secondly, neither doe wee stand vpon it, but that Christ also was seene of *Paul*, as hee went to Damascus, though it doe not appeare out of the text, but the contrarie rather: for *Saul* at the very first shining of the light, before he heard any voyce, fell downe to the ground, and was stricken blinde, Act. 9. 4. and verſ. 8. the words of the text are, *That he saw no man*: wherefore it may be doubted whether at this time he saw Christ with the eyes of his flesh. Thirdly, the authorities alleaged may be easie answered: the first, Act. 9. 7. as the men are said to haue seene no man, so verſ. 8. it is said of *Saul*: the second 22. 14. *That Paul should see that iust one, and heare his voyce*, may be vnderstoode of the vision that followeth, verſ. 18. where Christ was both seene, and heard of *Paul*: the third Act. 26. 16. That Christ appeared, doth not enforce any sight of his person, as that place doth not, Act. 7. 2. where in the same word God is said to haue appeared to *Moses*: the fourth, and fift places proue, that *Paul* saw Christ, but not at this time: yet we denie not, but that *Paul* did and might see Christ in his iourney, though neither this place, nor the other Scriptures alleaged, doe necessarilie conclude it.

Secondly, *Bellarmine* answereth, that Christ was seene of *Paul* in the earth, or in the ayre next vnto earth: first, because the light of Christs bodie was so great, that it blinded *Paul*, which it could not haue done, if Christs bodie had been so farre off. Secondly, the other men saw the light, and heard the voyce, but their eyes and eares could not reach vp to heauen: Thirdly, they heard the voyce, but could not distinctly vnderstand it, as *Paul* did, therefore Christ was neerer to *Paul*: but if the voyce had been from heauen, they should all haue heard it alike. Fourthly, if *Paul* had seene Christ in heauen as *Stephen* did, he would not haue doubted, who it was, as now suddenly seeing a man stand before him, he asketh, *who art thou Lord?*

Contra. First it was a light passing the brightnes of the sunne, Act. 26. 13. If then the sunne be able to dazle the eyes, how much more this exceeding light that came from Christ, though it shined from heauen, as the sunne doth likewise? and if such a brightnes came from a cloude, that it gaue light to all the host of Israel, how much more this light that came from Christ. Secondly, though their eyes and eares could not reach to heauen, yet Christ by his power could cause the brightnes and sound to descend to them. Thirdly, it was not the neernes of the place that caused *Paul* to vnderstand the voyce, and not the rest, but because it pleased Christ so to dispose their hearing, as Iohn 12. 28. There came a voyce, not out of the ayre, but from heauen, which Christ heard and vnderstood, but they that stood by perceiued it not, some of them saying *it was a thunder*: so was it in this place. Fourthly, *Stephen* confessed Christ as soone as he saw him, because hee knew him, and beleeued in him before: but *Paul* being before a persecutor of Christ, and a stranger from the faith, might very well take this question (*who art thou Lord?*) though he saw him not vpon the earth: and how could he see Christ before him now, whom he confesseth before to haue been blinded with the sudden shining of the light?

Argum.

Argum. 2. The bodie of Christ may be where it pleaseth him, and yet shall not needs any naturall place, or occupie any roome: hee is able to bring a Camell through the eye of a needle, Math. 19.26. He also came through the doores in to his Apostles; rose out of the sepulchre thorow the stone; was borne, his mothers wombe being shut: therefore he may as well, and is no doubt present vnder the shapes of bread and wine in the Sacrament, *Rhem. Matth.* 26. *fol.* 11. *Bellarm. lib.* 3. *de sacram. cap.* 6.

Answ. 1. Christ sheweth in that place, that it is as impossible for a rich man, that is high minded, and trusteth in his riches, to enter into heauen, as for a Camell to passe through the eye of a needle; but it is possible with God to giue rich men humble and lowly mindes, and so make them fit for his kingdome, as to make the Camell lesse, and so draw him thorow a needle. It is not proued out of this place, that God can or will draw the huge bodie of a Camell through a needle, remaining still of that bignes: no more then that it is possible for God, to bring a proud, rich, arrogant man to heauen, his affections not altered: both these are impossible to God, not because he cannot in his absolute power doe them, but because they are contrarie to his will and ordinance: The one is against the law of iustice, to bring a wicked man to heauen; the other against the law of nature.

Bellarmine replieth, that it is not impossible with men, for a Camell to goe thorough a needle, if he cease to be a Camell, and be turned into a small threed: *ibid.*

Contra. First, yet it is impossible to men, for they haue no power to extenuate the bignesse of a Camels bodie, and so to make it passe thorough a needle, as God hath: it is possible with man to draw a threed thorough a needle, but not to turne a Camell into a threed. Secondly, a rich man trusting in his riches cannot without chaange of his affections goe to heauen, no more then a Camell goe thorough a needle, his bodie not altered. Therefore as it cannot be shewed, that ever a proud rich man entred into heauen; so neither, that a Camell at any time went thorough a needle: so that this place maketh not for the possibilitie of the reall presence at all.

2. For the other three examples: it is not proued out of Scripture, that the bodie of Christ pearced the doores, the graue, stone, or his mothers wombe: although the doores were found shut after Christs entrance, the graue couered, and his mother remained a Virgine still: for all these passages might giue place for a while to the bodie of Christ, and returne againe to their place: as the red Sea was deuided till the Iraelites passed, and afterward the waters came together again. And concerning the last instance of the birth of Christ, it is certaine out of the Scriptures, that Christ opened the wombe of his mother in his birth, Luk. 2.23. Hitherto therefore they haue proued nothing.

Bellarmine replieth to the first example, that if Christs bodie pierced not the doores, but they gaue way vnto him, it had beene no miracle: and againe, Christ came vnto the Apostles without any noyse, or opning of the house, or creaking of the doores, and therefore it is like, that they opened not to him, but he went thorough them.

Contra. First, he may say as well that it was no miracle, that the iron gate opened of it owne accord to *Peter*, Act. 12.10. how then is he not ashamed to denie a miracle here? or was it not a miracle, for the redde Sea to deuide it selfe, though it came togither againe? Secondly, though the doore gaue place, yet it might be, and was done, without any noyse, as the prison doores were opened to *Peter*, and yet the keepers not awaked, that kept the watch, Act. 5.23. Thirdly, S. *Austen* thinketh, that the doore gaue place to Christs bodie: *Quid mirum? &c.* What is greater? to hang the huge earth vpon nothing, or for the Lord to passe by the doores being shut, *Et creatura non det locum Creatori?* And the creature denie place to the Creator? *aduers. errores Iohan. Hieros.* So then it is not necessary that Christs body should pierce the doore, but that it gaue place vnto his body, eyther by opening, or giuing way.

Secondly, to the second example, if Christ in his birth opened the wombe of the Virgine, and made himselfe a way by the dilatation of the same, then it would follow, that *Marie* brought forth with payne, neither could she afterward be a Virgin; for this is Virginitie, not to haue the wombe opened. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. Though *Bellarmine* here very vnseemely take vpon him to play the midwife, and to discouer the secrets of birth, which may better be concealed: yet, so farre as modestie will suffer, we will send him away with his full answer. First, hee that procured to be borne of a Virgine, could also open himselfe a way out of the wombe, without payne to his mother: that as in his conception, there was no touch of carnall pleasure; so neither in his birth, sense of any payne: neither is the payne in the opening of the wombe, but in the place of birth: which he will not denie vnto Christ; as it is said, 2. *Reg.* 19.3. *The children are come to the birth, and here is no strength to bring forth.* Secondly, Virginitie no more consisteth in the opening of the wombe, then in the place and pitch of the birth, through the which the holy Child passed, which (I thinke) hee will not denie: and virginitie may be lost, where the wombe is not opened, as in the barren, that are

polluted,

polluted, and ſo bring not forth. And againe, the Scripture thus deſcribeth Virginitie, and Virgins; *which haue not knowne man*, Gen. 19. 8. and ſo ſaith *Marie* of her ſelfe, Luk. 1. 34. *I know not man*: ſo herein conſiſted her virginitie, that ſhe conceiued without the companie of man. Thirdly, yet he hath not anſwered the Scripture, which teſtifieth, *that Chriſt opened the wombe*, Luk. 2. 23. according to the law, *Euery man child, that firſt openeth the wombe, ſhall be called holy to the Lorde*. *Quid ſpecialem natiuitatem ſaluatoris, &c.* Which *Hierome* thinketh is more properly applied to the ſpeciall natiuitie of Chriſt, then of any other: *dialog. 2. aduerſ. Pelag.* and he doubteth not to ſay, *Diuino per genitalia virginis natum*: That Chriſt was borne by the ordinarie places of birth. I will adde alſo out of the Synod, *Telenſ. Quid incredibile, &c.* Why ſhould it be incredible, that againſt the naturall vſe *Marie* brought forth, and yet remained a virgine, when againſt the vſe of nature, the Sea ſaw that and fled? Like then as the Sea parted and cloſed againe, ſo was it in the birth of Chriſt. Laſtly, *Durandus* a Papiſt thinketh alſo, that the wombe of the virgine was dilated for the paſſage of Chriſt. *in 4. diſtinct. 44. qu. 6.*

Thirdly, concerning the third example, whereas we anſwere, that the graue-ſtone might giue place to the bodie of Chriſt riſing againe, and returne to his place againe: *Bellarmine* replieth, that this is our owne coniecture without any authoritie.

Contra. Firſt, it is rather their bare coniecture, that Chriſts body went through the ſtone, contrarie to the propertie of a naturall body: We thinke, that Chriſt had as great power to cauſe the ſtone to giue way, and come againe to his place, as the Angell had to make the priſon doores open to *Peter*, and to ſhut againe, Act. 5. 19. 23. Secondly, wee haue a warrant from your owne decrees: *Iacuit in ſepulchro, et reuoluto lapide monumenti, &c.* He lay in the graue, and the ſtone being remoued, his fleſh roſe againe the third day, *decret Gaij*. This decree ſaith, that the ſtone remoued at the riſing of Chriſt.

Argum. 3. *Bellarmine* produceth a fourth example of the aſcenſion of Chriſt, who in his body pierced the heauens, Heb. 4. 14. *But the heauens are a ſolide ſubſtance, euen as molten glaſſe*: Iob. 37. 18. Therefore it followeth hereupon, that many bodies may be in one place at once: And whereas it is anſwered, (ſaith he) that the heauens might open and giue way to Chriſts bodie, as at the Baptiſme of Chriſt the heauens are ſaid to open, thus is to be vnderſtood, becauſe the heauens appeared to open: for the holy Ghoſt could come downe without the opening of the heauens at the baptizing of Chriſt. And whereas *Stephen* ſaith, he ſaw the heauens open, Act. 7. 56. the heauens themſelues were not deuided, for they being a cleere and tranſparent ſubſtance, S. *Stephen* might haue ſeene Chriſt, without their opening, but *Stephens* eyes were opened to ſee that, which appeared not before: *cap. 6. loc. 5.*

Contra. Firſt, whereas your Latine text readeth, Heb. 4. 14. *Penetrauit*, he pierced the heauens, the originall is διεληλυθοτα, he deuided or diſſolued the heauens; and the *Rhemiſts* tranſlate, hee entred the heauens: ſo that this place proueth, not a going through the heauens, without a way made, or giuing of place. Secondly, the heauens are indeed a ſolide ſubſtance; ſo is the water, and the bodie of the ayre, which are apt to giue place to groſſer bodies, and to come together againe: and ſo do the heauens: for how els could the Planets haue their diuers and contrary courſes, diuers among themſelues, and contrary to the fixed ſtarres, if the heauens were not a pliable, and yeelding bodie: And let him tell vs, how *Eliah* was taken vp into heauen in his bodie (as they thinke, affirming that hee liueth ſtill in his body in Paradiſe) whether hee alſo pierced the ſubſtance of the heauens? Thirdly, the heauens are likened to glaſſe, not in ſubſtance, but for their brightneſſe and cleereneſſe, as Reuelat. 4. 6. we read of a Sea of glaſſe. Fourthly, the holy Ghoſt being a ſpirit, can deſcend without any way made, but ſeeing at that time the ſpirit deſcended in the viſible and true ſhape of a doue, the heauens alſo viſibly and truely were opened: And we are rather to credite *Stephens* words, then his vaine conceits, who ſaith, *I but not his eyes*, (though wee denie not, but his ſight alſo was quickened) *but the heauens were opened*: and if Chriſt might bee ſeene through the cleereneſſe of the heauens, how is it, that he hath been ſo ſeldome ſeene, and of ſo few, ſince his aſcenſion, the heauens being alike cleare vnto all? Laſtly, that the heauens opened at Chriſts aſcenſion, it is euident by that propheſie, Pſalm. 24. 7. *Lift vp your heads, ye gates, and be ye lift vp yee euerlaſting doores, and the King of glorie ſhall come in*, which the Fathers applie vnto Chriſts aſcenſion, and when as the Saints ſhal meete Chriſt in the cloudes, and be taken vp in the ayre, as S. *Paul* ſaith, 1. Theſſ. 4. 17. it cannot be otherwiſe deemed, but that the cloudes and the ayre ſhall make way for their bodies; and after the ſame manner the heauens alſo, like as they did at the aſcenſion of Chriſt: Thus *Bellarmine* hath ſaid much but proued nothing.

The Proteſtants.

OVr aduerſaries doe falſely charge vs to ſay, that God can doe more then hee hath done, or will doe, *Rhemiſt. Matth. 26. ſect. 11.* This we ſay, that Chriſt is almightie, and yet can doe nothing againſt his owne will, his word, or glorie: as to diſhonour his glorious bodie, and to bring it within the compaſſe of a piece of bread, that it may bee deuoured of cats, dogs, rats, mice, or

which

which is worſe, to be eaten of wicked men, the members of the diuell: although the queſtion bee not ſo much betweene vs, what Chriſt is able to doe of his abſolute power, but what he will doe according to his word.

Argum. 1. It ſtandeth neither with the power or will of God, to doe contrarie to his word: For it is impoſſible that God ſhould lie, Hebr. 6. verſ. 18. And this thing, not to lie, is not a want of power, but a ſigne of greater power in God. But it is plainly declared in Scripture, that Chriſt hath a true naturall bodie, and is in all things like vnto vs, Hebr. 2. 17. Therefore neither can his bodie, being a true humane bodie, as ours are, be in many places at once: neither can it chuſe but occupie that roome and place where it is. The Angell ſaid, *He is riſen, he is not here*, Matth. 28. but it had been no good argument, to ſay, he is riſen and gone to another place, and therefore he is not here, if ſo be the bodie of Chriſt might be in many places at once. The Scripture then hath defined it, that Chriſts bodie is in one certaine place: wherefore to ſay, that Chriſt hath a true naturall bodie, and yet retaineth not the naturall properties of a body, is to ſpeake contradictories, that he hath, and hath not a true naturall bodie: and this were to make God a lier.

Bellarmine to the place of Scripture, Matth. 28. thus anſwereth: The Angell reaſoneth according to the minde of the women, that ſought Chriſt in the graue, as dead: and ſo the argument followeth well, he is not dead in the graue, for hee is riſen. Secondly, morally the argument is good, becauſe he that riſeth from the dead, doth not remaine in the graue; for the graue is the place of the dead, not of the liuing: but ſimply and abſolutely it doth not follow; for Chriſt might bee there, though he were riſen, *Bellarm. cap. 4. reſp. ad argum.* 1.

Contra. Firſt, the Angels reaſon muſt indeede bee referred to the purpoſe and diſpoſition of the women who came to ſeeke Chriſt: they enquired not, in what ſtate Chriſt was, whether liuing, or dead; but where Chriſt was, as the Angell ſaith, verſ. 5. *I know that ye ſeeke Ieſus:* and therefore the Angell ſatisfieth them, according to their doubt, *that he was not there, becauſe he was riſen:* he ſaith not, *he is not dead, becauſe he is riſen*, though that be a good conſequent alſo, but, *he is not here.* And that this was *Maries* thought, to know what was become of Chriſts bodie, it appeareth by this, that after the Angell had ſaid thus vnto her, as *Matthew* reporteth, ſhe asked Chriſt again (ſuppoſing he had been the gardener) where he had laid him, Ioh. 20. 15. Secondly, the Angell vſeth two arguments: the one, when he ſaith, *Why ſeeke ye the liuing among the dead?* as S. *Luke* remembreth, chap. 24. 5. This argument concludeth morally, as *Bellarmine* pretendeth, *he is liuing*, therefore not among the dead. The other argument in theſe words, *he is not here, for he is riſen*, concludeth ſimply and abſolutely: and the reaſon ſtandeth thus, He that is riſen, and ſo gone to another place, is no longer here, where hee was: but Chriſt is ſo riſen: *Ergo.* *Bellarmine* moſt impudently denieth the propoſition, ſaying, that Chriſt might bee elſewhere, and there to, and ſo maketh the Angell a lier.

Argum. 2. It is proper onely to the diuine nature to be euery where, as Ierem. 23. 24. *I fill heauen and earth*, ſaith the Lord: but Chriſts bodie is not of the diuine nature: *Ergo*, it cannot be euery where.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that there is great difference betweene the Godhead and the bodie of Chriſt: firſt, the Godhead is euery where in fact, but Chriſts bodie is not euery where, neither euer ſhall; it is in many places at once, not in all. Secondly, the Deitie cannot be reſtrained to one place, but the bodie of Chriſt may bee, as after the end of the world he ſhall be but in one place, *lib. 3. c. 4. ad argum.* 2.

Contra. Firſt, that Chriſts bodie is neither actually euery where, neither ſhall euer be, it is nothing to the queſtion in hand: it is ſufficient to our purpoſe, that Chriſts bodie may bee euery where: for it may as well be in all places, as in many places, and this I thinke they will not denie: Then it will follow, that Chriſts bodie may be God: for to be euery where is proper onely to the Deitie, and if Chriſts bodie may be euery where, it may be the Deitie: for no propertie of God the creator, either is in act, or can be communicated to a creature. Secondly, Chriſts bodie now in their iudgement, as long as the world ſtandeth, cannot be tied or reſtrained to one place, no more then the Godhead; therefore now (whatſoeuer ſhall bee afterward) there is no difference betweene the bodie of Chriſt and the Godhead: and it is very abſurd, to limit Chriſts bodie after the reſurrection to one place, more then now, ſeeing his bodie ſhall not then be of leſſe power or glorie, then it is. Thirdly, that *Bellarmine* maketh no difference betweene the omnipreſence of the Godhead, and Chriſts bodie, his owne words elſewhere doe teſtifie: *Sicut ſpiritus ſanctus vere deſcendit, & tamen in cœlo manſit, ita Chriſtus &c.* As the holie ſpirit did truly deſcend, and yet remained in heauen; ſo Chriſt did truly aſcend, and yet remaineth with vs, not onely as God, but as man, *lib. 1. de Sacram. Euch. c. 14. reſp. ad lat.* 9. So *Clemens* 5. moſt groſly expoundeth thoſe words of our Sauiour, *I am with you alwaies to the end of the world*, of his corporall preſence: whereas it is as well peculiar to the Godhead to be alwaies preſent, and neere, not a farre off, Ierem. 23. 23. as in all places.

Clement. lib. 3 tit. 16. c. 4

Anſelmus

Augustine saith of Christ: *Secundum corporalem præsentiam, simul in sole, luna, cruce, esse non potest:* Contra Faust. lib. 20. cap. 11.
Christ according to his corporall presence, cannot bee in the Sunne, the Moone, and vpon the Crosse all at one time.

And concerning the other point hee writeth thus: *Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, & nusquam erunt, ergo quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt:* Take away space of place from bodies, and they shall be no where, and if they be in no place, then are they not at all. Epistol. 57

Argum. 3. The reall and carnall presence of Christ in the Sacrament, is a thing superfluous, needles, and vnprofitable: First, Christ saith to his Apostles, Ioh. 16. 7. *It is expedient for you, that I go away:* therefore Christs corporall presence is not profitable: and if his visible presence were not profitable to his Apostles, whom they both heard and saw, much lesse his inuisible presence in the Sacrament. Secondly, the fauour of God in the remission of sinnes through Christ, is as well sealed vnto vs in Baptisme, as in the Lords Supper; what neede then the carnall presence in the one more, then in the other? Thirdly, that Christ is in bodie present in the Sacrament, it is not perceiued by any sense: for they neither taste him, see him, nor feele him; it must be then a worke of faith: but by faith Christ is as well apprehended being absent, as being supposed in this manner to be present: *Ergo*, this kinde of presence is needles.

Bellarmine answereth to the first reason: that therefore it was expedient, that Christ should go away, because his visible presence did worke in his Apostles an humane loue: but the inuisible presence of his flesh in the Eucharist worketh not an humane, but a spirituall loue, and therefore is euery way profitable, *cap.* 9.

Contra. First, the visible presence of Christ after the resurrection, did not worke an humane or carnall loue in the Apostles, but thereby their faith and beliefe was strengthened: as *Thomas* by seeing and feeling him beleeued, and said, *my Lord and my God*, Ioh. 20. 28. Secondly, though the Apostles were somewhat addicted vnto Christs bodily presence, it was not for any carnall affection vnto him, but for that loue they had to his doctrine, and because of the comfort they receiued by him: but his bodily presence in the Eucharist, is neither profitable for doctrine nor comfort, and therefore lesse fruitfull, than his visible presence was. Thirdly, the reason then of Christs bodily departure, was to send another comforter, who needed not to come, as long as he was present personally to comfort them: and if the first comforter bee present still in bodie, the second is superfluous: if the second be not superfluous, the first is, and therefore the bodily presence is not necessarie. Fourthly, Christ promiseth, that after his departure hee would come againe, and wee should see him, Ioh. 16. 16. *After a little while, and yee shall see me*, and he would see vs, vers. 22. *I will see you again.* Christ then as he seeth vs, so is he seene: if he be in the Eucharist, he seeth vs with his bodily eyes, then should he be so seene of vs: but wee see him not, therefore he is not there to bee seene: for if he were present, he would both see vs, and bee seene of vs, according to his promise. Wherefore he doth no otherwise see vs and visite vs, then by his spirit, in the Eucharist; and so not verie him.

To the second he answereth: that there is not the same reason of Baptisme, and the Eucharist: For the Eucharist is not onely a Sacrament of our spirituall refection and nourishing, as Baptisme is of our regeneration, but it is also a memorial and a compendium of Christs life, death, and resurrection. Secondly, it is a testimonie and pledge of Christs loue toward vs. Thirdly, it is as it were the seede of the resurrection of our bodies, by the coniunction of Christs glorious bodie with our mortall bodies. Fourthly, it is the sacrifice of Christians, which cannot be offered in bread alone, for then it should not exceede the sacrifices of the Law: for bread of it selfe is inferiour to the flesh of calues and rammes, &c. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, Baptisme also is a memoriall, and as the Apostle calleth it, *a similitude*, and representation of the death and resurrection of Christ, Rom. 6. 5. Secondly, it is also as well as the Eucharist a pledge of Christs loue, representing vnto vs the shedding of his blood, and his dying for vs, wherein Christs loue appeared, Rom. 5. 8. Wherefore in neither of these respects is the reall presence more necessarie in the Eucharist, than in Baptisme. Thirdly, it is more proper to Baptisme to seale vnto vs the hope of our resurrection, as S. *Paul* saith, *that by Baptisme wee are graft into the fashion of Christs resurrection*, Rom. 6. 5. Neither is there any such coniunction of Christs bodie to our bodies in the Eucharist, seeing they themselues affirme, that Christs bodie remaineth no longer, then the outward shape of bread is vncorrupted: but if it were the seede of our resurrection, it should remaine, as S. *Iohn* saith, 1. Epist. chap. 3. 9. *their seede remaineth in them*. And againe, the wicked also doe eate Christs bodie in the Sacrament, so that by this reason, they also are partakers of Christs resurrection. Fourthly, the Eucharist is no other sacrifice, than of praise and thanksgiuing, Hebr. 13. 15. whereof it is named the Eucharist: and yet the sacramentall bread, in respect of the liuely representation is more excellent, than the fleshie sacrifices of the Law: and this being graunted, sheweth no difference betweene Baptisme and the Eucharist, but onely betweene the sacrifices of the Law, and the Sacraments of the Gospell.

To the third reason hee answereth, that although Christs bodie in the Eucharist bee not immediatly perceiued by any sense, but onely by faith; yet mediatly, *& in aliena specie*, and in another shape, is touched by the hands, tongue, eyes, &c. as Phisitions minister medicines in such sort qualified, as they are not perceiued, and yet are very profitable.

Contra. First, if the carnall presence in the Eucharist bee an apprehension of faith, then it can not any way be discerned by the sight, or any other sense: for *faith is the euidence of things which are not seene*, as it is defined by the Apostle, Heb. 11. 1. And, *we walke by faith, and not by sight*, 2. Corinth. 5. 7. which were no good disiunction, if the same thing at the same instant could be comprehended both by faith, and sight. Secondly, he saith, that Christ is both touched and seene, *in another shape*, that is, vnder the formes of bread and wine: this is to speake contraries: for if it be another shape, that is seene to the eyes, another taste, that is in the mouth; then is it not Christs bodie that is seene or tasted: but that thing must bee both seene and tasted, whose qualities are offered to the senses. Thirdly, the example brought in is nothing like: first, medicines are somewhat allaied by other mixtures, yet some taste remaineth; but of Christs bodie there is no sense at all. Secondly, Potions, though by arte tempered and compounded, yet appeare to the sense in their own colour and shape; but so doth not (as they say) Christs bodie. Thirdly, the medicine remained in the stomacke, till by the heate thereof it be dispersed, and so worketh in the bodie; but if it be immediatly cast vp againe it worketh not: but Christs bodie in the first alteration in the stomacke departeth (as they say) and therefore it corporally profiteth not, as a medicinall Potion doth.

Argum. 4. It is an inglorious, vnworthie and vnseemely thing, that the glorious and impassible bodie of Christ should be inclosed in the formes of bread and wine, deuoured and chawed, eaten and gnawen of myce, subiect to mould and rottennes, to be spilt vpon the ground, burnt in the fire: for all these inconueniences must needes follow vpon the carnall presence.

Bellarm. It is no more inglorious or impossible for these things now to happen to the bodie of Christ, then it was for him to be caried in his mothers wombe, to bee swathed in swadling bands, and to be subiect to iniuries which were done to his bodie vpon earth, *lib. 3. cap. 10.*

Anſ. First, as though there bee the like reason of the passible bodie of Christ, while he liued in the world, which was buffeted, whipped, pierced with nayles, crucified; and of his glorious and impassible bodie now, that it may in like manner bee rent and diuided. Secondly, neither was it possible that Christs passible bodie should bee subiect to the like infirmities, as to rottennes, corruption, consumption in the fire, as his bodie is now in the Sacrament. If it were then verified in Christ, *Thou shalt not suffer thy holy one to see corruption*; for his bodie did not putrifie or corrupt in the graue: much more is it true in the glorious bodie of Christ, that it cannot suffer any such things: How then are you not ashamed to affirme, that the bread and wine are made in the Sacrament, the very bodie and blood of Christ; seeing those elements, if they bee kept long, will waxe sower and mouldie, and fall to corruption? which things once to thinke of the glorious bodie of Christ, were great impietie. Leaue off for shame then these your grosse opinions, so much derogatorie to the glorie and honour of Christ.

Bellarmine answereth againe: first, that they are the accidents of bread and wine, that are corrupted, and doe putrifie, and are eaten and chawed, &c. and not the bodie of Christ. Secondly, as the diuinitie is present euery where, and yet is not burned in the flame, nor yet putrifieth in things that doe putrifie: so likewise the bodie of Christ, *lib. 3. c. 10. respons. 1.*

Contra. First, it is most absurd to say, that accidents of wine make men drunke, that accidents of bread doe feede myce, that the accidents waxe sower, and mouldie: for one accident cannot be the subiect of another. Secondly, in comparing Christs Deitie and bodie together, what doth he else but with the Eutychians confound them, or with the Vbiquitaries destroy Christs humanitie?

We haue the glorious testimonie of the Martyrs: Master *Philpot* holy Martyr; The Scripture saith, that Christ is like to vs in all things, sinne onely excepted: but our humane nature cannot
Fox. p. 1416. receiue any thing that is contrarie to it selfe, as to bee bodily present, and absent, to bee in heauen and earth at the same time: *Ergo*, neither can the bodie of Christ without destruction of his humane nature.

Master *Denly* Martyr alleageth these places of Scripture: Hebr. 9. *Christ is not entred into holy places made with hands, but is entred into heauen, &c.* Ioh. 17. *Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, &c.* Ioh. 16. *I went out from the father and came into the world.* Againe, *I leaue the world, and goe to the father*: *Ergo*, Christ is not according to his bodily presence now in the worlde: *Fox.* pag. 1685.

I will hereunto adioyne some testimonie from themselues: *Decr. par. 3. dist. 2. cap. 44. Donec seculum finiatur, sursum est Dominus, &c.* Till the world be ended, the Lord is aboue, &c. for the body of our Lord, wherein he rose againe, must bee in one place. Againe, their Master saith, *Dominus*

natura

natura sola illocalem: That the diuine nature onely is illocable. But now they make Christs humanitie illocable: for if it be in the Eucharist, it is not there as in a spacious place: for what is the compasse of a thin wafer-cake to receiue the proportion of a mans bodie? Againe, he saith, *Quod circumscriptibile erat, &c.* That which was in Christ circumscriptible, so remaineth: but if Christs bodie be in the bread, it is incircumscriptible, whereas it was circumscriptible before. For that we call circumscriptible, when the place and the thing placed, doe answere, and are correspondent each to other in space and proportion: which is not seene in the placing of Christs bodie in the compasse of a thin cake. Lib. 1. distinct. 37. 0. Lib. 4. distinct. 10. 2.

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING Transubstantiation.

The Papists.

IF any man shall say, that there remaineth the substance of bread and wine in the Sacrament, after the words of consecration; or shall denie that the whole substance of bread is chaunged and converted into the bodie of Christ, and the whole substance of wine into the blood of Christ, the formes and shewes onely of bread and wine remaining, which singular and miraculous conversion the Church calleth Transubstantiation; let him be accursed, *Concil. Trident. sess.* 13. *can.* 2. *Bellarm. lib.* 3. *de Sacram. Eucharist. cap.* 19. *Rhemist. Matth.* 17. *sect.* 1. 18. Error.

Argum. 1. Christ transfigured his bodie marueilously in the Mount, as wee reade, *Matth.* 17. *sect.* 1. *Ergo*, he is able to exhibite his bodie vnder the formes of bread and wine, *Rhemist.*

Ans. First, your argument followeth not, Christ could giue a glorious forme to his passible bodie: *Ergo*, he can take away the essentiall properties of his naturall bodie, and yet keepe a true bodie still. Or thus, Christ could glorifie his bodie not yet glorified: *Ergo*, he can or will dishonor his glorious impassible bodie, by enclosing it vnder the formes of base creatures to bee deuoured of dogs and myce: which is honoured and worshipped of the Angels and Saints in heauen. Secondly, the question is not so much of Christs power, as of his will: therefore you conclude not aright, Christ is able to doe it: *Ergo*, he will.

Argum. 2. He that seeth water turned into wine by the power of Christ, neede not to doubt how he changeth bread into his bodie, *Rhem. Ioh.* 2. *sect.* 2.

Ans. First, when you can bring any warrant out of Scripture for your imagined conuersion, as we haue for this myracle, we will giue eare vnto you. Secondly, and when it shall appeare to the senses, that the bread is changed into flesh, as the water was knowne to bee turned into wine, by the colour and taste: wee shall then no more doubt of this conuersion of the bread, than they did of the other of water. Thirdly, if Christ could alter and chaunge the substances of creatures; what reason haue you to giue such an omnipotent power to euery Priest, with a few words to doe as much as Christ himselfe could when he was present? Fourthly, all this prooueth but an abilitie and power in Christ, not a will or purpose to worke any such change or conuersion.

Argum. 3. *Bellarmine* vrgeth these words of our Sauiour, which serue them for all purposes, *this is my bodie*: which words (saith he) doe signifie a substantiall, not a figuratiue change onely of the bread into Christs bodie: for otherwise the bread, and the flesh of Christ being things of diuers natures, cannot bee one pronounced, or affirmed of another: for bread is not flesh, remaining in it owne nature, *Bellarm. lib.* 3. *cap.* 19.

Ans. First, as one thing being of a diuers nature, cannot be pronounced of another, vnlesse there be some chaunge: so neither can the same thing bee affirmed or predicated of it selfe, as to say, this substance is my bodie, which is all one in their sense to say, this bodie is my bodie.

Secondly, a figuratiue chaunge is sufficient according to the phrase of Scripture, though there be no materiall or substantiall mutation in this proposition, *this is my bodie*, that is, this bread signifieth my bodie: like as, when Christ breathed vpon his Apostles, hee said, *Receiue yee the holie Ghost*, calling the very breath the spirit, which it signified and exhibited onely; so the holy Ghost descending vpon Christ in his Baptisme is called the Doue: so then, as the breath of Christ is the spirit, and the Doue the holie Ghost; so is the bread Christs bodie, that is in figure and signification.

Contra. *Bellarmine* replieth, that the breathing of Christ is not called the holie spirit, nor yet the Doue is said to bee the holie Ghost; but they were onely signes and instrumentall meanes to conuey the spirit.

Answ. First, that the breathing of Christ, and the likenes of the Doue, were not the spirit it selfe, but onely signes thereof, we graunt; and so wee say the bread is a signe and figure of Christs bodie in the Eucharist. Secondly, it is euident by the text, that the Doue, and the breath of Christ, are called the holie Ghost: as Ioh. 1. 33. *Vpon whom thou shalt see the spirit come downe, &c. that is he, which baptizeth with the holy Ghost*: but *Iohn* saw onely the Doue to light vpon Christ; therefore

the doue is called the ſpirit: ſo Iohn 20.22. *Chriſt breathed vpon them, and ſayd, receiue yee the holy Ghoſt:* that which the Apoſtles receiued, is called the holy Ghoſt; but they receiued ſenſiblie nothing but his breathing; *Ergo*, his blaſt or breathing is ſaid to be the ſpirit, being a ſigne and repreſentation thereof, as the bread in the Euchariſt is of Chriſts fleſh.

Argum.4. Though the ſubſtance of bread and wine be changed; yet the formes remaine ſtill for theſe cauſes. Firſt, becauſe if the formes alſo ſhould be changed, there ſhould be no ſenſible ſigne left, and ſo no Sacrament. Secondly, the faith of the receiuer is the better tried this way: who beleeueth the fleſh of Chriſt to bee preſent, though hee ſee it not. Thirdly, Chriſt would not haue the formes altered, becauſe man abhorred to eate humane fleſh in the proper ſhape, *Bellarm. cap.22.*

Anſw. Firſt, your firſt reaſon is inſufficient: for neither doe the bare and naked ſignes or accidents of the elements make a Sacrament, but the ſubſtance of them: for betweene the Sacrament and the thing thereby repreſented, there ought to be ſome conueniencie and agreement: namely, as the bodie is nouriſhed by bread and wine, ſo doth the ſoule feede vpon the bodie and blood of Chriſt. But they are not the accidents of bread and wine that nouriſh vs, but the ſubſtance: *Ergo*, not the accidents, but the ſubſtance is the viſible ſigne. Likewiſe in Baptiſme, it is not the forme or outward accident of water, that is the ſigne, but the ſubſtance of water that waſheth.

2 It is a more liuelie operation of faith, to beleeue in Chriſt abſent in heauen, then preſent in the earth, although hee appeare not to the ſenſes. And Chriſt is indeede properly the obiect of faith, as he is now in heauen: *Hope* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *entreth into that which is within the vaile, whither our forerunner Ieſus is entred for vs*, Hebr.6.19. Fayth and hope therefore doe leade vs to things within the vaile, that is, things in heauen, and not vpon the earth.

3 What a ſtrange ſaying is this, that Chriſt giueth his fleſh to be eaten in the Sacrament, yet hideth it vnder the formes of bread and wine, leaſt men ſhould abhorre to eate it? for is it to be thought that Chriſt would commaund any vnſeemely thing, or contrarie to humanitie? How could the Apoſtles commaund the Gentiles to abſtaine from ſtrangled and blood, Act.15. when as, by your doctrine, they did eate dayly in their aſſemblies the raw fleſh and blood of Chriſt? And how is it that Chriſt now forgetteth his owne rule, *He that doth the trueth* (ſaith he) *commeth to the light, that his deedes may be made manifeſt?* Iohn 3.21. But Chriſt now flieth the light, and ſhroudeth himſelfe vnder the ſhape of bread and wine, and will not ſhew his fleſh. Theſe therefore are but fillie cauſes which you haue rendred, why Chriſt would haue the ſubſtance of bread onely changed, and not the accidents.

The Proteſtants.

AS the name of tranſubſtantiation is ſtrange, and newly deuiſed; ſo is the meaning thereof moſt vnreaſonable: that in the Sacrament, the ſubſtance of bread ſhould be conuerted into the bodie of Chriſt, the formes onely remaining: An opinion contrarie to Scripture, reaſon and common ſenſe.

Argum.1. As Chriſt ſaid, Matth.26. (poynting to the bread) *This is my bodie:* ſo he ſaith, Iohn 6.35. *I am the bread:* but in this place he was not changed into bread: why then in the other place ſhould the bread be turned into his bodie? for the ſpeech is all one.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that there is great difference betweene theſe two ſpeeches, *This bread is my bodie*, and *I am the true bread:* for there Chriſt ſpeaketh of materiall bread, in the iudgement of our aduerſaries, but in the other ſentence he vnderſtandeth celeſtiall bread: and therefore Chriſt ſaith not ſimplie, *I am bread*, but I am the *bread of life, or the bread of God*, or ſuch like: and this ſpirituall bread Chriſt was in deede; there needed no conuerſion or chaunge for the matter. *Bellarm.cap.24.reſp.ad arg.1.*

Contra. Firſt, if Chriſt, in ſaying, *I am the bread*, doe vnderſtand bread ſpirituallie, which we denie not, what reaſon hath he, where Chriſt ſaith, verſ.51. *The bread, that I will giue, is my fleſh*, to inferre Sacramentall bread? if Chriſt, in ſaying, I, that is, my fleſh is the bread, doe meane ſpirituall bread, when he ſaith, *The bread is my fleſh*, why is he not alſo ſpirituallie to be taken? Secondly, as Chriſt ſaith ſpirituallie, he is the bread; ſo we alſo ſay, that the bread ſpirituallie is his bodie: therefore as in that ſpeech, there needeth no chaunge, as hee confeſſeth; ſo neither in the other are we forced to admit any alteration or chaunge of ſubſtance. Thirdly, Chriſt ſaith not, *I am the bread*, ſimplie, but with ſome addition, ſaith *Bellarmine:* but he ſaith, *I am the doore of the ſheepe*, Ioh.10.7. without any other adiection, yet was he not conuerted into the doore: no more is the bread chaunged into his bodie.

Argum.2. The ſenſe is not deceiued in his proper obiect: but the eye in the Euchariſt ſeeth nothing but bread, the taſt diſcerneth nothing but bread, *Ergo* there is bread: for if the ſight and feeling might be deceiued; then by the ſame reaſon, the Manichees and Marcionites, who affirmed Chriſt to haue a phantaſticall bodie, might anſwere vs, that though his bodie were both ſeene and felt, yet the ſenſes might be deceiued: And by the ſame reaſon *Thomas* might haue doubted ſtill,

notwithſtanding

notwithstanding his seeing and feeling of Christ: And further, if there be no bread or wine remaining, and yet the accidents of both, as the colour, taste; then should they be lying signes, and so they will charge the Sacrament of truth with falshoode.

Bellarmine answereth: first, that the sense cannot be deceiued in the accidents which are the true obiect, but in the substance it may, which is the obiect *per accidens*; as he telleth vs a tale of a peece of wood conuerted into a stone, that had the colour and shape of wood still: *resp. ad argum. 5.*

Contra. 1. Though the accidents, not the substance are obiect to the sense, yet by the accidents the substance is certainely discerned by a necessarie consequence of nature; for otherwise there should be no certaintie at all in the sense: but seeing euery substance hath his proper accidents, by the discerning of the accidents, the substance also is perceiued. 2. It is possible for the eye sometime to be deceiued, as in taking things artificiallie carued and painted for the very things themselues, and as in the example of the wood turned into a stone: but for all the senses to be deceiued together, the eye, the feeling, the taste, it is not possible, as it must be in the Eucharist, where all the senses discerne bread, and yet (they say) there is no bread.

Secondly, saith he, the argument from the sight and feeling to proue Christs true bodie, was good, because the soliditie of a bodie is the proper obiect of the feeling; but the substance of the bread and wine is not the proper obiect. Secondly, the Scripture maketh mention, that Christ had a true naturall bodie, and therefore the sight and feeling thereof grounded vpon the testimonie of Scripture, were good and sufficient proofes: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, the Apostles by their handling and seeing did not onely discerne Christ to haue a solide bodie, but a bodie of bones and flesh: for that he saith, *Handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me to haue*, Luk. 24. 39. So then not the soliditie onely, but the substance of Christs bodie, as his bones and flesh, was by their sense discerned: but in the Eucharist we discerne neither flesh nor bones. Secondly, Christ would not haue them to beleeue his word onely, that he had a true bodie, but to trust their owne sense also: so that the euidence of sense, where there is no diuine testimonie, is a sufficient proofe of things sensible. And againe, as the Scripture testifieth that Christ had a true naturall bodie; so also it witnesseth, that after consecration in the Eucharist, there remaineth true bread, as S. *Paul* calleth it bread being now consecrated thrice together: 1. Cor. 11. vers. 26, 27, 28.

Thirdly, saith he, the accidents of bread and wine, though the substance be gone, are no lying signes: for naturallie they doe shew bread and wine; but that in the Eucharist there is a worke aboue nature, that there should be the accidents of bread and wine without their substance.

Contra 1. Yet for all this they are deceiueable signes, containing one thing, and shewing another, and the matter is not helped, but made the worse, in laying the blame not vpon nature, but vpon a worke beyond nature, which they make a cloake for deceite. Secondly, thus we see they cannot vpholde their foolish fansies, but by destroying nature. Thirdly, for this their supernaturall worke, seeing they haue no Scripture, their words are but winde, and perswade not: nay the Scripture is against them, for Christ is so farre from destroying nature, that he vpholdeth the nature of things *by his word*: Heb. 1. 3.

Argum. 3. The bread in the Eucharist after the consecration, is subiect to diuers changes and alterations, and so likewise the wine: for they may be boyled and made hote, they may be infected with poyson: for it is certaine that *Victor* the 3. Pope, and *Henrie* the 7. Emperour, were poysoned with the Sacrament: the wine may waxe sowre and turne to vineger: the bread may putrifie and breede wormes: *Ergo*, the substance of bread and wine remaine still: for the accidents cannot be subiect to such alterations: and to say that Christs bodie may be thus handled, it were great impietie, *Argum. Pet. Martyris.*

Bellarmine answereth: *Materia substituitur à Deo in ipso instanti, in quo desinunt esse illa species*: God supplieth some other matter in the very instant, when the formes begin to be changed, *cap. 24. argum. 6.*

Ans. Is not here good geare, thinke you, that if a man should come to poyson the Sacrament, that is, the bread and wine which are alreadie consecrate, and made the bodie of Christ, God should supplie by a myracle some other matter for him to worke vpon, and so God himselfe should be accessarie vnto that wicked acte? Or if a sillie mouse should be so bolde as gnaw vpon a consecrate Hoast, that then likewise some other matter and substance should for that instant be appointed: and so God should make miracles for mice? And why, I pray you, may not the substance of bread still remaine, as well as another substance to be put in the stead thereof?

Bellarmine answereth againe, that there is some matter for that instant supplied, and without a miracle, *exigente ordine rerum*: the order or course of things so requiring, like as the soule is sent into the bodie of ordinarie course. And concerning the poysoning of the Hoast, he saith there may be some poysoned matter mingled with the bread or wine, but that is not conuerted into Christs

bodie and blood: for nothing can be turned into Christs bodie or blood, but the bread and wine onely.

Contra. First, that the bread should be changed into Christs bodie, and againe another substance come instead of Christs bodie, and yet without a miracle, is very strange: for he may as well say, that the turning of water into wine, Iohn 2. was no miracle: neither because it is vsual in the Eucharist, it is therefore no miracle; as the rayning of Manna was no lesse miraculous, falling euerie day, then if it had come but once: And the example of the comming of the soule is nothing like, for we haue Gods warrant for that, *crescite, & multiplicamini*, increase and multiplie, which they haue not for the Eucharist. Let it also be remembred how contrarie he is to himselfe, for before, *resp. ad argum. 5.* he said that transubstantiation was *supra ordinem naturæ*, aboue the order of nature: here he saith it commeth to passe, *exigente ordine rerum*, according to the order of nature.

Secondly, if nothing be transubstantiate into the bodie and blood of Christ, but onely bread and wine; what then is become of the water which in the chalice you do vse to mingle with wine? which *Innocent* 3. determineth together with the wine to be transubstantiate into Christs blood, *decr. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 41. c. 6.* Againe you say, the poysoned substance is not turned into Christs bodie, but mixed together with it: Be it so, but what a dishonour is this to Christs bodie, that poyson may be receiued with it, and that it should not haue so much vertue, as many medicinall confections and receits, which are taken against poyson: if *Paul* could shake the Viper from his hand without hurt, is there lesse vertue in Christs bodie? or if Vnicornes horne allayeth the malice of poyson, is Christs flesh lesse precious or vigorous? Wherefore lay your hand vpon your mouth, and confesse your erronious ignorance, if you can finde no better answere.

Argum. 4. When Christ spake these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, the bread was transubstantiate, before, or after, or while the words were spoken. Before, they will not say, for the elements were not then consecrate: nor after, for then Christs words, *This is my bodie*, had not been true in that instant when they were spoken. Neither was the transubstantiation wrought in the while of speaking: for then should it not haue been done all at once, but successiuely, and one part after another, as the words were spoken one after another. But this is also contrarie to the opinion of the Papists, that would haue it done altogether.

Bellarmine answereth, that the conuersion of the bread is not made till all the words be pronounced: and though there be no change, till the whole sentence (*this is my bodie*) be finished, yet it is done by vertue of all the words pronounced before.

Contra. If the transubstantiation be wrought by all the words, then, *non fit simul*, it is not done all at once, as he confesseth: for the words are not spoken all at once, but one after another. Then I aske, if all the words of consecration be not of like operation: if they be, why should not the first words at the very speaking, be working, as the last is? but so are they not, for he suspendeth the force of the first words, till the last syllable be pronounced: if all the words then be of like working, then is not the conuersion wrought at one instant, as they generally holde, but in the leysure of speaking.

Argum. 5. It is against the nature and propertie of accidents and externall formes to be without a subiect, or substance, wherein they should rest: such are the whitenes and roundnes of the bread, the rednes and sweetnes of wine: if bread be gone, what is become of the roundnes and whitenes, and so of the wine? If a man aske what round or white thing is this, or what red and sweete thing is this, shewing the cup: what shall be answered? we cannot say, it is bread or wine: for there is none left. And I am sure they will not say, that the bodie of Christ is either round or white, or such like: and yet somewhat there must needs be, that must take denomination of these accidents.

Bellarmine answereth, first, that although we cannot separate accidents from their subiects, yet God can: and in the beginning of the creation, there was an accident without a subiect, namely the light, which was made the first day, that moued without a subiect, vntill the Sunne was made, wherein the light rested.

Contra. First, we do not dispute of Gods power, neither how things are in Gods sight, but how they appeare vnto vs, whether accidents may be offered vnto our sight, without their subiect. Secondly, it is a fond opinion, which he would father vpon *Basile*, that the light was without a subiect: First, God is said to haue made or created the light; but creation is of substances, not of accidents. Secondly, God saw, that it was good: the light pleased God, which he had made: but God delighteth in no imperfect worke, as an accident without a subiect is imperfect. Thirdly, S. *Ambrose* thinketh, that this light was not afterward incorporated to the Sunne, but remained still a distinct light: *Aliud est lumen diei, aliud lumen Solis, &c.* The light of the Sunne is one, the light of the day another: for there is a light, before the Sunne rise, and likewise after he is set: *Hexamer. lib. 4. c. 3.* Fourthly, notwithstanding, if in the beginning of the creation it had been so,

so, yet now all things being disposed and setled in a perfect order, it is not to be expected: if accidents then might be without a subiect, before things were brought to a perfect state, it followeth not, that it is or can be so now.

Secondly, saith he, the accidents of the bread and wine, though they haue no subsistence of themselues, after the substance of bread and wine are gone; yet they are in, and do depend of an other substance, *Vt in conseruante, non vt in subiecto*: As in and of a preseruer of them, not as in a subiect, *argum. 7 resp. ad 4.*

Contra. First, if the accidents, as the redneſſe, whiteneſſe, roundneſſe do not consist of themselues, then they must haue their being in another substance, which is the body of Christ, that commeth in the stead of bread and wine: if they then haue their being in Christs bodie, what are they els but accidents to his bodie, which were a very inglorious thing to Christs bodie, which in brightneſſe exceedeth the Sunne, to be ouer-shadowed with the accidentes of bread and wine? Secondly, I demaund, whether Christes bodie supposed to be present, haue not the proper accidents of his bodie: if it haue (for otherwise a bodie without the proper adiuncts should be vnperfect) then the accidents of bread and wine cannot be there to; for this were to make accidents the subiect of accidents, which were improper and vnnaturall: And againe, they bestow a goodly office vpon Christ, who vpholdeth all things, euen the heauens and earth, to be now a preseruer onely of accidents.

Thirdly, though the substance of bread and wine remaine not, yet the quantitie remaineth, which taketh denomination of the accidents: as the hoast is said to be white, round, little in respect of the quantitie, *responſ. ad argum. 6.*

Contra. First, the quantitie of a thing is the length, breadth, thickneſſe, which are adiuncts to the substance, as well as other qualities of whiteneſſe, redneſſe, &c. So then he defendeth one absurdite by another, to maintaine the being of qualities without their subiect, he doth inculcate a quantitie without a substance, a thing as impossible as the other. Secondly, if the quantitie retaine the denomination, you must not say, the hoast is white, round, &c. but the quantitie, as the breadth, length, thickneſſe, is white, round, &c. So that, when wee aske, what round, or what white? in his opinion the answere must be this: a round, or white thickneſſe or breadth, &c. which were very absurd: the fooliſh toyes of this trifling Iesuite are not worth the while, that is spent about them.

Argum. 6. You say, The very fleſh of Christ that did hang vpon the croſſe, is in the Sacrament: but that cannot bee: for that fleſh Christ tooke of the Virgin *Maria*: this sacramentall fleſh is made of bread: *Ergo*, it is not the same fleſh which was crucified vpon the Croſſe.

Idem. The body of Christ is made of bread, but not as any matter or materiall cause thereof, but as the wine was made of water by our Sauiour Christ.

Aduer. And I pray you, how was the wine made of the water? was not the water the very matter which was turned into wine? for one of these three changes and mutations it must needs haue: first, either the water was annihilate and turned to nothing, and so the wine was created of nothing, which I am sure you will not grant. Secondly, or els there was a mixture of wine and water, the one being mingled with the other; which is likewise falſe, for it was very good and perfect wine: neither, I thinke, will you easily admit, that the body of Christ and the bread are mingled together in the Sacrament. Thirdly, there remaineth but the third kind of change, that is, the conuersion of one substance into another, as the water was changed into wine: and so is the substance of bread conuerted into the substance of Christs body, if you will haue any change at all: and thus Christ hath gotten by your helpe a breaden bodie; another from that, which he tooke of the fleſh of the Virgin.

And thus may our argument be framed: The body, which Christ tooke of the Virgine, and which was nayled to the Croſſe, was not made of bread: but this bodie, which is supposed to be in the Eucharist, is made of bread: *Ergo*, it is not that bodie.

Bellarmine answereth, that euen the bodie of Christ, which was crucified, was made of bread: and the bread was changed and conuerted into it at his last Supper, when he said, *This is my body*: and though there be a conuersion of the bread, yet there is no production of Christs bodie out of the bread, but as the wine was made of water, Iohn 2. so is Christs bodie of bread. *Bellarmin. responſ. ad argum. 9.*

Contra. First, the bodie of Christ which was crucified, was made of the fleſh of the Virgin: the bodie in the Eucharist is made of bread; and therefore they cannot be all one bodie: for it is one thing to be made of fleſh; another thing, of bread. Secondly, where he maketh a difference betweene production, and conuersion, he vnderstandeth not himselfe: for the wine was produced out of the water, and the water was conuerted into the wine; so it was both a production and a conuersion: the difference is this, that conuersion is of the thing, which is conuerted; production, of that, whereinto it is conuerted: wherefore if Christs bodie be made of bread, as

Christ made wine of water; the bread shall be the matter of Christs flesh, as the water was of the wine: for it is said, vers. 9. that the Gouernour of the feast *tasted the water which was made wine*: Ergo, the substance of the water remained, though changed and conuerted. Thirdly, they must graunt, that the bread is eyther annihilated, that is, turned to nothing; or else conuerted into the substance of Christs-flesh: but the first is instantly denied by *Bellarm. respons. ad argum.* 3. The bread, he saith, doth not vanish to nothing, and so vtterly perish: therefore it cannot be auoided, but that it passeth and is incorporate to the flesh of Christ; and so, for all his sophisticall prating, Christ is become to haue a breaden bodie.

Let vs now further examine their owne decrees, *decret. par. 3. dist. 2. c. 36. Venisti ad aquam et pane dominicum factis estis*: Ye came to the water, and were made the Lords bread: The Lords bread is then receiued spiritually in Baptisme, and yet there is no transubstantiation in Baptisme: and *c. 62. Commendauit nobis &c.* He commended to vs in this Sacrament his bodie and blood, *Quod fecit nos ipsos*; which bodie he maketh vs, for we are his bodie: we are that bodie of Christ, which is commended in the Eucharist, but we are not transubstantiate into Christs bodie: *Ergo*, there is no transubstantiation: Againe, *cap. 63. Hunc cibum & potum societatem intelligi vult corporis, &c.* This bread and drinke is the societie of his bodie which is the Church: the bread then signifieth as the naturall bodie of Christ, so also his mysticall bodie; but it is not transubstantiate into his mysticall bodie: *Ergo*.

Some also of the Papists themselues haue denied transubstantiation, as the Master of sentences maketh mention of some in his dayes, that affirmed the substance of bread and wine to remaine, *lib. 4. dist. 11. d.* and *Innocentius* 3. reporteth the opinion of some, That the water in the chalice tempered with the wine, was not transubstantiate, *decret. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 41. c. 6.* and *Durand* thinketh the matter of the bread and wine to remaine still, *in 4. dist. 11. qu. 3.*

Let vs see the consent of antiquitie: *Concil. Constantin. 7. ex Nicen. 2. actio. 6. tom. 3. Vt enim Dominiper spiritum sanctum diuinitati est vnita, ita panem Eucharistia imaginem carnis per spiritus sancti aggressionem sanctificatam diuinam sibi corpus esse voluit*: As the flesh of our Lord was vnited by the spirit to his diuine nature, so the bread of the Eucharist, the image of his flesh being sanctified by the comming of the holy Ghost, is become his diuine body. Hence we reason thus, as Christ is God and man, so the Eucharist is his body, and bread: but his manhood is not conuerted into his diuine nature: *Ergo*, the bread is not turned into his body.

Thus was the assertion of *Iohn Husse*, for the which he was martyred: *Concil. Constan. sess. 15. Sicut Christus est simul Deus & homo, sic hostia consecrata est corpus Christi in figura & verus panis in natura*: As Christ is both God and man, so the consecrate hoast is the body of Christ in figure, and true bread in nature.

B. *Ridley* holy martyr thus reasoned against transubstantiation: As the bread of the Lords table is Christs naturall body, so is it his mysticall body: but it is not Christs mystical body by transubstantiation: *Ergo*.

Againe, the words of Christ spoken vpon the cup, and vpon the bread, haue like effect and working: but the words spoken vpon the cup haue no vertue to transubstantiate, for then they should transubstantiate the cup, or that which is within the cup, into the new Testament: for Christ said as well, *This cup is the new Testament in my blood*, as he did, *This is my body*: But this is not done: *Ergo*, not the other, *vid. plur. p. 1444.*

Lastly, the diuersitie of opinions, which this grosse conceit of the carnall presence of Christ hath hatched, do easily shew and demonstrate vnto vs, what we are to thinke of this popish doctrine.

Some doe hold, that the elements doe still remaine in their owne nature in the Sacrament, and that together with them the body of Christ is carnally present. Others doe teach, that there remayneth no more bread and wine, but onely the very naturall bodie of Christ: of each opinion there are three sortes: First of them that holde the elements not to be changed.

1 Some are of opinion, that the body of Christ and the elements are locally ioyned together, either for that instant onely, or els because of the vbiquitie and omnipresence of Christs humanitie: of which opinion are the Lutheranes.

2 Some there were, that thought onely so much of the bread to be changed into the body of Christ, as was receiued of the faithfull: and that parte which the wicked receiued to be bread still.

3 Others taught, that the bread was assumed in the Sacrament to the person of Christ, euen as his humanity: so that Christ was bread by consecration, as he was man by his incarnation: an horrible and monstrous opinion, which is fathered vpon *Rupertus* the Abbot.

Iohannes Parisiensis also came neere this opinion, who likewise affirmed, that the bread was assumed to the person of Christ, and vnited vnto him, yet not immediately as the other taught, but by the mediation and meanes of the humanity of Christ.

Secondly,

Secondly, of those that maintaine the conuersion of the elements. First, some would haue the forme onely of bread chaunged, not the matter, as *Durandus*. Secondly, some contrariwise would haue the matter altered, and the forme to remaine. Thirdly, the Iesuites affirme the bread wholy in substance, both in matter and forme to be changed, the outward formes and accidents onely remayning, *ex Bellarm. lib. 3. de sacram. Eucharist. cap. 11.*

Thus men, when they begin onee to leaue the truth, the Lord leaueth them to themselues, and they run mad in their owne inuentions, not finding any end: and so it is iustly come vpon them, as S. *Paul* saith of the heathen: *Because when they knew God, they did not glorifie him as God, neither were thankefull: they became vaine in their owne imaginations, and their foolish heart was full of darkenesse: when they professed themselues to be wise, they became fooles*, Rom. 1. 21. 22. We therefore leauing these shallowe pittes of humane inuentions, which will hold no water, will betake vs to the fountaine of truth. This then, to conclude, is our definitiue sentence, and full determination, according to the Scriptures, that Christ indeed is verily present in the Sacrament, neither by conuersion of the bread into his body, either wholy, or in part; nor by assumption of the bread to the vnity of his person; nor yet by the coniunction of his body and bread together: but he doth verily exhibite himselfe, with all his benefits, spiritually by faith, to be eaten and drunke of the worthy receiuer, as we haue sufficiently proued before out of the Scriptures.

THE THIRD QVESTION, WHETHER THE EVCHARIST being once consecrated, be a Sacrament, though it be neither eaten nor drunke.

The Papists.

THe elements in the Sacrament, that is, the bread and wine, being once consecrate, which they say, is done by the prolation of those words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my body, whether they be receiued or not at that instant, but be reserued and kept in boxes, and pixes, and other vessels of the Church, for dayes, weekes, moneths, to be caried solemnly to those that are sicke, and to be applyed to other vses, are still the very body and blood of Christ, *Trident. Concil. sess. 13. can. 4. Bellarm. lib. 4. cap. 2.* 19. Error.

Argum. 1. Christs words which were spoken ouer the bread, *This is my bodie*, were true as soone as he brought them forth, before he said, *Take, eate*, and so likewise of the cup: therefore it was a Sacrament before they did receiue and eate it, and had been a Sacrament still, if it had not been receiued at all at that time, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, these words of Christ, *this is my bodie*, were not spoken before he brake the bread and distributed it: but first, as Saint *Matthew* setteth it downe, he brake the bread and gaue it to his disciples, saying, *Take, eate*, and then follow those words, *this is my bodie*, Matth. 26. 26. which seme to haue beene vttered euen in that instant, when they tooke the bread, and began to eate it.

Bellarmine replieth: first, saith hee, it seemeth, that the Euangelists did transpose the wordes of Christ, setting that first, which was spoken last: and contrariwise, as Mark. 14. 23. *he tooke the cup, and when he had giuen thanks, he gaue it to them, and they all dranke of it, and he said vnto them, This is my blood of the new testament:* Here the words of consecration (*this is my blood*) are rehearsed after they dranke, which notwithstanding were spoken before: and so these words, *this is my bodie*, are placed after, *take, eate, &c.* and yet were vttered before: for these words, *this is my bodie*, doe containe a reason, why he would haue them eate that meate: but the reason of the eating must first bee expressed, before the bread be deliuered to be eaten.

Contra. First, where the Euangelists doe dissent in the order and placing of words, it is like that the words are transposed, as in that place of *Marke*, who onely of the Euangelists placeth these words, *this is my blood*, after their drinking: but where all the Euangelists keepe the same order, as in setting these words, *this is my bodie*, after, *take ye, eate ye*; it is euident, that the words were spoken in such order, as is set downe; seeing that the Apostle also rehearsing the institution, 1. Cor. 11. doth so place the words: wherefore it is great boldnes in him to controule the order agreed vpon by all the Euangelists, and the Apostle. Secondly, whereas S. *Marke* saith, *they all dranke of it*, and then Christ said, *this is my blood*, it maketh altogether for vs, that euen at the same instant of drinking Christ pronounced those words, signifying that it was his blood vnto those, that did receiue, and drinke it in faith. Thirdly, the reason or the cause in order of nature goeth alwaies before the signe or the effect, but not in order of time: as the end of a thing precedeth in intention, but not in action: as Exod. 12. 11. *Ye shall eate it in haste, for it is the Lords Passe-ouer*. Here the Passeouer is the reason or cause, or end of their eating; yet their eating went before: so in the Eucharist, the participation of the Lords bodie is the cause, and end of their eating; yet by the same reason of the Passe-ouer, by eating in faith it is made the Lords bodie.

Secondly,

Secondly, the inſtitution of the Sacrament conſiſteth partly of a promiſe, partly of a precept: the promiſe is this, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, This is my bodie: The precept, *Accipite, manducate*, Take, eate. Chriſt doth no otherwiſe make good his promiſe, then wee performe the condition: vnleſſe therefore accordingly we doe take and eate it, it is not the bodie of Chriſt.

To this *Bellarmine* anſwereth: firſt, that if theſe wordes, *this is my bodie*, contained a promiſe, it ſhould be pronounced in the future tenſe; as when Chriſt ſaith, Mark. 16. *he that beleeueth, & ſhall be ſaued*: ſo Chriſt would haue ſaid, *it ſhall be my bodie*. Secondly, it would follow hereof, that they ſhould not in their eating receiue Chriſts bodie; for the condition preſcribed goeth before, and then the thing promiſed afterward followeth, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, in the Scriptures we finde, that the promiſe is often deliuered in the preſent tenſe, becauſe that which God promiſeth is as certaine, as if it were alreadie performed: as Iohn 5.24. *He that beleeueth, hath euerlaſting life*: and Exod. 12.11. *This is the Lords Paſſe-ouer*, he ſaith not, *it ſhall be*, but *is*: wherefore *Bellarmines* collection is falſe. Secondly, Gods promiſe is oftentimes fulfilled in the very act of our obedience, as whereas God ſaith, *Call vpon me, and I will heare thee*, he doth heare vs not after we haue prayed, but while we are in prayer; as Iſay. 65.24. *Before they call, I will anſwere, and while they ſpeake, I will heare*: ſo in the very action of eating and receiuing in faith, Chriſts bodie is communicated to vs.

Argum. 2. S. *Luke* ſaith, chap. 22. *This cup is the new teſtament in my blood*: the blood of Chriſt was in the cup, before it was in their mouth: *Ergo*, it is a Sacrament, though it bee not receiued. Saint *Paul* alſo ſaith, 1. Cor. 10.7 *the bread which we breake, is it not the communion of the body of Chriſt? Ergo*, it is the bodie of Chriſt before it be broken or diſtributed, *Bellarm. cap.* 2.

Anſw. Firſt, there is a figure in Chriſts words, for the cup is taken for that, which was conteined in the cup: and the other Euangeliſts rehearſe them thus, *this is my blood of the new teſtament*: wherefore his collection drawne from a figuratiue ſpeech concludeth not. And againe, Chriſt ſaid before, *drinke ye all of it*, ſo that in the drinking his blood was exhibited. Secondly, the place of Saint *Paul* is for vs, for he ſpeaketh of a communion, which cannot bee where there is no diſtribution: ſo that the communion of Chriſts bodie is in breaking of the bread, and diſtribution thereof.

The Proteſtants.

THe Euchariſt is no Sacrament beſide or without the vſe thereof; ſo that, though ſome forme of words be pronounced ouer it, if it bee not receiued and eaten and drunke, it is no Sacrament: neither is that which remaineth after the diſtribution, the Euchariſt being ended, either of the bread or wine, any part of the Sacrament, but ſo much onely as is taken and vſed.

Argum. 1. It is no Sacrament, vnleſſe it bee vſed according to the inſtitution as Chriſt hath commaunded it: but to the inſtitution it belongeth on the behalfe of the Miniſter, to bleſſe, breake, and diſtribute it: on the behalfe of the Communicants, to take, eate, and drinke it: in them all, thereby to ſhew the Lords death, and to doe it in remembrance of Chriſt. But this cannot bee performed by vſing the words of benediction onely, but by the whole action: for how can they ſhew the Lords death, or doe it in remembrance of Chriſt, vnleſſe they take, and eate? *Ergo*, if it be not ſo vſed, it is no Sacrament. 1 Cor. 11.24. 26.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that to reſerue the Euchariſt is not contrarie to the inſtitution of Chriſt: for it is reſerued to be eaten, though not preſently: ſo that the deferring of the eating, as to keepe it to be carried vnto the ſicke, may very well agree with the firſt inſtitution, where Chriſt commaundeth it indeede to be eaten, but not preſently.

Contra. Firſt, at the inſtitution of the Lords Supper, they did preſently take and eate, and Saint *Marke* ſaith, *that they all dranke of it*, Mark. 14.23. ſo that, if the preſent eating and drinking be agreeable to the inſtitution, the deferring of it is contrarie. Secondly, your reſerued hoaſt is not alwaies eaten; for ſometime it putrifieth and mouldeth, in which caſe, by their owne Canons it muſt bee committed to the fire: ſo that herein there muſt bee an apparant breach of the inſtitution. Thirdly, the Sacrament neede not to bee kept for the ſicke, for it may much better bee miniſtred vnto the ſicke at home, if there be a ſufficient number well prepared, and the ſicke perſon deſiring it onely to his comfort, not of any ſuperſtitious conceit, in being addicted to the outward element.

Laſtly, S. *Origen* thus writing, *Hom. 5. in 7. cap. Leuitic. Dominus panem, quem diſcipulis dabat &c.* The Lord did not commaund that bread, which hee gaue to his diſciples, to bee deferred till the morrow, ſheweth, that the preſent eating is moſt agreeable to the inſtitution; as the paſchall Lambe was commanded preſently to be eaten, Exod. 12.8.

Bellarmine anſwereth againe, that the Sacrament may be a Sacrament, though it be not vſed to that end, for the which it was inſtituted: for to the inſtitution belongeth both the eſſence of the Sacrament, which is the conſecration, and the vſe, which is the manducation or eating: now if there

there be the essence, though not the vse, it is a Sacrament: as a chaire made to sit in, is a chaire still, though no man sit therein.

Contra. First, it is a most impious assertion, that the Sacrament may bee a Sacrament, though not vsed to the end it was instituted for: doth he thinke then, that the Eucharist if it bee cast vnto dogs, or swine, remaineth a Sacrament? or ẏ if bels be baptized, it is baptisme? Secondly, in some things which consist in action, the very vse is of the essence, as in speaking, and singing, the very vse and action is the essence of the voyce and song: so in the Eucharist, which partly consisteth in action, the very vse is of the essence: That like as the paschall Lambe was not the Passe-ouer, vnles it were eaten, Exod. 12. 11. so is not the bread a Sacrament being not receiued. Thirdly, consecration he granteth to bee the essence of the Sacrament; but eating and receiuing belongeth to the consecration: for the elements are not consecrated onely by rehearsing of the words of institution, but by the whole action of receiuing, thanksgiuing, &c. as S. *Paul* sheweth, 1. Cor. 10. 16. when he had said, *the cup which we bless, is the communion, &c.* addeth further, *the bread which we breake*: the breaking of the bread answereth to the blessing of the cup: whereupon it followeth, that the bread is in part blessed and sanctified by the breaking and distribution thereof. Lastly, a chaire is a chaire, though it be not sit in; so is the bread, bread still, though it be not eaten in the Sacrament: but it followeth not by this example, that the Sacrament is a Sacrament still, though not vsed; for the Sacrament consisteth in action, and is not a permanent thing, as a chaire is. So then, notwithstanding any thing yet obiected, it appeareth to be contrarie to the institution of Christ, to celebrate the Eucharist without eating and communicating, and indeede it is no Sacrament at all, if this be wanting: as out of S. *Paul* we reason thus:

In the Eucharist there is alwaies a remembrance of Christ, and a shewing forth of his death, 1. Corinth. 11. 24. but in eating and drinking in the Sacrament the Lords death is shewed foorth, vers. 26. *Ergo*, in the sacrament tall eating and drinking consisteth the Eucharist.

Argum. 2. The Sacraments of the new Testament are alike, and of one and the selfesame kind, there is one way of instituting and consecrating both: but the water in Baptisme is no part of the Sacrament, but during the solemne action of baptizing, afterward it returneth to the common vse, so much as is not vsed: *Ergo*, it is so also in the Eucharist: for as Christ saith to his Apostles, *Ite baptizate*: Goe and baptize: so that it was no Sacrament, vnlesse some bodie were baptized: euen so hee saith, *Accipite, manducate*: Take, eate. No Sacrament then, vnlesse it bee receiued and eaten.

And here, I pray you, let it be noted, how well the Iesuites agree amongst themselues: our Rhemists doe commend the reseruing also of the water in Baptisme, and carrying of it home to giue it the diseased to drinke, *annot. Iam. 5. sect. 5.* *Bellarmine* saith, that *Res permanens in baptismo*: That the thing permanent in Baptisme, that is, water which remaineth, is not the Sacrament, but *ipsa actio*, the action of baptizing it selfe, and alloweth onely the Eucharist to bee reserued, and remaine a Sacrament, *etiam extra vsum*, without the vse thereof, *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Eucharist. cap. 3.* But we haue shewed alreadie, that both the Sacraments are hallowed and sanctified alike, and that both in the one and the other, the vse onely and present action according to Christs institution, maketh the Sacrament.

Bellarmine answereth, that there is great difference betweene Baptisme and the Eucharist: for Baptisme consisteth in the action, as of baptizing; but so doth not the Eucharist: for it standeth not in the action of eating, for that is an act onely of the receiuer; but Sacraments are not the acts onely of the receiuers, but of the ministers also: neither in the action of breaking is the Sacrament, for it is no signe of any inuisible grace: nor yet in the act of consecration, for that helpeth to make the Sacrament: *Ergo*, it is not the Sacrament, *Bellarm. cap. 3.*

Contra. We doe not affirme, that the Eucharist consisteth seuerally in any one of these actions of eating, breaking, consecrating, but that all these ioyntly together are required to make the Sacrament: first then, as Sacraments are not only the acts of the receiuers, so neither are they without them: but as in Baptisme, there is the act of the Minister to baptize, and the act of the receiuer to be baptized; so in the Eucharist, there is the act of the Minister to breake and distribute, and of the receiuer to take and eate. Secondly, the breaking also of the bread hath a spirituall signification; for thereby is signified the breaking and communication of Christs bodie spiritually vnto vs, 1. Cor. 10. 16. as likewise the manner of Christs death, whose bodie was in a manner broken vpon the crosse for vs, 1. Cor. 11. 24. Thirdly, we say not that consecration is the very Sacrament, but that it concurreth with other actions to make the Sacrament: and the same reason which he vrgeth against consecration in the Eucharist, might be enforced against Baptisme, that the action of baptizing is not the Sacrament it selfe, because it helpeth to make the Sacrament. So then as we say not, that the very action of washing in Baptisme is the whole Sacrament; for there is beside the inuisible grace represented by that washing, and the words of institution; but yet without that action it is no Baptisme: so though the very act of eating and drinking be not the Eucharist;

yet

yet it is necessarily required, without the which, and other actions it is no Sacrament. There is then betweene Baptisme and the Eucharist herein no difference at all.

In *Augustines* time some vsed to receiue the Communion daily: but vpon the Sabboth or Lords day, it was commonly receiued of all: *Quotidie Eucharistia communionem percipere, nec laudo, nec reprehendo; omnibus tamen dominicis diebus communicandum suadeo & hortor:* Euery day to receiue the Eucharist, I neither commend, nor dispraise it; but euery Lords day I doe perswade men and exhort all to communicate. It should seeme then, that in those daies there was no such superstitious reseruation of the Sacrament, seeing euery day, or at the least euery Sabboth it was administred.

Let vs heare antiquitie speake: *Epistol. 2. Clement.* and it is rehearsed, *Decr. par. 3. distinct. 2. c. 23. Si remanserint, in crastinum non reseruentur, sed cum timore & tremore clericorum diligentia consumantur, & comedantur:* If any part remaine, let it not bee kept till the morrow, but let the Clerkes with feare and trembling eate them. By this we see that it was not lawfull to reserue the Sacrament, no not a day.

Bellarmines euasion here is this, that *Clement* is so to be vnderstood, that no part of the Eucharist should be reserued, vnlesse some portion for the sicke: so his meaning is, that not much of the Eucharist should remaine, *Bellarm. cap. 5.*

Contra. It is euident by the words of the decree, that whatsoeuer remained, the Ministers should eate, and nothing at all be left till the morrow: *Tanta in altaria holocausta, &c.* Let so much bee offered vpon the Altar, as may suffice the people, &c. but if there remaine, let the Clerks eate them, &c. First, the prouision must bee made for the people onely, that communicate: but if any part should be reserued for the sicke, the prouision and offering ought to be made thereafter. Againe, he calleth it *holocaustum*, a whole burnt offering, alluding to the rite of that sacrifice, which was consumed wholy vpon the Altar. Thirdly, the words are general, *the Ministers must eate that which remained*; and so, if any thing were intended for the sicke, they must eate it likewise, if it were a remainder. Lastly, this decree hath relation to the like rite of the Paschall Lambe: *Non derelinquetur de eo &c.* There shall not remaine of it till the morning, Exod. 12. that as not one ire of the Passe-ouer was to remaine till the next day; so neither should any part of the Eucharist be reserued.

The holy Martyrs also haue sealed this truth: *Iohn Philpot* holy Martyr; I doe not say that the receiuing maketh it a Sacrament onely: but I say, that a common receiuing must needes be concurrent with the true Sacrament, as a necessarie member; without the which it cannot be a Sacrament: because Christ hath made this a principall part of the Sacrament: *Take yee, eate ye: Fox* pag. 1815.

Richard Woodman: As if the words of Baptisme be sayd ouer the water, and there bee no childe there to be baptized, it is no Baptisme; so without eating and receiuing, it is no Sacrament, &c. pag. 1992.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, CONCERNING the elements or materiall part of the Sacrament, namely bread and wine.

The Papists.

10. Error. 1. THe bread which is vsed in the Sacrament, ought to bee vnleauened: because it must agreable to Christs institution, who made the Sacrament of vnleauened bread, for he instituted his last Supper, after he had eaten the Passe-ouer: which was to be eaten with sweete and vnleauened bread, according to the Law; neither was there any leauen to be found in Israell for seuen daies together: and not onely Christ, but all the Iewes at that time did keepe the Passe-ouer: and the next day after, in the which Christ suffered, was the first solemne festiuall day of the seuen, being the fifteenth day of the moneth, as it was commaunded, Leuit. 23. 5. *Rhem. 1. Cor. 11. fol. 10. Bellarm. lib. 4. de Eucharist. cap. 7.*

Argum. 1. That the Iewes kept the Passe-ouer at the same time, that Christ and his Apostles did, *Bellarmine* pretendeth to proue by these places of Scripture, Mark. 14. 12. *The first day of vnleauened bread, when they sacrificed the Passeouer:* Luk. 22. 7. *Then came the day of vnleauened bread, when the Passe-ouer must be sacrificed. Ergo,* at the same time, when Christ eate the Passe-ouer, it was commonly obserued of all, *Bellarm. cap. 8.*

Contra. The Euangelists thus writing doe respect the right time of the Passe-ouer, as it was appointed by the Law, and obserued by Christ, not regarding the contrarie corrupt vse and custome of the Iewes, who to auoide the keeping of two festiuals together, did deferre the eating of the Passe-ouer till the 15. day at night: but Christ, according to the law, did eate it with his disciples the 14. day at euen.

Bellarmine

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that this tradition of the Iewes, that the Paſch ſhould not bee kept vpon the 6. day of the weeke, which was now the 15. day of the moneth, becauſe of the concurrence of two feſtiuals, might very well agree with *Moſes* law: for the account of the daies muſt not be according to the Aſtronomicall computation, but according to the account of the Hebrue Calendar, wherein they might ſo calculate the time of the Paſch, as that it ſhould not fall vpon the 6. day; and ſo they might ſet their Calendar in the beginning of euery yeere, as that the feaſt ſhould fall that day; as the Chriſtians now haue a ſpeciall rule for the obſeruation of Eaſter: and this tradition our Sauiour Chriſt was bound alſo to keepe. Secondly, this tradition of the Hebrues was brought in long ſince Chriſts time, *Bellarm. cap. 7. 8. reſp. ad Burgenſ.*

Anſ. Firſt, it is blaſphemie to ſay, that Chriſt was bound to keep ỹ traditions, *whereby they made the word of God of no authoritie*, Mark. 7. 13. as this tradition in altering the Paſch from the 15. day of the moneth is contrarie to the law: which reckoneth the daies according to the Aſtronomicall account of the moneths, not after the deuiſe of any ſuch Calendar. So then *Moſes* ſaith, they ſhould eate the Paſſe-ouer the 14. day (of the moneth, not of the Calendar) at euen, Exod. 12. 6. and the next day, which is the 15. ſhould be the firſt ſolemne day of the feaſt: But the Iewes Calendar ſaith, this yeere you ſhall eate the Paſſe-ouer the 15. day at euen, and keepe the ſolemne feaſt the 16. day: this was therefore a manifeſt tranſgreſſion of the law. Secondly, it is vntrue alſo, that this tradition of the Iewes began after the time of our Sauiour, that is not to keepe the Paſſe-ouer vpon the Sabboth euen, but to put it off to the Sabboth: for we force not vpon the authoritie of ſome of the Iewiſh Rabbins alleaged by *Bellarmine*, who in this cauſe are not to bee beleeued, being enemies to Chriſt: although we want not alſo the graue teſtimonie of ſome learned in the Hebrue rites, as of *Rupertus in cap. 23. Leuitic.* and of *Paulus Burgenſ. in additionib. ad Lyran. commentar. cap. 26. Matth.* who are of this iudgement, that this tradition was receiued long before Chriſts time. And this appeareth to be ſo by the Scripture, Iohn 19. 14. *It was the preparation of the Paſſe-ouer*, when Chriſt was condemned of *Pilate* and crucified: but that was the 15. day of the moneth, which by the law ſhould haue been the firſt ſolemne day of the Paſſe-ouer: ſo that this being but the day of preparation, the Paſſe-ouer was put off till the next day, which was the Sabboth.

Obiect. 2. The day wherein Chriſt ſuffered was the feſtiuall day of the Paſſe-ouer; and therefore the euen before, the Paſſe-ouer generally was eaten of the Iewes. *Bellarm. c. 8.* The firſt he would thus proue: Firſt, Ioh. 13. 1. *Before the feaſt of the Paſſe-ouer, when Ieſus knew that the houre was come &c.* Chriſt therefore did eate the Paſſe-ouer before, and the feaſt followed the next day. Likewiſe Ioh. 18. 39. *Pilate* ſaith, *You haue a cuſtome that I ſhould deliuer one at the Paſſe-ouer.* Ergo, at that inſtant the Paſſe-ouer was begun: and therefore the Iewes ſay, *it was not lawfull for them to put any to death*, namely at that inſtant, becauſe it was at the feaſt: for otherwiſe they did, and might put to death.

Contra. To the two firſt places we anſwere: firſt, that Chriſt did and might eate the paſchall Lambe before the Paſſe-ouer, though it followed not immediatly the next day, but the day after. And the diſciples ſuppoſition may very well ſtand, that when Chriſt had ſaid to *Iudas*, *That thou doeſt, do quickly*, they thought he had bid him buy ſomewhat needfull againſt the feaſt, Ioh. 13. 29. for this might bee againſt the feaſt following after one day: or both Chriſt and his diſciples may be taken to ſpeake of the right time of the Paſſe-ouer, which by the law ſhould haue been kept the next day. Secondly, *Pilate* might deliuer one at or againſt the Paſſe-ouer, though not vpon the very feſtiuall day it ſelfe.

Thirdly, it is a fond conceit, that the Iewes ſhould anſwere, they could put none to death, only in reſpect of the feaſt then inſtant: firſt, it had been as vnlawfull for them to ſend him bound to *Pilate* vpon that day, which they did, Matth. 27. 2. and in their owne perſons to lay in accuſations againſt him, verſ. 12. and to crie out, *Crucifie him*, Luk. 23. 23. and to ſee Chriſt crucified, Luk. 19. verſ. 21. Secondly, it is euident, that they indeede were depriued of the Ciuill power in putting to death by the Romanes, and that ſome 40. yeeres before the deſtruction of the Temple, as ſome of their Rabbins confeſſe. And the words of the Iewes implie ſo much in plaine meaning: *It is not lawfull for vs to put any man to death*: not this man, or at this time, but not any man. And therefore *Pilate* doth arrogate this authoritie, as peculiar to his place: *I haue power to crucifie thee, and power to looſe thee*, Iohn 19. 11. as if he ſhould haue ſaid, I onely haue this power, not the high Prieſts or Elders. Thirdly, if the Iewes put any to death, it was either tumultuouſly without any forme of iudgement, as *Stephen* was caſt out and ſtoned, Act. 7. 58. or they onely came together to enquire and examine, Act. 23. 15. and their councell was ſtill at commaundement of the chiefe Captaine, who was preſent to moderate their doings, as Act. 22. 30. *the chiefe Captaine commaunded the high Prieſts and all their councell to come together.* Act. 23. 10. The chiefe Captaine taketh *Paul* away from the Councell: So that it is euident, that they had no authoritie to put to death of themſelues: for they acknowledge no King, but *Ceſar*, Ioh. 19. 15. Now it is cleere that the power of life and

death is onely in the King, and therefore it belonged onely to *Cæsar*. *Bellarmine* then bewrayeth great ignorance, to say that the Iewes had power in themselues, being then vnder the gouernment of the Romanes, to put any to death. So then *Bellarmine* hath not yet proued, that he pretended, that either the Iewes generally did eate the Passe-ouer, when Christ did, or that hee was crucified vpon their feast day.

The Protestants.

1. WE denie not, but that Christ might vse vnleauened bread, at the institution of his last Supper, hauing immediatly before eaten the Paschall Lambe, which we doubt not but he kept, according to the Law, with sweete bread: yet in the time they are greatly deceiued, affirming, that all the Iewes eate the Passe-ouer likewise ouer eeuen, and crucified Christ on the morrow, which should haue been, and was vnto them (as they say) a chiefe festiuall day.

The truth is, that Christ eate the Passe-ouer the 14. day at eeuen, as it is appointed in the Law: but the Iewes had a contrary tradition: they would in no wise keepe two festiuall daies together: and therefore because the sixteenth day was their Sabboth, they would not haue the feast of vnleauened bread vpon the fifteenth day (though it were so appointed by the law) to auoide the concurrence of two holy daies together, but deferred it till the next day, which was their Sabboth, and eate the Passe-ouer the eeue before, which was the fifteenth day at night; whereas Christ reforming that abuse, kept the Passe-ouer the eeue before, according to the law, that is, the 14. night. It appeareth then, that the next day following, which wee call Friday, wherein Christ was put to death, was not kept of the Iewes as a holy day.

First, the text saith, they would not put Christ to death vpon the feast day, *feuring the tumult of the people*, Mark. 14. 2.

Bellarmine answereth, that this was but the sentence of some in the Councell, which preuailed not; but their sentence rather stood, that thought it good to take any occasion at what time soeuer, to put Christ to death, *cap. 9.*

Contra. First, there is no mention made of any diuision in the Councel, but that they all agreed vpon it, not to apprehend Christ vpon the feast day: the words are, *but they said*, Matth. 26. that is, the high Priests, Scribes and Elders of the people which were assembled, vers. 4. they all accorded in one. Secondly, who would thinke, that *Bellarmine* had so soone forgotten himselfe before, where the Iewes said, *it is not lawfull for vs to put any to death*, hee expoundeth it, in respect of the feast, that it was not lawfull for them therein to kill any: and yet now they are resolued vpon any day whatsoeuer to kill Christ: how can these things hang together?

Argum. 2. Secondly, if they had kept it holie, as the Law commaunded, they should haue done no seruile labour therein, that is, no worke of the bodie, Leuitic. 23. 7. But what could be a more seruile worke, then to crucifie Christ, to carry the Crosse, and pitch it in the ground, and such like, which the Iewes would not haue done vpon that day, which they were as straightly to keepe as the Sabboth? It is also called the preparation of the Sabboth, Mark. 15. 43. Wherein they were wont to prepare against the Sabboth, what was needfull: but such workes of preparation could not haue been done in that great festiuall day.

Bellarmine answereth, that the Iewes were not of such a daintie conscience, to thinke that these things were not lawfull vpon the feast day: they thought it sufficient, if with their owne hands they did not stone Christ: *resp. ad argum. 2.*

Contra. First, yea the Iewes did many things against Christ with their own hands, they came against him to take him, with swords and staues, Mat. 26. 55. they did buffet him, & smite him with rods, vers. 67. they did carrie him bound to *Pilate*, chap. 27. 2. *they tooke Iesus and led him vp and crucified*, Ioh. 19. 16. therefore it is like also, that with their owne hands they crucified him: wherefore they should apparantly in thus doing haue broken the feast. Secondly, seeing that the Iewes were so superstitious in keeping of the rest of the Sabboth, that they reproued the Apostles for pulling the eares of corne, and would not suffer Christ to heale vpon the Sabboth, it is not like they tooke such libertie vpon the chiefe festiuall of the Passe-ouer, wherein all worke was as strictly forbidden, as vpon the Sabboth, sauing about their meate, Exod. 12. 16.

Argum. 3. Ioh. 18. 28. *The high Priests went not into the common hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eate the Passe-ouer:* Ergo, they did not eate the Passe-ouer till that night, which was the eeuen after Christ was crucified.

Bellarmine answereth, that by the Passe-ouer here is not vnderstood the paschall Lambe, which was eaten at eeuen, but other sacrifices beside, whereof the Priests did eate, wherewith they celebrated the Passe-ouer, as Deut. 16. 2. *Thou shalt sacrifice the Passe-ouer of sheepe, and of bullocks, &c. resp. ad argum. 4.*

Contra. First, though the feast of the Passe-ouer were celebrated with other sacrifices; yet to eate the Passe-ouer is not found in Scripture, but properly to betoken the eating of the Paschall Lambe, as Mark. 14. 12. 14. *I will eate the Passe-ouer with my disciples, &c.* Likewise, Matth. 26. 17. In all

all these places, the sacrificing of the Passeouer, the keeping of it, the preparing and eating of it (for all these phrases are vsed) are vnderstood onely of the Paschal Lambe: wherefore this is but a fillie shift, to obscure so euident a text. Secondly, that the Priestes could not eate the Passeouer the eeue before Christs suffring, it appeareth by this, that they were so full of businesse, in sending for Christ with swords and staues, first bringing him to *Annas* house, then to *Caiphas*, Iohn 18.24. in gathering the assemblie of the Elders to *Caiphas* house, Matth.26.57. in producing witnesses against Christ, vers. 59. in sifting and examining him with many questions, vers.63. in buffeting and beating him, vers.67. all this was done the fourteenth day at night: it is very apparant, that they being thus busied had no leisure to eate the Passeouer.

Argum.4. Iohn 19.14. It was the day of the preparation of the Passeouer: *Ergo*, it was not the first day of the Passeouer: and vers.31. the Sabboth following is called a great day, because of the feast of the Passeouer: for the first day of the Passeouer, and the last, were solemne dayes, Exo.12.16. Ioh.7.37. *The last and great day of the feast*: If the Sabboth following then were the first day of the passeouer, then did they not begin their feast the same day, wherein Christ was crucified.

Bellarmine answereth, that it is called the preparation of the Pasche, being indeed the preparation to the Sabboth: because it fell within the Pasche: and so likewise is the Sabboth called a great, or high day, because it was within the feast of the Passeouer.

Contra. First, we graunt indeed, that it was the preparation day to the Sabboth, and to the Passeouer likewise, because the Euangelist saith so: for it were an improper speech to say, the preparation of the Passeouer, that is within the Passeouer: but as the preparation of the Sabboth, serueth to the Sabboth; so the preparation of the Passeouer serueth to the Passeouer. Secondly, seeing that they were not to do any worke vpon the feast day, Exod.12.16. but in the preparation of the Sabboth, many workes must be done, that all might be dispatched before the Sabboth; it is not like, that the preparation could fall vpon the feast of the Passeouer. Thirdly, the Sabboth day was not the greater, falling vpon the ordinarie weeke dayes of the Passeouer: for they were not counted great dayes, but onely the first and the last: and therefore being not great dayes themselues, they could not make the Sabboth a great day: So then the greatnesse of this Sabboth was by reason of the first and great day of the Passeouer. Fourthly, *Augustine* also saith, that the day of Christs suffering was not *Pascha, sed preparatio Paschæ*, it was not the Pasch, but the preparation to it. It is not therefore true, that it was kept holy of the Iewes, the day of Christs Passion; neither that they did eate the Paschal Lambe the same eeue that Christ did, but the night following. De consensu Euangel. lib.3. cap.13.

We conclude then, first, that Christ might eat vnleauened bread at the institution of his last Supper: and yet neither did the Iewes generally eate their Passeouer then, neither was the next day of Christs Passion, kept by them as a solemne feast.

Secondly, it was not of the substance of the institution to eate vnleauened bread, no more then to eate it at night, and to receiue it sitting, we are not more bound to the one, then to the other. Againe, Christ vsed vnleauened bread, because it was the vsuall bread at that time: so wee haue that, which is the vsuall bread in our time. And Saint *Paul* speaketh of such bread, as was vsuall among the Gentiles, when he saith, *The bread which we breake*, 1.Corin.10.17. *Ergo*, ordinarie bread and leauened to be vsed, not vnleauened.

The testimonie of antiquitie is this: *Concil. Laodicen. can.*38. *Non oportet à Iudæis azyma accipere*: It is not lawfull to receiue vnleauened bread from the Iewes. *Trullan. can.*11. *Nemo Iudæorum azyma comedat*: Let no man eat the vnleauened bread according to the custome of the Iewes. We see then that the vse of leauened bread pleased better, then of vnleauened. And the Greeke Church herein more indifferent then the Latine: *De pane, sive azymo, sive fermentato sumpserit, Græcum errat, dum ex tritico conflet*: The Greekes, whether it be leauened, or vnleauened bread, care not, so it be of wheate: *Florentin. sess.*25.

Lastly, in this case we want not some testimonie of their owne: that whereas *Bellarmine* alleageth out of *Abenezra in cap. Leuitic.*23. that this tradition of the Iewes, not to keepe the Passeouer vpon the Sabboth eeue, to auoid the concurrence of two festiuals, began many yeeres after Christ, cap.8. yet *Iohan. Hentenius præfat. in Euthymium*, and *Cornelius Iansenius in cap.26. Matth.* alleage out of *Seder-olam*, that this tradition began straight after their returne from the captiuitie of Babylon.

The Papists.

21. Error. Concerning the other element of wine, which is vsed in the Sacrament, they say it is to be mixed with water, and they impudently condemne all those Churches, that do not mixe water with wine, in the Sacrament: saying, it cannot be omitted, *sine graui peccato*, without great sinne. *Bellarm. lib.4.c.*10. And therefore *Honorius* 3. caused a Priest to be deposed both from his office and benefice, because hee did sacrifice *Sine aqua & igni*: Without water and fire, *decret. Greg. lib.3.tit.41.c.*14.

*Argum.*3. Water gushed out together with blood, out of the side of Christ: *Ergo*, wine and water is to be vsed together in the Eucharist, *Rhemist.*1. *Cor.*11. *sect.*10. *Bellarmin. lib.*4. *de Euchar. cap.*10.

Answ. First, the blood and water, that issued out of Christs side, were not mingled together, but came forth apart: *Ergo*, if they wil ground their mixture in the Sacrament vpon this example, they must vse them seuerally and apart in the Eucharist: And *Bellarmine* answereth nothing, when he saith, that notwithstanding they were not mixed comming forth of Christs side; yet if they had fallen into one vessell or cup, they would haue runne together: for we say againe, if they had fallen into two seuerall vessels, they would not haue runne together: therefore if they will follow this president, they should put the wine and water into two seuerall cuppes, and so vse them apart.

Secondly, they cannot proue, that the water which came from Christ, was like to the water, which we commonly vse, but such, as is in the bodie of man: and it hath been an old receiued opinion, that it came neere vnto that humour in mans bodie, which is called *Phlegma*, as it is mentioned in their decrees, *decret. Greg. lib.*3. *tit.*41. *c.*8. which opinion is there confuted, neither do we altogether approue it: yet it is probable, that it was not pure water, comming forth of Christs bodie; and therefore this can be no warrant vnto them, to vse common water.

Thirdly, blood and water came forth, not wine and water: wherefore this example, if it proue any thing, maketh for the mixture of blood and water, not of wine and water.

Fourthly, by the blood and water the fathers do much better vnderstand the two Sacraments of the Church, Baptisme and the Eucharist, as afterward it followeth to be shewed out of *Augustine*: if the water then signifie Baptisme, it cannot be applied to the Eucharist. *Bellarmine* answere here, that it is one thing to represent, another to be represented, is not worthie to be repeated, much lesse to be refuted.

*Argum.*2. In the old Testament the cup in the Eucharist was not onely prefigured in wine, which *Melchisedech* brought forth to *Abraham*, but in the water, which came forth of the rocke: *Ergo*, water is to be vsed as well as wine: *ca.*10. *argum.*3.

Contra. First, by this argument they may inferre, that water onely may be vsed; for water only without wine flowed out of the rocke. Secondly, the figures of the law are no patternes of the Sacraments of the Gospell: they had the same substance, that ours haue, but not the same ceremonie: for by the same reason, because the cloud and the redde Sea were figures of our Baptisme, they may conclude, that now also we must baptize with a mist or cloud, and with fiery water: these are very sillie arguments.

*Argum.*3. Wine mixed with water doth fitly expresse the vnion of Christ and his people, who are signified by water.

Answ. First, it is too great boldnesse for men to make mysteries of their owne deuising, as to bring in water to signifie the people. Secondly, this vnion and knitting together of Gods people is represented in the bread, made of many graines of corne, as the Apostle sheweth, 1. Corinth. 10. 17. *We that are many, are one bread, &c.* and therefore the signification of water is superfluous.

The Protestants.

1. WE deny not, but that of ancient time; in hot Countries, especially where their wine was strong, they vsed to mixe water with wine, in their common drinke, and thereupon they so vsed it in the Sacrament: but it was neuer generally the practise of the East countries so to doe: for the Armenians and Iberians vsed not of ancient time to put water in the cup in the ministration, *Fulk. annot.* 1. *Cor.* 11. *sect.* 10.

Secondly, Be it that this mixture of wine were conuenient to be vsed: you cannot make such a matter of necessitie of it, as to charge them with heresie, and denounce damnation against them that keepe not that custome, especially seeing your Canonists and schoolemen doe graunt that it is *de honestate tantùm*, of decencie onely, not of necessitie. And yet we are fayne to drinke mingled wine many times against our willes: for the Minister need put in no water, it is mixed to his hands many times. The Vintners craft standeth very well with popish profession.

De consecrat. distinct. 2. in gloss. 1.

*Argum.*1. We holde it rather to be a superstitious custome and contrarie to Christs institution: for he in his last Supper gaue wine, not water to be drunke; for he calleth it the fruite of the Vine, which is wine and not water, Matth. 26. 29.

Bellarmine answereth, that these words of our Sauiour, *I will not drinke henceforth of the fruite of the vine*, are vnderstoode of the wine which Christ gaue vnto his Apostles before consecration in the end of the legall supper: and he thus goeth about to proue it; first, because S. *Luke* maketh mention of two cups, the one before the institution of the last Supper, chap. 22. vers. 17. the other after, vers. 20. the first was giuen in the end of the Passeouer, and therefore Christ doth not call it the new testament in his blood, as he doth the other. *Bellarm. lib.*1. *de Euchar. cap.*11. *argum.*10.

Contra.

Contra. S. *Luke* maketh not mention of two cups, but twice of the same cup; and in the first place he speaketh by way of anticipation, as S. *Augustine* thinketh, *lib.* 3. *de consensu Euangelistarum.* 1. whom *Bellarmine* vnmannerly reiecteth: saying, *Non diligenter expendisse hunc locum:* That he did not well waigh the place: Therefore S. *Luke* once for all rehearseth the words of institution, part of them in the first place, as, *Take this and deuide it amongst you*, which is all one, as to say, *Drinke ye all of it*; part in the latter place, as, *This cuppe is the new testament, &c.* And that which S. *Luke* omitteth in the first place, the other two Euangelists, *Matthew* and *Marke*, supplie: for first they make mention of the words of institution, *this is my blood, &c.* and then it followeth, *I will drinke no more of the fruite of the vine:* so that Christ calleth this cuppe, the new testament in his blood.

Secondly, saith *Bellarmine*, as these words of Christ, Luke 22. 16. *Henceforth I will no more eate of it, &c.* are necessarilie vnderstoode of eating the Passeouer; so the other words that follow, vers. 18. *I will drinke no more of the fruite of the vine, &c.* must bee referred to his drinking in the Passeouer, *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *de Euchar. c.* 11. *argum.* 10.

Contra. First, it is not necessarie to referre the first words to Christs eating of the Passeouer in his first supper, but to the whole action of his eating, at that time in the first and latter supper: so that the meaning is this: This is the last time, that I will eate with you: for he thus spake in the beginning of the Passeouer before he had yet tasted thereof, as may appeare by the 15. verse, *I haue earnestlie desired to eate this Passeouer:* So it was but yet in his desire, and not in acte. Secondly, though the first words be vnderstoode of eating in the Passeouer, the second are not therefore to be referred to the wine which they did drinke in the Passeouer. First, because both *Matthew* and *Marke* doe rehearse these words as spoken after the words of consecration. Secondly, because Christ did no more eate of the Passeouer, but he did afterward drinke of the cuppe in his last supper; and therefore to make Christs words true, he speaketh of the cuppe ministred in the Sacrament.

Now on the contrarie side, that Christ spake these words, *I will drinke no more of the fruite of the vine*, after the institution of his last supper, it may appeare by these reasons.

First, because two Euangelists, *Matthew* and *Marke*, doe both consent in placing these words after the institution: and there is greater reason to thinke that S. *Luke* should transpose the words, then the other two according together.

Secondly, S. *Luke* speaking twice of the cuppe, in both places rehearseth some of the words of the institution as in the first, *Take this and deuide it among you*, in the latter; *This cuppe is the new testament in my blood:* Wherefore seeing these words, *Take this, and deuid it*, or as *Matthew* sayth, *Drinke ye all of this*, were spoken at the time of the institution: it must needs follow, that our Sauiour meaneth the consecrated cuppe and wine.

Thirdly, otherwise they will make the words of Christ vntrue, if he said before his last supper, *I will drinke no more of the fruite of the vine*, and yet did afterward drinke it in his last supper. They will answere: that Christ did drinke no wine in his last supper, for it was conuerted into his blood.

Contra. Beside that any man may see how grosse and absurd a thing it is, that Christ should drinke his owne blood, and eate his owne flesh; S. *Matthew* saith, that after Christ had said, *This is my blood, &c.* hee calleth it *the fruite of the vine*, vers. 26. 29. wherefore it was wine, which hee dranke in the chalice.

Argum. 2. The water and blood which issued out of Christs side, signifie no such thing, but rather as S. *Iohn* expoundeth them: by water, is betokened our washing from our sinnes, whereof Baptisme is a pledge: by blood, the full satisfaction that Christ hath made for our sinnes, whereof the other Sacrament is a seale, 1. Iohn 5. 6. *This is that Iesus Christ, that came by water and blood, not by water onely, but by water and blood.* By the which words the Apostles meaning is not, that by the water and blood, which were shed vpon the Crosse, we should vnderstand the Sacraments of the Church: but those spirituall graces, whereof the Sacraments are liuely signes, namely, the satisfaction and ransome of our sinnes by Christs blood, and our ablution and washing from the same.

Augustine picketh out no such fancie out of this mysterie as you doe, for the mixture of wine and water: but he doth more fitly apply it to the Sacraments of the Church: *E Christi latere dormiendo crucis pro manauerunt sacramenta vnde fit ecclesia: in Psalm.* 138. Out of Christs side dying vpon the Crosse, issued the Sacraments of the Church: namely, Baptisme, and the Eucharist. He draweth not both water and wine to signifie one Sacrament, but applieth them to both.

Argum. 3. The mixture of wine with water is in the Scripture taken in the euill part, as Isay 1. 22. *Your wine is mixt with water*, and 2. Cor. 2. 17. *We are not as those, which doe adulterate the word of God:* The Apostle borroweth the word from the corruptors and minglers of wine: and therefore vseth the word καπηλεύω, which is the discerning of mixed and adulterate things by the

light of the sunne, the mixing then of wine and water in the Eucharist can haue no good signification.

Bellarmine answereth, that the same thing in Scripture in diuers senses may haue both a good and an euill signification: and so the mixing of wine with water, to make marchandize of, is taken in the worse part; but with intent to drinke it, it is vsed in Scripture in the better sense, as Prou. 9.5. Wisdome saith, *Come and drinke the wine which I haue mixed for you, lib. 4. de Euchar. c. 11. resp. ad argum. 3.*

Contra. First, that place in the Prouerbs is not necessarilie vnderstoode of the mixture of wine with water, but of some pleasant temperature beside, whereby the wine is fined and relished, and not allayed, as by water: as Cantic. 5.1. *I haue drunke my wine with my milke.* Secondly, though in the ordinarie drinke, the mixture of wine with water may haue a good vse and signification; yet in offrings and oblations to God, such as the prophet *Isay* speaketh of, such mixture neither in vse or signification is commendable: For like as the Prophet *Malachie* reprouing the Israelites for offring vnto God the worst things, as the halt and the blinde, saith, *Offer it now vnto the Prince, will he be content?* Malach. 1.8. so if a man offer waterie or adulterate wine to the Prince, he will not be pleased; much lesse is it to be presented to God: And as it is not meete to vse course or browne bread in the Communion for the one element; so neither is it fit to present base and course wine for the other. And if Christ turning water into wine, did exhibite pure and perfect wine at the mariage feast: is it like he would bring forth adulterate and counterfeite wine at his heauenly feast? Hereof S. *Ambrose* thus writeth, *Dominus inuitatus ad nuptias, &c.* The Lord being inuited to the mariage feast, did not mingle the water pots full of water with wine, but changed them into wine: *Maluit naturam vertere, quàm adulterare substantiam:* He had rather change the nature, then adulterate the substance, *Serm.* 78. Wherefore it is an adulterating of the substance, to mingle wine and water together.

Argum. 4. As *Bellarmine*, to proue that Christ vsed vnleauened bread, alleageth that he immediatly before did eate the Passeouer, which was kept with vnleauened bread; so by the same reason, seeing he confesseth that Christ did drinke the fruite of the vine, that is, naturall and perfect wine in the Passeouer, it is more then probable that he vsed the same at his last supper: that as he changed not the bread, so neither did he alter the wine.

And lastly, they may be thus pressed with their owne deuises: for whereas they hold that the elements after the words of consecration are transubstantiate; I aske whether the water, which is incorporate to the wine, be also conuerted into Christs blood? if they say it is not, then do they deny transubstantiation of all that is in the cup; if they say it is, then will they make Christ a wattrie and elementall bodie: If the first, I obiect the decree of *Innocent* 3. who determineth, that the water together with the wine is chaunged into Christs blood, *decr. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 41. c. 6.* If the second, I doe oppose *Bellarmine*, who before affirmed, that nothing but the bread and wine are transubstantiate: *quæst. 2. resp. ad 3. argum. protestant.*

Bernard writing of this matter, sheweth his opinion according to those corrupt times, that water in the Sacrament ought to be mixed with the wine: but he condemneth not all those which retaine not this vse: *Aliud est* (saith he) *culpare negligentiam, aliud negare efficaciam: epist. 69.* It is one thing to blame their negligence, another thing to deny efficacie to the Sacrament without any such mixture administred.

Concil. Aurelianens. can. 4. Vt nullus in oblationibus sacri calicis, nisi quod ex fructu vineæ fuerit, & hoc sine aquæ mixtura offerre præsumat, quia sacrilegium videtur aliud offerri, quam quod in mandatis sacratissimi Saluatoris institutum: That no man in the oblation of the sacred cup, but that which commeth of the vine, and that without mixture of water, presume to offer; because it is indged sacrilege to offer any other thing, then what our Sauiour did institute. This Canon maketh so euidently against the popish mixture of water and wine, that *Caranza* in his Epitome hath cunningly left it out.

Lastly, in their owne decrees, there are certaine heretikes condemned, called *Aquarij*; because they did offer water onely: *decr. part. 1. dist. 24. qu. 3. c. 39.* By the same rule, the Papists are semi-*aquarij*, in part *Aquarij*-heretikes, because they offer halfe water.

But we haue a more euident testimonie from their owne Canons, *decr. part. 3. dist. 2. c. 7.* Iulius confuteth those which presumed to offer milke and dipped bread, by this argument, *It is manifest by the Gospell, Quid præter panem & vinum aliud offerri non licet:* That it is not lawfull to offer any thing beside bread and wine: if nothing but bread and wine must be vsed, then water also excluded as well as milke.

THE

THE FIFT QVESTION, OF THE words of consecration.

The Papists.

THese words (say they) *This is my bodie*, to bee spoken ouer the bread, and the like ouer the wine, *This is the new Testament in my blood*, are the very formes of the Sacrament and words of consecretion: which being vttered, immediatly the elements are chaunged into the bodie and blood of Christ: Wherefore these words are not to be read historically for the instruction of the people, but they are onely consecratorie words, to be pronounced ouer the elements: *Rhemist. 1. Cor. 11. sect. 11. Bellarm. lib. 4. de Sacram. cap. 13.* 22. Error.

Argum. 1. The Rhemists obiect that place of S. *Paul*, 1. Cor. 10. 16. *The cuppe of blessing, which we blesse, &c.* Here the benediction is referred to the cup, not vnto God: *Ergo*, not by prayer or thankesgiuing to God, but by certaine consecratory words spoken ouer the cup, it is consecrated, *Rhemist. in hunc locum.*

Solu. First, the word which the Apostle here vseth εὐλογῶν, *to blesse*, is expounded by Saint *Matthew*, to be all one with εὐχαριστῶν, *to giue thankes*: for hee saith, Christ after he had blessed (vsing the first word) tooke the bread, and after hee had *(giuen thankes)* which is the other word; hee tooke the cuppe: and S. *Marke*, chap. 8. 6, 7. vseth both these words; how Christ first gaue thankes and brake the bread, and he blessed the fishes, and caused them to be set before the multitude: wherefore the cuppe is blessed, that is, by giuing thankes vnto God and praier is sanctified: So that here is both relation vnto God, to whom wee offer our thankesgiuing, and to the cuppe, which is sanctified by our praiers. Secondly, though we graunt, that the cuppe is blessed by words of consecration, it followeth not out of this place, that it is done by these foure words, *this is my bodie*, or *this is my blood*: for Christ beside these words, vsed a benediction, blessing, or thankesgiuing beside, as the Euangelists make mention. Thirdly, as Saint *Paul* saith, *The cuppe which wee blesse*, so hee saith, *The bread which wee breake*, which member of the sentence answereth to the other, *breaking of the bread*, to the *blessing of the cuppe*: the bread then is blessed, not onely by the pronouncing of words, but by the whole action of breaking, distributing, thankesgiuing, &c.

Argum. 2. If these were not the onely words of consecration, *This is my bodie*, and if presently vpon the vttering of these words the bodie of Christ were not present; then should not the words of Christ be true, *Bellarm. ibid.* The answere to this argument followeth here in the assertion of the Protestants.

The Protestants.

WE acknowledge no such consecration at all, by vertue whereof the elements are conuerted and trahsubstantiate into the bodie of Christ, as wee haue before shewed. A consecration wee graunt, which is a setting apart of the elements, which before were common, to holy vses, and by the vertue of Christs institution, to bee made vnto vs signes of holy things.

Secondly, these are not the onely words of consecration, *This is my bodie*, and, *This is the cuppe of my blood*, and yet Christs words shall be true: for we must not dismember the sentence: Christ saith, *Take, eate yee, this is my bodie*: it is then made his bodie to bee taken and eaten; by taking then and eating, the elements also are consecrated, not onely by saying of the words: yee must not then diuide the words of the institution, for then they shall no more consecrate, then if you should pronounce but two of your consecratorie words, as, *This is*, or, *My bodie*, and leaue out the rest.

Argum. 1. That these are not the onely words of consecration, it appeareth, because both the bread was broken and distributed, and the cup also, before Christ spake those words, as Math. 26. vers. 26. For first Christ saith, *Take, eate*, and, *Take and drinke*, before he said, either, *This is my bodie*, or *This is my blood*: Neither can yee well tell your selues, which are your consecratorie words for the cup, whether those that *Matthew* setteth downe, *This is my blood of the new Testament*: or as *Luke* hath, *This cuppe is the new Testament in my blood*. Nay, *Bellarmine* vseth another forme beside these: *Hic est calix sanguinis*, This is the cup of my blood, *Bellarm. cap. 13.*

Againe, Saint *Luke* addeth, *This is my bodie, which is giuen for you*: Saint *Paul*, *which is broken for you*. Cor. 11. 24. And S. *Luke* also and S. *Paul* haue these words, *Doe this in remembrance of me*, which are omitted both by S. *Matthew*, and S. *Marke*. Wherefore seeing all these are the words of Christ, it followeth, that they all, are effectuall and forcible to constitute the Sacrament (vnlesse they will say, that some of Christs words are superfluous:) *Ergo*, these onely words, *this is my bodie, this is my blood*, are not all the words of consecration.

Bellarmine hath answered most absurdly, that their Leiturgie, which onely vseth those words,

being made by Saint *Peter* is more ancient, then either *Lukes* Gospell, or *Pauls* Epistle, *Bellar. 2.14. resp. ad argum. 9.*

Contra. First, thus without all shame they doe make their vncertaine traditions equall with the Canonicall Scripture, and their superstitious and erronious Leiturgie, to counteruaile the authoritie of S. *Pauls* writings. Secondly, if their Leiturgie were grounded vpon Canonicall Scripture, yet one part of the Scripture is not of more credit then another: *Matthew* and *Markes* Gospel are equall to S. *Lukes*; and S. *Lukes* Gospell, and S. *Pauls* Epistle not inferiour to the other: so that all those words which are reported by them all to haue been pronounced by Christ, must be receiued as of like authoritie.

Innocentius 3. is herein more equall, than *Bellarmine*: *Decr. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 41. c. 6. Ipsi Euangelistæ mutuò inter se supplemisse leguntur, &c.* The Euangelists do make a mutual supplie, when as any thing is omitted by any of them: as where the other Euangelists say, *this is my body*, only *Luke* hath, *which is giuen for you*: and whereas *Marke* and *Matthew* say, *for many*, *Luke*, *for you*: and *Matthew* addeth, *for the remission of sinnes*. Thus hee preferreth not one Euangelist before another: but maketh vp the wordes of Christ out of them all. But whereas *Bellarmine* affirmeth with *Lindanus*, that the words of Christ, recited out of S. *Pauls* epistle to the Corinthians, are not sufficient to consecrate, *c. 15. mendac. 3.* what is this else but to charge the whole Church of the Corinthians, that they had no consecration at all, who obserued the same forme there prescribed by the Apostle, 1. Corinth. 11.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* saith, *euery creature is sanctified by the word of God and prayer*, 1. Tim. 4. but in the Eucharist the bread and wine are creatures and elements sanctified to holy vse: for they are sanctified by the word, and by prayer also. *Origen* hereof thus writeth *in 15. Matth. Quicquid ingreditur, &c.* If whatsoeuer enters in at the mouth, go into the bellie, &c. euen that meate which is sanctified by the word and prayer, in respect of the materiall part, goeth into the belly: but in respect of the prayer added to it, it profiteth according to the measure of faith. So our Sauiour vsed thanksgiuing, when he gaue the cup, beside the words of institution, Matth. 26. By which example wee are taught, that by prayer and thanksgiuing the bread and wine are consecrated.

We conclude then, that not onely these words, but all the rest belonging to the institution, are to be rehearsed in the Sacrament, both to instruct the people, that they may know the right vse of the Sacrament; and they helpe also with the rest of the whole action, of taking, eating, breaking, praying, thanksgiuing, to consecrate and make the Sacrament, as wee haue shewed more at large before, *Contron. 11. quæst. 1. part. 2.* to that place we referre the reader.

Bernards testimonie in this place is very full on our side: *Non solus sacerdos sacrificat, nec solus consecrat; sed totus fidelium cœtus, qui astat, cum illo consecrat, cum illo sacrificat: Nec solus quisquam facit dominum, sed alius ligna, alius trabes comportat: debent itaque astantes habere de suo, sicut iustum fidem firmam, orationem puram, deuotionem piam:* The priest onely doth not sacrifice, hee only consecrateth not, but the whole companie of the faithfull standing by, doth consecrate together with him: As the master carpenter doth not onely build the house, but other labourers, that carrie the timber, helpe to build: therefore the standers by, as well as the priest, must haue a sure faith, pure prayer, godly deuotion, &c. *doctrin. Bernard.* So then the Sacrament is consecrate by the whole action of the Minister and Communicants together.

Concil. Toletan. 7. cap. 2. Si agritudinis acciderit quilibet euentus, quo captum nequeat explere consecrationis mysterium, sit liberum presbytero alteri consecrationem exequi officij cœpti: If the Minister chance to fall sicke, that he cannot finish the consecration, it shall bee lawfull for another to goe thorough with it. It should seeme, that the consecration was not finished with fiue words speaking: for then the Councell needed not to haue been so carefull to prouide for a supplie. This Canon is ratified, *decret. par. 2. caus. 7. qu. 1. c. 16.*

And further, *Decr. par. 3. distinct. 2. c. 55. Vis scire, quia verbis cœlestibus consecratur, &c.* Will you know, that it is consecrated with heauenly wordes? then it followeth, *Accipe quæ sunt verba, &c.* Heare what the words are, the priest saith; Make this oblation, reasonable, acceptable, which is the figure of the bodie and blood of our Lord Iesus Christ. But these are not the words of consecration, but the prayer of the Minister: *Ergo*, prayer helpeth to consecrate, and not the pronouncing onely of Christs words.

The Master of Sentences, *lib. 4. dist. 8. c.* thus rehearseth out of Saint *Ambrose*: *Consecratio quibus verbis fit, &c.* By what words is the consecration made? attend, what the words are, *Take and eate ye all of this, this is my bodie*: and againe, *Take and drinke ye all of this, this is my blood*: therefore *take ye, eate ye*, and *take ye, drinke ye*, are part also of the words of consecration. This sentence of S. *Ambrose* is rehearsed also in the decree before alleaged.

This truth lastly is sealed: *Iohn Philpot* holy Martyr; Saint *Peter* saith, *If any man speake, let him speake as the words of God*: wherefore whosoeuer saith, that these wordes onely, *this is my bodie*, make

make a presence of Christ, without *blesse ye, take, eate*, which be three as substantiall points of the Sacrament, as *this is my bodie*, he is highly deceiued: *Fox* pag. 1809.

THE SIXT QVESTION, OF THE PROPER effect and vse of the Lords Supper.

The Papists.

They doe generally holde, that this Sacrament was not properly ordained for remission of sinnes, neither that the Sacrament hath any such vse: but it serueth onely as a preseruatiue against sinne, *Trident. Concil. sess.* 13. *can.* 5. *Bellarm. lib.* 4. *de Sacram. cap.* 17. 13. Error.

Secondly, they teach, that faith is not sufficient to prepare vs for the Communion: and although a man be neuer so contrite, *quantumcunq; se contritos existimet*, yet they must be throughly purged and absolued from their mortall sinnes, before they come to communicate, *Concil. Trident. sess.* 13. *can.* 11. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Argum. 1. They that receiue the Communion, are one bodie as they are partakers of one bread, 1. Cor. 10. 17. but they which are in any grieuous and deadly sinne, are not liuely members of Christ, and of his mysticall bodie: therefore the Sacrament doth not profit them at all, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Ans. First, neither doe wee affirme, that men ought rashly and presumptuously to come to the Lords table, but to repent them throughly of their sinnes, and to haue a stedfast and liuely faith in Christ, who cannot be said, thus preparing themselues, to remaine in their sinnes: neither yet are they so fully acquited of them, that they neede not to receiue the Sacrament to their comfort, and to strengthen their faith in the hope and assurance of the remission of sinnes. Secondly, wherefore all this hindreth not, but that they should be true members of Christs bodie, euen hauing a troubled conscience, and labouring vnder the burthen of their sinnes: for the weake and sicke parts of the bodie, are they therefore no parts at all, because of their infirmities? *Augustine* saith very well, *Non filios diaboli faciunt quecunque peccata, peccant enim & filij Dei: in quibus non est filius, filius sunt diaboli*: Euery sinne maketh not a man the childe of the diuell, for the children of God also sinne: but they which haue no faith, are the sonnes of the diuell: *Ergo*, all sinnes cut not men off from the bodie of Christ, but onely the want of faith: They then that haue sinned, and doe repent them and come with faith, are still the sonnes of God, and members of Christs bodie. Contra. 2. Epist. Pelag. 3. 3.

Argum. 2. None were suffered to eate the Passeouer, if they were vncleane, Numb. 9. 10. and our Sauiour washed his Apostles feete, before he instituted his Supper, Iohn 13. and Matth. 22. he is punished, that came to the marriage feast without a wedding garment: *Ergo*, they that come to the Eucharist must be purged first and cleansed from their sinnes, so that they haue no pricke of conscience at all: *Bellarm. c.* 18. *argum.* 3.

Ans. First, these places alleaged do proue, that a man being vncleane by the committing of any sinne, should first by repentance and contrition of heart purge himselfe, which wee grant is necessarie, and so receiue the Communion, to his further comfort: but they proue not that a man should bee so purged, as that hee needed not by the Sacrament to bee further assured of remission of sinnes. Secondly, the type of the Passeouer is thus expounded by S. *Paul*, 1. Cor. 5. 8. *Let vs keepe the Passeouer, not with the old leauen of maliciousnesse and wickednesse, but with the vnleauened bread of sincerities and truth*: so that if a man do forsake his former wickednesse, not maliciously continuing in it, and commeth with a syncere and vnfaigned purpose of heart, desirous to be fully assured of the remission of his sinnes, it is a sufficient preparation. Thirdly, the washing of the feete, was to teach the Apostles an example of humilitie, Iohn. 13. 15. *I haue giuen you an example*: and it signifieth our spirituall washing by Christ, vers. 8. *If I wash thee not*, (saith Christ to Peter) *thou hast no part in me*: which is by faith, *whereby our hearts are purified*, Act. 15. vers. 9. not that washing or cleansing, which is wrought by our selues: and faith also is the wedding garment, as is expounded Apocal. 3. 18. *Buy of me white rayment, that thou maist be clothed.*

Argum. 3. 1. Cor. 11. 29. *He that eateth and drinketh vnworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation*: but they that communicate, hauing any pricke of conscience for any mortall sinne, doe eate and drinke vnworthily: *Ergo*, it cannot bee answered, that this worthie or vnworthie receiuing is in respect of hauing or not hauing faith: for the Apostle reproueth them for a certaine rude and corruption of manners, in disorderly comming to the Sacrament: *Bellarm. ibid. argum.* 3.

Ans. First, the vnworthie receiuing, which the Apostle here speaketh of chiefly, is in comming without the due examination of faith: for the Apostle had said, *Let a man examine himselfe, and so let him eate*: but this examination is, *whether we are in the faith*, 2. Cor. 13. 5. And againe the Apostle saith, they eate and drinke their owne damnation, *not discerning the Lords bodie*: and this discerning

discerning of the Lordes bodie belongeth to faith and knowledge, in making a difference betweene those holie mysteries, and all other common meates. Secondly, they also are vnworthie receiuers, that come without knowledge and amendment of their fault; as here the Corinthians retained an abuse in the Lords Supper, and as yet corrected it not. This place then prooueth, that continuing in sinne without correction of it, is an vnworthie receiuing: it concludeth not against those that haue repented them, and yet there remaineth some griefe or touch of conscience still, whereof they desire to be released.

Argum. 4. They that come to the Communion either haue faith or not: if they haue not faith, they are vnworthie receiuers, and can reape no benefit by it; if they haue, they are alreadie iustified from their sinnes: therefore vnto them the Eucharist is not profitable towards the remission of their sinnes, which they haue alreadie by faith, *Bellarm. ration.* 4.

Anſ. Bellarmine very vnskilfully maketh no difference betweene the beginning and the encrease of faith: the Apostles had faith; for to them Christ said, *they were cleane, but not all*, Ioh. 13.10. yet they pray, *Lord encrease our faith*, Luk. 17.5. So the careful father saith to Christ, *Lord I beleeue, helpe my vnbeliefe*, Mark. 9.24. So then a man hath faith, and by the same remission of sinnes; yet for the further strengthening of his faith, and full assurance of remission of sinnes, he desireth to receiue the Sacrament. Our faith is not perfect, but many times interrupted, and assailed with doubts, and had neede continually to be strengthened, and renewed by the often hearing of the word, and receiuing of the Sacraments.

Argum. 5. There is not one and the same proper vse and end of diuers Sacraments: but Baptisme is receiued for remission of sinnes: *Ergo*, the Eucharist is not for that end, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſ. 1. The death of Christ, and so remission of sinnes purchased by the same, is properly represented vnto vs in both Sacraments, yet in a diuers respect: for as to be borne is one thing, and to be fed and nourished is another; yet both worke the same thing in the bodie, though diuerly: for the birth giueth life, meate and drink preserueth it: the same difference is betweene Baptisme and the Lords Supper, they both are seales vnto vs of our iustification, in the remission of sins by Christ: but by Baptisme we are initiated, regenerate and borne anew, and engrafted into the bodie of Christ. The other Sacrament doth confirme, increase, and nourish our faith, alreadie begun and planted in vs, for the remission of sinnes, and all other benefits of Christs passion.

The Protestants.

FIrst, wee doe truly affirme and teach, that an especiall and principall vse of the Eucharist or Communion, is to strengthen and assure our faith of the remission of our sinnes: and yet wee denie not, but that it hath other vses beside: for as in Baptisme not onely the washing away of our sinnes is shewed forth, but it also betokeneth our dying to sinne, and rising to newnes of life, Rom. 6.3,4. so in the Lords Supper whole Christ with all his benefits are exhibited vnto vs, as it is a pledge vnto vs, not onely of remission of sinnes, but that Christ is become our *righteousnesse and sanctification*, 1. Cor. 1.30. that he wil assist vs with his spirit, and repleniſh our harts with grace. *The water that I shall giue him, shall be in him a well of water, springing vp to euerlasting life*, Ioh. 4.14. Yea, the spirituall eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Christ, is a pledge vnto vs of the resurrection, and of life eternall, Ioh. 6.54. But that amongst the rest, it also assureth vs of remission of sinnes, thus it is proued.

Argum. 1. Christ after Saint *Matthew* saith, *This is the blood of the new testament, that is shed for many for remission of sinnes*, Matth. 26.28. But the new testament includeth a promise of remission of sinnes, Iere. 31.34. Yea our Sauiour setteth it downe in plaine termes: for why else should our Sauiour make expresse mention of forgiuenes of sinnes, if this Sacrament did not serue for that vse?

Bellarmine answereth, that these words of our Sauiour doe not signifie, that his blood is drunke in the Sacrament for remission of sinnes, but that it was shed for remission of sinnes, and so is represented in the Eucharist, *cap. 19. resp. ad argum.* 3.

Contra. First, in the Eucharist the death of Christ with the fruite thereof, which is the remission of sinnes, is not onely represented, but exhibited also and applied: for otherwise they will make it but a bare and naked signe, if it should onely represent and signifie: and who would thinke, that they which stand vpon the reall presence, would content themselues with representation and signification onely. Wherefore I thus vrge them, as Christs blood is present, so is the fruites of his blood: but his blood is not present onely in signification, but verely and indeede to the worthie receiuer: *Ergo*, so is remission of sins, which is the fruite of his blood. Secondly, S. *Paul* saith, that the vnworthie receiuer is guiltie of the bodie and blood of Christ, 1. Cor. 11.27. If vnworthie receiuing doth verely adde sinne vnto them, then the worthie receiuing, which is a shewing forth of Christs death, doth verely obtaine remission of sinnes.

Argum. 2. Christ saith, *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance*: but Christ in the Eucharist calleth vs vnto him: *Ergo*, he calleth sinners to come to the Eucharist.

Bellarmine

Bellarmine answereth, that Christ speaketh of his first calling vnto faith, and repentance, not of coming to the Eucharist, *resp. ad argum. 1.*

Contra. First, where Christ saith, *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance*, he calleth all, but onely such, as are so righteous that they neede no repentance: but such there are none in this life: *Ergo* he calleth all. Secondly, he calleth all that thirst, Ioh. 7. *If any man thirst, let him come vnto me and drinke*: but who thirsteth more, then he that desireth to be released of his sinne? Neither doth Christ speake here of the first call vnto faith, but euen of such as did beleeue alreadie; as it followeth in the next verse, *he that beleeueth in me, out of his belly shall flow riuers of waters of life.* Thirdly, our Sauiour saith, *Come vnto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you*, Mat. 11. 28. but these are they which labour vnder the burthen and griefe of their sinnes: *Ergo*, such are admitted to come to the Sacrament to finde ease thereby.

Argum. 3. Beside these places of Scripture, we reason thus: If a man must be purged from the very conscience and griefe of sinne before he come to the Communion, then no man liuing can be a fit receiuer, seeing no man in this life can be sure he is without sinne. This *Bellarmine* graunteth, but saith further, that though a man be not sure, yet if hee doe endeuour, as much as in him lieth, to be purged from sinne, he commeth worthilie, *resp. ad argum. 2.*

Contra. All this wee graunt, and this may a man doe, that findeth yet some griefe in his conscience for his sinne: but seeing he confesseth, that a man cannot bee sure he is without sinne, there must then remaine some conscience, feare and griefe of sin, euen in the worthie receiuer. Againe, seeing he granteth, that the Eucharist is auailable to take away veniall sinne, *ibid. argum. 4.* he offereth great indignitie to the Sacrament of Christs bodie and blood, that it should not be of sufficient efficacie to remit also mortall and capitall sinne. And further he graunteth out of *Thomas resp. ad 2.* that a man being in deadly sin, and hauing no feeling of it, yet sorrowing for the rest, which he feeleth and knoweth, may bee a worthie receiuer: whereby it followeth, that hee which hath committed a sinne, and hath remorse thereof in conscience, may much more be a worthie receiuer. And thus their doctrine is contrarie to it selfe.

Secondly, we doe hold, that to haue a liuely faith in the promises of God, with repentance for our sinnes, and a full purpose to amend our liues, is a sufficient preparation for the Communion: and that this Sacrament is a soueraigne remedie for a troubled conscience. Neither ought men to refraine from the Communion, till they haue fully satisfied for their sins, as the Papists teach, and are deered in their conscience of all their sins: for so, few or none at all, should be admitted to the Lords table: but in whom faith hath alreadie wrought repentance, in some measure, he may safely receiue the Sacrament for his further comfort, and assurance of remission of sinnes.

Argum. 4. Ioh. 6. 35. *He that beleeueth in me* (saith Christ) *shall neuer thirst*: Saint *Paul* also exhorteth men to examine themselues, 1. Cor. 11. 28. which is nothing else, as himselfe expoundeth it, then to proue whether they be in the faith, 2. Cor. 13. 5. *Ergo*, the examination or triall of faith, is sufficient preparation for the Lords table.

Augustine saith, *Ad Deum acceditur, fide firmando, corde inhiando, charitate currendo*: We come or haue accesse vnto God in following him by faith, seeking him in our heart, and running to him with loue, *In Psalm. 33. concion. 2. Ergo*, by faith wee haue accesse vnto God, Rom. 5. 2. but a liuely faith, which worketh by loue, Galath. 5. 6.

Bernards testimonie is euident also in this case: who speaking of the manner of preparation for the Sacrament, writeth thus: *Ante omnia fides quærenda est, de qua legitur, fide mundans corda eorum*, &c. Before all things we must seeke for faith, of the which we reade, by faith purifying their harts, *Serm. 5. in Vigil. Natal.*

Againe, *Apparatus mensæ illius non hominis est, sed fidei, non temporalis alimenti, sed æterni.* The preparation or furniture of this table is not of man, but of faith; not of temporall nourishment, but eternall, *Serm. in cœna Domini.*

Concil. Florentin. sess. 25. The Greeke Church confesseth thus: *Sanctissimum Christi corpus & sanguinem peccatorum nostrorum remissioni & animarum saluti fieri*: That the most holie bodie and blood of Christ, is made for the remission of our sinnes, and the health of our owne soules.

Iohn Philpot holie Martyr: When Doctor *Moreman* had denied that the Sacrament had a promise of remission of sinnes annexed to it: the Martyr vrged these words of the institution, *Which is giuen for you, which is shed for you for the remission of sinnes*: whereby that popish assertion was directly ouerthrowne.

Concerning our preparation also by faith, thus testifieth a Councell: *Coloniens. part. 7. cap. 2. Excitanda est fidelium fides & deuotio in Deum, ut credentes & mysterium intelligentes accedant ad salutaris nostri gratiam participandam*: The faith and deuotion of the faithfull must bee stirred vp, that with beleefe and vnderstanding they may approach to bee partakers of grace, &c.

Let

Let vs see what their owne decrees testifie of this matter: first, that the Eucharist is available to the remission of all manner of sinnes: *Nicholaus* witnesseth *decret. par. 2. cauſ. 15. qu. 8. c. 5. In crimenta omnium contagionum purgatoria exiſtunt*: The Sacraments are the purgation of all contagions whatsoeuer. *part. 3. distinct. 2. c. 6. In remiſſionem peccatorum oblationem diſtribuat*: Let the Priest distribute the oblation to the people, for the remission of their sinnes. *ibid. c. 40. Qui manducauerit hoc corpus, &c.* He that eateth this body, it shall be to him the remission of his sinnes: These words are generall of all sinnes whatsoeuer.

Secondly, that the communion is not to be denied vnto them, that haue griefe of conscience eiten of the greater sinnes, their own Canons are euident, *decr. par. 2. cauſ. 33. diſt. 1. c. 50. Nequis ſe oportere reddi communionem, &c.* They say the Communion is not to be giuen to those that haue willingly fallen: *Deus autem nullum crimen excepit, &c.* But God hath excepted no sinne, hauing forgiuen all sinnes. *Ibid. c. 52. Grauiſſimi criminis reus, &c.* The Lord hath commaunded, that the Sacrament should be ministred to those which are guiltie of the greatest sinnes, if with all their heart they repent and confesse their sinne. *cap. 56. Sunt qui arbitrantur, &c.* There be, that thinke this to be repentance, to abstaine from the heauenly Sacraments: but these are too seuere iudges against themselues, *Qui ſibi præſcribunt pœnam, declinant remedium*: Which prescribe a punishment to themselues, and decline the remedie. Here they are reproued that refraine the Sacrament, for some conscience of sinne, which is a remedie against sinne. *decr. p. 3. diſt. 2. c. 13. Quamuis quiſpiam peccato mordeatur, &c.* Though a man haue remorse of conscience for sinne, let him not haue a will to sinne, &c. and so let him come *intrepidus*, securely to the Communion. Wherefore *Bellarmine* position, *Qui cum conſcientia peccati accedit*: He that commeth with conscience of sinne, doth eate and drinke his owne iudgement. *c. 18. argum. 1.* is flat opposite to their owne Canon. Their words that follow in the Canon: *Hoc de illo dico quem capitalia peccata non grauant*: If by this of him that is not troubled with mortall and capitall sinnes, doe not make against vs: for he speaketh of such a perplexitie of conscience, as hath no hope: but this Canon plainely affirmeth, that a man though hee haue remorse of conscience for sinne, may safely come to the Communion, which is the thing by *Bellarmine* denied.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, OF THE MANER to be obserued in receiuing the Communion.

The Papists.

24. Error. 1. THey holde it in no wise lawfull for Christians, otherwise then fasting, to receiue the Communion: and that they ought to eate nothing before they doe communicate, vnlesse it be in a case of great necessitie, *Concil. Conſtantienſ. ſeſſ. 13. Bellarmin. lib. 3. de Euchariſt. cap. 11. ratione 4.*

The Protestants.

1. WHat they here vnderstand by necessitie, it may be doubted, seeing they themselues will not graunt the like necessitie to be in the Eucharist, as they say there is of Baptisme: All sacraments, we graunt, are necessarie, that is, profitable, expedient, requisite, so often as they may be had: But none so necessarie, that the want thereof vnto a faithfull man, that in hart doth wish and desire them, can be any hinderance to his saluation.

Secondly, that it is lawfull for any man to eate before hee come to the Communion, if his stomacke be weake, and not able to fast so long (for otherwise, if a man can abstaine, we wish him so to doe rather) S. *Paul* sheweth, writing to the Corinthians, 1. chap. 11. 34. *If any man be hungrie, let him eate at home.* Some of them, he saith, came hungrie, some drunken, vers. 21. the Apostle commendeth neither, but telleth them, if they be hungrie, they haue houses to eate in. Again, in that our Sauiour Christ after supper instituted the Sacrament, it doth euidently declare vnto vs, that it is no sinne to eate or drinke before we receiue the Sacrament.

Bellarmine answereth, first Christ did institute the Sacrament onely after the legall supper, to shew that it was the shadow and figure of the other: but this doth no more warrant vs to receiue after supper, then that we should first be circumcised, and then baptized, because Christ was so. *lib. 2. de miſſ. c. 14.*

Contra. First, we doe not vrge Christs example, to warrant the receiuing either after dinner, or after supper, but to shew that it is no sinne to eate before, if necessitie require: for if it were simplie a sinne, Christ, vpon what occasion soeuer, would not haue giuen example thereof. Secondly, the example of circumcision is not like: for there is no necessitie of being circumcised before Baptisme, as there may bee of eating before the Sacrament: and Christs example sheweth, that hee, which before was circumcised, may, being conuerted to the faith, bee also Baptized.

Secondly, saith he, the Apostles meaning is, that they which are hungrie, should eate; but then they

they must not for that time receiue the Communion, so he speaketh it to shame them, not as allowing any such vse.

Contra. The words of the Apostle are euident, vers.33. *When ye come together to eate, tarrie one for another, and if any man be hungrie, let him eate at home, that ye come not together to condemnation.* Here the Apostle speaketh of comming together, and carrying one for another, that they which through their weakenes are hungrie and doe eate should be stayed for.

Augustine saith, *Neminem cogimus dominica illa cœna prandere, sed nullis etiam contradicere audemus:* We compell none to take the Lords Supper in dinner while, or after dinner; neither dare we forbid any so to doe. So he maketh it a thing indifferent, to communicate fasting or otherwise. Epist.118.c.7.

See their owne Canons of this matter: *decr.par.3 dist.1 c.49. A leiunis hominibus, &c.* The Sacraments must be celebrate by them, that are fasting, *excepto vno die, &c.* except one day in the yeare, when the supper of the Lord is celebrated. Here we see that the supper of the Lord may be taken not fasting: but by fasting this Canon vnderstandeth not an abstinence simplie, but that they should communicate before dinner, as it may appeare by the wordes following: *Panis ieiunio, &c.* They forbid the Sacrament to be ministred after dinner. Likewise *dist.2. c.54. Liquido apparet, &c.* It appeareth euidently, that the Apostles when they first receiued the Supper of the Lord, did not take it fasting. Though the same Canon alloweth the receiuing of the Eucharist fasting, which we also confesse to be most meete and conuenient; yet it graunteth, that at the first institution it was not so.

This truth also is sealed: *Alice Holting* persecuted, for saying to her neighbour, that she might dine before she receiued the Sacrament.

Alice Harding likewise: for saying shee might as well drinke on Sunday before Masse, as vpon any other day, p.826. that is, if she could not in respect of her infirmitie continue so long fasting.

The Papists.

1. THey binde the people onely once in the yeare to receiue the Communion at Easter time, and take it to be fully sufficient for them so to doe: *Concil. Trident. sess.13.can.9.* 25.Error.

The Protestants.

1. THis decree of theirs is contrarie to the practise of the Apostles, whom the Rhemists confesse to haue ministred the Sacrament to the Christians daily, *Annotat. Act.2. fol.6.* So expounding the words of the text, They continued daily in breaking of bread.

2. It seemeth also to be contrarie to S. *Pauls* rule, who speaketh of often communicating: *Do this, saith he, as oft as you drinke it,* 1. Corinth. 11.25. For seeing the eating of that bread, and drinking of that cuppe, is nothing else, but a shewing forth of the Lords death till he come; who seeth not, that it ought oftener then once or twice in the yeare to be receiued, seeing the death of Christ ought continually to be remembred, and shewed forth?

3 Therefore *Augustine* doth boldly reprehend their custome, that content themselues with one receiuing in the yeare: *Si panis quotidianus est, cur post annum illum sumis? accipe quotidie, quod quotidie tibi prosit:* If it bee thy dayly bread, why doest thou take it but yearely? take that dayly and continually, which may profit thee dayly, *In Luc. serm.28.*

Can. Apostolor.9. Quoties ingrediuntur Ecclesiam, & audiunt scripturas, communicare debent: People as often as they enter into the Church, and heare Scripture, ought to communicate.

Eliber. can.1. Necnon fidelis communicabitur, qui in istis tribus Pascha, Pentecoste, Natali Domini, non communicauerit: He is not to be counted amongst the faithfull, which doth not communicate at Easter, Pentecost, and the Natiuitie. This is more, then once in the yeare.

Lastly, we haue the witnes of their owne Canons: *decr.p.3. dist.2 c.3. Quotidie Eucharistiæ communionem percipere, &c.* To receiue the Communion euery day, I neither praise nor dispraise it: *Singulis dominicis, &c.* But euery Lords day, to communicate I perswade and exhort. This very sentence is rehearsed and approued by the Master, *lib.4. dist.12. b. Ibid. c.14. Quia semper peccas, semper habere debes medecinam:* Because I alwaies sinne, I had neede alwaies of the remedie: he speaketh of the Communion. And Canon 16. *Fabianus* thus decreeth, *Si non frequentius, &c.* If not oftener, yet at the least thrice in the yeare let euery laye man communicate. Can. 18. *Si quis intrat in Ecclesiam Dei, &c.* If a man enter into the Church, and heare the Scriptures, and of deuotion turneth himselfe from the Sacrament, let him be cast out of the Church. This Canon enioyneth receiuing of the Sacrament, so often as they come to the Church: *Ibid. c.19. Seculares,* Secular men, that doe not receiue thrice in the yeare, let them not bee counted amongst Catholikes.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF RECEIVING the Sacrament in one kinde.

The Papists.

16. Error. CHristians (say they) are not bound by any commaundement of God, to receiue the Sacrament in both kindes, *Concil. Trident. sess.* 21. *can.* 1. And whosoeuer saith, that the Church hath erred or done amisse, in decreeing that lay men and the Clergie not saying Masse, should receiue in the one kinde, that is bread onely; or that it is lawfull for them to communicate indeed, contrarie to the determination of the Church: let him be accursed, *Concil. Trident. sess.* 21. *can.* 2. *Rhemist Iohn* 6. *sect.* 22. *Bellarmin. lib.* 4. *de Eucharist cap.* 20.

Argum. 1. Christ is all and whole in euery part of the Sacrament, his blood by a certaine concomitance is in the bread, and his flesh by the like concomitance is in the cup, and in both and diuinitie by the same concomitance in them both, for otherwise Christ should be diuided: but euery spirit, saith the Apostle, that dissolueth Iesus is not of God, 1. Iohn 4. 3. Wherefore he that receiueth in one kinde, is as well partaker of whole Christ, and of the full grace and fruit of the Sacrament, as if he receiued in both, *Bellarm. cap.* 21.

Againe, Christ saith, Iohn 6. 57. *He that eateth me, shall liue by me*; but Christ is eaten onely vnder the forme of bread, *Ergo*, vnder the forme of bread, whole Christ, not his bodie onely as present, *Bellarmin ibid.*

And further, he obiecteth that place, Rom. 6. 9. *Christ being raised from the dead dyeth no more*: if his flesh were in the Sacrament without his blood, then should it be a dead bodie without life, and so Christ should die still. *ibid.*

Answ. 1. We deny any such concomitance of the blood and flesh of Christ in the Sacrament: for he is not in his carnall presence with his very flesh and blood there included, as we haue shewed before: the bread and wine are signes onely of his bodie and blood, and therefore Christ is not diuided, they being the signes onely, and not the thing signified.

2 The place alleaged out of S. *Iohn* is greatly abused and corrupted by them, while they take rather to follow their olde blinde latine translation, then the authenticall Greeke text: the word in the originall are, *Euery spirite that confesseth not Iesus Christ*: not, euery spirite that dissolueth. And this may appeare to be the true reading, by the opposition in the former verse, *Euery spirit that confesseth Iesus, is of God*: therefore this is the best reading, *Euery spirite that confesseth not Iesus* as being set opposite and contrarie to the other verse. Againe, the Rhemists vnderstand this not after their owne reading of the dissoluing of the humanitie and diuinitie of Christ: nor of any such separation of the flesh and blood of Christ, as *Bellarmine* supposeth.

3 Our Sauiour in the sixt of *Iohn* speaketh not of the sacramentall, but of the spirituall eating; and so indeede spirituallie it is all one to eate and drinke Christ: for euery one that eateth sacramentallie doth not liue by him, seeing that the wicked may be partakers of the Sacrament. And againe, if they will haue this chapter vnderstoode of the Sacrament, then where Christ saith, vers. 53. *Except ye eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye haue no life in you*, there is an absolute necessitie imposed, to receiue in both kinds, both sacramentally to eate Christ, and to drinke Christ. We cannot desire a more direct place against them.

4 To the place, Rom. 6. we answere: first, that Christ flesh is not reallie and corporally present, and therefore the argument followeth not that Christ should haue a dead bodie without blood: the blood and flesh of Christ remaine vndeuided in his glorious bodie in heauen, yet may be represented apart in the Sacrament. Secondly, they themselues offering vp Christ in the Sacrifice of the Masse for remission of sinnes, as they blasphemously say, doe consequently affirme that Christ dyeth againe, seeing the Apostle saith: *That without shedding of blood there is no remission*, Hebr. 9. 22. contrarie to the place alleaged out of the Apostle, *That henceforth Christ dyeth no more*, Rom. 6. 9.

5 This their deuice therefore of concomitance ouerthwarteth the institution of Christ: For, he saith, *The bread is his bodie, the wine his blood*: but by their rule, the bread is his bloody and the wine his bodie.

Bellarmine answereth, that they say not, *The bread is his blood, and the wine his bodie*, but that vnder the forme of bread, there is his bodie with the blood, and vnder the forme of wine, the blood in the bodie.

Contra. First, bee it graunted, that the blood of Christ is in the bread, yet how can any man bee said to drinke it in bread? We vse to eate bread, not to drinke bread: his blood therefore cannot bee there, because it cannot bee drunke there. Secondly, we vrge his owne words that *Sub specie panis representatur corpus à sanguine separatum, &c.* That vnder the forme of bread, there is represented the bodie separated from the blood, *cap.* 21. But there is no other pre-

sence

sence of Christs bodie, but by way of representation, *Ergo*, the bodie is present without the blood, and the blood without the bodie Sacramentally.

Argumets against the popish deuice of concomitance.

Secondly, whereas Christ seuerally consecrated the Bread, saying, *This is my body*, and the Cup, saying, *This is my blood*; if then both Christs bodie and blood were receiued sacramentally in one kind, Christ had superfluously and in vaine distinguished them.

Bellarmine answereth, that Christ distinguished the signes, to represent his death and passion thereby; but therefore it followeth not, that his body and blood should be separated or distinguished: as one may picture a mans head in one table, his bodie in another; and yet both shall be together still. *Bellarm. ibid. c.21.*

Contra. First, if Christs death is represented both by eating the bread and drinking the cup; as the Apostle sayth, 1.Cor.11.26. then where eyther of them is omitted, Christs death is not represented; and so consequently, there is no Sacrament. Secondly, we make no reall distinction of Christs bodie and blood, as we graunt no such reall presence; and therefore it is a beggerly shift, so often to inculcate the thing most in question betweene vs: the head and feete sunderly pictured, are spiritually and figuratiuely discerned, though in act not deuided; and so are Christs bodie and blood sacramentally distinguished.

Thirdly, Christ saith, *This is my bodie*, he saith not, *This is my selfe*; neither is the body and blood of Christ called Christ, God, and man: but if the bodie of Christ were there present with his soule and diuinitie, it might be said, This is Christs soule and deitie, as well as This is Christs body and blood.

Bellarmine answereth, that Christ saith not, This is I, but, *This is my bodie*, because he would only expresse that, which is represented by that signe: and though we say not, that the bodie of the Lord is God and man; yet that, which lyeth hid vnder the forme of bread, is God and man, *ibid.*

Contra. First, if the bread onely represent Christs body, then his body onely is there, for there is none other presence but sacramentally, and by way of representation: and againe, who seeth not how he destroyeth the chiefe foundation of the reall presence, by expounding these wordes, *This is my body*, that is, representeth or signifieth *my body*. Secondly, hee confesseth, that Christs body is not God and man; but, this is his bodie: *Ergo*, (*This*) contained vnder the forme of bread, is not God and man: and thus he hath well concluded against himselfe, and confessed the greatest idolatrie in the world, in worshipping that which is not God.

Argum.2. The whole essence and reason of the Sacrament, is found in one kind onely: *Ergo*, the Sacrament may be receiued in one kind. The proposition he thus proueth; the essence of the Sacrament is to signifie, first, our spirituall nourishment: secondly, our vnion with Christ, and of the faithfull among themselues: but both these are signified in eyther kind; as of the first Christ saith, John 6. *My flesh is meate indeed*: of the second the Apostle speaketh, *We are one bodie, because we are partakers of one bread*, 1.Corinth.10.17. the partaking onely of the bread signifieth our mysticall vnion. *Bellarm. c.22.*

Contra. First, our spirituall foode cannot fully be expressed, but in both kindes, because our bodily refreshing consisteth both of eating and drinking, and therefore our Sauiour sayth, John 6.55. *My flesh is meate indeed, and my blood is drinke indeed.* Yea, *Bellarmine* might haue remembred himselfe what he saith else where in these wordes, *Quia Eucharistia est cibus & potus spiritualis, &c.* Because the Eucharist is spiritual meat and drinke, therefore it must be giuen vnder the forme of meate and drinke. *cap.10. ration.5.* And if in Scripture sometime bread onely be named, yet thereby, as by the more principall part, is signified the whole sustenance of man, both of meate and drinke: as in the Lords Prayer, *Giue vs our daylie bread*, wee pray not for bread onely, but for drinke also, and what els needfull for our bodily sustenance. Secondly, the vnion also of Christ and his members is not fully and sufficiently expressed but in both kindes: for the cup is the communion of the blood of Christ; the bread the communion of the bodie of Christ, 1.Corinth.10.16. Wherefore as our perfite vnion with Christ consisteth not in the communion of his bodie onely, but both of his bodie and blood; so this vnion is expressed and represented, in both the signes of the cup and the bread: And the Scripture also euidently describeth this vnion, to be a partaking both of the same flesh and blood, as Hebr.2.14. *Forasmuch as the children were partakers of flesh and blood, he himselfe likewise tooke part with them.* Thirdly, the vnion of the faithfull themselues, though it be not the essentiall and principall signification of the Eucharist, which is to be done in the remembrance of Christ, and to shew forth his death, 1.Cor.11.25.25. but is inferred by way of consequence and application; yet neither is this vnion amongst our selues so significantly expressed in one of the elements, as in both: first, because as our communion with Christ is fully expressed, in the bread and cup together, as I haue shewed; so our communion amongst our selues, which is an effect, and consequent of the other, cannot otherwise be fully signified. Secondly, as the Scripture describeth our naturall vnion, by the partaking of the same blood, Act.17.26. he hath made of one blood all mankind: so our spirituall coniunction is ascribed

bed both to the blood and fleſh of Chriſt, Epheſ.2.13. *Now in Chriſt Ieſus, ye which were ſom a farre off, are made neere by the blood of Chriſt*, verſ.14. *which hath made of both one, &c.* verſ.15. *in abrogating through his fleſh the hatred, &c.* Thirdly, though the Apoſtle giueth inſtance onely of the bread, in ſaying, *We are one body and one bread, becauſe we are partakers of one bread*; 1.Cor.10.17. yet hereof it followeth not, that the bread and wine together do not more fully expreſſe the vnion of the faithfull, then eyther of them apart, ſeeing that the Apoſtle in ſetting forth our communion with Chriſt, made mention of them both, verſ.16.

*Argum.*3. There is no ſpirituall fruit receiued by both kindes, that is not receiued by one: for it ſhould be eyther in reſpect of the ſignes, or of the thing ſignified and conteined in the ſignes: but in neither reſpect is there more fruite: Firſt, to receiue both the ſignes profiteth not more, then to receiue one; as in Baptiſme, to be thrice dipped, is no more, then to be waſhed but once. Secondly, the thing conteined being Chriſt, he being twice in the ſame inſtant receiued, profiteth no more, then once; for then three ſuppes of the chalice ſhould be better then one. *Bellarmin. cap.*23.

Contra. Firſt, the more ſpirituall fruite which ariſeth by communicating in both kinds, rather then in one, is both in reſpect of the ſignes and the thing ſignified taken together: And his inſtance of thrice dipping in Baptiſme is nothing like, becauſe that it is not warranted by the inſtitution, and commandement of Chriſt concerning Baptiſme, as the vſing of bread and wine is preſcribed in the Euchariſt: And againe the thrice dipping, is a repeating and iterating of the ſame thing: but to eate the bread, and drinke the cuppe, are two diuers things. Secondly, the things ſignified (for things contained, in the popiſh ſenſe vnder the formes of bread and wine, we acknowledge none other but the ſubſtances of them) are not one, but diuers, the bodie and blood of Chriſt: and therefore the inſtance of the three ſuppes of the chalice is ridiculous and not to the purpoſe, which is but a ſuperfluous and ſuperſtitious repetition of the ſame action: but he which receiueth bread and wine, as he doth two ſeuerall actions, ſo ſpiritually he is made partaker of two diuers things, namely, of Chriſts bodie and blood: wherefore let him keepe his three ſups of the chalice to himſelfe, and aske his ignorant Italian maſſe-prieſts the reaſon, why three ſups rather then one or two ſhould be good for the chin-cough.

Thirdly, that there ariſeth no more ſpirituall fruite by one element then by both, is contrary to the Scripture. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, that by eating and drinking both, *Wee do ſhew the Lords death*, 1.Cor.11.26. not by ſeeing onely and beholding, as *Bellarmine* is not aſhamed herein to contradict the Apoſtle: the Lords death then is ſhewed, and our faith thereby confirmed by vſing both. Secondly, Iohn 6.55. our Sauiour ſaith, *My fleſh is meate indeed, and my blood is drinke indeede*: So then, as meate is not ſo profitable to the bodie without drinke, as both together; ſo neither is the ſpirituall meate without the ſpirituall drinke. Thirdly, if the bread alone be effectuall, as the bread and cup together, then Chriſt commanded a ſuperfluous thing, in giuing it in charge vnto vs to vſe them both.

*Argum.*4. Moſt of the figures and types of the Euchariſt do ſignifie the receiuing in one kind: as the Tree of life in Paradiſe, whereunto no water was ioyned; the Paſchall Lambe which was eaten; Manna, Exod.16. the Shewbread, Leuitic.24.5. the ſacrifices whereof the Prieſts did eate, but the drinke offeringes were not taſted of, but powred out before the Lord. *Bellarmin. cap.*24. *argum.*1.

Anſw. Firſt, arguments drawne from types and figures conclude not, vnleſſe they be, *Typi deſtinati*, Types ordayned of God to ſuch vſe: neyther are the Sacraments of the Goſpel to be ſquared out according to the patterne of the ceremonies of the law: We alſo denie that the ceremonies and rites of the Law, as the Paſchal Lambe, Manna, and the reſt, are figures and types of our Sacraments; but both their Sacraments and ours are figures and repreſentations of Chriſt, as S. *Peter* calleth Baptiſme, *ἀντίτυπον*, a figure correſpondent, or anſwering vnto *Noah* his Arke, 1.Pet.3.21.

Secondly, the figures propounded doe rather make for the Communion in both kinds: In Paradiſe, as there was a Tree of life, ſo there was a riuer to water the garden, Geneſ.2.10. And therefore Apocal.22.1,2. the celeſtiall Paradiſe is deſcribed according to the paterne of the terreſtriall, to haue both a Tree of life and a riuer of cleare water: In the Paſſeouer as the Lambe was eaten, ſo the blood was ſprinckled vpon the doore poſts: And at the ſame time, that the Iſraelites dranke water out of the rocke, Exod.17. they did alſo eate Manna, which was giuen them euery day from heauen: The Shewbread maketh not for them, for it was lawfull onely for the Prieſts to eate thereof; but they will not ſay, that the Prieſts onely are to eate the hoaſt, for they giue it to the people: the Sacrifices likewiſe with the drinke offerings ſerue not their turne, for neither did the Prieſts taſte of the drinke offerings; and by this reaſon the cuppe ſhould be denied as well to their Prieſts, as to their lay people.

Thirdly, we haue Types of both kinds to be receiued together, as *Melchiſedech* brought forth bread

both kinds, it is great impietie in them to withhold either: for they may as well withhold the bread as the cup; and as well both, as one: and so the people should haue no Sacrament at all.

Secondly, Christ saith after the cup, *Drinke ye all of this*: but after giuing of the bread, he saith not, *Eate ye all of this*: so that our Sauiour as it were did foresee, that the cup should bee denied to some, and therefore directly commaundeth that to be vsed of all.

Bellarmine here telleth vs, that though the Euangelists haue not these words, *eate ye all of this*, yet by tradition it is certaine, that Christ spake them.

Contra. Thus he holdeth the Scriptures imperfect, and maketh blind traditions of equall authoritie with them: thus adding to the Scriptures, not regarding the great curse laid vpon al such, that God *will adde vnto them plagues, &c.* Apocal. 22. 18.

Argum. 3. Our Sauiour saith after the giuing of the cup, *This is my blood, which is shed for you, and for many*: wherefore the blood of Christ must bee giuen to all those, for whom it was shed; and so consequently to lay-men also.

Bellarmine answereth, that Christ died for all men, euen Turkes, Iewes, Infidels: and by this reason, if his blood should be giuen to all, for whom it was shed, euen Turkes and Iewes also should be admitted to the Communion: for the proofe of the first part, he alleageth 1. Corinth. 15. Colos. 1. 1 Ioh. 2.

Contra. First, that Christs death is sufficient for all the world, if all could beleeue in him, wee willingly acknowledge: but that Christ died effectually for all, these places proue not, but onely for the elect. Saint *Paul* saith, 1. Cor. 15. 22. *As in Adam all dye, so in Christ shall all be made aliue*: If all men generally be here vnderstood, and not the vniuersall companie of the elect onely; then all men indeede should be made aliue by Christ, and so be saued. Againe, Colos. 1. 20. *He hath reconciled all things in heauen and in earth*: If he will vrge these words (*all things*) strictly according to the letter, then Christ must haue died for all creatures: wherefore the Apostle by *all things in earth*, vnderstandeth all nations both Iewes and Gentiles, as he expoundeth it, vers. 21. *You, which were strangers, hath he reconciled, &c.* And where S. *Iohn* saith, 1. Epist. 2. 2. *that Christ died for the sins of the whole world*: he is not contrarie to himselfe, who testifieth thus of Christ, Ioh. 17. 9. *I pray not for the world*: if Christ prayeth not for the world, much lesse did he die for the world: wherefore by the world is signified the vniuersall companie of the elect. Secondly, that Christ died onely for the elect, it is euident by these places of Scripture: Ioh. 17. 19. *For their sakes sanctifie I my selfe*: which his sanctifying was in offring himselfe vp in sacrifice to God his father: Ephes. 5. 25. *He gaue himselfe for his Church*: Colos. 1. 24. *I fulfill the rest of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his bodies sake, which is the Church*: Al Christs suffrings both in his own person, and in his members, are for the same companie and bodies sake: but his suffrings in his members are for the Church, as here the Apostle saith, and for the elects sake; 2. Timoth. 2. 10. *I suffer all things for the elects sake, that they might obtaine saluation in Christ*: *Ergo*, Christs suffrings in his owne person are onely for the elect. But of this matter hereafter we shall haue better occasion to entreat at large: to which place I refer the reader. Thirdly, this rather is a good argument to proue that Christs blood was not shed for all, because the Sacrament of his blood must not be giuen to all: For to whom the thing signified belongeth, the signe doth much more; as our Sauiour reasoneth, Mar. 10. vers. 14. *Suffer little children to come vnto me, &c. for of such is the kingdome of God*. Christ toucheth, and blesseth children, because they had interest in Christs kingdome: so the blessing of the Sacrament belongeth to them, that haue interest in Christs blood.

Argum. 4. Our Sauiour saith, *Hoc facite*, Doe this, &c. in the ministring of the Sacrament we must doe as Christ did: but he gaue the bread, and similiter, *likewise the cup*, Luk. 22. 20. he gaue the one in like manner as the other: *Ergo*, so must the Ministers of Christ doe now, distribute both to the people.

Bellarmine answereth: first, that Saint *Luke* hath not, *Hoc facite*, Doe this, after the giuing of the cup, but onely after the bread.

Contra. But S. *Paul* setteth downe, *Hoc facite*, Doe this, after the cup also, 1. Cor. 11. 25. and both Saint *Lukes* Gospell and Saint *Pauls* Epistle are of one and the same authoritie. Now where *Bellarmine* putteth a difference in S. *Pauls* words, that speaking of the bread, he saith, *Doe this in remembrance of me*: but after the cup, *Doe this, as oft as you drinke it, in remembrance of me*: who seeth not his ridiculous fondnes herein, making a difference, where there is none at all?

Secondly, saith he, he did not giue the cup, similiter, *in like manner*, as the bread, for he brake the bread, so did he not the cup: and of the bread, it is said, *he gaue it*, but of the cup, *likewise he tooke it*; not, *likewise he gaue it*, 1. Corin. 11. *Ergo*, the cup was not giuen in like manner, *Bellarm. respons. ad argum.* 3.

Contra. First, *Bellarmine* professing himselfe a Master in his sect, may be ashamed thus to palter, as though in euery thing, we said the cup was giuen like so the bread: for the bread is broken, and so is the wine is diuided, and not broken, as Saint *Luke* himselfe saith, preuenting this cauil,

verſ. 17. but in the action of giuing, bleſſing, receiuing, they are alike. Secondly, neither S. *Luke* nor S. *Paul* ſay, *likewiſe he tooke the cup*, but thus onely, *likewiſe the cup*: ſo that the word, *take*, or *giue*, may be indifferently ſupplied out of the words going before: and yet S. *Marke* ſaith directly, that he gaue the cup alſo, chap. 14. 23. We ſee what goodly ſtuffe here is.

Argum. 5. Saint *Paul* writing to all the faithfull at Corinthus, deliuereth this as a tradition and commaundement from Chriſt, that they ſhould receiue in both kindes: ſaying, *Hoc facite*, Doe this: and verſ. 28. *Let a man examine himſelfe, and ſo eate, &c. and drinke.* But the tradition of Chriſt and his Apoſtles muſt not be tranſgreſſed. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that Saint *Paul*, verſ. 28. doth not bid them eate, &c. and drinke, but onely preſcribeth a way, how they ſhould doe it profitably, when they did eate, &c. and drinke. Secondly, he denieth that this tradition of the Apoſtle is a precept. Thirdly, he denieth that this epiſtle was written to all the faithfull at Corinthus; ſo that the doctrine therein ſhould concerne them all.

Contra. Firſt, S. *Paul*, verſ. 28. doth both bid them examine themſelues, and that done he doth bid them eate and drinke: and though wee could not finde a precept in the Apoſtles wordes, yet that is a precept of Chriſts rehearſed by the Apoſtle twice, *Hoc facite*, Doe this, verſ. 24. 25. Secondly, if this tradition of the Apoſtle binde not, neither is in the nature of a precept, where he ſaith, 1. Cor. 11. 23. *I haue receiued of the Lord that, which I haue deliuered to you*: then neither is that a binding and commaunding tradition, where he ſaith, 1. Corinth. 15. 3. *I deliuered vnto you, that which I receiued, how Chriſt died for our ſinnes*; which hee vttereth in the ſame manner of ſpeech, and with the like authoritie from Chriſt. So that if this doctrine muſt be beleeued, that *Chriſt died*, &c. then the other tradition of receiuing in both kindes ought to be receiued. Againe, if the Apoſtles traditions binde, *Keepe the traditions, which ye haue been taught*, 2. Theſſ. 2. 15. how much more the traditions, which (he ſaith) he receiued from Chriſt? And is it not ſtrange, that we are driuen now to maintaine the authoritie of traditions againſt the Papiſts? Thirdly, it is falſe, that this epiſtle and the doctrine therein contained concerneth not all the faithfull at Corinthus, ſeeing the Apoſtle directeth his epiſtle to all the Saints *at Corinthus, with all that call vpon the name of Ieſu*, 1. chap. 1. verſ. 2.

Argum. 6. The Prieſt that ſaith Maſſe, you allow to conſecrate and receiue in both kinds, becauſe he muſt expreſſe liuely the paſſion of Chriſt, and the ſeparation of his blood from his body in the ſame: *Rhemiſt. annot. at. Iob.* 6. 58. By the ſame reaſon all the communicants ought to receiue in both kindes, becauſe they doe all ſhew forth the death of Chriſt, and ſhedding of his blood in the Sacrament, 1. Cor. 11. 26.

Argum. 7. This prohibition for lay men, not to receiue in both kinds, is but a late deuiſe of the Church of Rome, not paſt two hundred yeere old, decreed no longer agoe then in the Councell of Conſtance, *Fox* p. 1150. Yet after that, the Councell of Baſile graunted the vſe and liberte of the cup to the Bohemians, *Fox* pag. 694.

Thus they take vpon them to ouer-rule mens conſciences, now reſtraining, now againe granting libertie, binding and looſing at their pleaſure.

Tract. in Iohan. 27. In *Auguſtines* time there was no ſuch ſeparation of the cup from the bread: but both were indifferently vſed in the Communion: *Cum cibo & potu*, ſaith he, *id agentant homines vt nequeant eſurire, neque ſitiant, hoc vtraque non præſtat, niſi iſte cibus & potus, &c.* As men by their meate and drinke doe prouide, that they neither hunger nor thirſt: ſo this ſpirituall meate and drinke worketh the ſame effect in vs. Whereupon it followeth, that ſeeing in the Sacrament is contained and ſignified the full and ſufficient nouriſhment of our ſoules by the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, it muſt needes bee reſembled by the outward full ſufficient nouriſhment of our bodies, which is not by eating alone, but by eating and drinking.

See alſo the teſtimonie of *Bernard* of this matter, or who elſe is the author of thoſe ſermons: *Audite fratres, non me, ſed Apoſtolum dicentem, calix benedictionis, nonne communicatio ſanguinis Chriſti? Calix ergo communicatio calicis, facta nos communionem quandam cum Chriſto, i. ſerm. Guerric.* Heare yee my brethren, not me, but the Apoſtle ſaying, the cup of bleſſing is it not the communication of the blood of Chriſt? ſo then the cup, that is the communicating, or partaking of the cuppe, doth ioyne vs in one communion with Chriſt. If then the people of God, euen ſuch, as are of the lay ſort, haue one communion with Chriſt, the ſigne of that communion which is the cup, is not to be denied them.

Concil. Matiſconenſ. 2. *decreuimus, vt omnibus diebus dominicis altaris oblatio ab omnibus offeratur tam panis, quam vini*: We decree, that euery Lords day, the people doe make an oblation of bread and wine: that is, that they ſhould communicate in both, *vt peccatorum ſuorum ſordibus tergantur*, that they may be freed from their ſinnes.

Concil. Vormatienſ. can. 31. *Leproſis, ſi fideles Chriſtiani fuerint, dominici ſanguinis & corporis participatio tribuatur*: Let leprous perſons, if they beleeue, communicate both the bodie and blood of Chriſt:

bread and wine together, Genes. 14. And whereas hee aunswereth, that this type for both kindes maketh not against them, as the other types for one kinde make against vs, because they doe not vrge the necessitie of one kinde, as we doe of both: wee replie first, that the types alleaged make not at all against receiuing in both kinds, as I haue shewed. Secondly, the types are not contrarie one to another, if some of them shew both kindes, how can the other serue for one kinde? Thirdly, if it be not necessarie to receiue in one kind, it is not to be done at all: for either it is agreeable to the institution of Christ to receiue in one kinde, or disagreeable: if it be agreeable and prescribed, it is of necessitie to be obserued: if it be not prescribed, it is of necessitie not to be vsed at all.

Fourthly, what though the types some of them shew the Sacramentall bread onely, some the Sacramentall cuppe; yet these may be ioyned in the substance and bodie, which are separated in the figure and shadow: as the Prophesies of Christs passion and the manner thereof, are not found in one place: as, *Ye shall not breake a bone of him*, is found Exod. 12. *They pearced my hands and my feete*, Psalm. 22. *They shall looke vpon him, whom they pearced*, Zachar. 12. 10. Doth it therefore follow, that these things should not be fulfilled at one instant? so though some types onely should signifie the eating of bread, as Manna; some the cuppe, as the water out of the rocke: yet these things severed in the figure, may be ioyned together in the thing figured.

Argum. 5. Luk. 24. 30. Christ brake bread to his disciples: Act. 2. 42. The Apostles brake bread: *Ergo*, to communicate in one kinde is grounded vpon the example of Christ and his Apostles, *Bellarmin. lib. 4. de Eucharist. c. 24. Rhemist.* Iohn. 6. 11. And Christ saith, Whosoeuer shall eate this bread, shall liue for euer, Iohn. 6. 58. *Ergo*, it is sufficient to receiue in one kinde.

Answ. First, to the two first places, we say, that it is not necessarie to vnderstand the breaking of bread in the Sacrament: but the vsuall bread rather, which was accustomed in their daylie repasts and feastes after thankesgiuing to be broken. Or, if we take it for the Sacrament, the breaking of bread is by a *Synecdoche* taken for the whole mysterie, as it is an vsuall phrase of speech in Scripture: for otherwise we will conclude as well, that Christ and the Apostles did but consecrate in one kinde, which they holde for a great absurditie, as that the other receiued but in one kinde: But their opinion is, that although the people must communicate in one kinde onely, yet the Priest must consecrate in both, *Rhemist. annot. Iohn. 6. sect.* 11.

Bellarmine here answereth, that the Apostles did consecrate in both kinds, but they ministred to the people onely in one; for it is like that many of them were Nazarites, and so would not drinke wine contrarie to their vow. *resp. ad rat.* 3.

Contra. First, *Bellarmine* a little before speaking of that place, Luk. 24. how our Sauiour brake bread to the two Disciples in Emaus, sayth, *Nullum locum benedicendo, &c.* That no place is left in the storie for the blessing or distribution of the cuppe: so that in his opinion Christ did not consecrate in both kinds: as Christ did there, so doe the Apostles here. Secondly, as here the Apostles brake bread, so likewise S. *Paul* Act. 20. 7. but he ministred in both kinds, as he writeth to the Corinthians, 1. Cor. 11. 26. but the Apostles were not contrarie one to another: therefore they also (if at all) ministred in both kinds. Thirdly, it might be, that some of the congregation were Nazarites, but not all, for the whole number was three thousand, Act. 2. 4. and the vow of the Nazarites did hold but for a time; for S. *Paul* also had a vow, & yet receiued in both kinds. Act. 18. 18.

To the second place we answere: First, it is not vnderstood of the sacramentall eating of Christ, but of the spirituall manducation of him, which may be done without a Sacrament: *For whosoeuer eateth this bread, shall liue for euer*: but whosoeuer eateth the Sacrament, shall not liue for euer. Secondly, seeing the eating and drinking of Christ are so often ioyned in this chapter, as vers. 53. 56. they might well know, that drinking is here to be vnderstood, though it be not expressed.

Argum. 3. In many countries there is no wine to be had, as in the colde Northerly countries: and therefore they cannot communicate according to the institution: whereupon that there might be an vniformitie in all Churches, it is most meete that where wine may be had, they should notwithstanding be content to receiue it in one kinde, *Bellarm. cap.* 28. Also there may arise much inconuenience in granting the cup to the people, as in spilling and sheading the wine, which after consecration is the blood of Christ, *Rhemist. annot. Iohn. 6. sect.* 11.

Answ. 1. As in some countries there is no wine to be had, so we finde that in certaine places and regions of the world there is no bread, such as Christ vsed, made of wheate or the like graine: as in some places amongst the West Indians they haue a certaine kinde of breade made of rootes, called *Cazabi*, as *Benzo* witnesseth. Wherefore by this reason of vniformitie, we should not communicate at all, either in bread or wine, seeing that as some countries are destitute of wine, so others are of bread: but all this notwithstanding, the Sacrament may be duely administred in all places in both kinds: And where they haue neither bread nor wine, neither can possiblie prouide them, they may safely vse such other elements, as doe stand them in the like stead, as in the place of Lib. 1. cap. 17.

bread, that which commeth neareſt to the vſe thereof: and for wine, ſome other precious liquor, that is to be had, as in Ruſſia, in ſtead of wine, they vſe a certaine drinke like vnto that which we call Metheglen.

2 As for the other reaſons of the inconueniences in ſpilling the wine, ſhaking the cup, the hanging of it on mens beards, and other ſuch friuolous allegations: as they were no let or hinderance, why Chriſt notwithſtanding did not inſtitute the Sacrament in both kindes, and the Church accordingly obſerued it, as we reade, the Corinthians did communicate in both kindes: ſo ought they to be no reaſon, why Chriſtians ſhould not receiue in both kindes now.

The Proteſtants.

WE holde it to be an Antichriſtian practiſe of the Church of Rome, to take away from the people the cup in the Sacrament: for although they ſometime miniſter the cup to the people, yet they vſe no conſecration ouer it, neither giue it as any part of the Sacrament, *Feb. annot. 1. Cor. 4. 10. ſect. 4.* They doe therefore offer great wrong to the people of God, in depriuing them of the one halfe of the communion.

Argum. 1. Ioh. 6. 53. Chriſt ſaith, *Except you eate the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, you haue no life in you.* Here we ſee both eating and drinking are ioyned together: *Ergo*, Chriſtians ought to doe both. This place maketh ſtrongly againſt our aduerſaries, who do expound it of the ſacramentall eating and drinking of Chriſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, theſe words of our Sauiour Chriſt doe binde vs onely to the eating and receiuing of Chriſts body and bloud, they inioyne not the manner of receiuing them, whether vnder one kinde or both, *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Euchar. cap. 25.*

Contra. If theſe words be vnderſtood of the ſacramentall eating and drinking of Chriſt, as the Ieſuite ſaith, they are: then muſt Chriſt be receiued ſacramentally vnder both kinds: for ſacramentally to eate and drinke Chriſt, it is all one: but his body cannot be ſacramentally eaten, but in bread, nor his blood ſacramentally drunke but in wine: for we are ſaide to eate, not to drinke bread.

Bellarmine 2. The wordes are to bee read diſiunctiuely, Except ye eate the fleſh, &c. (and) that is, (or) drinke the blood of Chriſt, as it is read Act. 3. 5. ſiluer, *and*, that is, *or*, gold nor I none.

Contra. Firſt, it followeth not, *(and)* is taken for *(or)* in ſome places of Scripture, therefore in all it is ſo to be taken, as in this. Secondly, the example alleaged is nothing like, for whether we ſay, *ſiluer and gold haue I not*, or, *ſiluer or golde, &c.* it is no materiall or ſubſtantiall poynt of faith: but here is a condition of ſaluation annexed, *except ye eate, and drinke, &c. ye haue no life in you*: wherefore we muſt not dally thus in ſo waighty matters of our ſaluation, with *(and)* and *(or)*. Thirdly, where Chriſt ſaith, Iohn 3. *Except a man be borne of water and the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen*, he may as well ſay, that *and* here is taken for *or*, and ſo either of them ſhall be ſufficient, as to be borne of water without the ſpirit. Laſtly, to admit your diſiunction, (though this be a new Grammarian tricke to put a coniunction for a diſiunction) then it followeth, that either may ſuffice, to eate Chriſts body, or drinke his blood in the Sacrament: and conſequently, as you preſume to giue the bread without the cuppe, ſo the cuppe may be vſed without the bread.

Bellarm. 3. This precept is giuen to the whole Church; yet it is ſufficient if it bee performed by ſome onely in the Church, that is the Miniſters: ſo that precept is generall giuen in the creation, *Encreaſe, and multiplie*: yet all are not therefore bound vnto procreation.

Contra. Firſt, the example is nothing like: for the precept or libertie rather of procreation is not laid vpon men with any ſuch neceſſitie, as this commaundement of eating and drinking Chriſts bodie, and blood is; which whoſoeuer doth not, periſheth, verſ. 53. Secondly, the precept is generall, becauſe the daunger of periſhing, or not hauing life in tranſgreſſing the ſame is generall: Whoſoeuer doth not ſo eate and drinke Chriſt, periſheth: *Ergo*, it belongeth to all to eate and drinke Chriſt.

Argum. 2. Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament in both kindes, giuing charge and commaundement to all Chriſtians in the ſame manner to celebrate it: for he ſaith, *Drinke ye all of this.* Your aduerſaries anſwere, as they doe, that this was ſpoken to the Apoſtles: firſt, by the like reaſon they may ſay alſo, that when Chriſt ſaid, *Take, eate*, he ſpake vnto his Apoſtles, and ſo the people ſhould neither receiue bread and wine, but the Miniſters onely.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt indeede gaue the whole Sacrament in both kindes onely to his Apoſtles, yet he forbiddeth not, but that it may be giuen to the people alſo: yea he commaundeth it, in ſaying, *Hoc facite*, Doe this.

Contra. Bellarmine here, hath made a good argument againſt himſelfe: for Chriſt ſaith, *Do this*, not onely after the breaking of the bread, but the giuing of the cup alſo, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, 1. Corint. 11. 24, 25. Wherfore if it be a commandement from Chriſt to miniſter the Sacrament in both

Christ: Here is excepted no sorte or calling of men, if they bee Christians.

Let vs see their owne testimonie: *Decret. par. 3. distinct. 2. c. 7. Iulius: Seorsim panis, seorsim calicis commendatio memoratur*: The blessing of the bread, and the blessing or commendation of the cup are sinderly rehearsed. But most euidently, *ibid. c. 12. Gelasius: Comperimus autem, &c.* We finde, that some receiuing onely a portion of the sacred bodie, doe abstaine from the cuppe of blood, who rather let them receiue, *integra sacramenta*, the whole and entire Sacraments, or let them bee kept from the whole: because the diuision of one and the same mysterie cannot be done without great sacrilege. *Gelasius* here maketh no mention at all of consecrating, but of receiuing in one kinde, which he counteth great sacrilege in whomsoeuer: his words are generall.

Likewise the Master, *lib. 4. distinct. 11. f.* rendreth a reason out of S. *Ambrose* of receiuing in both kindes: *Valet ad tuitionem animæ & corporis, &c.* That which we receiue is auailable for the tuition both of the bodie and soule: for the flesh of Christ is offered for the health of the bodie, his blood for our soules. But lay men haue soules to saue, as well as Priests: *Ergo*, they ought to receiue both Christs bodie, and blood. Some also of the Papists themselues doe hold, that there ariseth more spirituall fruite by receiuing in both kindes, than in one: *Alexand. Alensis in 4. par. summ. quest. 53. memb. 1. Gasper. Cassalius, libr. de cœna & calice, cap. 25.*

The holie Martyrs haue sealed this trueth: *Iohn Philpot*, pag. 1820. Christ instituted nothing superfluous; therfore you cannot say, that the whole effect of the Sacrament is as well in one kind as in both: if it were, Christ would haue giuen but one kinde onely.

Bishop *Cranmer* holy Martyr: Christ said, *Drinke ye all of this*: the Pope giueth a contrarie commaundement to Christ, that the lay sort shall not drinke of the cup of their saluation. *Theophilus Alexandrinus* saith, That if Christ had been crucified for the diuels, his cup should not haue been denied them: Yet the Pope denieth the cup of Christ to Christian people, *Fox* pag. 1890.

THE NINTH QVESTION, OF THE adoration of the Eucharist.

The Papists.

IT was decreed in the Councell of Trent, that the Eucharist should bee adored euen with the highest degree of worship, (*Cultu latreia*) which is proper to God: that it should also be carried about in solemne processions, to be shewed to the people, to bee worshipped and adored of them. And whosoeuer holdeth the contrarie, they pronounce accursed, *Trident. Concil. sess. 13. can. 6.* 27. Error.

Argum. 1. Hebr. 1. 6 *Worship him all ye Angels: Ergo*, Christ in the Sacrament, and whersoeuer else his person is, ought to bee adored of men and Angels, *Rhemist. ibid.* This Saint *Paul* meaneth, they say, by discerning the Lords bodie, 1. Cor. 11. 29. that is, adoring, worshipping it, and making prayers vnto it, *Rhemist. ibid.*

Answ. First, we denie Christ to bee present in the Sacrament really, corporally, substantially: therfore it is not to be adored. Secondly, although the bodie of Christ were present in that maner vnder the accidents of bread and wine; yet vnlesse Christ be so present, that the elements or the accidents of the elements be ioyned and vnited vnto him in one person, as the Godhead and humanitie make but one person, he is no more to be adored, then God the Father is to be worshipped in the Sunne or Moone, in the which he is verely present. But to say that the visible formes and elements are ioyned in an hypostaticall vnion to Christ, as his humanitie is to his Godhead, it is great blasphemie. Thirdly, a reuerent estimation and discerning of the Lords bodie we grant in the Sacrament; in preferring the elements before all other meates and drinkes, because of their mysticall signification, as wee preferre the mysticall washing in Baptisme before all other: but to knittle, hold vp the hands, and to worship a piece of bread, we count it grosse and abominable Idolatrie.

Argum. 2. Bellarm. God is verely and truly to be worshipped, Matth. 4. *Thou shalt worshippe the Lord thy God, &c.* but Christ in the Eucharist is very God: *Ergo*, verely in the Eucharist to bee worshipped, *cap. 9.*

Answ. First, all this wee easily graunt, that Christ is in the Eucharist to bee adored, so is he also in Baptisme, and in the word preached, as the Apostle sheweth, 1. Corinth. 14. 24. *If all prophecie, if there come in one, that beleeueth not, &c. the secrets of his heart are made manifest, and so he will fall downe on his face, and worship God, and say plainly that God is in you indeede*: So we also, though wee denie that the Eucharist is to be adored, yet wee adore Christ in the Eucharist, saying, *We praise thee, we blesse thee, we worship thee, we glorifie thee, &c.* Secondly, he should haue assumed thus, *but the Eucharist is very God*, if he would haue prooued any thing: but it were blasphemie so to say: for though wee should graunt the bodie of Christ verely to be present, yet is not the bodie of Christ God. And beside there are the formes of bread and wine remaining still, which being creatures and not hypostatically ioyned to the person of Christ, cannot without great perill of Idolatrie bee adored.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, to put all out of doubt, Chriſts fleſh is not bodily preſent, neither ſhal they be able, while they liue, to proue it: and therefore they haue no colour or ground at all of their adoration.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Sacrament is not to be adored with any godly worſhip, but onely to bee duly reuerenced as an holie myſterie; thus we proue it by the word of God.

Argum. 1. In the firſt inſtituting of the Sacrament, the Apoſtles receiued it ſitting, not kneeling, by taking of it, not lifting vp their hands to it: *Ergo*, they did not adore it, neither is it by vs to be adored.

Againe, Chriſt commaundeth vs, onely to Take, and eate and drinke, and to doe all in remembrance of him: the Sacrament therefore was appointed to bee eaten and drunken, not to be carried about, or to be gazed vpon, or to be kneeled vnto.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that it was no maruel, that they worſhipped not the bodie of Chriſt inuiſiblie preſent vnder the forme of bread, ſeeing they worſhipped not Chriſt himſelfe viſiblie preſent at the table: for it was now Supper time, neither could they at all times worſhip Chriſt, *lib.4 cap.*30.

Contra. 1. Though the Apoſtles did not alwaies externally worſhip Chriſt, eſpecially being ouerſpied in ciuill and common acts, as taking now their repaſt at Supper: yet there was now great occaſion offered, both in reſpect of this high religious act begun, the inſtitution of the Sacrament: and becauſe of this great and wonderfull worke in the tranſubſtantiating of the bread into Chriſts bodie. Now it had become them to haue fallen downe, and wondred, as *Peter* did at the taking of ſo many fiſh, Luke. *5.*8. and *Thomas* did when he thruſt his hand into Chriſts ſide. And though they were ſitting at ſupper, yet they might ſoone haue chaunged their geſture; eſpecially ſeeing the legall ſupper was finiſhed, and Chriſts ſupper begun. Therfore it is moſt like, that there was no adoration at all then intended.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Whatſoeuer is not of faith is ſinne*, Rom. 14.23. but the adoration of the Euchariſt is not of faith: for *faith commeth by hearing of the word* Rom. 10.17. but no where in the word are we taught, to adore the elements in the Euchariſt: *Ergo*, it is ſinne.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the word doth euidently teach that Chriſt is to be adored; and that he is in the Euchariſt, and therefore in the Euchariſt to be adored, *c.*30. *reſp. ad argum.* 2.

Contra. Firſt, that Chriſt is to bee adored as God and man, both in the Euchariſt, and euery where elſe, both of men and Angels, the Scripture teacheth, and we beleeue: but hereof it followeth not, that the Euchariſt it ſelfe is to be adored with diuine worſhip. Secondly, neither is it of faith, or by the word, that Chriſts bodie is preſent in the Sacrament corporally: for if it were of faith, it ſhould be plainly expreſſed in Scripture, as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith: *In iis, quæ aperta in ſcripturis poſita ſunt, inueniuntur ea omnia, quæ continent fidem, moreſq; viuendi*: In thoſe places, which are plainly ſet forth in Scripture, are all thoſe things found, that containe faith and manners, *lib. de doctrin. Chriſtian. c.*9. But that onely place, which they vrge, *this is my bodie*, though it be ſo manifeſt and plaine, yet by their groſſe comment is made obſcure: and therefore according to their owne rule, *In rebus obſcuris minimum eſt ſequendum*: In obſcure things the leſſe and ſafeſt is to be followed, *Bonif. 8. regul. iuris.* 30. But there is leſſe daunger in not adoring at all; but in adoring there is perill and feare of idolatrie.

Argum. 3. Chriſt, as we haue ſhewed, is no otherwiſe preſent in the Euchariſt, then in Baptiſme. But the water in Baptiſme is not to be adored: *Ergo*, neither the bread in the Sacrament.

Auguſtine did not ſo much as dreame of any adoration of the Sacrament: *A Cereri & Libro Paganorum diis longè abſumus, quamuis panis & calicis ſacramentum noſtro ritu ampleſtimur*. We doe not worſhip the heatheniſh Gods of corne and wine, *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, although after our manner we embrace the Sacrament of the bread, and of the cuppe. His meaning is, that Chriſtians doe not worſhip bread and wine in the Sacrament, as the heathen did, *contr. Fauſt.*

In ſacramenti ſanctificatione & diſtributione exiſtimo Apoſtolum proprie in ſiſſe fieri oportere, ut dixi, 1. Timoth. 2.1. Quod verò quidam codices non habent, orationes, ſed adorationes, non abhorrens ſuperior interpretatum: In the conſecrating and diſtributing of the Sacrament, I thinke the Apoſtle bade orations or prayers to be made, not as ſome doe vnlearnedly interpret, adorations or worſhippings, *Epiſtol. 59. Ergo*, he approueth not the adoration of the Sacrament.

Bellarmine obiecteth that place of S. *Auguſtine Pſal.* 98. *Nemo carnem illam manducat, niſi prius adorauerit*: No man eateth that fleſh, vnleſſe he firſt adore it. *Bellarm. cap* 30.

Anſw. S. *Auguſtine*, as he holdeth onely a ſpirituall manducation: *Quid paras dentem & ventrem? crede & manducaſti, &c.* Why doeſt thou prepare thy teeth and bellie? beleeue onely and thou haſt eaten, for to beleeue in him is to eate him, *decr. par.* 3 *diſt.* 2 *cap.* 47. So he is to be vnderſtoode ſpeaking of adoration: as Chriſts fleſh is eaten, ſo is it adored; it is ſpiritually eaten by faith, *Ergo*, it is ſpiritually to be adored. So ſpeaketh alſo *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, as he is cited in the decrees, *part.* 3 *diſt.* 2 *cap.* 35. *Sacrum Dei corpus fide reſpice, honora, mirare, &c.* The ſacred bodie of God

God behold by faith, honor it, maruell at it, touch it with thy minde, receiue it with the hand of thy heart, &c.

Nicen. 2. actione 6. These words are rehearsed out of the Synode of Constantinople, which was assembled against images: *Ecce vitificantis illius corporis imaginem tetamur, &c.* Beholde all the image of that liuelie and quickening bodie, the substance of bread, which he commaunded to be set before vs, least, if it should be shewed in humane shape, *Idolatria induceretur*, Idolatrie by this meanes should bee brought in: They conclude directly against the adoration of the Sacrament.

Cassil. Florentin. sess. 25. The Grecians maner is, when as the bread and wine are caried by the Priest from one Altar to another, *Capita sua reuerenter inclinant vbi panis ipse vinumque eorundem fuit consecratus*: Doe reuerently bow their heads, when as the bread and wine are not yet consecrated. So then the Greeke Church doth reuerently vse them as holy signes, not adore them with a diuine worship: for it were to too grosse Idolatrie to worship the bare elements, such as they are before consecration.

Trullan. Synod. can. 90. Nicen. 1. can. 20. and in diuers other Councels it was decreed, that none should bow their knees *diebus dominicis*, vpon the Lords day. It is not like then, that kneeling, they did adore the Sacrament; which was vsually celebrated vpon the Lords day.

So that the adoration of the Eucharist seemeth to bee but a new deuise, hauing no warrant from the ancient practise of the Church: and indeed *Honorius* the third was the first, that commanded the people at eleuation time to incline and bow themselues, and when the Hoast was carried about in procession: as it may appeare, *decr. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 41. c. 10.*

See also the testimonie of the holy Martyrs: *Iohn Fortune*: if it be not God before the consecration, it is not God after, for God is without beginning and ending. p. 1919.

Thomas Spurdance holy Martyr: I receiue Christ by fayth by beleeuing in him: but the bread being receiued is not God, nor the bread, that is yonder in the pixe is not God: God dwelleth not in temples made with hands. And therefore you doe very euill to cause the people to kneele downe and worship the bread. Fox. p. 1025.

AN APPENDIX OR TENTH PART, WHETHER the wicked doe receiue the bodie of Christ.

The Papists.

THe wicked, they say, doe in the Sacrament eate the true flesh of Christ and drinke his blood, though they be infidels, and ill liuers. 22. Error.

Argum. 1. They are guiltie of the bodie and blood of Christ, 1. Corin. 11. 27. How can they be guiltie of that, which they haue not receiued? And againe, by the vnworthie receiuing of no other Sacrament, is a man made guiltie of the bodie and blood of Christ, but onely heere: *Ergo*, the wicked are partakers of his bodie? *Rhemist. annotat. 1. Corinth. 11. fol. 16.*

Solu. First, the wicked may be guiltie of the bodie and blood of Christ in vnworthie receiuing the Sacrament, though Christ be not corporally present: Euen as he that contumeliously reuiueth the seale of the Prince or abuseth his image, is guiltie of the Maiestie of the Prince, though he haue not hurt his person. Secondly, he also may be guiltie of the blood of Christ, that despiseth baptisme, which he receiued as a signe of his washing in the blood of Christ. And so the Apostle saith of wicked men, that fall away from Christian religion, that they crucifie againe to themselues the Sonne of God, Hebr. 6. 6.

Augustine also bringeth in Christ thus speaking to the wicked in the day of iudgement, *Grauior apud me fuit peccatorum tuorum crux, in qua insultus pendere, quàm ille, in quam tui miserius ascendi*: The crosse of thy sinnes, whereby thou didst crucifie me, was more grieuous vnto me, then the crosse, to the which for thy cause I was lifted vp: *Serm. 181. cap. 7. de tempor.* Thus we see, that wicked men by their sinfull life may crucifie Christ, though they can offer no violence to his bodie.

Argum. 2. One *Collins* a Papist thus reasoned from the example of *Iudas*: *Iudas* receiued the bodie of Christ, *Ergo*, the wicked, &c. *Fox. p. 1686.*

Solu. First, it is not so certaine out of the Gospell, whether *Iudas* receiued the Eucharist at all with the other Disciples, but some thinke that he went out before: and there are some probable coniectures of this opinion: as first, it is like that the first supper was not yet finished, because of the dipping of the soppe, which was giuen vnto *Iudas*: for in his last supper, there was no such dipping vsed, but onely bread and wine. Secondly, the washing of the Disciples feete was done before the last supper, and immediatly vpon that washing, the soppe was giuen to *Iudas*, and forthwith vpon it he went out: These and other coniectures might leade one to thinke, that *Iudas* was not present at the institution of the last supper, but that S. *Luke* setting downe the storie in order, as *Augustine* thinketh, rehearseth those words of Christ, as spoken after his last supper: *Behold*

hold the hand of him which betrayeth me, is with me at the table. Luk. 22. verſ. 21.

Secondly, it is notwithſtanding certaine, that the wetted or dipped ſoppe was not the Euchariſt, which was giuen to *Iudas*; for Chriſt miniſtred the bread and wine apart, bread by it ſelfe, and wine by it ſelfe, not ſoppes in wine: as the decree condemning a certaine abuſe of ſome who gaue the Euchariſt to the people dipped, or ſopped, concludeth thus, *Intincta buccella, &c.* The dipped ſoppe ſerued to bewray the betrayer of his Maiſter, not to ſignifie the Sacrament. p. 3. d. 2. c. 7.

Thirdly, though we graunt with *Auguſtine*, that Chriſt deliuered the Euchariſt to *Iudas* as well as to the reſt of the Apoſtles, in Pſalm. 10. rehearſed alſo in the decrees, *p. 2. cauſ. 1. q. 1. c. ill.* yet it followeth not that he receiued Chriſts bodie, Satan being entred in before, but the Sacrament onely of his bodie.

The Proteſtants.

THat wicked men and Infidels, cannot in any ſenſe be partakers of the true body and blood of Chriſt, thus it is proued.

Argum. 1. By faith onely are wee made partakers of the bodie and blood of Chriſt: but the faith the wicked cannot haue. The firſt part is proued out of the Goſpell: *He onely that drinketh of the blood of Chriſt ſhall neuer thirſt againe,* Iohn 4. 14. *He that ſhall neuer thirſt, muſt beleeue in Chriſt,* Iohn 6. 35. *Ergo,* he onely that beleeueth doth drinke the blood of Chriſt. So *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Nolite parare fauces, ſed cor; non quod videtur, ſed quod creditur, paſcit:* Doe not prepare your iawes, but your heart; it is not that which is ſeene, but what is beleeued, that nouriſheth. Chriſt muſt be receiued by faith: therefore Infidels or vnbeleeuers cannot receiue him.

Argum. 2. Whoſoeuer eateth the fleſh of Chriſt and drinketh his blood, ſhall haue eternall life, Iohn 6. 54. But the wicked haue not eternall life: *Ergo,* they neither eate nor drinke of Chriſt. So *Origene* reaſoneth: *Si fieri poſſet, vt qui malus adhuc perſeuerat, &c.* If it were poſſible, that he which yet remaineth wicked, could eate the word made fleſh, it had not been written, he that eateth this bread, ſhall liue for euer: *Hom. in 15. Matth.*

But here they will thruſt in an olde diſtinction: that we muſt conſider three things in the Euchariſt, *Speciem panis, veritatem carnis, virtutem gratiæ ſpiritualis:* The ſhape of bread, the verie fleſh of Chriſts fleſh, the ſpirituall grace or vertue: the firſt a mouſe may gnaw; the ſecond a wicked man may receiue; the third none but the faithfull can haue.

Contra. 1. The veritie of Chriſts fleſh cannot bee ſeparated from the ſpirituall grace: for he ſaith, Iohn 6. 55. *My fleſh is meate indeede, &c. and whoſoeuer eateth my fleſh hath eternall life,* verſ. 54. If the wicked then verilie eate Chriſts fleſh, they verily haue eternall life. Secondly, ſo then there are not three, but two things in the Sacrament: the Sacramentall ſigne, which the wicked may be partakers of; and the ſpirituall grace, which is the communicating of Chriſts bodie and blood, which none but the faithfull can haue: As *Bernard* witneſſeth: *Sacramentum ſicut accipi a multis dignus, ſic ad mortem indignus, rem ſacramenti nemo percipit, niſi dignus & idoneus:* As the worthie may receiue the Sacrament to life, ſo the vnworthie vnto death: but the matter or ſubſtance of the Sacrament no man receiueth, but he that is worthie. *Bernard de vit. ſolitar.*

Tract. In Iohann. 26. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *De menſa dominica ſumitur quibuſdam ad mortem, quibuſdam ad vitam, &c.* Of the Lords table ſome doe receiue vnto life, ſome vnto death: but the thing, whereof it is a Sacrament, worketh in all to life, in none to death, whoſoeuer are partakers of it. But the body and blood of Chriſt are the things ſignified in the Sacrament; *Ergo,* whoſoeuer receiueth them hath life thereby; the wicked then receiue them not.

Coloniens. part. 6. cap. 2. Panis ſpiritus, tam per verbum prædicationis quàm ſacramentalem eſum corporis & ſanguinis dominici in vina fide comeſtus, vinificat, &c. The bread of the ſpirit, as well by the preaching of the word, as in the Sacrament, being eaten by faith in the veritie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt quickeneth. The veritie of Chriſts bodie then is receiued by faith, which the wicked haue not: and as they receiue not Chriſt in the worde preached, ſo neither in the Sacrament.

Arguments out of the decrees, that the wicked eate not Chriſts bodie.

1 We haue the teſtimonie of their owne decrees: *Part. 3. diſt. 2. c. 65. Qui diſcordat à Chriſto, &c.* He that diſſenteth from Chriſt, doth neither eate his fleſh, nor drinke his blood. But the wicked diſſent from Chriſt: *Ergo.*

2 *Ibid. c. 69. Quicunque panem hunc manducauerit, &c.* Whoſoeuer eateth this bread, ſhall liue for euer. But the wicked liue not for euer: *Ergo,* they eate not this bread.

3 *Cap. 70. Quando Chriſtus manducatur, vita manducatur:* When Chriſt is eaten, life is eaten. But the wicked eate not life: *Ergo,* they eate not Chriſt.

4 *Cap. 75. Norunt fideles, &c.* The faithfull know how they eate the fleſh of Chriſt: Therefore the wicked and vnbeleeuers know it not.

5 *Cap. 40. Qui manducauerit corpus, &c.* He that eateth Chriſts bodie, hath remiſſion of ſinnes: but the wicked haue not remiſſion of ſinnes. *Ergo,*

Lastly, fol. 42. this was the faith of Pope *Nicolas*, to the which he caused *Berengarius* to subscribe, *Corpus Christi frangi & fidelium dentibus atteri*: That Christs bodie is broken and chawed in the teeth of the faithfull. So that his bodie commeth not betweene the teeth of the wicked and vnfaithfull.

Maister *Bradford* holy Martyr, when *Harpsfield* had said, the wicked receiue the bodie of Christ, but not the grace of his bodie: answered: They receiue not the bodie: for Christs body is no dead carkasse: he that receiueth it, receiueth the spirite, which is not without grace. Fox. p. 1615.

John Newman Martyr, after one *Collins* had saide, that *Iudas* receiued the body of Christ: replied, but the Diuell was entred into him before, and if the Diuell and Christ were there at once, how could they agree together? pag. 1686. These holy Martyrs, with many others, for this their plaine confession of their faith, were cruelly put to death.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING THE POPISH MASSE.

THis part likewise comprehendeth diuers questions.

1 Of the diuers representations of the death and sacrifice of Christ.

2 Of the sacrifice of the Masse, the name thereof, and of the sacrificing priesthood.

3 Of the vertue and efficacie which they falsly ascribe to the Masse.

4 For whom the sacrifice of the Masse is available: whether for the quicke and the dead.

5 Of priuate Masses.

6 Of the manner of saying and celebrating Masse.

7 Of the ceremonies which they vse in the idolatrous sacrifice of the Masse: some goe before: some are obserued in the celebration thereof.

8 Of the forme of the Masse, which consisteth partly of the Canon, and of the preface to the Canon, where we are to shew the strange and hereticall blasphemies, which in great number are vttered by them in the Masse. Of these now in order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE DIVERS representations of the death of Christ.

The Papists.

THey are not contented with that one liuely representation of the death of Christ, which is exhibited in the Lords Supper, but they haue brought in two more beside that, and so make three in all: the first, say they, is *simplex repraesentatio*, a simple and plaine representation of the death of Christ, which is done so often as the Sacrament is receiued. The second is, *Repraesentatio plenaria*, A liuely and full representation of Christs death: which they doe vse yearely to set forth by solemne gestures, apparell, and other ceremonies vpon Good Friday, as it is commonly called, before Easter, when they doe make nothing else but a Pageant play of the Sacrament. The third representation is also a sacrifice beside, and that is the sacrifice of the Masse. *Bellarm. de Missa.* lib. 1. cap. 1. The Rhemists make a fourth representation beside, which is in the solemne receiuing of the Communion at Easter: So then first, Christs death is shewed forth by the Sacrament of the Eucharist all the yeare long as it hangeth in the pixe, or when it is carried to houssle the sicke, *Conradus Lem. pag.* 408. Secondly, it is represented once in the yeare by their solemne Pageant vpon good Friday, when there is no Sacrament consecrated, but an histrionicall expressing by outward gestures and actions, the manner of Christs crucifying. Thirdly, in the continuall sacrifice of the Masse, Christ his death is represented. And lastly, in the solemne receiuing at Easter; for then especially, the mysterie of Christ our Paschall Lambe is commended to the people to be eaten with all sincerities in the Sacrament: and so doe the Rhemists expound that place of S. *Paul*, *Let vs keepe feast or holy day, not with the leuen of malitious ones*, 1. Cor. 6. 8. literally applying it to the feast of Easter, *Rhemist. in hunc locum.* 19. Error.

The Protestants.

WEe are taught by the word of God, that by eating the bread, and drinking of the cup in the Sacrament, not by gazing, looking, lifting vp, turning, hanging vp bread in pixes, or by any such meanes, but only as wee haue said, is the Lords death shewed forth and represented, 1. Corinth. 11. 26. We acknowledge therefore one onely sacramentall representation of Christ,

and no more in the Lords Suppet: the sacrifice of the Masse we iudge to be an abominable idoll, as afterward shall be shewed.

Secondly, it is a foule absurditie to make any representation of Christs death by bare gestures, shewes, and actions of the bodie without any Sacrament, as they doe in their popish Pageants vpon Christs Passion day: for at that time there is no Sacrament consecrated; but the Priest by certaine gestures and motions of the bodie, in bowing, bending, casting abroade his armes and such like, doth resemble Christ crucified, *Bellarmin. cap.* 1. But to call this a liuely representation done without a Sacrament, and the other in the Sacrament, *simpliciorem representationem*, but a simple and plaine representation, is too great presumption: wherein they preferre their owne superstitious deuises, before the ordinance of Christ.

Thirdly, that place of S. *Paul* is vnfitly applied to the celebration of Easter: *Augustine* expoundeth it far otherwise: *Diem festum celebremus, non vtique vnum diem, sed totum vitæ nostræ sinceritatis & veritatis*: Let vs keepe holy day, not one onely day, but all our life long, in the vnleauened bread of purenes and trueth. So then in *Augustines* iudgement, the Apostle had no relation to any certaine time, which he would haue kept holy: but to the reformation of the whole life.

Lastly, *Nicen. 2 action. 6. tom.* 3. The sentence of the Synode of Constantinople is thus rehearsed, after they had set downe the words of our Sauiour, *This doe in the remembrance of me*, they adde thus, *Ecce viuificantis illius corporis imaginem totam panis, id est substantiam*: Behold the whole image of that quickening bodie, the substance of bread. The Synode vpon these words of Christ concludeth, that there is no other representation of Christ, but in the Eucharist: so that without the Sacrament there is no representation at all. Likewise, *Concil. Toletan. 12. c. 5. Quoties sanguinem & corpus Christi in altario immolat, toties se participem præbeat*: As often as the Priest doth offer vp the bodie and blood of Christ, let him be partaker of it. Wherefore by this Canon the sacrifice of Christs bodie and blood cannot be repeated or represented, without the partaking and receiuing of the Sacrament.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE SACRIFICE of the Masse, and the Priesthoode thereto belonging.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE NAME and terme of Masse.

The Papists.

30. Error. THere are diuers opinions amongst them, concerning the originall of this name. Some say it is called *Missa*, the Masse, *Quia oblatio & preces ad Deum mittantur, Hugo de S. Victor.* Others, *quòd Angelus à Deo mittatur, qui sacrificio assistat*: Because an Angell is sent of God to be present at the Masse. *Thom. Aquinas* 3. *part. quæst.* 83. *artic.* 4. Some of the Hebrew worde Minchah, Deut. 16. which signifieth an oblation: Some, *ex missis donarijs, & symbolis*, of the gifts and offerings sent or put in before the Communion. But what beginning soeuer it had, they doe now generally take the Masse, for that solemne action, whereby the Sacrament is made a sacrifice, and offered vp to God, *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *de missa. cap.* 1.

The Protestants.

WE doe not greatly force vpon this name: for both the name and the thing is abolished from our hearts and mouthes; and wee trust in God, wee shall neuer haue occasion to know it againe. But howsoeuer it is, this name *Missa*, Masse, cannot signifie any such thing as they pretend.

1 For it seemeth that *Missa* was deriued, *à dimissione populi*, of the dimission or sending away of the people: and so was taken generally for any congregation assembled either to pray, or sing Psalmes, or for any other religious duety: As yet to this day in the dutch language (*Misse*) signifieth any solemne frequencie or congregation of the people. In this sense *Cassianus* vsurpeth Masse, that is, for the dimission of the people: speaking of him that commeth not timely to the howres of prayer: hee would not haue him to enter in, but *Stantem pro foribus tempestiuæ missæ præstolari debere*: He ought standing without the doores to waite for the misse of the congregation. Or as Master *Philpot* giueth the sence of this word, the Communion was called, *Missa à mittendo* of such things as were sent at the celebration of the Sacrament by such as were of ability to the relieue of the poore, pag. 1815.

De Canonicis orat. lib. 3. c. 7.

2 *Augustine* taketh this word *Missa* generally for the Leiturgie or seruice of the Church, in *Serm. de tempore* 251. if that Sermon be *Augustines*. *Sunt aliqui, & maximè potentes huius mundi, cum veniunt ad ecclesiam, non sunt deuoti ad laudes Dei celebrandas, sed cogunt Presbyterum ut celebret Missam*: There are some, and commonly the great men of the world, which come not to Church with

with deuotion to sing praises to God, but they constraine the Presbyter or Minister to make short Masse. Here this word Masse signifieth the whole Leiturgie, as singing of Psalmes, and praier, &c. not any sacrifice or oblation: which could not be abridged or curtalled. Wherefore as the name of the Masse is of no great antiquitie, so neither is the name in that sense.

And it is euident out of their owne decrees, that the Sacrament of the bodie and blood of Christ was more vsually knowne of ancient time by other names, than this of the Masse. *Decret. p.2. distinct.92.c.72. Gregorie* calleth it the Communion. *C.88. Augustine, Eucharistiam*, the Eucharist. *Decret.p.3. dist.2.c.63.* it is called *Sacramentum pietatis*, The Sacrament of pietie or deuotion. *Ibid.c.17. Sotet* calleth it *Cœnam Domini*, The Supper of the Lord. *Ibidc.8. Alexander*, the oblation. *C.12. Gelasius, Mysterium*, a mysterie. *C.5. Sacramentum corporis & sanguinis Domini*: The Sacrament of the bodie and blood of Christ. These and other such names they gaue this Sacrament, more significant, and farre more ancient than the title of the Masse.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE SACRIFICE of the Masse.

The Papist.

CHrist, they say, at his last Supper, did offer vp his owne bodie and blood in sacrifice, vnder the formes of bread and wine, to God his father: and at the same instant made his Apostles, and their successors Priests, to offer vp his bodie in the Sacrament, *Concil. Trident. sess.22. cap.1.* And the same bodie which Christ offered vp vpon the crosse, is daily offered vp by the ministerie of the Priests, the difference onely is in the manner of offering, *Concil. Trident. ibid. cap.2.* The eternitie and proper act of Christs Priesthood, consisteth in the offering and sacrificing of the bodie and blood of Christ in the formes of bread and wine in the Church, *Rhem. Heb.7. sect.8.* And we meane alwaies of Priest and sacrifice taken in their owne proper signification, *ibid sect.7.* In the Eucharist then there is a true sacrifice of the very bodie and blood of Christ offered vp to God, by the hands of the Priest, in the formes of bread and wine, *Bellarm cap.5.* 31. Error.

Argum.1. Christ is a Priest after the order of *Melchisedech*: but the proper act of *Melchisedech* Priesthood did consist in sacrificing in the formes of bread and wine: *Ergo*, the eternitie of Christs Priesthood standeth in the sacrificing of his bodie and blood in those formes: there doth therefore still remaine a proper externall sacrifice in the Church, *Rhemist annot. Heb.7. sect.8. Bellarm.cap.6.*

And that *Melchisedechs* Priesthood consisted in the oblation of bread and wine, *Bellarmine* would strengthen by these reasons:

First, from the word vsed, Genes.14.18. *he brought forth*, the Hebrue word is, מוציא *iatsa*, which in Scripture is properly applied to the bringing forth of sacrifice: as Genes.4. the like word is vsed of *Cain* and *Abels* sacrifice, *Bellarm.c.6.*

Contra. First, the word, which here signifieth to bring forth, is not alwaies, or for the most part, vsed to the bringing of sacrifice; as Exod.3.10. *That thou maist bring my people out of Egypt*: Ierem.31.10. *The Lord hath brought forth our righteousnes*: wherefore his obseruation of this word is more bold, than true. Secondly, Genes.4.3. *Cain brought an oblation to the Lord*: Here these two words, *an oblation*, and *to the Lord*, doe shew that he brought a sacrifice: but there is not any word vsed in this place to *Melchisedechs* bringing, that may conclude a sacrifice.

Secondly, because *Abraham* had no neede of bread and wine to refresh himselfe, being returned with great spoyle from his enemies, and so hauing sufficient to refresh himselfe with: therfore as they say, *Melchisedech* brought them forth to offer to God.

Contra. First, your owne vulgar text hath this note in the margent: *Melchisedech cibat ipsum Abraham*: *Melchisedech* doth feede *Abraham* himselfe: their owne note is against them. Secondly, whereas *Abraham* had receiued all the King of Sodomes goods, and the victuals also, which were carried away, though hee suffered the young men to eate thereof; yet he would not take any thing of the Kings goods *so much as a thread or a shoo latchet*, vers.23. and therefore it was Gods prouidence to send *Melchisedech*, that hee should bee refreshed rather at his hands, than from the King of Sodome an Infidell.

Thirdly, as *Melchisedech* is said to haue been Gods priest, so it was requisite that the Scripture also should make mention of his sacrifice, wherein his priesthood consisted: but that is not any where else mentioned: *Ergo*, he offered the sacrifice of bread and wine, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, the argument followeth not, there is no mention made of any other sacrifice in Scripture which *Melchisedech* offered: *Ergo*, he offered bread and wine: for as touching this high mysterie of *Melchisedechs* priesthood, many things in Scripture are concealed, as the Apostle saith to the Hebrues, 5.11. *of whom we haue many things to say, which are hard to be vttered, because ye are dull of hearing*. Vpon which words S. *Hierome* thus writeth, *Si vas electionis stupet ad mysterium, &c.* If Hieron. Euagrio, Tom.4.

the vessell of election be astonished at this mysterie, and confesseth that, whereof he disputeth, to bee ineffable; how much more we, &c. Secondly, the Apostle sheweth wherein *Melchisedech* shewed himselfe a priest, namely, *in blessing of Abraham, and therefore receiued tithes of him*, Hebr. 7. vers. 6.

Fourthly, whereas the words are, *Melchisedech brought forth bread and wine, for he was a Priest of the most high God*, Genes. 14. 18. the Scripture giuing this as a reason of his bringing forth bread and wine, because he was a priest, implieth, that he brought them forth to sacrifice, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. First, the text according to the Hebrue is this: *And Melchisedech King of Salem brought forth bread and wine, and he was a Priest of the most high God, and he blessed him, &c.* Genes. 14. 18. What though in some places of Scripture, *and*, signifieth (*for*) yet it followeth not, that it should bee so euery where? and if it be so taken here in this clause of the Sentence, *for he was a Priest, &c.* why not in the other also, *for he blessed him?* so that this is giuen as a reason taken of the effect of his Priesthood. And indeede the order of the words so requireth: that as first he is named a King, and then the effect followeth, which was his munificence in bringing forth bread and wine: so secondly he is called a Priest, and then the effect of his Priesthood is expressed, namely, *his blessing*. Secondly, whereas *Bellarmine* saith, that the Apostle, Hebr. 7. proueth *Melchisedech* not to be a Priest, because he blessed *Abraham*, but therefore greater onely then *Abraham*, it is a false collection: for the Apostle saith thus, Hebr. 7. 6. *He receiued tithes of Abraham, and blessed him that had the promises.* From which words we reason thus: *Melchisedech* as he was a Priest receiued tithes: for tithes were not due but to the Priesthood, vers. 5. but as he blessed he receiued tithes, as the Apostle saith, vers. 6. *Ergo*, as he blessed he was a Priest.

Fiftly, *Bellarmine* reasoneth thus: Christ is said *to be a Priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech*: but his priesthood cannot remaine, vnlesse his sacrifice continue still: but his sacrifice vpon the crosse was once done for all: *Ergo*, hee must haue another sacrifice daily to bee offered in the Church, which is the sacrifice of *Melchisedech* in bread and wine, *Bellarm. c. 6.*

Contra. First, as Christ is a Priest for euer, so also doth his sacrifice continue for euer, which was but once offered; yet the vertue and efficacie thereof endureth still: for his blood yet speaketh vnto God for mercie for vs, not for vengeance, as the blood of *Abel*, Hebr. 12. 24. Secondly, it is not necessarie that Christ should haue an externall priesthood still in earth: for neither in the time of the law, was there any externall priesthood after *Melchisedechs* order continued, and yet euen then, was Christ a Priest after *Melchisedechs* order. Thirdly, the Apostle sheweth, that Christ our high Priest is entred into heauen, as the Priest did goe once a yeere into the holy place, and there continueth a Priest for euer after *Melchisedechs* order, in appearing in the sight of God for vs, Hebr. 9. 23.

Sixtly, Christ being a Priest for euer after *Melchisedechs* order, must agree with *Melchisedech* in that, which was proper to *Melchisedechs* priesthood; but nothing is proper to his priesthood, but to sacrifice in bread and wine: *Ergo*, herein there must bee an agreement of *Melchisedechs* priesthood and Christs.

The assumption is proued thus: first, it was not proper to *Melchisedechs* priesthood to bleſſe, and to receiue tithes: for this the Leuiticall priesthood did. Secondly, nor yet to haue none to succeede him: for so neither had *Abel*. Thirdly, neither to bee without genealogie, and so to bee a type of Christ: for there is no mention made likewise of the genealogie of *Iob* and *Helias*, who were also Priests: *Ergo*, this was onely proper to *Melchisedechs* priesthood to sacrifice in bread and wine, *cap. 6. resp. ad 3. arg.*

Contra. First, though *Leui* receiued tithes, and gaue blessings, yet not as *Melchisedech*, to whom euen *Leui* paid tithes then in *Abrahams* loynes, Hebr. 7. vers. 9. and they being of *Abrahams* seede could not be greater then *Abraham*; yet *Melchisedech* was greater because he blessed him: wherefore to receiue tithes of *Abraham*, and to bleſſe so great a Patriarch, was proper to *Melchisedechs* priesthood, and not common with *Leui*. Secondly, though *Abel* had none to succeede him in his carnall generation, and respect of his person; yet in his office in sacrificing of sheepe and such like, he had many successors: but *Melchisedech* in his priesthood and office had none to succeede him: wherefore this was also proper to his priesthood, and agreeable herein to Christ. Thirdly, *Iob* and *Helias* are not in the Scripture called priests, as *Melchisedech* is: but *Iob* is set forth by the name of a iust man, Iob. 1. 1. *Helias* by the name of a Prophet, Malach. 4. 5. and *Melchisedech* was so without genealogie, as there is no mention made neither of the beginning nor of the end of his daies, Hebr. 7. 2. yet there is mention made both of the terme of *Helias* life, in the earth, when hee was taken vp into heauen, 2. King. 2. and of *Iobs* death, Iob. 42. 17. wherefore this also is proper to *Melchisedech* to be a priest without genealogie, hauing neither beginning of daies, nor end of life, and herein he was a type of Christ. We neede not then seeke for any thing els, wherein Christ and *Melchisedech* should agree, the type answering in euery respect to the substance; much lesse are we forced to deuise any such sacrifice of bread and wine.

Seuenthly,

Seuenthly, Christ was not a priest after *Melchisedechs* order, in respect of the sacrifice vpon the crosse, because he did not offer vp himselfe vnder the forme of bread and wine: *Ergo*, hee is after *Melchisedechs* order in respect of the daily sacrifice offered vnder bread and wine: *Bellarm. cap. 6. resp. ad argum. 5.*

Contra. First, we denie that *Melchisedech* sacrificed vnder the formes of bread and wine at all, and therefore therein he is not a type of Christ at all. Thus he still shamefully beggeth the thing in question. Secondly, it followeth not that if Christ answere not to *Melchisedech* in the sacrifice of his crosse, that the resemblance should be in sacrificing bread and wine: for in many other things was *Melchisedech* a type of Christ: 1. In his name, which signifieth King of righteousnes. 2. In his offices, because he was both King and Priest. 3. In the eternitie and continuance of his office. 4. In the excellencie of his person, in that hee was greater then *Abraham* the Patriarch. This the Apostle sheweth Christ in *Melchisedech* to haue been prefigured: so that wee neede not run to any such strange deuise of the sacrifice of bread and wine. Thirdly, euen Christ vpon the altar of the crosse was a Priest after the order of *Melchisedech*, in respect of the permanencie of his priesthood, and eternall efficacie of his crosse, *hauing with one offring consecrated for euer them, that are sanctified*, Hebr. 10. 14. so that *Melchisedech* was not so much to prefigure the matter of Christs sacrifice, which was shadowed forth in the bloodie sacrifices of calues and goates in the law, as to set forth the dignitie of his person, and eternitie of his office. Fourthly, this cannot be farre from blasphemie to denie, that Christ was properly a Priest after *Melchisedechs* order, and to affirme, that their popish priests doe sacrifice in the formes of bread and wine according to the order of *Melchisedechs* priesthood: And such are their reasons drawne from the similitude of *Melchisedechs* priesthood vnto Christ. Now on the contrarie side our arguments follow, to prooue, that their sacrifice of the Masse hath no shew of ground at all in the type of *Melchisedech*.

Argum. 1. We confesse, that *Melchisedech* was a type of our Sauiour Christ, and that hee was a Priest after *Melchisedechs* order: but not in any such respect, for offring in bread and wine: for the text saith, he brought forth bread and wine, he offered it not: he brought it foorth for the refreshing of *Abraham*, and those which were with him, Genes. 14. 18.

Bellarmine answereth, that the bread and wine were first offered and sacrificed to God, and afterward giuen to *Abraham*, and his fellowes to eate, *resp. ad argum. 7.*

Contra. First, if the same bread and wine were first offred to God, and then giuen to *Abraham*, then in effect nothing was offered to God: for in all offrings and sacrifices, whether burnt-offerings, meate-offerings, or peace-offerings, some part at the least was burnt vpon the altar vnto God: but here no such thing was done. Secondly, there was no sacrifice without an altar, fire, and wood: as *Abraham* laid the wood vpon *Isaac*, and tooke the fire in his hand, and built an altar, Genes. 22. 6, 10. but here are none of all these. Thirdly, if *Melchisedech* had a purpose to sacrifice to God, he would rather haue imitated *Abel* to haue offered of the fruites of his sheepe, then of *Cain* who brought of the fruites of the earth, Genes. 4. 2.

2. He brought forth bread and wine, and not the formes onely of bread and wine: therefore your sacrifice in the formes onely, is not after his order.

Bellarm. The sacrifice of *Melchisedech* and the sacrifice of the Masse agree in the outward symbole, though not in the inward substance, which is sufficient: for the representation is in the accidents, not in the substance: and that was but the type or symbole, and therefore the substance may be diuers, *resp. ad argum. 6.*

Contra. First, hereof it followeth, that they which consecrate bread and wine only without any real presence, doe more properly imitate *Melchisedech*, then your Masse-priests, that hold a fleshly presence vnder the formes of bread and wine: for *Melchisedech* offered the substance of bread and wine, and not the formes only. Secondly, if *Melchisedechs* oblation do represent the sacrifice of the Masse, it must represent it as it is a sacrifice: but the Masse is no sacrifice but in respect of the inward substance: the sacrifice is not of the outward formes of bread and wine: *Ergo*, the representation is in respect of the substance. Thirdly, types and shadowes differ from the bodie in outward symboles onely, they agree in substance, as S. *Paul* sheweth, how Christ was the same spirituall meate and drinke both to the Israelites and vnto vs, but vnder diuers Sacraments, 1. Corinth. 10. 4. Wherefore it is a false conclusion, *Melchisedechs* sacrifice was a type of the sacrifice of the Masse: *Ergo*, diuers in substance.

3. If *Melchisedechs* bringing forth of bread and wine, were a sacrifice or oblation, and a type of the like sacrifice to continue for euer in the Church, it must also haue bin a propitiatorie sacrifice for the remission of sinnes, as they say the sacrifice of the Masse is, which was thereby signified: but there is no propitiatorie sacrifice for remission of sinnes, without shedding of blood, Hebr. 9. vers. 22. Therefore *Melchisedechs* act, being without blood, was no such sacrifice, and consequently none at all.

4. The Apostle to the Hebrues sheweth, wherein Christ was a Priest after *Melchisedechs* or-

der, Hebr. 7. First, in that *Melchisedech* was both King and Priest, vers. 2. so is Christ. Secondly, in respect of the eternitie of his Priesthood: we doe not reade either of the beginning of his daies, or end of his life, nor of any chaunge of his Priesthood, vers. 3. All which is most truly verified in Christ. Thirdly, *Melchisedech* was a type of Christ, and his Priesthood of Christs, because of the excellencie thereof aboue the Leuiticall Priesthood: for *Leui* paid tithes in *Abraham* to *Melchisedech*; and therefore was inferiour, and was blessed of *Melchisedech* in *Abraham*, the lesse of the greater: so is the Priesthood of Christ aduanced farre aboue *Aarons* order. If in any other materiall point *Melchisedechs* Priesthood had resembled Christs, as in this oblation of bread and wine, the Apostle would not haue omitted it.

Bellarmine answereth, that the Apostle omitteth of purpose to speake of *Melchisedechs* oblation of bread and wine, least by this occasion he should haue been constrained to treate of the Eucharist, which was too high a mysterie for them, and that very thing (which he saith) was hard to be vttered concerning *Melchisedech*, in respect of their dulnes, *resp. ad argum.* 2.

Contra. First, the Hebrues were no more dull to vnderstand, than the Corinthians: not as the Apostle saith to them, *they haue neede of milke, not strong meate*, Hebr. 5. 12. so likewise he writeth to the Corinthians, that *he gaue them milke to drinke, and not meate, because they were babes*, 1. Cor. 3. yet hee doubteth not to vnfolde to the Corinthians the mysterie of the Eucharist both in the 10. and 11. chapters: wherefore this can bee no reason, why hee should conceale it from the Hebrues. Secondly, the Eucharist is no higher a mysterie, than the doctrine of Baptisme, or then the mysterie of the resurrection: but these things the Hebrues were well instructed in Heb. 6. 2. therefore they were capeable also of the doctrine of the Eucharist. The antecedent is thus proued: for Baptisme by the Apostle is called a mysterie: *This is a great mysterie, I speake concerning Christ and the Church*, Ephes. 5. 32. and wherein this mysterie lieth, is declared, vers. 26. *Christ loued his Church, and gaue himselfe for it, &c. that hee might cleanse it by the washing of water through the word.* This washing in Baptisme, is that mysterie, which hee speaketh of: so also the resurrection is called a mysterie, 1. Cor. 15. 51. *I shew you a mysterie, we shall not all sleepe, but we shall all be changed*: but these mysteries the Hebrues vnderstood, Hebr. 6. 2. *Ergo*, they might safely be instructed in the mysterie of the Eucharist.

5. Therein consisted the proper act of *Melchisedechs* Priesthood, for the which hee receiued tithes of *Abraham*: but, as the Apostle saith, hee receiued tithes, and blessed *Abraham*, Hebr. 7. *Ergo*, the tithes were due not for any sacrifice which he offered, but for his blessing. The same therefore was the proper act of his Priesthood. See *Bellarmine* his answere, and the replie thereunto, *argum.* 4. by him before produced.

6. *Melchisedech* is a type of Christ in those things, which are not common with *Aarons* Priesthood: but to offer bread and wine was daily frequented in the Leuiticall Priesthood: *Ergo*, therein consisteth not the type of *Melchisedech*.

Bellarmine answereth, that the sacrifice of bread and wine in the Leuiticall Priesthood was alwaies joyned with other sacrifices of beasts, and was tempered or mingled with oyle: but here *Melchisedech* offereth bread and wine alone, and simple bread, without any mixture, *resp. ad argum.* 4.

Contra. First, it is vntrue, that the Priests of the law neuer vsed the oblations of bread and wine, but with other sacrifices, as it may appeare, Leuit. 2. where the law of meat-offerings is set downe, and no such thing there prescribed. Secondly, if the mixture of bread with oyle make a difference betweene the Leuiticall oblation of bread, and *Melchisedechs* offering; then your mixture of wine with water maketh the like difference, betweene your Masse sacrifice and *Melchisedechs*, who offred as simple bread, so also simple wine. Thirdly, the Apostle saith, *If the Priesthood be changed, there must of necessitie be a chaunge of the law*, Heb. 7. 12. Wherefore if the law of sacrifices be changed, then could not the new Priesthood offer the sacrifices of the law, and therefore not bread and wine: for then the law of sacrifices should onely be chaunged in part, not in whole.

7. The eternitie of Christs priesthood after *Melchisedechs* order consisteth not in the daily sacrifice of the Masse, which is offered by many Priests, one succeeding another: for this is a difference betweene *Aarons* order, and *Melchisedechs*, as the Apostle noteth, *that among them many were made Priests, because they were not suffered to endure by reason of death; but this man, because he endureth euer, hath an euerlasting Priesthood*, Hebr. 7. 23. *Ergo*, in *Melchisedechs* order there cannot be a multitude of Priests one following another.

It will be here answered, that although there be many Masse-priests, yet the priesthood is one, and Christ the eternall priest offereth by them as his ministers.

Contra. First, so also the office of the priesthood vnder the law was one, and Christ the vnspotted Lambe in all the sacrifices was typically slaine, Reuelat. 13. 8. Yea *Bellarmine* confesseth that Christ was a priest vnder the law, and offered by his types and figures, *cap. 6. initio*: yet the difference remaineth still betweene the many mortall priests of *Aaron*, and the one eternall priest after

Melchisedech.

Melchisedech. Secondly, the power, right, and execution of *Melchisedechs* priesthood resteth in the person of Christ, and cannot be transferred to any other that die, but is proper to him, *of whom it is witnessed, that he liueth*, Hebr.7.8.

*Argum.*8. To make Christs priesthood eternall, it is not necessarie to bring in a continuall sacrifice to bee frequented in the Church: but the Apostle sheweth wherein the eternitie of his priesthood consisteth, namely in those foure points.

First, because he endureth euer, he hath an euerlasting Priesthood, Hebr.7.24. This reason *Bellarmine* saith is not sufficient, *Christ liueth for euer: Ergo, he is a priest for euer*: for so the Leuites after the resurrection, which were once Priests, and then shall liue for euer, might bee said to be Priests for euer, *resp. ad argum.*8.

Contra. First, the Apostles reason is this; The priests of the law, were not priests for euer, because they liued not euer: but Christ a priest after *Melchisedech*, is a priest for euer, because hee liueth euer: So then he peruerteth the Apostles reason, who speaking of Christ as a priest, by the eternitie of his life concludeth the eternitie of his priesthood. This then is the reason, Christ our priest liueth euer: *Ergo*, he is a priest euer. Secondly, the Leuites when they begin to liue euer after the resurrection, shall then be no priests at all, and therfore cannot be said to be priests for euer.

Secondly, Christ is said to be a priest for euer, in respect of the euerlasting efficacie and vertue of his sacrifice vpon the crosse. So saith the Apostle, *With one offering hath he consecrated for euer, them that are sanctified*, Hebr.10.14.

Bellarm. This reason is not sufficient: for so might *Noah* his sacrifice be said to be eternall, because the force therof remaineth, in that he obtained thereby, that the waters should not returne to couer the earth; the effect also of Christs birth and death still remaineth, and yet he cannot be said euer to die, and to be borne, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, it was not the force of *Noahs* sacrifice, which maketh Gods couenant stable, but the ground and foundation of all those sacrifices, which was Christ the vnspotted Lambe slaine from the beginning of the world, Apoc.13.8. *In whom all the promises of God are yea and amen*, 2.Corinth.1.20. This instance therefore sheweth the eternitie of Christs sacrifice, the force whereof extended euen to the ages before. Secondly, as wee say not, that Christ is daily borne, but because the effect of his birth remaineth euer, he is the man Christ for euer: so neither doe we say, that he dyeth daily, but because the force of his death and sacrifice euer remaineth, he is the Priest Christ for euer.

Thirdly, Christ is a Priest for euer, because *he euer liueth to make intercession for vs*, Heb.7.25. and he is entred *into heauen to appeare in the sight of God for vs*, Hebr.9.24.

The sentence of *Bellarmines* answere here is this; that whereas Christ is our intercessour by the meditation of his sacrifice, it is necessarie that Christs sacrifice should be continually offered, seeing he continually maketh intercession for vs, *resp. ad 3 ration.8. argum.*

Contra. First, the argument followeth not: for the sacrifice of Christ once done is the foundation of his intercession, and it were a great derogation to Christ, that his intercession in heauen should depend of the act of priests in the earth. Secondly, as Christ is not to be imagined to continue his intercession by making daily prayers vnto God: so neither is his sacrifice continued by daily offring; but the very *appearing of him*, as the Apostle saith, in heauen is sufficient: And as *Gregorie* saith, *Sine intermissione, &c.* Our Redeemer, without any intermission, doth immolate himselfe in shewing his incarnation for vs to his father, &c. *Moral. lib.1.c.10. Interpellari, &c.* To make intercession for vs, is to demonstrate himselfe to be man, *lib.12.c.13.* So that as their Schoolemen confesse, he doth daily offer himselfe, and make intercession for vs, *representatione sui*, by representing himselfe to his father, *Gabriel Biel.*

Fourthly, the Apostle sheweth Christ to be an eternall Priest, because he is for euer perfitly able to saue, Heb.7.25. *Bellarm.* This sheweth him to bee a Sauiour, not a Priest.

Contra. As Christ is a Priest, so he also saueth by the sacrifice of himselfe. And thus much of this first argument drawne from *Melchisedech.*

*Argum.*2. They alleage that place, Heb.8.3. Euery high Priest is appointed to offer gifts and hostes: wherfore it is necessarie that he also haue somewhat to offer. Christ then hath a certaine host in externall and proper manner, as other Priests haue; but this visible and externall act of sacrificing he doth not exercise now in heauen: therefore it must needes be meant of the perpetuall oblation of his bodie and blood in the Church; for somewhat he must alwaies haue to offer, *Rhemist. Heb.8. sect.3.*

Solu. 1. The Apostle saith not, that it is necessarie that Christ should still haue somewhat to offer in sacrifice: but that it was needfull for him to haue somewhat, which hee had alreadie offered: for the verbe προσενεγκῃ, signifieth not the present tence, but the time past: whereby is vnderstood the oblation which hee had alreadie offered once, and which neede not to bee repeated, Hebr.7.vers.27. For as herein hee is like to other Priests, that hee must haue somewhat to

haue offered, so is he vnlike also in this, that they by reason of their infirmitie had neede to offer often: but Christ our high Priest did it but once, as in that place the Apostle sheweth.

2 The gift which the Apostle in this place attributeth to Christ, was his bodie, which he cal-
Heb.8.vers.2. leth the true Tabernacle, which the Lord pight and not man. But that bodie of Christ, which they say is offered vp in the sacrifice of the Masse, is not of that nature: for it is made by the ministerie of man: for euery one of their sacrificing Priests is able to make the bodie of Christ: but this bodie, which Christ had to offer, was made onely by God, without the helpe of man, as the Apostle saith. Againe, say, if you dare, that the bodie which you offer, is the true Tabernacle and temple of God: for then it would follow, that God dwelleth in Temples made with hands, that is, by the ministerie of man, contrarie to the Scriptures: seeing you affirme that the bodie of Christ is no otherwise present but by the ministerie of the Priest. And what a goodly Tabernacle is this for God, thinke you, which you shut vp in a pixe, and hang vp in your Churches? A mouse may eate it, the fire may consume it, corruption may take it: would God suffer his Tabernacle thus to be defiled? Wherefore vpon these premisses we conclude, that what you offer in your popish sacrifice, cannot be the proper gift belonging to Christs Priesthoode.

Argum. 3. The celebration of the Passeouer was a manifest type and figure of the celebration of the Eucharist: but in the Passeouer there was a sacrifice: *Ergo*, there must be a Sacrifice in the Eucharist. *cap.* 7.

First, *Bellarmine* proueth the proposition out of S. *Paul*: *Christ our Passeouer is sacrificed for vs, therefore let vs keepe the feast with the vnleauened bread of synceritie, &c.* 1. *Cor.* 5. 8. Christ was not crucified or sacrificed vpon the crosse to be eaten; he is then sacrificed to be our Passeouer, when he is to be eaten; and that is no where, but in the Eucharist: the Eucharist therefore is the true Passeouer. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, S. *Paul* speaketh not in that place of any Sacramentall eating of Christ, but of the reformation of the whole life to be ledde in synceritie and trueth, as before vers. 7. *Purge out the old leauen*: He applieth this type to his present purpose, that the Corinthians should expell from amongst them the incestuous person: wherefore in this sense Christ our Passeouer was sacrificed vpon the crosse, spiritually to be eaten by faith, and to be followed by vertuous imitation all our life. Secondly, though we grant, that the Paschal Lambe and the Eucharist may haue some resemblances together, as *Bellarmine* noteth some, as in the ceremonie of eating commanded in them both, also in the end, that is to bee a remembrance of their corporall deliuerance, this of our spirituall; and likewise, as that was eaten with sowre herbes, so the other must be receiued with true sorrow and repentance: yet was not the Passeouer appointed directly to be a type of the Eucharist, but of Christ crucified, as the Euangelist expoundeth, Iohn 19. 37. these things were done, *That the Scripture should be fulfilled, Not a bone of him should be broken*: if then the type of the Passeouer were fulfilled in Christ crucified vpon the Crosse, we are not to seeke for any other accomplishment of it. Thirdly, if it should be granted, that the Passeouer was a type of the Eucharist, it followeth not, that it should be in euery thing a type, which hee must proue, or els his argument concludeth not: for they differ in many things 1. The Passeouer was of flesh with blood; the Eucharist is of bread without blood. 2. The Passeouer was done in remembrance of their deliuerance; the Masse they say is a propitiatorie sacrifice, and not a commemoration only. 3. The Passeouer was eaten at Euen, Masse is said in the morning. 4. Nothing was left of the Passeouer, vntill the morning; but their consecrated hoast is reserued. 5. The Passeouer was eaten in their houses; Masse is said in their Churches: if in these and other points the Pasch and Eucharist differ, why not also in this? that the one was a Sacrifice, and so is not the other.

Secondly, whereas *Bellarmine* proueth the assumption, that the Passeouer was a Sacrifice, for S. *Marke* saith, Marke 14. 12. *When they sacrificed the Passeouer*: We answere, first, it was not properly a Sacrifice, because Sacrifices were made by fire, and were brought to the Priest, and some part laid vpon the Altar, as we may reade in the lawes of Sacrifices, Leuit. 1. 2. 3. Chap. But the Passeouer was eaten in the house, where neyther Priest, nor Altar was necessarie, and the whole Lambe was eaten, nothing reserued. Secondly, notwithstanding it was called a Sacrifice, being a religious act, in respect of other sacrifices of sheepe and bullockes, which the Passeouer was vsed to be solemnized with, Deuter. 16. 2.

Argum. 4. The Apostle saith, Hebr. 13. 10. *We haue an Altar, whereof they haue no power to eate which serue in the Tabernacle. Ergo*, we haue not onely a common table to eate meere bread vpon, but a very Altar in the proper sense to sacrifice Christs body vpon. *Rhemist. annot. Hebr.* 13. *sect.* 6.

Answ. First, the Apostle speaketh of the Sacrifice of Christs death, whereof we are made partakers by faith: which they can reape no benefite by, which remaine in the ceremoniall obseruations of Leuiticall sacrifices. Christ therefore is our Priest, Altar and Sacrifice: for vers. 12. the Apostle maketh mention of the sufferings of Christ: he meaneth not then the Communion table, which is vnproperly called an Altar, or any materiall Altar beside, but the Altar onely of Christs death.

death. Secondly, if wheresoeuer in Scripture this word (*Altar*) is read, it must be taken for a proper materiall Altar, wee shall haue also a materiall Altar in heauen, Apocal. 8. 3. which I am sure they will not grant. Thirdly, the Apostle saith, *We haue an Altar*; which is but one, whereas popish altars are many: it cannot therefore be vnderstood of such Altars. Fourthly, *Bellarmine* better aduised then the *Rhemists*, refuseth to vrge this place, because diuers of their owne writers vnderstand it of Christs crosse: *cap.* 14.

Argum. 5. Ierem. 33. 18. *Neyther shall the Priestes and Leuites want a man before me, to offer burnt offrings and meate offrings, and to do sacrifice continually*: these are the Priests of the new Testament, which do truely offer sacrifice in the Masse: for it cannot be vnderstood of the Ministers of the Gospell, because these are called Priestes, and are said to offer burnt offringes: neyther of Christ, for the Prophet speaketh of many Leuites and Priests: *Bellarm. cap.* 9.

Answ. First, this text may very well be referred to Christ, for vers. 17. the Prophet had sayd, *Dauid shall not want a man to sit vpon the throne, &c.* This is vnderstood of the spirituall kingdome of Christ, and so may the other of his spirituall Priesthood: for the Prophet speaketh of one singular man, *Non interibit vir*, there shall not be wanting a man to offer Sacrifice, &c. Secondly, but we rather vnderstand this place of the Ministers of the Gospell, as it may be expounded by the like place, Isay 59. 21. *I will make this my couenant with them, &c. My words shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor the mouth of thy seede, nor out of the mouth of the seede of thy seede, &c.* And in the new Testament we reade both of spirituall Priests, Reuel. 1. 6. *He hath made vs kings and priests to God his Father*; and of spirituall burnt offrings and sacrifices, Rom. 12. 1. *I beseech you giue vp your bodies a liuing sacrifice*. Thirdly, but this place cannot be vnderstoode of any such externall Priesthoode for these reasons: first, as is the kingdome of *Dauid* here promised, so is the Priesthood: but the first is spirituall: *Ergo* the second. Secondly, as they are called Priests, so also Leuites: but their Priests offering according to *Melchisedecks* order, as they say, cannot be of the Leuiticall order. Thirdly, neither haue they any, *holocaustomata*, burnt offrings in their Masse sacrifice: therefore the literall sense of this place serueth not their turne.

Argum. 6. Daniel 8. 11. & 12. 11. The Prophet foretelleth how Antichrist shall take away the daylie sacrifice, which is the sacrifice of the Masse: it cannot bee vnderstoode of *Antiochus*, who worshipped the God of his Fathers: but Antichrist shall not regard the God of his Fathers, Dan. 11. 37. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, these propheseies were historically fulfilled in *Antiochus Epiphanes*: how that the Temple should by him bee first prophaned, by the space of two thousand three hundred dayes, Dan. 8. 14. that is sixe yeares, three moneths and an halfe: for this profanation began in the yeare 145. or thereabout, as may bee gathered 1. Macchab. 1. 12. for hee turned againe to spoyle the Temple in the 143. yeare. *ibid.* v. 21. So that he began the yeare before: and the Temple was purged in the 148. yeare, the 25. day of the ninth moneth *Caslen.* 1. Macc. 4. 52. Againe, the finall desolation and defiling of the Temple with the ceasing of the daylie sacrifice was to endure 1290. dayes, Dan. 12. 11. that is, three yeares, seuen moneths and odde dayes: so it came to passe, for in the 145. yeare *Antiochus* sent againe to defile the Sanctuarie, and to abolish the sacrifice, 1. Macchab. 1. 30. and in the moneth of Casleu he accomplished his purpose, and set vp the abomination of desolation vpon the altar, vers. 57. and in the 148. yeare, in the eleuenth moneth Zantican the King by his letters patents restoreth religion againe, 2. Macchab. 11. 33. So that these propheseies being so euidently fulfilled in *Antiochus*, cannot be applied to any other. And concerning the obiection of *Antiochus* idolatrie, though he openlie professed the worship of the idols of the heathen; yet in truth, as by his profanenes appeareth, he had no conscience of any religion at all.

Secondly, the place cannot be vnderstoode, as *Bellarmine* would enforce. First, their Antichrist shall reigne but three yeares and an halfe, as they say; but the Prophet speaketh of sixe yeares and three moneths, Dan. 8. 14. Secondly, if their Masse shall be abolished by Antichrist, wherein they say the eternitie of Christs Priesthoode consisteth; then should Christs Priesthoode also be at an ende. Thirdly, the abomination of desolation spoken of by *Daniel*, is interpreted to be the ceasing of the Iewish sacrifice, both in the storie of the Macchabees, which is Scripture with them, 1. Macch. 1. 57. and by our Sauiour, Matth. 24. 15.

Argum. 7. Malach. 1. 11. *From the rising of the sunne, vnto the going downe of the same, my name is great amongst the gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offering*: This place *Bellarmine* proueth by these reasons to be vnderstoode of the sacrifice of the Masse; and not of any spirituall sacrifice. *c.* 10.

First, by the signification of the Hebrue word מנחה, *Mincha*, that signifieth an offering or oblation, which properly betokeneth a kinde of externall sacrifice, which was made of oyle and incense.

Answ. First, if this be the proper signification of the word, it cannot meane the sacrifice of the Masse, which consisteth in the formes of bread and wine, not of oyle and incense. Secondly, this

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word doth not onely signifie a Sacrifice, giuen vnto God, but a gift or present offered to man. Genes. 33.11. So *Iacob* calleth his present sent to his brother: wherefore the Iesuites collection fayleth him. Thirdly, Psalm. 141.2. The Prophet saying, *Let the lifting vp of mine hands be an euening sacrifice*, vseth the same word: Where we see that the spirituall sacrifice of Prayer is called by this name, or resembled to it: and so is the Prophet to be vnderstoode in this place.

Secondly, the Prophet calleth it a pure offering, which cannot be polluted: but prayers may bee polluted; the sacrifice of the Masse onely cannot by the euilnes of the Minister bee defiled. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, though our prayers as they proceede from vs haue many imperfections, yet they are accepted thorough Christ, 1. Pet. 2. *Offer vp spirituall sacrifices acceptable to God through Christ*: in which sense the Apostle speaketh, *I will that euerie where men lift vp pure hands, &c.* 1. Timoth. 2. as here the Prophet saith, *In euery place a pure offering shall be offered.* Secondly, we haue spirituall sacrifices and exercises of religion, which cannot be by the euilnes of the Minister defiled: as the preaching of the word, which though it be vnder a pretense preached, is profitable, Philip. 1. The Eucharist also which is a sacrifice of thankesgiuing is effectuall to a worthie receiuer, though by the hands of an vnworthie Minister. Thirdly, your Masse is so farre from being a pure offering that it is the most impure and vncleane sinke, that euer was brought into the Church: and your selues also require to the consecration thereof, the intention of the Minister, which if it be not deuoute and religious, the sacrifice fayleth: so that an impure intention also defileth your Masse.

Thirdly, the Prophet speaketh of such an offering as was not in vse amongst the Iewes: saying, *I will not accept an offering at your hands*, vers. 10. but prayer was in vse amongst them: Ergo. Againe, the Prophet speaking directly to the Priests, vers. 6. *Thus saith the Lord of hostes vnto you O ye Priests, &c.* and reprouing their sacrifices, bringeth in a new kinde of offering, which a new kinde of Priests should offer vnto God: but spirituall sacrifices are common to all Christians: *Ergo. Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. First, the Prophet speaketh onely in this place of the abuse and corruption of their externall sacrifices, in that they offered the lame and the blinde, vers. 8. and chap. 3.8. *Ye haue spoyled me in tythes and offerings:* and he saith he will accept no such offering at their hands: but he will be spirituallie worshipped among the Gentiles. To the same effect he saith, Psalm. 50.14. *I will take no bullocke out of thy house, &c. but offer vnto God praise:* these sacrifices of prayer and thankesgiuing, though they were not altogether vnknowne to the Iewes, yet they were not frequented and vsed, nor relied vpon, as the other externall sacrifices.

Secondly, the Prophet doth not onely reproue the hypocrisie of the Priests, but the deceit also of all the people, vers. 14. Cursed be the deceiuer, *that hath in his flocke a male and sacrificeth a corrupt thing:* so that he prophesieth of the generall sacrifices of all Christians, not of any peculiar sort, as S. *Peter* best of all expoundeth this place, 1. Pet. 2.5. *Yee are made a spirituall house, an holy Priesthoode to offer vp spirituall sacrifices, &c.*

Argum. 8. Iohn 4.23. *The houre commeth and now is, when the true worshippers, shall worship the father in spirite and trueth:* By worship and adoration here is vnderstoode the solemne worshipping of God by sacrifice. First, the scope of the place giueth it: for the womans question was of the worship of God by sacrifice, which was tied to Ierusalem, You say that Ierusalem is the place where men ought to worship, vers. 20. but it was lawfull for the Iewes to offer spirituall sacrifice in any place: therefore Christs answere must be of such a sacrifice which should not be tied to place, as the Iewes sacrifice was.

Secondly, *The houre commeth, &c.* Christ speaketh of a new adoration which was not before: but the time was alwaies to offer spirituall sacrifices of praier, &c.

Thirdly, Christ speaketh of publike and solemne adoration, which should answere to the publike sacrifices of the Iewes; but praier and thankesgiuing may be done priuatlie; *Ergo*, he meaneth the solemne sacrifice of the Masse, *Bellarm. cap.* 11.

Answ. To the first reason. First, though it were lawfull for the Iewes to pray otherwhere; yet prayer made in the Temple, had a more especiall promise: and therefore it was called The house of prayer. Isay. 56.7. and *Salomon* prayeth to God at the dedication of the Temple, That whosoeuer vpon any occasion should come and make his prayer in that house, God would heare in heauen euen if he were a stranger, 1. Reg. 8.42. Wherefore Christs answere may include also the worship of God by prayer. Secondly, it followeth not, the worship of God by Sacrifice was tyed to a place, or they sacrificed onely at Ierusalem: *Ergo*, now they shall sacrifice euery where: for by this reason the sacrifices of beasts might continue still with an enlargement onely of the place: but Christ opposeth the spirituall worship of God, not limited to any place, against their carnall sacrifices appendant to the Temple.

Secondly, though the time was alwayes for spirituall Sacrifice, yet neither was it so generall vnder

vnder the law, as vnder Christ, whose name is called vpon amongst the Gentiles: And againe they were notwithstanding bound to the externall Sacrifices, which now are abolished by this spirituall worship: which seemeth in these two respects to be a new worship. Secondly, Christ saith, *The houre is*; but as yet the Eucharist was not instituted, nor the Sacrifice thereof, and therefore at this time God could not be so worshipped by Sacrifice.

Thirdly, the argument followeth not, prayer may be vsed priuately: *Ergo*, it cannot be the publike seruice of God: *For the house of God is called the house of prayer*: therefore this publike spirituall worship doth answere to the solemne carnall sacrifices. Secondly, neither is your Masse any publike, neyther in respect of the place, seeing you allow it to be said in houses, nor in respect of the persons, for the Priest and his boy may dispatch a Masse.

Lastly, that this place cannot be vnderkood of the sacrifice of the Masse, it is thus euident. For Christ saith, *The houre is*; but at that time the sacrifice was not instituted. Secondly, this worship is in spirite, as God is a spirite: but in the Masse they vrge a carnall, not a spirituall presence. Thirdly, God must be worshipped in trueth: but the carnall presence is a monstrous lie. Fourthly, *The Father requireth such to worship him*, vers. 23. But God no where in Scripture teacheth any such carnall presence, nor requireth vs so to worship him.

Answ. 6. That which Christ did in his last Supper, hee commaunded his Apostles to do the same: but Christ offered himselfe vp to his Father, vnder the forme of bread and wine: *Ergo*, Christ offered vp in the sacrifice of the Masse: *Bellarm. cap.* 12. That Christ offered vp himselfe in his last Supper, he thus laboureth to proue.

First, S. *Luke* saith, *This is my bodie, which is giuen, and my blood, which is shedde*, not, (which shall be) so that in that very instant Christs body and blood was offered vnto God, and (*for you*) saith Christ, (not vnto you:) and (*for many*) as S. *Matthew* hath, Matth. 26. 28. so that it was a sacrifice then offered to God, not for them there present, to whom it was ministred, but for many besides.

Answ. First, the Scripture doth often speake of that which is to come, as present, because it is certaine before God, as alreadie done: as Iohn 5. 24. *He that beleeueth, hath euerlasting life.* Iohn 10. 15. *I lay downe my life for my sheep*: yet Christ had not yet laid it down: likewise Exod. 12. 11. *It is the Lords Passeouer, for I will passe, &c.* the Lord had not yet passed ouer; yet hee saith, *It is the Lords Passeouer*, in the present tence: So, *My bodie is giuen, and my blood is shedde*: that is, it shall be surely giuen, and shedde, as if it were now done.

Secondly, I do vrge *Bellarmines* owne words against himselfe, who elsewhere saith, that these words, *Which is shedde for you for the remission of sinnes*, do not signifie, that his blood is drunke for remission of sinnes, but that it was shedde for remission of sinnes, *& hoc per Eucharistiam repræsentari*: and that this is represented in the Eucharist, *lib. 4 de Eucha. c. 19. resp. ad argum.* 3. If Christs blood be not then drunke for remission of sinnes in the Sacrament, as he confesseth; it is manifest, for the same thing is drunke, that is shedde: and if the shedding of Christes blood be only represented in the Eucharist, then it is not shedde. Thirdly, it is false that Christs bodie was giuen to the Apostles in the Eucharist, for the text is plaine, *He gaue the bread vnto them, and gaue the cup*: and whereas *Matthew* saith, *for many*, it is euident that he speaketh of Christs death, for the Sacrament is onely profitable to them that receiue it. Fourthly, if these words, *which is giuen for you*, are so materiall to proue the Masse a sacrifice, why are they left out in the Canon of the Masse?

Secondly, S. *Paul* saith, *Which is broken for you*, signifying Christs bodie, for bread is not broken for them, but to them: and S. *Luke* saith, *This cuppe (is the new testament in my blood) which is shed for you (which cuppe)* for so is the construction in the Greeke: so that the blood, as it was in the cuppe, was then shed. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, S. *Paul* maketh euidently against them, for Christs bodie is not broken in the Sacrament, but bread: *the bread, which we breake*, 1. Cor. 10. 16. so that these words, *which is broken for you*, must be referred to the breaking and tormenting of Christs bodie vpon the Crosse. Secondly, S. *Luke* must be expounded by S. *Matthew*, who saith, τὸ ἐμὸν αἷμα τὸ τῆς διαθήκης, *The blood, which is shed, not* τὸ ποτήριον τὸ τῆς διαθήκης. *The cuppe which is shed*, as S. *Luke* hath it: which some thinke should be read τῷ ἐκχυνομένῳ, in the datiue case, as S. *Basile* readeth to answere vnto *blood*, in the same case: And against all proper speaking, the cuppe cannot be said to be shed, and blood in the cuppe we acknowledge none to be shed but wine onely. Vide Bez in hunc locum.

Thirdly, *Bellarmine* thus reasoneth against the Lutheranes, who holde a carnall presence, the blood and flesh of Christ are verily in the Eucharist, as the blood and flesh, *sciss & mortui corporis*, of a slaine and dead bodie, and therefore they are consecrated apart; the body by it selfe, and the blood by it selfe: Christ is then present as a Sacrifice killed and slaine: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. Let the Lutheranes here answere for themselues; this argument doth no force vs at all, holding no such carnall presence: I will onely note the notable contradiction of *Bellarmine*, who

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elſe where affirmeth that the bodie of Chriſt is not in the Euchariſt, as *exanimum, exangue, cruore carens*: as without life, without blood, or dead, becauſe Chriſt now dieth no more: *lib. 4. de Euchar. cap. 22.* But here he ſaith, it is preſent as a ſlaine and dead bodie: therefore his owne ſpeech ſhall ſuffice for his owne obiection.

Argum. 8. S. *Paul* ſaith, 1. Cor. 10. 16. *The cuppe of bleſſing, which we bleſſe, is it not the communion of the bloode of Chriſt, &c.* verſ. 18. *They which eate of the ſacrifices are partakers of the altar, &c.* verſe. 20. *Thoſe things which the Gentiles ſacrifice, they ſacrifice to diuels.* verſe. 21. *Ye cannot drinke the cuppe of the Lord and the cuppe of diuels, ye cannot be partakers of the Lords table, and the table of diuels.* From this place *Bellarmine* reaſoneth thus, Such as was the table of diuels, ſuch is the Lords table: but that table was the altar of idols, *Ergo*, the Lords table is an altar. Againe, as the Iewes did eate the ſacrifices, and ſo were made partakers of the altar, and the Gentiles by eating of the idolatrous ſacrifices were partakers of diuels: ſo we by eating the fleſh and drinking the bloode of Chriſt are made partakers of him. c. 14.

Anſw. Firſt, the table of diuels was not the altar of the Idols, but they had beſide their ſtone tables in the Idol temples, whereat they did feaſt. 1. Corinth. 8. 10. *If any man ſee thee ſitting in the Idols temple*: therefore as their tables were not their altars, no more is the Lords table an Altar. Secondly, the argument followeth not, they were made partakers of the externall altar by eating externall ſacrifices: *Ergo*, ſo are we made partakers of Chriſt by an externall ſacrifice: for as their altar was externall, ſo their ſacrifices were externall; but as our Altar is ſpirituall, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *We haue an Altar*, Heb. 13. 10. ſo our eating and drinking muſt be ſpirituall: and the Apoſtle himſelfe putteth this difference, verſe. 18. *Behold Iſrael which is after the fleſh*: ſignifying, that they were delighted in fleſhie ſacrifices, becauſe they were after the fleſh, but we being after the ſpirit, muſt be exerciſed in ſpirituall ſacrifices. Thirdly, that we are effectually ioyned vnto Chriſt, by a ſpirituall coniunction, though we carnallie eate him not, the Apoſtle ſheweth, *He that is ioyned to the Lord is one ſpirite*, 1. Cor. 6. 17. And if while the materiall Altar ſtoode, they might be partakers of it in heart and deſire, though they did not eate of the ſacrifice, as *Dauid* being abſent from the temple ſaith, *My ſoule fainteth for the courts of the Lord &c. and for thine Altars*, Pſalm. 84. 1. 3. much more may we now in ſpirit and by faith, communicate with the true Altar and ſacrifice: And ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr. 13. 10. *We haue an altar, whereof they haue no authoritie to eate, which ſerue in the Tabernacle*: *Ergo* they, which ſerue not in the Tabernacle, but haue left the ceremonies of the law may eate thereof, partly by faith and ſpirituallie, partly in the Euchariſt ſacramentallie, which Chriſt hath commaunded to be done in remembrance of him. And thus farre of their arguments for the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

The Proteſtants.

THat there are ſpirituall ſacrifices remaining yet vnto Chriſtians in the exerciſe of religion, we doe verilie beleeue, being ſo taught by the Scriptures: ſuch are the ſacrifices of praiſe and thankeſgiuing, Hebr. 13. 15. The ſacrifice of almes and diſtribution, verſ. 16. the mortifying of the fleſh, is a kinde of crucifying, and ſo a ſpirituall ſacrifice, Galath. 6. 14. And in this ſenſe we denie not, but that the Sacrament may be called a ſacrifice, that is, a ſpirituall oblation of praiſe and thankeſgiuing: but that there is a proper and externall ſacrifice, as in the lawe of Goates and Bullocks, vpon the croſſe of the bodie of Chriſt; ſo in the Euchariſt, of the ſame bodie and fleſh of Chriſt: we doe holde it for a great blaſphemie, and hereſie.

Argum. 1. The very fleſh, and true naturall bodie of Chriſt, is not, as we haue ſhewed before at large, in ſuch carnall and corporall manner preſent in the Sacrament: therefore it cannot in the Sacrament be ſacrificed, and offered vp.

Argum. 2. This ſacrificing of the bodie and blood of Chriſt is contrarie to Chriſts inſtitution: for he ſaith onely, *Take ye, eate ye, drinke ye*: he ſaith not, Sacrifice ye, or lift vp, and make an oblation of my bodie. Neither doe thoſe words, *hoc facite*, doe this, giue them any power to ſacrifice, as *Bellarmine* would haue it: for to whom he ſaith, *Eate ye, drinke ye*, to the ſame alſo he ſaith, *Doe ye*. Wherefore if doe ye, be as much as, ſacrifice ye: all Chriſtians, for whom it is lawfull to eate and drinke the Sacrament, by this rule haue authoritie to ſacrifice. Againe, the words are, *Doe this in remembrance*. We remember things abſent, and which are alreadie done and paſt: if then there be a preſent ſacrifice in the Sacrament of the bodie of Chriſt, it cannot properly be ſaide to be a memorie of his ſacrifice.

Argum. 3. The Apoſtle ſaith, that Chriſt neede not to offer himſelfe often, but that he hath done once in the end of the world, Heb. 9. 26. And with one offering, hath he made perfect for euer them that are ſanctified, 10. 14. *Ergo*, Chriſt cannot bee ſacrificed againe: for that were to make his ſacrifice vpon the croſſe imperfect.

Bellarmine anſwereth: that the Apoſtle here ſpeaketh of the bloodie and painefull ſacrifice of Chriſt vpon the croſſe, which was ſufficient once to be done: but this taketh not away the vnbloodie

Masse sacrifice, which is but an iteration of the former, whereby the fruite and efficatie of that first oblation is applied vnto vs, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de miss. cap. 25.*

Answ. First, the Apostle excludeth all manner iterations of the sacrifice of Christ; for otherwise if Christ should now be often howsoeuer sacrificed, the difference would not hold betweene the sacrifices of the law which were often done, and the sacrifice of Christ, which was once to bee performed: as the Apostle setteth it downe, Hebr. 10. 11. *Euery priest appeareth daily ministring, and offering often one manner offring, &c. but this man after he had offred one sacrifice for sinne, &c.* and other sacrifices were also in a manner iterations and commemorations of the sacrifice of Christ. The Apostle then thus reasoneth; They had many iteratiue and commemoratiue sacrifices of Christs death: *Ergo*, we haue not now. Secondly, that is but a foolish and false distinction of the bloodie and vnbloodie sacrifice, as they vnderstand it: for there can bee no proper vnbloodie sacrifice of Christ, neither could he be offered vp, otherwise then by dying, Heb. 9. 27. 28. Therefore Iesus not offered vp in the Sacrament, because now he dyeth not. Thirdly, neither neede wee inuent a new kinde of sacrifice, for the application of Christs death: for to that end Christ hath appointed the preaching of the worde, and instituted the Sacraments; whereby the death of Christ, with all the benefits thereof, are most fruitfully applied vnto vs, Galath. 3. 1. S. *Paul* saith, that Christ was described in their sight, and as crucified: that is, by the preaching of the Gospell. 1. Corinth. 11. vers. 26. *As oft as ye eate this bread, and drinke this cup, ye shew the Lords death till he come.*

Bellarmine replieth: first, though the death of Christ be applied by the preaching of the word and administration of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper: yet it may be applied also by the sacrifice of the Masse, which in this behalfe is not superfluous, no more then Baptisme is, by which also Christs death is applied. Secondly, that the Apostle speaketh of the bloodie and painfull sacrifice of Christ vpon the crosse, it appeareth by the words following, vers. 26. *for then he must haue often suffered. &c. Bellar. c. 25. resp. ad argum. 2.*

Contra. First, Baptisme is not superfluous in applying and shewing forth Christs death, though to the same end we haue the preaching of the word and the other Sacrament, because they are all of Christs institution, so is not the Masse. Againe, they applie Christs death diuersly; Baptisme as the bath of our regeneration; the Eucharist as a signe of our spirituall feeding vpon Christs death; the word preached as a worker of our faith: so that none of them are superfluous. But the Masse is superfluous, because the remembrance and shewing forth of Christs death is as fully set forth in the Sacrament without a sacrifice.

Secondly, the words of the Apostle make against their vnbloodie sacrifice: for thus the Apostle reasoneth, Hebr. 9. 25. *not that he should offer himselfe often, &c. for then must he haue often suffered.* Christ cannot bee offered without suffering, but hee suffred but once: *Ergo*, he was offered but once.

Argum. 4. Christ saith, *This cup is the new testament in my blood*: we reason then thus; The same thing cannot bee both the testament, and the matter testamentarie, or which is testified; the Eucharist is the publike instrument or testament; the sacrifice of Christs death is the thing testified: therefore the Eucharist is not the sacrifice: for a sacrifice is a thing from vs offered to God, a testament or publike of Gods promise exhibited to vs.

Bellarmine answereth, the Eucharist in diuers respects is both a sacrifice and a testament: a sacrifice, as it is offered vnto God; a testament, as it is an authenticall instrument of Gods promise toward vs. So we reade, Exod. 24. *This is the blood of the testament, that God hath appointed.* Like as also the sacrifices of the law were signes of Gods couenant and testament, and yet true sacrifices notwithstanding: so the blood of Christ is both the sacrifice, and the signe of Gods testament and couenant. *Bellar. cap. 24. respons. ad argum. 1.*

Contra. First, wee graunt, that a testament cannot bee ratified without blood, as the Apostle saith, Heb. 9. 18. and therefore the blood of the sacrifice is also a ratification of the testament: but there the sacrifice was one thing, the testament another: the sacrifices of the law were of beasts, the testament had relation to Christ: So then the sacrifices of the law were true sacrifices, & signes also of the sacrifice of Christ, which was diuers from the sacrifices of the law: But here they make the same thing to be both the sacrifice it selfe, and the ratification or testament of the same sacrifice, which cannot be.

Secondly, there cannot bee such diuers respects, as to make the same thing, at the same instant, to be both the signe, and the thing signified: and therefore in the Eucharist there cannot be both the sacrifice it selfe, and the testification thereof, what respects soeuer can bee pretended: for this implies to make a thing absent, present at the same time: for that which is sacrificed must bee present, but that which is represented and remembred is absent: Christs bodie therefore being represented in the Eucharist, cannot be then and there sacrificed.

Argum. 5. If there were remaining still in the Church a reall externall sacrifice, then there

muſt be alſo a reall and externall prieſthood, and ſo a multitude of ſacrificing prieſts: but this is contrarie to the Scripture, that maketh this difference betweene the law and the Goſpel, that there were many prieſts, *becauſe they were not ſuffered to endure by reaſon of death: but now Chriſt hath an euerlaſting prieſthood*, Heb. 7. 23. 24. So that he is the only prieſt of the Goſpell: *Ergo*, there being no more ſacrificing prieſts, there is no ſuch ſacrifice: for it were a derogation to the euerlaſting prieſthood of Chriſt, to ordaine other prieſts beſide.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, it is no more derogation to Chriſts prieſthood to conſtitute inferiour prieſts vnder him, then it is to his paſtoral and propheticall office to ſubſtitute inferiour paſtors, miniſters and teachers vnder him: and as *Aaron* while he liued had other inferiour prieſts, and a King hath vnder him inferiour officers and gouernours; ſo Chriſt may haue other inferiour prieſts, as his vicars and miniſters. Secondly, the Apoſtle excludeth onely the multiplying of prieſts in the ſame degree and power, not of inferiour prieſts, that are but Chriſts miniſters, *Bellar. cap. 25. reſp. ad argum. 1.*

Contra. Firſt, the compariſon betweene inferiour ſacrificing prieſts, and inferiour preaching paſtors vnder Chriſt is not like: 1. Becauſe Chriſt hath giuen comandement for the one, *to preach and baptize*, Matth. 28. but no where are they commanded againe to ſacrifice Chriſt. And Ephes. 4. verſ. 11. the Apoſtle ſheweth, that the callings of Apoſtles, Prophets, Euangeliſts, Paſtors, Teachers are giuen of Chriſt: but prieſts are not there named. 2. Becauſe there is neceſſitie of preaching, *Woe is me if I preach not*, 1. Cor. 9. 16. and ſuch offices are neceſſarie in the Church, *for the gathering together of the Saints, for the work of the miniſterie, and the edification of the bodie of Chriſt*, Ephes. 4. but of ſacrifices and ſacrificing prieſts there is no neceſſitie at all. 3. There is in paſtors and teachers but an outward ſeruice and miniſtrie onely, the efficacie is of God: *Paul planteth, Apollo watereth, God giueth encreaſe*, 1. Cor. 3. but Chriſts paſtorall and propheticall office giueth the inward encreaſe and vertue, to the which the outward miniſtrie is not derogatorie: but vnto the ſacrificing prieſthood they aſcribe an efficacious power to make Chriſts bodie, and to work remiſſion by it, and ſo ioyne them as fellow-workers with Chriſt in the ſpirituall worke, which is great impietie.

Secondly, *Aaron* had other inferiour prieſts for other ſacrifices and ſeruices: but he himſelfe onely entred into the holie place with the blood of reconciliation, Exod. 30. 10. This office did reſt in him perſonally: but the Papiſts in this office of ſacrificing the blood of reconciliation put in commiſſion their prieſts with Chriſt himſelfe. A King hath other miniſters, becauſe he is a man, and cannot execute euery part himſelfe, yet his ſouerainetie and princely prerogatiues he giueth not to any other: but Chriſt is an abſolute prieſt, and is able to execute euery part of his prieſthood himſelfe: and this being a prerogatiue of his perſon to be a prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech*, cannot be deputed to another.

Thirdly, they bring in a multitude of prieſts in the ſame higheſt degree of prieſthood, to ſacrifice the bodie of Chriſt, and to make reconciliation by it: nay, they make their prieſts ſuperiour to Chriſt: for he offered but his bodie in earth, they ſacrifice it being in heauen: Chriſt offered his bodie but in one place, they in many places; he a bodie borne of the Virgin, they make him a bodie out of bread; Chriſt without a miracle offered his bodie to the death, they ſacrifice him miraculouſly without death: and they make their ſacrificing prieſts alſo after the order of *Melchiſedech*, as Chriſt himſelfe is.

Fourthly, the Apoſtle excludeth all ſucceſſion or multiplying of prieſts, but onely where they are taken away by death: *Ergo*, ſeeing Chriſt euer liueth and dieth not, there is no other prieſt but he.

Argum. 6. Our Sauiour ſaid vpon the croſſe, *Conſummatum eſt*, It is finiſhed, Ioh. 19. 30. Then the ſacrifice of Chriſt vpon the croſſe being perfect and ſufficient, all other ſacrifices beſide are ſuperfluous.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that theſe words, *it is finiſhed*, doe ſignifie that al the prophecies of Chriſts paſſion were accompliſhed, not that all things were done neceſſarie to ſaluation: for then the Sacraments, and all doctrine ſhould be ſuperfluous, *ibid. cap. 25.*

Contra. Firſt, all prophecies of Chriſts paſſion were not finiſhed, when he ſpake theſe words, for hee had not yet giuen vp the ghoſt: after which time the Euangeliſt ſheweth the fulfilling of two prophecies, as touching the piercing of his ſide out of *Zacharie*, verſ. 37. and of the not breaking of his bones out of *Moſes*, verſ. 36. Secondly, that Chriſt meaneth the perfection and conſummation of his ſacrifice vpon the croſſe, the Apoſtle ſheweth, Hebr. 10. 14. with one offering, τετελείωκεν, *conſummauit*, hee hath conſummated thoſe that are ſanctified: where the very ſame word is vſed both in the Greeke and vulgar Latine, whereby the Euangeliſt expreſſeth the conſummation and perfection of Chriſts croſſe. Thirdly, the perfection of Chriſts ſacrifice taketh not away the vſe of doctrine and Sacraments, which doe but ſet before vs the death and ſacrifice of Chriſt; but it is a barre to all other ſacrifices, which if they bee but memorials of Chriſts death, are ſuperfluous,

Iesus, doctrine and the Sacraments being sufficient to that end: if they bee more then memoriall, as vnsailable to forgiue sinnes, they are blasphemous, and make Christs sacrifice imperfect.

Argum. 7. Saint *Paul* saith, *Christ dieth now no more*, Rom. 6. 9. but he that is sacrificed dieth: *Ergo*, Christ is not sacrificed. The first part is thus prooued: first, from the vse of the sacrifices, which were first killed, before they were offered. Againe, where a sacrifice is, the testament is confirmed, Heb. 9. 20. but where a testament is, there is death, *ibid.* 17. *Ergo*. Further, there is no remission of sinnes without blood, vers. 22. but in the Masse there is remission of sinnes: *Ergo*, there is blood, and consequently death.

Bellarmine answereth: first, the death of the sacrifice is not necessarie, but where a thing liuing is offered in the forme of a liuing thing: but Christ is sacrificed vnder the forme of bread and wine. Secondly, the Masse is not a testament, but a repetition of the testament confirmed in Christs death. Thirdly, the Apostle speaketh onely of the legall sacrifices, where there was no remission of sinnes without blood: or the Apostles meaning onely is, that there is no remission of sinne, but in the vertue of the shedding of blood: and so in the Masse there is the vertue of Christs blood, though it be not shed, *resp. ad argum.* 3.

Contra. First, that thing is killed, that is sacrificed: if bread and wine be sacrificed, they being dead things neede not bee killed: But if the sacrifice be of Christ, he must be killed, what forme soeuer you pretend of the sacrifice. Secondly, if the Masse be but a repetition of a testament alreadie confirmed, then it is no sacrifice, but a memoriall onely: for where a sacrifice is, a testament is ratified and confirmed, not repeated onely. Thirdly, S. *Paul* speaketh not properly of the legall sacrifices, for they *did not sanctifie the conscience*, vers. 9. *Ergo*, they gaue no remission of sinnes: And if the vertue of Christs blood be onely in the Masse, it is sufficient also to haue the vertue of his sacrifice; for to expresse the vertue of Christs blood, a new sacrifice neede not, a Sacrament to that purpose is sufficient.

Argum. 8. In euery sacrifice there is a consecration of the thing sacrificed from a prophane to an holie vse, as the Paschal Lambe was set apart foure daies, before it was eaten, Exod. 12. 4. there must also be an oblation vnto God: but in the Masse, there is nothing consecrated but bread and wine, nothing offered but bread and wine: for in the institution after the consecration in these words, *this is my bodie*, immediatly follow, *take ye, eate ye*: there is no mention made at all of any oblation to God: *Ergo*, if there be any sacrifice, it is of bread and wine onely.

Bellarmine answereth: first, that the bread is consecrated by being turned into the most holie bodie of Christ. Secondly, the very placing of that holie thing vpon the altar, is an oblation and offering of it to God, *Bellarm. c.* 27.

Contra. First, if bread bee consecrated, then bread is sacrificed: for the same thing is sacrificed, that is consecrated: if the bodie of Christ bee consecrated, then was it before prophane and vnholie: let him chuse which part he will. Secondly, if the very placing vpon the Communion table (for Altar we acknowledge none) be an oblation, then bread and wine are offered: for they only are there exhibited and placed. Christs bodie is placed in heauen, his place is not on the earth.

Argum. 9. *Augustine* in a certaine place allegorizing the parable of the prodigall childe, thus writeth, *Vitulum occidit, quando in sacramento altaris memoriam passionis in mente renouauit*: He slew their calfe, when he renued in the Sacrament of the altar, the memorie of his passion in his mind. Ad fratres in erem.
He calleth it the Sacrament, not the sacrifice of the altar: and it onely bringeth to our minde the memorie of Christs passion and sacrifice: there is then no oblation or sacrifice in the Sacrament, but only a commemoration of Christs sacrifice, which we denie not.

Bernard also witnesseth here very plentifully for the truth: *Sicut Christus adhuc quodammodo immolatur quotidie donec mortem eius annuntiamus, sic videtur & nasci dum fideliter eius natiuitatem representamus: In Vigil. natal. ser.* 6. As Christ is daily offered vp, while we doe shew forth his death, so he seemeth to be borne, when we faithfully represent his natiuitie. The reason is this, as Christ is borne daily, so is he sacrificed; but he is borne onely by a godly remembrance of his birth: *Ergo*, he no otherwise dieth or is sacrificed.

Againe, *Voluit Christus vt iugiter recoleretur per mysterium, quod semel offerebatur in pretium, &c.* Serm. in com. Dom.
Christ his will is, that it should bee daily remembred in mysterie which was once offered vp for our price, and that the euerlasting sacrifice should liue in our godly memorie, and bee present alwaies in grace: for Christ ought not to be crucified againe, but it is a sufficient remedie, if by faith and meditation, we keepe his death in remembrance. Christs sacrifice then, is onely renued by a godly remembrance thereof, and a faithfull imitation of his death, and no otherwise.

Argum. 10. Let vs see also their owne testimonies: *Damasus epistol. 4. Mensa Domini participes, &c.* Let them be partakers onely of the Lords table. So also S. *Hierom. libr. de 7. ordinib. Ipsis sacerdotibus de mensa Domini, &c.* It is not lawfull for the Priests, without presumption, to take the cup from the Lords table, vnlesse it be giuen them of the Deacon. Where a table is then, and not an altar, there can be no sacrifice.

Gregor. Moral. lib. 1 c. 10. Sine intermissione pro nobis holocaustum redemptor immolat, &c. The Redeemer without ceasing doth immolate a burnt-offring for vs, in demonstrating or shewing vnto his father his incarnation. *Innocent. 3 in consecration. S. Pauli: Sanguis ipsius, &c.* His blood cryeth alwaies to God for vs. *Gabriel Biel in canam. lect. 61. Ad quem pertinet & pro peccatis offerre, &c. ex presentatione sui ad patrem:* It belongeth to him to offer for our sinnes, &c. by presenting himselfe to his father, &c. If then the presenting of Christ in heauen, bee our burnt-offring, the crying of his blood, an offring for sinne; then it is superfluous to sacrifice him, or to offer and present him to God in the earth?

And if they will allow that definition of a sacrifice in the decrees. *Par. 2. cauf. 1. qu. 1 c. 84. Sanctificium quasi sacrum factum, &c.* A sacrifice, that is made sacred or holie, being consecrate to the memorie of the Lordes passion. Thus is the Eucharist a sacrifice without the Masse, for it is an holie action instituted for the remembrance of Christs passion. If it bee then but a representation of Christs sacrifice, it is not the reall and externall sacrifice it selfe. Likewise, *Decr par. 3. dist. 2. q. 51. Quod factum, &c.* That which was once done, is done in our memorie euery yeere. *C. 53. Quod ut facimus, in commemorationem fit eius, &c.* That which wee doe, is done for the remembrance of him. So then the Eucharist is not a sacrifice of a thing present, but a commemoration of Christ absent. *In distributione membrorum semel tantum, &c.* In the distinction of his members he hanged but once vpon the crosse offring himselfe, &c. *cap. 52. ibid.* Christ then cannot be sacrificed without distinction of his members; which distinction being not in the Masse, when he is imagined to be in a lesse roome then the compasse of a spanne, he cannot be there sacrificed.

Thus truth hath the plentifull testimonie of the holie Martyrs, whose effectuall reasons and substantiall arguments against the Idolatrous sacrifice of the Masse, wee haue set downe together in the treatise annexed to this controuersie: to the which place I referre the reader.

AN APPENDIX OR THIRD PART, OF the name and office of Priests.

The Papists.

31. Error. AS they doe falsely teach and perswade, that there is yet remaining a proper externall sacrifice for Christians vnder the Gospell, so also they maintaine a sacrificing Priesthood. And further they say, that the Leuiticall Priesthood was not translated into the sacrifice of Christ vpon the crosse, but is properly turned into the Priesthood and sacrifice in the Church, according to *Melchisedechs* rite, in offring vp the bodie and blood of Christ in the formes of bread and wine. *Remist. annot. Hebr. 7. sect. 7.* Wherefore they which minister vnder the Gospell, are worthily called Priests: which worde doth so certainly implie the authoritie of sacrificing, that it is by vs made the onely English of *Sacerdos, Rhemist. Act. 14. sect. 7.*

The Protestants.

FIrst, we hold it to be a great blasphemie to say, that the Priesthood and sacrifice of Christ vpon the crosse, is not that sacrifice or Priesthood into the which the olde sacrifice and Priesthood was translated and chaunged. The Apostle proueth the contrarie: for that sacrifice, whereby the new testament is established, is that, whereunto the old sacrifice and Priesthood is translated: but this is done by the singular sacrifice of Christ, who is the suretie of a better testament, Hebr. 7. 23. *Ergo*, his singular sacrifice vpon the crosse, is that whereinto the old Leuiticall sacrifices are chaunged, and no other. Againe, the Priesthood after *Melchisedechs* order is that, into the which the old Priesthood is chaunged: but the Priesthood of Christ vpon the crosse was after that order. *Ergo*. But here they are not ashamed to denie, that the sacrifice of Christ vpon the crosse was after *Melchisedechs* order; but doe most impudently and blasphemously affirme, that it was after the order of *Aaron: Heskia. lib. 1. cap. 12.* And thus euery vile Masse-monger shall bee more properly a priest after *Melchisedechs* order, than Christ himselfe.

Secondly, none but Christ is a Priest after the order of *Melchisedech:* for vnto whom the Lord said, Thou art a Priest for euer after the order of *Melchisedech*, to him the Lorde saith also in the same Psalme, *Sit thou at my right hand.* Psal. 110. But this cannot agree to any popish priest: therefore not the other. Againe the Apostle maketh this difference betweene the Priesthood of the law and the Gospell: because then there were many Priests, they being prohibited by death to continue: but Christ is the onely priest of the new Testament, because he dieth not, Heb. 7. 23. 24. If they answere, as they doe, that although there be many priests, yet it is but one Priesthood, because Christ concurreth with them in the acts of the Priesthood, *Rhemist.*

We answere: first, Christ concurreth with his faithfull ministers in the acts of their Ministerie: but no such Priesthood doe we acknowledge. Secondly, so Christ concurred in the acts of the Leuiticall Priesthood, & the sacrifices of the law that were rightly offred: wherfore this concurrence of Christ doth no more take away the multitude of priests in the Gospell, than it did in the law.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, concerning the name of Priests in their sense, as it implieth an authoritie of sacrificing, we vtterly abhorre it. Secondly, but as it is deriued of the Greeke word πρεσβύτερος, which signifieth an Elder, we refuse it not, but wish rather, that it had not been abused in common speech to signifie popish sacrificers. Thirdly, as for the word (*sacerdos*) which may be englished a sacrificer, wee finde it no where in the new Testament giuen to the Ministers of the Gospell, and so much *Bellarmine* confesseth, *cap.* 17. And therefore vnfitly and vnproperly agreeth vnto them. If some of the fathers haue confounded the names of *Sacerdos* and *Presbyter*, they are not to bee commended. The word *Sacerdos*, a sacrificer, being a proper name of the Leuiticall Priests, cannot properly bee attributed to the Ministers of the Gospell. To conclude, this word (*Priest*) as it is the English of *Sacerdos*, we doe not approue: but as it giueth the sense of (*Presbyter*) from whence it is deriued, we condemne it not: for so it signifieth nothing else but an Elder. If common vse of speech haue drawne it to a contrarie sense, it would be amended.

Bellarmine answereth, the Apostles in their writings vse not the words of priest, sacrifice, temple, altar, and such like; because the Iewish sacrifices and priesthood were yet in force, lest they might bee thought, by vsing these words, to renew and confirme the rites of the Iewes: but afterward, when as the temple was destroyed, these names began to bee vsed of the ancient fathers, *Bellarm. cap.* 17 *lib.* 2 *de Missa*.

Contra. First, it is vntrue that the Apostles in the Scripture forbeare at all to vse these names: for in the new Testament euery one of these names is found, but in a spirituall sense, as the Apostle taketh the Temple for the Church of God, 1. Cor. 3. 16. 2. Cor. 6. Againe, the Apostles speake of spirituall sacrifices, Rom. 12. 1. Heb. 13. and the Apostle in the same chapter saith, *we haue an altar*, &c. meaning the altar of the crosse. And Reuel. 1. 6. *He hath made vs Kings and Priests*, that is spiritually: wherefore it is a great vntruth, that the Apostles did of purpose shunne these names, for any such cause alleaged, seeing they euery where vse them.

Secondly, it cannot be denied, but that this word (*sacerdos*) a priest, is taken by some of the ancient fathers, for an office of the Gospell: but they vnderstand not then a sacrificing priest, but either the same, which was called (*Presbyter*) a teaching Elder, as *Damasus epistol.* 4. (*Chorepiscopi minister presbyterorum contenti sint*, &c. Let the countrie Bishops be contented onely with the ministrie of the Presbyters, and bee partakers onely of the Lordes table; A table is for ministers, not for priests: Or else they expressed it by this word (*minister*) a minister; as *Cornelius epistol.* 2. *Episcopi & ministri*, &c. Bishops and Ministers must not frequent riotous feasts. *Arelatens.* 1. 2. *Ministri fœnerantes*, That Ministers should not bee vsurers: Or else they vnderstood this word spiritually. *Ambros. lib.* 5 *in Luc. Omnes filij ecclesiæ sacerdotes*, &c. All the children of the Church are priests, offering themselues spirituall sacrifices to God. So also *Origen, Hom.* 9 *in Leuitic. Petrus ad omnem dicit ecclesiam*, &c. *Peter* saith to the whole Church, ye are a royall priesthood. But a sacrificing priest by this word (*sacerdos*) they vnderstood not: for (*sacrificans*, or *sacrificulus*) a sacrificer was taken for an Idolatrous priest of the Idols of the Gentiles, as S. *Cyprian* vseth it, *Epist.* 3 *ad Cornelium: Et quinque cum pancis vel sacrificantibus, vel male sibi conscijs*, &c. These fiue with a few sacrificers, armed of a guiltie conscience, did adopt *Fortunatus* to be their false Bishop.

Augustine saith, *Sacerdotium Iudæorum nemo dubitat*, &c. No faithfull man doubteth, but that the Priesthood of the law was a figure of the royall Priesthood in the Church, whereby all that pertaine to the bodie of Christ are consecrated. He acknowledgeth no other Priesthood abiding in the Church, then that whereby all Christians are made Priests, to offer spirituall sacrifices vnto God through Christ. Quæst. Euangelicar. lib. 2. quæst. 40.

Heare also what *Bernard* saith: *Non solus sacerdos sacrificat, non solus consecrat, sed totus fidelium cœtus qui adstat, cum illo consecrat, cum illo sacrificat*: The Priest onely doth not sacrifice or consecrate, but the whole companie of the faithfull, that stand by, doe consecrate and sacrifice with him: *Ergo*, in this sense all the people are as well Priests, as the sacrificer.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE VERTVE and efficacie falsely ascribed to the sacrifice of the Masse.

The Papists.

1. They blasphemously affirme, that it is a sacrifice propitiatorie, that is, auailable to obtaine, *ex opere operato*, by the very worke wrought, remission and pardon of all their sinnes, *Trident. Concil. sess.* 22. *can.* 3. 33. Error.

Arg. 1. There were vnder the law sacrifices truly propitiatorie, and auailable to take away sin, as Iob. 1. he sacrificed for the sins of his sonnes: and Leuit. chap. 4. 5. there are described diuers sacrifices for sinne. If then the sacrifice of the crosse, which was shadowed forth in these sacrifices, did not hinder them to be propitiatorie, much lesse doth it hinder the sacrifice of the Masse to bee such, which is a commemoratiue also of the passion of Christ, *Bellar lib.* 2 *de Miss. c.* 2.

Answ. First, the sacrifices of the law did not truly purge sinnes as concerning the conscience, as the Apostle saith, Heb. 9. 10. but were figures onely and types of the sacrifice of the crosse, *which doth onely purge our consciences from dead workes ibid. vers.* 14. And it is vntrue, that *Bellarmine* to this replieth, that those sacrifices were figures also of the sacrifice of the Masse and of the Eucharist: for neither doe wee acknowledge any such sacrifice of the Masse; and the Eucharist hath relation to Christs sacrifice alreadie past, as the olde sacrifices did shadow it forth then to come: so that the Eucharist is not the substance of the shadow of sacrifices; but the passion of Christ is the substance both of their sacrifices and our Sacraments. Secondly, *Bellarmine* himselfe granteth, that the legall sacrifices did not iustifie men before God, as *ex opere operato*, by the work wrought, but only serued for the expiation of legall faults: therefore the argument followeth not from the sacrifices of the law to the sacrifices of the Masse, which he affirmeth to bee propitiatorie, *ex opere operato*. Thirdly, all this being graunted to be true of the sacrifices of the law, yet he hath prooued nothing for the Masse, which we denie to be a sacrifice.

Argum. 2. Hebr. 5. vers. 1. *Euery Priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices for sinnes*: but in the Church now there are Priests properly so called: *Ergo*, they offer for sinnes: *Bellarm. ibid. argum.* 3.

Answ. I haue shewed before, that there remaineth now no externall Priesthood in the Church but onely a spirituall, to offer *vp spirituall sacrifices to God through Christ*, 1. Pet. 2. 5. and that the true Priesthood in the new Testament resteth onely in the person of Christ: Hebr. 7. 26. *Such an high Priest it became vs to haue, which is holy, harmelesse, vndefiled, separate from sinners, higher than the heauens, &c.* But these properties are onely in Christ: *Ergo*, he is the onely Priest of the new Testament. This argument then beggeth the thing in question, and therefore concludeth not.

Argum. 3. Christ himselfe saith in the institution, *This is my blood shed for you for the remission of sinnes*: *Ergo*, the sacrifice of the Masse is auailable for remission of sinnes: for it forgiueth sinne either as a sacrifice, or a Sacrament: but as a Sacrament it is onely appointed for our spirituall nourishment: *Ergo*, as a sacrifice, &c. *Bellar. lib. 2. de miss. c.* 2.

The Protestants.

Ans. First, Christ instituted no sacrifice, as we declared before, but only a Sacrament in remembrance of his death and passion. Secondly, the Eucharist as a sacrifice neither forgiueth sinne, nor giueth assurance thereof, because it is no sacrifice at all, but as a Sacrament rightly administred it serueth to assure our faith of remission of sinnes, by the death of Christ: which is an effect of our spirituall nourishment, to assure vs of our spirituall health, which is the remission of our sinnes: but it doth not by it owne vertue conferre remission of sinnes, neither profiteth by the worke wrought: for the Apostle saith, that *without faith it is impossible to please God*, Hebr. 11. Wherefore no action is accepted of God, not proceeding of faith.

Argum. 1. The Apostle saith, *Where there is remission of sinnes, there is no more sacrifice for sinne*, Heb. 10. 18. Seeing then remission of sinnes is fully obtained by the death and sacrifice of Christ, there can be no more sacrifice for sinne: *Ergo*, the Masse is no sacrifice for sinne.

Bellarmine answereth: first, there are two things required to the remission of sinnes: first, the finding out, or paying the price of our redemption. Secondly, the application thereof: The first is done by the sacrifice of the crosse, so that there needs no more offring for the satisfying for sinne: but for the application of that remedie a sacrifice is yet necessarie, which is the Masse: *lib. 1. de Miss. c. 25. resp. ad argum.* 2.

Contra. First, the sacrifices of the law also did serue to applie the vertue of Christs crosse, and yet the Apostle excludeth them by this reason, *that where there is remission of sinnes, there is no more sacrifice*: wherefore if the Apostles reason be good, it concludeth against sacrifices applicatorie also. Secondly, to applie the benefit of Christs passion, a sacrifice is not necessarie; God hath appointed the preaching of the word, and the ministration of the Sacraments to that end. Thirdly, the power of Christs crosse is not seene onely in finding out the price of our redemption, but in giuing and conferring the same actually vpon all beleeuers, to whom also he giueth that grace to beleeue by the vertue of his crosse: Heb. 10. *With one offring hath he consecrated for euer them that are sanctified.*

Secondly he answereth, that the Masse doth not immediatly giue remission of sinnes, but obtaineth the gift of repentance for sinners, whereby they are stirred vp, to seeke for remission of sinnes: And if it worke not in them repentance, as it doth not in all, yet it worketh a disposition to repentance, which yet helpeth them not, because they reiect the calling of God, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de Miss. c. 5.*

Contra. First, if the sacrifice of the Masse conferre not remission of sinnes, and yet you say the Sacrament doth conferre grace: then is the Sacrament more auailable, where Christ is not offered, than the sacrifice wherein he is offered. Secondly, if the Masse purchase remission of sinne no otherwise but by working repentance, then is it not at all auailable for the dead, as you say it is,

to

to worke repentance is not giuen. Thirdly, if in the Masse Christ were offered vp verily and indeed as you say, why should not the Masse giue then remission of sinnes? which is the immediate and proper effect of the Sacrifice and Crosse of Christ. Fourthly, neither doth the Masse giue repentance to all those, for whom it is said, for many of them remaine impenitent still: and as for that disposition you speake of, seeing it benefiteth them not, they might as good be without it. And thus by your owne graunt, the Masse is altogether vnprofitable, neither auaileable to remit sinnes, nor to giue repentance to him, that is otherwise disposed.

Argum. 2. Heb. 9. 22. *Without shedding of blood is no remission*; but in the Masse, there is no shedding of blood: *Ergo*, no remission.

Bellarmine answereth, first to the proposition, that the Apostles meaning is, not that blood should be shedde so often as there is remission of sinnes, but that there is no remission of sinnes, but in the vertue of the shedding of blood, *lib. 1. de Miss. c. 25. resp. ad argum.* 3. Secondly, to the assumption he saith, that the blood of Christ is really shedde in the oblation of the Masse. *ibid.*

Contra. First, the Apostle meaneth not the vertue of blood onely, but the actuall shedding of blood, vers. 22. *Almost all things are by the Law purged with blood, and without shedding of blood is no remission*: as the legall purging then was by blood, so is the remission of sinnes by blood; but there was the very actuall shedding of the blood of Sacrifices: *Ergo*, consequently there must be so in the remission of sinnes. Secondly, if Christs blood be really shedde in the Masse, then is Christ slaine in the Masse; for without death, there is no shedding of blood; because that the shedding of blood is to confirme a Testament, and a Testament is not ratified but by death. Heb. 9. 17.

Argum. 3. The Masse is no Sacrifice at all, as we haue shewed before; *Ergo*, it is not a Sacrifice propitiatorie: the first also may be thus further proued: The Sacrifice of Christ is of infinite vertue. Heb. 10. 14. *With one offering hath he consecrated for euer, them that are sanctified*: but *Vertus Missæ finitus*, the valour or vertue of the Masse is finite, *Bellarm. c. 4. prop. 4. lib. 2.* *Ergo*, in the Masse Christ is not sacrificed. And againe, no finite thing can conferre that which is infinite: but remission of sinnes is infinite, that is, for euer: Heb. 10. 17. *Their sinnes and iniquities will I remember no more*: but the vertue of the Masse is finite, and therefore is often iterated: *Ergo*, it doth not conferre remission of sinnes. If it shall be here obiected, that this reason also may be vrged against the often receiuing of the Eucharist; I answere, that the Eucharist, doth not as a Sacrifice actually and really conferre remission of sinnes by the worke wrought, but onely instrumentally assureth vs of remission of sinnes, by faith in the blood of Christ: and therefore the reason is not like against the sacrifice of the Masse, and the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

Interlig. cap. 22. Christum increunto & impassibili modo sistimus patri, non vt remissionem peccatorum promeremur, &c. We do after an vnbloodie and impassible manner present Christ to his Father, not to merite thereby remission of sinnes, but that calling to minde the memorie of the Lords Passion, we giue him thanks for our saluation purchased vpon the Crosse, and by faith applie the same vnto vs: *Ergo*, the Masse in it selfe conferreth not remission of sinnes.

Se further euidence out of their owne decrees: *part. 2. cauſa. qu. 1. c. 80. Scito, quoniam sanctum id, quod offertur in altari, &c.* Know, that it is holie, which is offered vpon the Altar: but thou art not so much sanctified by the hoast, as polluted by thy dead workes. If the sinne of the partie doth hinder the worke of the Sacrifice, then doth it not profite *ex operè operato*, by the very worke of the Sacrifice onely.

Doctor *Taylor* holy Martyr witnesseth the same: Christs body offered vpon the Crosse was the propitiatorie sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient vnto saluation, for all that beleeue in him: Our Sacrifice is onely memoratiue in the remembrance of Christs death and passion, a Sacrifice of thanksgiuing, and other Sacrifice hath the Church of God none. p. 1521.

The Papists.

2. THe sacrifice of the Masse is not onely propitiatorie for sinnes, but auaileable to obtaine all other benefites, as peace, tranquillitie, health, and such like, *Bellarm. cap.* 3. 34. Error.

Argum. 1. The Sacrifices of the law were auaileable for obtaining of temporall benefites, as *Dauid* by his sacrifice turned away the plague, 2. Sam. 24. and the Israelites did offer sacrifice for the life of *Darius* and his children, Ezra. 6. 10. *Ergo*, the Eucharist is much more auaileable, *Bellarm. c.* 3.

Answ. First, the argument followeth not, for the Sacrifices of the Law being temporall and carnall, might serue for temporall blessings; as the Apostle saith, Heb. 9. 13. *They did sanctifie, as touching the purifying of the flesh*: but the euerlasting Sacrifice of Christ is to procure eternall blessings. Secondly, the plague was ceased before *Dauid* sacrificed, for the Angell was bidde to stay his hand, vers. 16. so that *Dauids* sacrifice following, vers. 25. was rather a sacrifice Eucharisticall, than impetratorie: and the Israelites are not commanded to sacrifice, but to pray for the life of the King, vers. 10.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* willeth, that prayers and intercessions should be made for all men, espe-

cially for Kinges, that wee may leade a godly and a peaceable life, 1.Timoth.2.1. These are the prayers which are made in the celebration of the Masse, *Bellarm.*

Answ. First, the Apostle speaketh generally of all prayers, made by whomsoeuer, as it appeareth, vers.1. Therefore this place is vnfitly applied to the prayers of Priests in the Masse. Secondly, this place proueth, that temporall benefites are obtained by faithfull prayers, not by the sacrifice of the Masse, which Saint *Paul* neuer knew. Thirdly, *Augustine* indeed expoundeth this place of the publike prayers of the Church, vsed in the administration of the Sacrament: for he
Epist.59. calleth it, *Dominis mensam*, the Lords table, not the Altar: hee meaneth nothing lesse then your popish Masse.

The Protestants.

IT is contrary to the institution of Christ, to apply the Sacrament for any such temporall or eternall vse.

*Argum.*1. It was ordayned to be receiued in remembrance of Christs death, as our Sauiour saith, *Doe this in remembrance of mee*, to assure vs by faith, of remission of sinnes, and other spirituall blessings: not to giue vs assurance of health, peace, life, prosperitie; for the obtayning of such blessings, according to the will of God, other meanes are appointed. The ministerie of the Sacraments no more serueth for such vses, then the preaching of the word.

*Argum.*2. The Apostle maketh this difference betweene the legall Sacrifices, and the Sacrifice of Christ: *They sanctified as touching the purifying of the flesh: but the blood of Christ, which through the eternall spirit offred vp himselfe, &c. doth purge our conscience from dead workes, to serue the liuing God*: wherefore the end and vse of Christs Sacrifice, is, to obtaine eternall redemption for vs: temporall blessings we obtaine also through him: but all his members haue them not, nor alwayes: but eternall redemption by him, all beleeuers obtaine: wherefore this onely is the ende and vse of his Sacrifice.

And further the ancient name of this Sacrament, called the Eucharist, of giuing of thanks, sheweth the vse thereof rather to be in giuing of thankes for benefites receiued, then in praying for the same: and so it may be gathered, that sacrifices were vsed vnder the law, to testifie their thankefulnesse after some temporall deliuerance, as from famine, or captiuitie, for the obtayning whereof they vsed publike fasting and prayer, as Ioel.2.16. *Sanctifie a fast, call an assembly, &c. Let the Priests weepe betweene the porch and the altar, &c.* These were the meanes which they vsed in their distresse, Prayer and fasting: And againe, vers.14. *Who knoweth, if he will returne, and leaue a blessing, a meate offring, and a drinke offring, &c.* These Sacrifices were vsed after their deliuerance, as testifying their thankesgiuing.

Let vs see what antiquitie saith, *Liberius decret.*1. *Si euenerit fames, aut pestilentia, &c.* If there fall out a famine, or the pestilence, &c. Let them intreat Gods mercie, with fasting, almes, prayers, &c. He saith not, Let a masse be said.

*Trullan.can.*28. *Ad vinificationem, & peccatorum remissionem, &c.* For our quickening and the remission of sinnes, *solam oblationem, &c.* That they minister the oblation onely to the people: the oblation then in the Eucharist serueth onely for remission of sinnes.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, FOR WHOM the sacrifice of the Masse is auaileable.

The Papists.

15. Error. FIrst, they affirme that Masse may be said and offered for all the liuing, yea for Pagans and Infidels, for men absent as well as present: for S. *Paul* willeth prayers and supplications to bee made for all men, 1.*Tim.*2.1. *Bellarm.cap.*6.

Secondly, the sacrifice of the Masse is auaileable for the dead which are in Purgatorie, *Bellarm. cap.*7. *Concil. Trident. sess.*22. *can.*3.

Thirdly, Masse may be rightly said in the remembrance and for the honour of Saints, with inuocation of them also in the prayers of the Church, *Bellarm.cap.*8.

*Argum.*1. The Apostles taught the Church to keepe a memorie or inuocation of the Saints in this sacrifice, and that there should be speciall prayers for the dead: for these and such like were the things (no doubt) that Saint *Paul* saith he would set in order when he came, 1.Cor.11. 34. *Rhemist. ibid.*

*Answ.*1. To the place out of *Timothie* we haue answered before, that it is vnderstood generally of all prayers made by the faithfull: neither doth it follow, it is lawfull to pray for all men, and therefore the Sacrament is auaileable for all men: For these are two diuers things; Prayer is an effect of our faith, which we are commanded one to make for another: the Sacrament is an instrumentall or ministeriall cause of our faith; the benefite whereof is to them onely that worthily receiue it, because to them onely it is a Sacrament, by presenting the visible signes to their eyes.

1 It is too great boldnes for you, without Scripture, to affirme, that these superstitious rites of yours were those very orders which the Apostle promised at his comming to establish: but either they were such as pertained not to the administration of the Sacrament, or were but accidentall orders meete for the Church of Corinth, and not necessary for all times and places.

*Argum.*2. The sacrifice of the Crosse was offered for all; the sacrifice of the Masse is a representation of the sacrifice of the Crosse: *Ergo*, it may be offered for all. *Bellarm.c.6.*

Answ. First, the sacrifice of Christ was not offered for all men in generall, but onely for the children of God: Iohn 11.52. *Christ dyed to gather together in one the children of God, which were scattered.* and if Christ prayed not for the world, Iohn 17.9. much lesse would hee dye for the world.

Secondly, we deny any such sacrifice of the Masse to be offered at all in Christs Church: thirdly, it followeth not, that so many should be partakers of the Sacrament and representation of Christs death, as shall be partakers of his death: for he dyed for many yet vncalled and vnregenerate, but none but the faithfull are to be admitted to the Sacrament.

*Argum.*3. The sacrifices of the olde testament were offered for the dead, as *Iudas Macchabeus* is commended for so doing, 2 Macchab. 12.45. *Ergo*, the sacrifices of the new may likewise be vsed. If it be here answered, that this booke is not Canonicall; yet for the matter of storie, it is of as good credite as *Ioseph.* or *Salust*, and sheweth, that this hath been an ancient custome in the Church to sacrifice, and make prayer for the dead. *Bellarm.c.7.*

Answ. First, for a matter of fact, we refuse not this storie, and it may be, that such a thing *Iudas* did: but this booke erreth in commending it to be well done; as likewise, chap. 14.41. *Razis* is commended for killing himselfe. Secondly, the Iewes to this day haue no such custome to pray for the dead. Thirdly, here sacrifice is made for manifest idolaters, verse 40. whom this author notwithstanding commendeth for godly men, verse 45. and it is contrarie also to the practise of the popish Church to pray for the notorious wicked.

The Protestants.

First, the Sacrament (for sacrifice we acknowledge none) is onely ordayned for their comfort that doe receiue it: neither can one receiue the Sacrament for another, no more then he may be baptized in the stead of another.

Secondly, neither doth the celebration of the Sacrament profite the dead, as we haue shewed before, that it is in vaine to pray for them.

Thirdly, neither are the Saints, either then or at any other time to be prayed vnto, or either by this, or any other religious worship to be honored.

*Argum.*1. All these superstitious obseruances are cleane contrarie and repugnant to the institution of Christ. First, he saith, *Take ye, eate ye, doe this:* wherefore to their comfort onely the Sacrament worketh, that doe receiue it, and are doers in that action: the benefite thereof then is not extended to the absent, but onely to the partakers. Secondly, the dead can feele no comfort by it, because they can neither eate nor drinke it, nor be dooers therein. Thirdly, Christ saith, *Doe this in remembrance of mee:* hee saith not, in remembrance of Angels, Apostles, Saints: but onely of mee. Therefore it is contrarie to the institution to vse any commemoration of Saints in the Sacrament.

Bellarmine answereth, that the Saints are not remembred in the Masse, as Christ is: for his death is there represented and remembred, so is not the death and passion of the Saintes: but they are remembred as our mediators and intercessors. *Bellarm.c.8.*

Contra. First, there are but two kinds of commemorations; one is with worship and adoration; the other is Eucharisticall, when wee giue thankes in the memoriall of the Martyrs and Saints, for such excellent instruments: this commemoration may be made of the Apostles and Saints: the other is peculiar to Christ in the Sacrament; and yet they do associate vnto him, the Virgine *Mary*, in that kinde of commemoration, thus saying in the Masse; *Worshipping the memorial of the Virgine.* Secondly, they doe in their Masse vse commemoration euen of the death and passion also of their Saints: as thus,

Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem prote impendit,
Fac nos Christe scandere, quò Thomas ascendit.

By the blood of *Thomas*, which for thee he did spend,
Graunt vs Christ with *Thomas* to ascend. This was *Thomas* of Canturburie.

Thirdly, the remembrance, which is to be made in the Sacrament, is expounded by S. *Paul*, to be a shewing of the Lords death, 1.Cor.11.25,26. but the death of none but Christ is to be shewed forth, and this *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth: *Ergo*, he onely is to be remembred.

*Argum.*2. He onely is to be inuocated, or we are onely to draw neere vnto him by prayer, by whom we haue an entrance vnto God, Hebr.10.19,20. but by the blood of Iesus we haue entrance onely, *Ergo.*

Bellarmine

Bellarmine answereth, that Christ and the Saints are not mediators alike, for Christ is a Mediator by himselfe, the Saints by him: and as wee praying one for another, do no iniurie to Christs mediation; so neither the Saints praying for vs, through Christ; nor we praying to them to pray for vs. Againe, in the Masse, we pray not directly vnto Saints, as thus; *O Peter pray for me*, but indirectly, we pray that God would heare their prayer for vs. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. If Christ be the Mediator both of the prayers of the Saints and ours, then is the mediation of Saints superfluous; for seeing we may haue accesse to the Sonne himselfe, it is in vaine to runne to the seruant. Secondly, we pray not as mediators one for another, but as humble suiters, not with authoritie, but of charitie; therefore the comparison betweene our prayers and the Saints prayers is not like. Thirdly, though the Saints pray in heauen for vs, as fellow members, in respect of their inward desire; yet it followeth not, that we should pray vnto them, no more than we pray to men liuing that pray for vs. Fourthly, your indirect inuocation of Saints in the Masse, when ye pray thus, *by whose merites and prayers, graunt we may be defended*, is both blasphemous in leauing out the Mediation of Christ; and presumptuous, in making your selues mediators of the prayers of the Saints: for they pray, that the prayer of the Saints may be heard. Fifthly, yet is not our argument answered, that we must draw neere onely to him, by whom we haue an entrance, which are the Apostles direct words: and I thinke they will not say, that we haue entrance by the blood of Saints.

Augustine saith, *Quis offeret sacrificium corporis Christi, nisi pro his qui sunt membra Christi?* Who will offer the sacrifice of the bodie of Christ, but for the members of Christ? *Lib. 1. de origin. cap. 9.* Therefore the Sacrament cannot be celebrated for Pagans and Infidels, who are no members of Christ.

Againe, hee saith: *Nos Martyribus non constituimus templa, sacerdotia, sacra aut sacrificia.* We doe not erect either temples, Priests, seruice or sacrifices to Martyrs, *De ciuitate Dei. lib. 8. cap. 27. Ergo*, it is not lawfull to vse the Sacrament for the honor of Saints.

Concil. Carthaginens. 3. can. 6. Placuit vt corporibus defunctorum Eucharistia non detur, dicente enim à Domino, Accipite, edite, cadauera autem nec accipere possunt, nec edere: Wee thinke good that the Eucharist be not giuen to the bodies of the dead, for the Lord said, *Take, eate:* Now dead bodies cannot take and eate, &c. The Sacrament then is appliable to none, but to those that take and eate; but neither the dead nor any that are absent, can take and eate: *Ergo.*

For. p. 1471. In defense of this trueth, that the Masse is not a propitiatorie sacrifice for the quicke, and dead, many holy and excellent Martyrs willingly rendered their liues: As *Rowland Taylor, Iohn Philpot, Iohn Bradford*, Bishop *Hooper*, with others.

Their owne decrees thus testifie, *decr. par. 3. dist. 1. c. 40. Clemens. Mortui non obuoluantur linteamentis altaris:* That the dead should not be wrapped in the altar-cloathes. But the sacrifice of the altar is more then the altarcloath, if this must not be communicated to the dead, much lesse the other. Againe, *decr. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 41. c. 6. Innocent. 3. Iniuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre:* He doth wrong to a Martyr, that prayeth for a Martyr: But so doe the Papists in praying, that God would heare the prayers of Martyrs, *Ergo* they offer them wrong.

THE FIFT QVESTION, OF PRIuate Masses.

The Papists.

36. Error. IF any many shall say, that priuate Masses, wherein the Priest alone by himselfe doth communicate, are vnlawfull, and therefore to bee abolished; wee pronounce him accursed, *Concil. Trident. sess. 22. can. 8.*

Argum. 1. The reason of the Councell is this, because that many doe communicate spiritually in the sacrifice of the Masse, that are not present, and so the fruite thereof being publike, the Masse it selfe is in this behalfe not priuate, but publike: *Concil. Trident. sess. 22. cap. 6.*

Answ. First, a spirituall communion of the faithfull, we graunt euen without a Sacrament, which is not the effect of the Sacrament, but by fayth, Ephes. 4. 4. *There is one bodie, one Spirit:* And in the celebration of the Sacrament, there is also an exercise of this spirituall communion, the faithfull doe communicate with vs in our prayers, and in the profession of the same faith: but they doe not communicate with vs in the Sacrament, or the fruite thereof. Secondly, to the sacramentall communion is required a presence of many: as the Apostle saith, 1. Cor. 10. 17. *We that are many, are one bread and one bodie, because we are partakers of one bread:* so then the spirituall communion is one thing, the sacramentall another: and wee cannot bee one bodie sacramentally, vnlesse wee communicate together in the Sacrament. Thirdly, as priuate prayer, though it may haue a publike fruite, yet it is priuate still; so the Sacrament priuatly administred, though it might haue some publike effect, is yet priuat still.

Argum.

*Argum.*2. Prayer is profitable to him, that is prayed for, though he be not present; the sacrifice of the Masse is a kinde of solemne prayer: *Ergo*, though it bee priuat, it may bee profitable. *Bellarmin lib.*2, *de missa.*9.

Answ. First, we see that they are forsaken of the Scripture, for the proofe of their priuat Masses, and therefore are driuen to deuise reasons of their owne. Secondly, there is not the same reason of a Sacrament (for sacrifice therein, we acknowledge none) and of prayer: for a Sacrament prohibited vnto men by the commaundement of Christ, a prayer is exhibited vnto God from men, and therefore prayer may be priuat, because, God, to whom we pray, heareth priuatly: And againe, we haue warrant in Scripture for priuat prayer, Matth.6.6. so haue we none for a priuat Masse. Secondly, *Bellarmine* confesseth that a Masse cannot be so priuat, *Vt vni soli applicaretur*: To be applied to one man alone, c.9. yet priuat prayer may be made for one man alone: therefore the comparison is not like betweene them. Thirdly, the prayers which are made in the Eucharist for the whole congregation of Christs Church, may be profitable to those that are absent; but it followeth not therefore, that the sacramentall action of eating and receiuing should be available for them which are absent.

*Argum.*3. The sacrifices of the law were sacrifices, before the people did eate thereof: so the substance and making of a medicine is one thing, the ingredience, or taking of it, another: *Ergo*, neither is receiuing part of the substance or making of the sacrifice of Christs bodie, but a consequent onely: therefore there may be a sacrifice and Sacrament without it, *Rhemist.*1.*Cor.*11. *fol.*14.

First, the argument followeth not from the sacrifices and ceremonies of the lawe, to the Sacraments of the Gospell: for they are much vnlike: it was not lawfull but for the Priests onely, and the males amongst them to eate of the sacrifices, Leuiticus 2. 3. 6. 29. they may as well conclude hereupon, that none but Priests should eate of the Sacraments of the new testament.

Secondly, the proposition is also false, for the Paschall Lambe, which of all the sacrifices doth most properly resemble the Eucharist, was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, vnlesse it were eaten.

Thirdly, we deny that there is any sacrifice in the Eucharist, but a sacrament onely: and therefore the comparison holdeth not betweene a sacrifice, which consisted both of oblation to God, and the participation of the people that offered, and the Sacrament which Christ in his institution offered not to God, but to his Disciples.

Lastly, neither doth the similitude of a medicine conclude: for you cannot proue that the Sacrament not receiued hath vertue in it, as a medicine hath: for faith is requisite to the worthie receiuing of the Sacrament, which is not necessarie in the applying of a medicine; and yet it is not properly called a medicine, vnlesse being made, it be also applied, and receiued: And say it is a medicine vnreceiued, yet it profiteth not, vnlesse it be vsed; so you haue gayned nothing hereby, but that the Eucharist is also an vnprofitable medicine, where it is not receiued.

The Protestants.

WE vtterly condemne the superstitious practises of popish priests, who doe vse to communicate alone in their Masses, the people standing by, gazing and looking vpon him: yea you might haue seene many Masses said in one Church at once, almost in euery corner one, no person being present for the most part, but the Priest and his boy.

*Argum.*1. This priuate receiuing of the Sacrament is contrarie to the institution of Christ, who saith, speaking to many, *Take ye, eate ye, and deuide this amongst you*: there must be then a diuision and distribution. S. *Paul* also saith, *We that are many are one bread and one bodie, in as much as we are partakers of one bread*, 1.Corinth.10.17. *Ergo*, many must communicate together. For the Apostle speaketh not of the mysticall communion of the faithfull in this place, which doe all make but one bodie in Christ, (for so we doe communicate with the Church by faith, not onely in the Sacrament, but without it) but of the Sacramentall Communion of as many as receiue together: for how else can they be said to be partakers of one bread, or loafe, vnlesse they receiue together?

Bellarmine answereth, first, all that which Christ commaunded in the institution to be done, is not of the essence of the Sacrament, nor alwaies to be obserued; but in respect of person, time, and place: for if there be none worthie to minister the Sacrament to, yet it must be celebrate notwithstanding. *c.*10. *respons. ad argum.*1.

Contra. First, and doe you speake, as you thinke, that all, which Christ commaunded concerning the Sacrament, is not of necessitie to be obserued: and yet all which your Church commaundeth, must be kept: we may then iustlie say vnto you, as Christ said to the Pharisees, *You reiect the commaundement of God, to obserue your owne tradition*, Mark.7.9. Secondly, all Christs precepts

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in the institution of the Sacrament are of the same authoritie: for of them all he saith (*this doyne*) *&c.* then they may as well leaue all vndone, or any one of them, as another; and so they needs no more vse consecration of the Sacrament, than distribution, which in their owne learning is very absurd. Thirdly, the Apostle saith, concerning the actions of breaking, taking, eating, &c. that, *which I receiued of the Lord, haue I deliuered to you*, 1. Cor. 10. 23. He maketh euery one of these of vse belonging to the tradition and institution of Christ.

Secondly, saith he, the Apostle concludeth affirmatiuely, that he which eateth the Eucharist is ioyned to Christ: but not negatiuely, he, which receiueth not the Eucharist, is not ioyned vnto Christ: for this may be done in heart and desire, *Bellarm. resp. ad 3. obiect.*

Contra. The Apostle speaketh not of a spirituall onely, but of a sacramentall communion with Christ in this place: and therefore he saith, *The bread which we breake is the communion of the bodie of Christ, &c.* If the sacramentall communion of Christs bodie be in the breaking and distribution of bread, then where the bread is not broken and distributed, there is not that sacramentall communion. So he saith, *We that are many are one bread, because we are partakers of one bread.* They then which partake not, are not sacramentally one bread, though spiritually wee denie not, but they are.

Argum. 2. Act. 2. 42. *They continued in the Apostles doctrine and fellowship, and breaking of bread.* It was then the vse in the Primitiue Church to vse distribution in the Sacrament.

Bellarm. It is true, yet it followeth not, that the Sacrament cannot bee celebrated without distribution.

Contra. It cannot bee shewed that in the Primitiue Church, there was any celebration of the Eucharist without distribution: *Ergo*, the argument followeth. The Apostles neuer celebrated the Eucharist priuately, therefore it is vnlawfull so to doe.

Argum. 3. The Apostle maketh a manifest difference betweene the Lords Supper, and other feasts: for these might be priuate in their owne houses, 1. Cor. 11. 22. *Haue ye not houses to eate and drinke in?* but the other ought to bee publike, ver. 33. *they must one tarrie for another: Ergo*, the Lords Supper must not be priuate.

Bellarmine answereth, the Apostle speaketh not of the Sacrament, but of other feasts, then vsed in the Church, which he calleth the Lords Supper: for hee saith, *one is hungrie, another is drunken*: but in the Eucharist, they did all eate alike, &c. These then are the feasts which the Apostle would haue common.

Contra. First, it is true, that such feasts were then kept, which were called feasts of loue: but in the end of those feasts they vsed to receiue the Sacrament: and therefore the Apostle reproues them, because, when they came together to eate the Eucharist, they did eate their owne Supper afore, vers. 22. Secondly, it is euident, that the Apostle by the Lords Supper meaneth the Eucharist, because immediatly he inferreth the institution of Christ, which had been impertinent, if hee spake not of the Sacrament. And where he saith, that *ye come not together vnto condemnation*, it is euident, that he speaketh of comming together to the Lords table, wherein only, and not at the common table, they eate and drinke their damnation, that doe it vnworthilie.

Argum. 4. The word of God is not to be preached but to a congregation, nor Baptisme to bee administred, where there is none to bee baptized: *Ergo*, neither is the Eucharist without communicants to be administred.

Bellarmine answereth, the reason is not alike: for the word and Sacraments are from God directed to men: but the sacrifice of the Masse is directed vnto God, *Bellarm. c.* 9.

Contra. First, we denie any sacrifice in the Eucharist, but a Sacrament onely: and therefore as the one Sacrament of Baptisme requireth some to bee baptized, so the other of the Eucharist requireth communicants. Secondly, the Eucharist is not directed vnto God but vnto men, not in the words of consecration, whereby they say it is made a sacrifice: for these words, *this is my bodie*, whereby they say it is consecrated to bee a sacrifice, are directed vnto men, if they vse these words, as Christ did: for these words follow in the Gospell, *This is my bodie, which is giuen for you*, which words are by them left out in the Masse, that their craft should not appeare, in peruerting the vse of Christs words, which were spoken onely to his Apostles, and not directed vnto God.

Epistol. 59. *Augustine* saith, that, *Sacramentum benedicitur, sanctificatur, & ad distribuendum conficitur*: That the Sacrament is blessed, sanctified, and broken to be distributed: *Ergo*, where there is distribution, there must be many to receiue.

Can. Apostolor. 10. *Fideles qui ingrediuntur ecclesiam, & sanctam Communionem non percipiunt, communione priuentur*: The faithfull, which come into the Church, and receiue not the Communion, shall be excommunicate.

Clement. epistol. 2. *Tanta in altari holocausta offerantur, quanta populo sufficere debeant*: Let so much be offered, as may suffice all the people. Prouision must be made for all the companie to communicate: *Ergo*, priuate Masses were not yet heard of in the Church.

Say

See further testimonie out of their owne decrees: *Par. 3. distinct. 2. c. 18. Anacletus. Petulla consecratione omnes communicent, &c.* After consecration, all must communicate, they which will not, let them bee thrust out of the Church: for thus the Apostles haue ordained, and the Romane Church so holdeth. *C. 17. Soter. In cœna Domini à quibusdam, &c.* Some men neglect to receiue the Eucharist in the Lords Supper, which ought to be receiued *ab omnibus fidelibus*, of all the faithfull: Ergo, priuate Sacraments are against their owne Canons.

Master *Philpot* holy Martyr: Christ said, and the Minister saith in Christs behalfe to all that are present, *Take ye, eate ye*: wherefore as many as be present, and doe not communicate, breake Gods commandement in not receiuing the same: and the Minister is no iust Minister, that doth not deliuer the Sacrament as Christ did to all, that are present: and where Gods word is transgressed, there is not Christ present, and consequently no Sacrament. Fox. pag. 1816.

AN APPENDIX, CONCERNING the name of Sacrament.

The Papists.

They vtterly mislike these names of the Sacrament, that it is called amongst vs the Lords Supper or Communion: belike (say they) they will bring it againe to the Supper, or euening seruice, *Homil. 1. Cor. 11. sect. 6.* And the name Communion, is as ignorantly vsed of them, thereby making the people beleeue, that many should communicate together, *1. Cor. 11. sect. 24.* they should rather vse the names of the Eucharist, Masse, or Leiturgie. 37. Error.

The Protestants.

First, for the name of the Lords Supper, we doe learne of S. *Paul* so to call it: When ye come together, (saith he) this is not to eate the Lords Supper, 1. Cor. 11. 20.

Homil. The Apostle calleth their feasts of loue, which they were wont to make after the receiuing of the Sacrament, the Lords Supper, *cœnas dominicas*, because they were made in the Lords houses, which were called *Dominicæ*: he meaneth not the Sacrament.

Ans. First, there were then no such distinct places, as Churches, and Oratories for the seruice of God, which began to bee built many yeeres after, but they assembled together in their owne houses. Secondly, the Apostle cannot meane any other Supper, but that which was instituted by Christ, and which he describeth afterward as it followeth, vers. 23. Further, the Apostle speaketh but of two Suppers; the one, which he calleth their owne Supper, vers. 21. the other, is the Lords Supper, which is so called, because it was instituted by the Lord Iesus, as the Apostle sheweth afterward.

Tho. Iustifieth also Master *Latimer* holy Martyr: There was *cœna Iudaica*, the Iewish Supper, when Christ with his Apostles did eate the Paschall Lambe; the other was called *cœna Dominica*, the Lords Supper, Fox pag. 1456.

And though Doctor *Weston* cauilled in that place against this name, (the Lords Supper) yet hath the Communion been so called in former times.

Concil. Cabilonens. can. 47. In cœna Domini perceptio Eucharistiæ à quibusdam negligitur: In the Supper of the Lord, some neglect to receiue the Eucharist. *Augustine* calleth it the Lords Supper, *Cœnam in qua suis consecratam discipulis suis dedit*: His Supper being consecrated, he gaue it with his owne hands to his Disciples. And although we sate not downe at the feast: *Ipsam cœnam tamen fide quotidie manducamus*: Yet we eate that Supper daily by faith. In Luk. ser. 33.

Yea, their owne decrees allow this name: *Decret. par. 3. distinct. 2. c. 17. Soter: In cœna Domini à quibusdam perceptio Eucharistiæ negligitur, &c.* In the Supper of the Lord the receiuing of the Eucharist of some is neglected.

2. The name Communion, the Apostle also himselfe vseth: he calleth it κοινωνίαν, The Communion of the bodie of Christ, 1. Cor. 10. 16. so doth *Augustine* name it, *Communionem corporis Christi. de ciuit. Dei 20. cap. 9.* So also is it called in the Councels: *Nicen. 1. cap. 14. Elberin. decret. 1. Toletan. 12. 5.* and in diuers other.

3. As for the names of the Eucharist, and Leiturgie, we mislike them not, being vnderstood in their owne sense; but because they are Greeke and not vnderstood of the people, we vse them not. The horrible sacriledge of the Masse, is the cause also why we vse not that terme.

THE SIXT QVESTION, OF THE MANner of saying and celebrating Masse.

The Papists.

It is not necessarie that the Masse (or as we call it, the Sacrament) should bee said or done in the vulgar and familiar speech, but for the greater reuerence, to be kept in the Latine tongue, they 38. Error.

ſay, it is more conuenient: and that the words of conſecration ſhould not bee vttered in a loud and audible, but in a ſoft and low voyce, *Bellarm. cap.* 11. 12.

Argum. 1. If Maſſe ſhould be ſaid in the vulgar tongue, two great inconueniences would enſue: one, that the wordes of conſecration muſt bee often chaunged, becauſe the vulgar ſpeech doth often alter: the other is, that hereby the communion of Churches ſhould be taken away: for an Italian could not ſay Maſſe in France, nor a French man in Italie, *Bellar cap.* 11 *argum.* 5.

Anſw. For the firſt, the vulgar tongue is not ſo ſoone, nor ſo eaſily altered: the vulgar Engliſh tongue doth not differ, ſauing in certaine new wordes, from the vulgar language vſed three hundred yeeres agoe: but if it ſhould in proceſſe of time be wholly altered, what would it hurt, if the forme of the Leiturgie were chaunged with all? as likewiſe the vulgar tranſlation of Scriptures may ſafely be amended, as the vulgar ſpeech is perfited. To the ſecond we anſwere: firſt, the ſame obiection may be made againſt Latine Maſſe, for neither can an Italian ſay Maſſe in Greece, nor a Grecian in Italie. Secondly, the Latine tongue rather taketh away the communion and fellowſhip of the Church, when the ſame congregation vnderſtandeth not a Latine Maſſe, where it is ordinarily and daily ſaid, which is rather to be reſpected, than any ſuch extraordinarie or vnwonted occaſion of ſtrangers and trauellers. Thirdly, by the ſame reaſon ſermons alſo ſhould be made in Latine, becauſe otherwiſe ſtrangers cannot vnderſtand them. Fourthly, where in populous cities there bee diuers congregations, there ſhould bee prouided for them Miniſters of their owne: As *Innocent.* 3 decreed, *Qui ſecundum diuerſitates linguarum, &c.* Which according to the diuerſitie of the tongues, ſhould celebrate the diuine offices, *Decr. Greg. lib.* 1 *tit.* 31 *c.* 14. Their owne decree is euidently againſt them.

Argum. 2. Chriſt for the ſpace of three houres, being ſo long vpon the croſſe, vttered nothing in the hearing of the ſtanders by, but ſeuen ſhort ſentences: *Ergo*, in the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, it is not neceſſarie to vtter all in the hearing of the people, *Ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, they haue not proued by this example, that the Prieſt ſhould mutter and mumble to himſelfe, but the contrarie rather: that either he muſt altogether hold his peace, or elſe ſpeake aloude; vnleſſe they can ſhew that Chriſt ſpake ſome words ſecretly to himſelfe. Secondly, wee muſt not fetch the right vſe of the Sacrament of our owne heads, from the example of Chriſts ſacrifice vpon the croſſe: but wee are commaunded to reſort for direction to the inſtitution in his laſt Supper, 1. Cor. 11. 23. wherein Chriſt is not read to haue ſpoken any thing, but in the hearing of his Apoſtles: neither did Chriſt pronounce any of the words of conſecration vpon the croſſe, but in the inſtitution of his laſt Supper.

Argum. 3. The Prieſt in the law did enter alone into the holy place, all the people ſtanding without, as we reade of *Zacharie*, Luk. 1. 10. *Ergo*, the ſacrifice of the Maſſe muſt be offered vp in ſilence and ſecret, *Bellarm cap.* 12 *argum.* 3.

Anſw. Firſt, the Prieſt herein was a type of Chriſts entring into the holie place of heauen, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, Hebr. 9. 24. therefore it concludeth not for the Maſſe. Secondly, a ſacrifice might be offred without the preſence of the people, but vnder the Goſpell wee denie any ſuch ſacrifice. Thirdly, the Prieſt while he burned incenſe, was neither heard, nor ſeene of the people: you may as well inferre, that your Prieſts neither muſt bee ſeene of the people ſaying of Maſſe, and ſo ſhould yee loſe the glorie of your ſuperſtitious eleuation. Fourthly, the reaſon why the people ſtaied without in the time of the ſacrifice, was in reſpect of the diuiſion of the Temple, which conſiſted of three parts; the moſt holy place, whereinto only the high Prieſt entred; the holy place, appointed for the inferiour ſacrificing Prieſts; and the court without, which was for the people: but the Temple now is diſſolued, and the vaile thereof, which made this diuiſion, was rent by the death of Chriſt: ſo that it muſt not be a patterne of Chriſtian oratories or houſes of prayer.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, for the Sacrament, or any other part of the ſeruice of God to be miniſtred in an vnknowne tongue, is contrarie to S. *Pauls* rule, who would haue all things to bee done in the Church to edifying, and in ſuch ſort that the vnlearned might ſay, Amen, 1. Cor. 14. 16. But the people cannot be edified by a language which they vnderſtand not: nor yet can ſay Amen vnto ſtrange prayers. But of this matter we haue alreadie elſewhere entreated more at large.

Secondly, it is alſo contrarie to Saint *Pauls* rule, that the Prieſt ſhould mutter to himſelfe, and not ſpeake aloud in the hearing of the people: for he ſaith, Ye doe ſhew forth, καταγγελλετε τον θανατον, preach or declare the death of Chriſt, ſo often as ye receiue it, 1. Cor. 11. 26. But they doe not *annuntiare*, that is, preach, ſet forth, and declare the death of Chriſt, that ſpeake onely to themſelues.

Bellarmine anſwereth; This ſhewing forth of Chriſts death is not done ſo much by the words, as in act and in deed: for how elſe could all the people ſhew forth the death of Chriſt, but by eating and drinking in the Sacrament?

Contra. Firſt, we grant, that by the very action of eating and drinking in the Sacrament Chriſts death

death is shewed forth, but not thereby onely: for the institution of Christ must be declared, as the Apostle doth, 1. Cor. 11. 23. *I haue receiued of the Lord, that which I haue deliuered vnto you:* otherwise, if there should bee a dumbe action onely, without the word of institution rehearsed in the audience of the people, they should not know, what by their action is represented and shewed forth. Secondly, if by the action of eating and drinking onely the Lords death is shewed forth, then in your priuate Masses, where the people neither eate nor drinke, there is no shewing forth at all of the Lords death.

Argum. 3. A Sacrament consisteth of two parts; of the outward element, as the matter; and of the word of institution, as the forme: the element, as water in Baptisme, bread and wine in the Eucharist must not be concealed: *Ergo*, neither the word of institution.

Bellarmine answereth, that it is sufficient, if the words bee vsed, though not pronounced in their hearing, that receiue the Sacraments: for infants heare not the words spoken in Baptisme.

Contra. First, the reason is not alike betweene infants baptized, and other communicants; they heare not, neither vnderstand, therefore they profit not by the words: but they which communicate in the other Sacrament can both heare and vnderstand. Secondly, though infants heare not, yet they which are present at their Baptisme doe heare and are edified: otherwise ye might as well reason thus, Infants see not the element, which is vsed: *Ergo*, the water also may bee concealed. Thirdly, yet the argument is not answered, drawne from the proportion, betweene the element of the Sacraments, and the word.

Argum. 4. There is the same reason of vsing words not vnderstood in the Church of God, and of words, that are not heard: for by neither is the people edified: but the first are not to bee vsed; as the Apostle saith, *I had rather in the Church speake fiue words with mine vnderstanding, that I might instruct others, than tenne thousand words in a strange tongue*, 1. Cor. 14. 19. *Ergo*, neither are the other: and therefore their fiue words of consecration must be so spoken, as that others may be instructed thereby.

Bellarmine answereth: first, the Apostle speaketh of preaching, not of prayer. Secondly, sacrificing is not a speaking, but a doing: and if it be a speaking it is to God, not to the Church.

Contra. First, it is euident that the Apostle speaketh of prayer, vers. 14. *If I pray in a strange tongue my spirit prayeth, but my vnderstanding is without fruite*, that is to others. Secondly, if their sacrifice be a doing onely, what neede they vse any words at all? Thirdly, prayer is a spirituall sacrifice offered onely to God, yet the Apostle would not haue it without vnderstanding and instruction.

Augustine saith, *Populus cum episcopo orat, & quasi ad eius verba subscribens respondet, Amen:* The people prayeth with their pastor, and subscribing to his words, say, Amen. But how can the people say, Amen, where nothing is heard, or subscribe in their hearts vnto it? Contra Parmenian. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Concil. Oxoniense sub Stephano: Verba canonis præsertim in consecratione corporis Christi plenè & integrè proferantur: The words of the canon, especially at the consecration of the body of Christ, must be pronounced fully and wholly.

Concil. Basilien. sess. 21. *Abusum aliquarum ecclesiarum, in quibus Missa priuatè sine ministro, aut per longas orationes ita submissa voce dicitur, quod à circumstantibus audiri non potest, abolemus, &c.* The abuse of certaine Churches, where Masse is said priuatly without a Minister, or with a low voyce, the prayers are mumbled, that the standers by cannot heare, wee doe abolish. This is contrarie to *Bellarmines* opinion, who would not haue the words of consecration vttered in a loud voyce.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, OF THE CEREMONIES which they vse in the idolatrous sacrifice of the Masse.

The Papist.

SOme ceremonies goe before the celebration of the Masse, and they are of such things, as they haue taken in a readines for that impious seruice: such are the vestiments and apparell of the Priest, the Albe, Chesill, Stole, Dalmatike, with such other: Altars, Altarclothes, Corporasses, Pixes, Pixes, Dishes, Candlesticks, Platters, Censers, Water-pots: all these and the like trumperie ought of right to be vsed in the sacrifice of the Masse, the better to discerne the bodie of Christ, *Bellarm. 1. Cor. 11. sect.* 18. 39. Error.

Bellarmine warranteth their massing garments by the example of the priestly attire prescribed in the law: and as Magistrates in their office vse a speciall kinde of attire for reuerence sake, so also it is fit that priests should be knowne by some speciall habite in the publike seruice of the Church, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de Miss. c.* 14.

Answ. First, the Apostle saith, *If the Priesthood be chaunged, there must be also a chaunge of the law*, Heb. 7. 12, wherefore the priestly garments belonging to the law of the Priesthood, are chaunged together with it, and are no warrant for the habite of the Ministers of the Gospell. Secondly, be it

graunted that Miniſters may bee diſcerned in their office, by ſome decent habite (though by their life and doctrine they chiefly are to manifeſt themſelues) yet ſuch partly ridiculous, partly ſuperſtitious apparell, as you hang vpon your Maſſe-prieſts backe is not fit: for as the Magiſtrate will not adorne himſelfe with ſtraunge and vnwonted apparell, but ſuch, as may adde comelines and grace to his perſon; ſo neither are ſuch popiſh ragges ſeemely for a Miniſter of the Goſpel, which onely attend vpon their Idolatrous ſacrifice. Thirdly, ſacrificing garments are not meete to bee vſed where there is no externall ſacrifice: but vnder the Goſpell there is no externall ſacrifice: *Ergo*, the ſacrificing garments of *Aaron* are not now to be put in vſe.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, for diuers cauſes wee doe condemne and reiect theſe ſuperſtitious vſages of the Papiſts: firſt, becauſe of the ſuperfluous and vnneceſſarie number of them, fewer by a great deale may ſerue for the Communion to be kept, after Chriſts inſtitution: neither doe wee reade, that Chriſt at his laſt Supper vſed any ſuch, who notwithſtanding would not haue left out any thing requiſite and needfull for the Sacrament.

Secondly, the ſuperfluous and exceſſiue coſt, in making ſo many Church veſſels of gold and ſiluer, ſo many Maſſe garments of ſilke, fine linnen, embroidered with gold, pearle, and pretious ſtones, was both an intolerable burthen to the Church, at whoſe charge ſuch things were prouided, and a great deale more coſtly, than became the ſimplicitie of the Goſpell.

Thirdly, conuenient veſſels and inſtruments, which are neceſſarie for the adminiſtration of the Sacrament, with other ſeemely ornaments: as a decent couering for the Communion table, a cleane and handſome veſſell to keepe the wine, a cup of ſiluer for the diſtribution, cleane linnen napkins for the bread; ſuch inſtruments and ornaments of the Lords table we condemne not, but vſe them our ſelues: yet none of them for ſuch ends or purpoſes, as they pretend, to diſcerne the bodie of the Lord by them; as though they were ordained to waite and attend vpon the bodily preſence of Chriſt, which they haue falſely imagined: but wee doe vſe them for decencie and order ſake, and due reuerence, which is to bee yeelded to ſo great myſteries. As in their owne decrees, *decr. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 44. c. 2. Innocent. 3. Sunt alij, &c. qui veſtimenta tam immunda reſpuunt*: There be, that leaue the veſtments ſo vncleane, &c. that they are loathſome vnto ſome, &c. wherefore we will, that they bee kept white and cleane. Such comelines and cleanlines in the celebration of the Sacrament wee commend, and allow: but their ſuperfluous veſſels and garments the Goſpell hath no neede of.

Argum. The Tabernacle, with all things thereto belonging, *was a figure for the time preſent, vntil the time of reformation*, Hebr. 9. 9. The prieſtly garments did belong to the ſeruice of the Law: *Ergo*, they are no more to be vſed now vnder the time of reformation.

Againe, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *That the ſimilitude of heauenly things, and the heauenly things themſelues, are not purified with the ſame things*, Heb. 9. 23. ſo neither are they to bee adorned, and ſerued with the ſame things: the ſimilitude of heauenly things require ſuch ornaments; but the heauenly things themſelues muſt haue better ornaments.

In the Apoſtles time they had no conſecrated Altars, but Communion tables, 1. Cor. 10. 21. neither is it like that they vſed veſſels of gold or ſiluer in the Lords Supper, when they had neither ſiluer nor gold in their purſes, Matth. 10. 9. Wherefore ſuch things are not neceſſarie for the diſcerning of the Lords bodie.

Bernard ſaith well: *Quam multa hodie gemmis & auro fulgent Altaria? &c.* How many Altars now a daies ſhine with gold and pretious ſtones? how many walles are decked with coſtly garments? thinke you that the Angels will regard theſe things, and thinke ſcorne of baſe attyred men? if it were ſo, how chance they appeared to ſhepheards rather than vnto Kings? Altars therefore or Communion tables are better adorned with the frequencie of poore faithful people, than with cloth, and iewels of gold.

Euſebius decr. par. 3. diſtinct. 1. cap. 45. Non in ſerico panno, aut tinctо, ſed puro lineo. Ferrum ſiquidem non procreat, ſacrificium altaris conſecretur: Let the ſacrifice be conſecrate, not in ſilke, or coloured cloth, but in pure linnen made of naturall flaxe. But now ſilke will not ſerue the turne: their Altars, and Altarclothes are decked with gold, ſiluer, and pretious ſtones.

Bonifacius Martyr and Biſhop, being asked, whether it were lawfull to celebrate the Sacrament in wooden veſſels, made anſwere: *Quondam ſacerdotes aurei ligneis calicibus vtebantur, nunc è contrario lignei ſacerdotes aurei vtuntur calicibus*: In time paſt golden prieſts vſed wooden cuppes, now wooden prieſts vſe golden cups, *decr. par. 3. diſtinct. 1. c. 46.* Wherefore it is euident, that in the ſimpler ages of the Church, ſuch ſumptuous ornaments were not requiſite. Firſt they did miniſter in wooden cups; then *Zepherinus* brought in glaſſe cups: and after that time cuppes were in vſe; and laſt of all ſiluer and golden cuppes, *ibid. cap. 44. 45.* And thus by ſteps and degrees they grew to this ſuperfluitie.

The

The Papists.

1. THere are other ceremonies, which they obserue and vse in the very action it selfe and celebration of the Masse: as the diuers gestures of the Priest, to lift vp his eyes, and cast them downe againe, and to lift them vp the second, the third time: sometime to cast abroad his hands, to close them againe, to warble with his fingers, to bow, to bend, to duck, to turne on this side and on that, now on the right hand, againe on the left: to sigh, to smite vpon his breast, to lift vp the Chalice, and shew it to the people, and set it down againe: as also the diuiding of the hoast into three parts, which signifie three parts of the Church, in Heauen, in Earth, and in Purgatorie: the rinsing of part thereof in wine, and eating part drie, the washing of his fingers before consecration: kissing of the Altar, the paten, the booke, the paxe: sprinkling of holie water, censing of odors, crossing the Chalice, the bread, their mouth, breast and face, which signe of the crosse they make aboue twentie times in one Masse while: Adde also vnto these, their tedious and yrkesome songs, the rude noise and vnedifying sound of strange instruments, and the whole course of their Masse-musicke set forth in a strange language, and endited to the honour of Saints. All these superstitious rites, with diuers more, vaine, vnfruitfull, abominable, they notwithstanding with force and maine defend and maintaine, *Bellarm.lib.2.de Missa.cap.*14.15.*Concil.Tridentin.sess.*22.*can.*7.

Argum. The lifting vp of the hands *Bellarmine* warranteth by *Moses* example, Exod.17. the bowing of the knees, and the eleuating of the eyes by the example of Christ, who often lift vp his eyes, and prayed kneeling: the eleuation of the hoast, the burning of incense, and musicall instruments he deriueth from the sacrifices of the law: and so concludeth the lawfull and necessarie vse of them, *lib.2.de Miss.c.*15.

Ans. First, to lift vp the eies, the hands, to bow the knees, to knocke the breast, are reuerent gestures, and to be vsed in prayer, and we willingly reteine them in our seruices: but they abuse these seemely gestures three waies: first, in setting foorth thereby a false and idolatrous sacrifice; for though it bee a comely thing to kneele, yet it is impious to kneele to an Idoll. Secondly, they offend in their mutabilitie and inconstancie, shifting and chaunging their gestures, looking sometime vp, sometime downe, now this way, now that way: as the Wiseman saith, *The eyes of the foole are in the corners of the world,* Prou.17.24. but *Stephen* looked stedfastly into heauen, Act.7.55. so they kneele, they ducke, they bend, they bow: So did not *Moses,* that continued holding vp his hands till the euening, and *Salomon* was vpon his knees all the time he prayed, 1.King.8. Thirdly, they offend in vsing dumbe and mute gestures, without any prayer at all, or the same in an vnknowne tongue: so did not the Publicane, who not onely smote vpon his breast, but said, *Lord be mercifull to me a sinner.*

Secondly, if the flesh of beasts were now sacrificed, as vnder the law, then they might also shake them and heaue them before God, and perfume them with incense, as the Leuites did: therefore those sacrifices being abolished, the rites also and ceremonies accompanying them are extinguished.

Thirdly, a moderate and sober vse of Musicke in the Church wee condemne not, though the practise of the Iewish Church doth not warrant it: for their melodious sound of instruments was typicall, signifying the spirituall melodie and harmonie, which we should make in our hearts, Ephes.5.19. And though Musicke may be well vsed, yet is it by them three waies abused: first, in adorning a false and idolatrous seruice. Secondly, in playing and singing vnedifying songs. Thirdly, in displacing thereby the preaching of Gods word, and fruitfull prayer.

The Protestants.

1. THis multitude of humane inuentions, agreeth not with the institution of the Lords Supper: for wee reade not of any such kissing, kneeling, becking, bowing, or the like ridiculous gestures to haue been vsed, when our Sauiour instituted the Supper, nor afterwards by the Apostles to haue been practised: wherefore we contenting our selues with the plaine institution of Christ, doe worthilie reiect all such toyes.

2. Most of these gestures are impious, and tend to Idolatrie in the adoration of bread and wine, which are but creatures: and they are all friuolous and hypocriticall, stealing away true deuotion from the heart, and making men to rest in the outward gestures of the bodie. *Augustine* saith very well: *Corpus genibus flectis prosternis, collum curuas in oratione, video vbi iaceat corpus, quaero vbi volitet animus?* Thou bowest the knee, bendest thy bodie in prayer, stretchest out thy necke, I see where thy bodie lieth; but what is become of thy soule?

3 Concerning Church songs and Musicke, *Augustine* thus writeth: *Sobriè psallimus in Ecclesia diuina cantica Prophetarum:* We sing treatably and soberly in the Church the diuine songs of the Prophets. Two conditions he requireth: first, that we sing holy Psalmes taken out of the Scriptures. Secondly, that they be sung treatably and distinctly. *Etiam illic* (saith he) *si sonum non sensum ipsius audiendi desideret, improbatur:* Euen in good songs, if we follow the sound, not the sense, it

Epistol. 119. cap.19.
Contra.Iulian lib.4.14.

it

it is to be diſcommended: but in popiſh ſongs neither of theſe conditions is kept: for both the dittie, for the moſt part, is idolatrous, ſtuffed with inuocation and adoration of Saints, and the note is ſo diuided and drawne out in length, that it cannot be vnderſtoode.

Bernard thus writeth excellently of this matter: *Sæpe ad ſacrum myſterium vocem meam frango, vt dulcius cantarem: magis dolet labor in vocis modulatione, quàm in cordis compunctione: Medit. cap.* 11. Oftentimes in diuine ſeruice, I quauered with my voyce to ſing more pleaſantly, and ſo delighted more in tuning my voyce, then in turning my heart. This then is one great fault in ſinging, ſo to regarde the note, that we thinke not of that which is ſung: And therefore he ſaith, *Sic mulceat aures, vt moueat corda*: Let it ſo pleaſe the eares, that it may play vpon the heart: *Frangis vocem, frange & voluntatem: ſeruas conſonantiam vocis: ſerua & concordiam morum*: Thou reliſheſt with thy voyce, reliſh alſo with thy heart: thou keepeſt the conſort of the voyce; keepe alſo the harmonie of manners, *Meditat. cap.* 51. But popiſh Maſſe ſongs ſet forth with tedious notes, and vnknowne ſyllables, doe want this conſort and harmonie of the heart, being not vnderſtood for the moſt part of the ſingers themſelues, much leſſe of thoſe that heare them.

Concerning Organe play: Order hath been taken by Councels in theſe two poynts eſpecially.

1. *Nolumus quod organicis inſtrumentis reſonet in Eccleſia impudica aut laſciua melodia, ſed ſonus humanus dulcis qui nihil præter hymnos diuinos, & cantica ſpiritualia repræſentet*: We will not haue any light, wanton voluntarie melodie to be played vpon the Organes, but onely ſpirituall and diuine hymnes: *Concil. Senonenſ. decret.* 17.

2 For the moderating of Organe play, thus alſo it is decreed, *Colonienſ. part.* 2. *cap.* 12. *Illud non rectè fit in quibuſdam Eccleſijs, &c.* That is not well done in ſome Churches, when becauſe of the ſingers, and Organes, better things, as prayer, giuing of thankes, are ſhortened, are omitted or cleane cut off. Theſe rules in Church muſick are to be kept: which the popiſh ſort little obſerue in their Maſſe ſeruice.

Let vs heare their owne decrees: *part.* 1. *diſtinct.* 92. *c.* 2. *Gregor. In ſancta Romana Eccleſia hoc dum eſt conſuetudo valde reprehenſibilis exorta, &c.* There is of late a very euill cuſtome riſen vp in the holy Church of Rome, &c. That certaine ſingers are choſen for the Miniſterie of the altar, &c. and they attend the tuning of the voyce, which ſhould applie themſelues to preaching, and ſo it commeth to paſſe, *Dum blanda vox quæritur, quari congrua vita negligatur*: That while they ſeeke for a pleaſing voyce, they neglect a good life: and a ſinging Miniſter pleaſing the people with his voyce, offendeth God with his workes: Wherefore I ordaine, *Vt altaris Miniſtri cantores non habeant*: That the Miniſters of the altar ſhould not ſing. Likewiſe, *Iohann.* 22. *extrau. communi. lib. tit.* 1. *c.* 1. reproueth certaine notorious abuſes in Church muſicke: *In ſemibrenes & minimas eccleſiaſtica cantantur, diſcantibus lubricant, triplis &c. inculcant*: They ſing Church ſongs with ſemibriefes and minimes, and glide away with triple time and deſcant, &c. This curious kinde of ſinging here reprehended, is notwithſtanding ſtill vſed in the popiſh Maſſe-ſeruice.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF THE FORME OF THE Maſſe, which conſiſteth partly of the Canon, partly of ſuch things as are rehearſed before and after the Canon.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE PRAIERS WHICH goe before the Canon of the Maſſe.

WE doe not vtterly condemne whatſoeuer is ſaid or ſung in their Leiturgie or Maſſe: for as they haue their *introite*, ſo we doe bid the people, after due preparation, in our Communions to draw neere. We haue alſo our *Confiteor*, a confeſſion of ſinnes to bee ſaid before the Communion. Other formes alſo, which haue been vſed of auncient time, we doe not refuſe: as *Dominus vobiſcum*, The Lord be with you: *Kyrie eleyſon*, Lord haue mercie on vs: *Surſum corda*, Lift vp your hearts: with *Alleluia*, praiſed be God, and *Sanctus, Sanctus*, holy, holy; and *Gloria in excelſis*, Glorie be to God on high: the preface alſo to the Communion, *Verè dignum*, &c. It is meete, right, and our bounden duetie: And we vſe alſo the Lords prayer after the conſecration. Theſe formes we miſlike not, vſing the ſame our ſelues, which notwithſtanding we borrow not from them, but from the ancient and purer ages of the Church. But the corruptions, additions, immutations, which are vſed by them in theſe prefaces to the Maſſe, wee doe vtterly condemne, as their *introite* and *confiteor*, is ſtuft full of idolatrie, and inuocation of Saints: their *Kyrie eleyſon* is nine times repeated in an vnknowne tongue. Elenation and adoration was brought in by Pope *Honorius, anno.* 1222. the *Agnus* was deuiſed by Pope *Sergius, anno.* 700. the *Pax* by *Innocentius, plura apud Foxum.* pag. 1403.

THE

THE SECOND PART, OF THE Canon of the Masse.

The Papists.

1. First, the forme of their Masse they haue (they say) by tradition from the Apostles: *Rhemist. 1. Cor. 11. sect. 22. Bellarm. lib. 2. de miss. c. 19.* 40. Error.

Argum. That the Canon of the Masse is most auncient, and so like to take beginning from the Apostles time, *Bellarmine* sheweth by these three coniectures: first, because mention is made only of Martyrs in the Canon, not of the confessors of the Church, who began of later time to be honoured: Secondly, because some few words of the Canon haue been added since by diuers, as by *Leo* 1. *Gregorie* 1. with others, whereby it appeareth, that the Canon it selfe was before their time. Thirdly, because the author of the Canon is vnknowne, and therefore it is like it came by tradition from the Apostles. c. 20.

Answ. First, the adoration and inuocation of Martyrs, as also of confessors, is but a late superstitious deuise, not knowne in the auncient and purer times of the Church: as *Origene* saith, *Homil. 6. Iosue. Iosua non adorasset, nisi agnouisset Deum: Iosua* would not haue worshipped, if hee had not knowne the Angell to be God. *Ambros. in 9. ad Roman. Non potest genu flecti nisi Deo:* The knee cannot be bowed of euery creature but onely to God. And againe, *lib. 4. de interpellat. c. 11.* vpon these words in the 73. Psalme, *Whom haue I in heauen but thee? Nec superest in cœlestibus quod amplius quæram, &c.* There is nothing in heauen but Christ, which I desire: *Ergo*, hee needed not, neither desired the helpe and assistance of Saints. S. *Hierome* also saith, *aduers. Vigilant. Quis enim insanum caput Martyres vnquam adorauit?* Who euer (thou foolish head) worshipped or adored Martyrs? *Ergo*, by this reason it appeareth, that the Canon of the Masse, allowing inuocation of Martyrs is not so auncient as *Origene* or *Ambrose* and *Hieromes* time. Neither is it true, that Martyrs onely are mentioned in the Canon, for the Virgine *Marie* and *Iohn* the Apostle were no Martyrs, who are especially remembred: and whereas they conclude thus, after rehearsall made of some, *Et omnium sanctorum tuorum:* And of all thy Saints, vnder this generall name, not onely Martyrs, but all true confessors of Christ are contained.

Secondly, the patching together of the Masse by diuers at sundry times doth euidently shew, that the Canon of the Masse, as it now standeth, is not auncient. And whereas he inferreth that some part of the Canon was before *Leo* and *Gregorie*, we graunt it, for the Lords Prayer vsed in the Masse, and these words, *This is my bodie*, and the rehearsing of the institution are read in the Gospell: but this proueth not, that the other parts also are Apostolicall.

Thirdly, the author of the Canon is assigned to be one *Scholasticus* by *Gregorie*, as euen now followeth to be shewed, *Ergo Bellarmines* third coniecture is vaine.

The Protestants.

Their owne authors doe testifie, that euery patch of their Masse was thrust in by Popes, later then the Apostles: As *Sixtus* the second brought into the Masse, the (*Sanctus*) *Innocentius* the 1. the (*Pax*) *Leo* the first added this clause, *Sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*, the holy sacrifice, the vnbloodie host: *Gelasius* the prefaces, collectes, gradualls: *Symmachus* the (*Gloria in excelsis*) *Agapetus* the first, the processions. *Pelagius* the second, appoynted nine prefaces before the Canon: *Gregorie* the first, brought in the (*Antiphonies*, and the *Kyrie eleyson*) *Sergius* the first, *Agnus Dei:* The other parts also and members of the Masse are assigned to their seuerall authors, and inuentors: yea, *Gregorie* the first confesseth, that one *Scholasticus* made the most part of the Canon. *Ergo*, it was not deuised by the Apostles. *Bellarmine* answereth, that *Gregorie* setteth not down any one man, by this name *Scholasticus*, but meaneth generally some notable learned man: and in this sense S. *Peter*, saith he, which was the author of the Canon, may be called *Scholasticus, Iolanus cap. 19.*

Answ. This deuise of the Iesuite is rather to bee laughed at, then to bee confuted. Who euer heard before, that S. *Peter* and the other Apostles were *Scholastici*, Schoolemen? What is this else, but to set the spirite of God to schoole, in saying that the Apostles being men endued with the holy Ghost, were brought vp in Schooles? Againe, *Gregorie* findeth fault with the said *Scholasticus* in composing the Canon, hee would put in his owne prayers, and leaue out the Lordes prayer: but if this *Scholasticus* had been *Peter*, I thinke *Gregorie* would not haue been so bolde, as to haue rebuked him: Or else saith *Bellarmine*, this *Scholasticus* was not the author of the Canon, but of certaine extraordinarie prayers.

Contra. I will here oppose the iudgement of *Espensæus* a graue writer among the Papists, who calleth *Scholasticum, visitati Canonis auctorem: Scholasticus* the author of the vsuall Canon. *Comment. in 2. Timoth. p. 31. d.*

Argum. 2. There be many things contained in the Canon contrarie to the doctrine of the Apostles

postles, as inuocation of Saints, adoration of bread, prayer for the dead, with many other grosse errors, as afterward shall be shewed: *Ergo*, the Canon was not instituted by the Apostles.

Argum. 3. S. *Hierome* findeth fault with some in his time, that in their prayers and oblations vsed to say, *Qui sedes super Cherubim & Seraphim*: Thou that sittest vpon the Cherubim and Seraphim: *Illorum pius, sed coarguendus error*: Whose error, though it may haue a shew of pietie, is worthie of reproofe, because that no where mention is made in Scripture, that God sitteth vpon the Seraphim, but only vpon the Cherubim: *tom. 4. epist. ad Damas.* From hence I reason thus; If they vse the same forme in their Masse oblation, then is it an error, and so can not be fathered vpon the Apostles: if they doe not; then do they not vse that forme, which was in *Hieromes* time, and so it cannot be of any great antiquitie, let them choose which part they will.

The Papists.

41 Error. 2. THe Canon of the Masse (say they) is perfect and absolute, voyd of all error, and therefore not to be changed or abrogated. *Concil. Trident. sess. 22. can. 6. Bellar. cap. 21.*

The Protestants.

BVt wee on the contrary side, more truely and agreeable to Scripture, doubt not to say, that there can bee nothing more corrupt, abominable, fuller of all impietie, heresie, lying, then is their idolatrous sacrifice of the Masse: as it shall now more particularly appeare, by the collection of the seuerall errors.

A FVLL HALFE HVNDRED OF ERRORS AND Blasphemies that are to be found in the Canon of the Masse, as touching the matter.

1. THe Priest saith, *Wee pray thee accept these gifts, these holy and vnspotted sacrifices.* That he maketh Bread and Wine the sacrifices of the Gospell: for these words are spoken before Consecration. And whereas *Bellarmine* saith, it is called a sacrifice, because it is intended and set apart to be a sacrifice: *Contra*, Yet is it not already a Sacrifice, much lesse vnspotted, seeing it is neither vnspotted in respect of it selfe, being not yet made the body and blood of Christ, nor in respect of the offerer, who is a sinfull man.

2 The Priest speaking of the bread and wine, thus saith; *Which wee offer vnto thee for thy holy Catholike Church.* And againe afterward; *Which wee offer for the redemption of our soules.* What great Blasphemie is this, to offer bread and wine for the redemption of the Church, for the which Christ in great loue offered vp himselfe? and so to make his death of no force.

Bellarm. Bread and wine is not offered for the Church, but the sacrifice to be made of bread and wine. *Contra.* Then the Priest should say, *Which we shall offer*, not, *Which we do offer*: but that which he offereth, is nothing but bread and wine, whatsoeuer it is, which he offereth afterward.

3 The rubricke of the Masse willeth, that the Priest should pray for his owne Bishop only and for himselfe, and his speciall friends: But charitie would, that he should pray for all Bishops, Pastors and Ministers: and Christ biddeth vs, not onely to pray for our friends, but also for our enemies.

4 The Priest first prayeth for the Pope, then for his owne Bishop, lastly for the King: But Saint *Paul* would haue prayers first of all made for all men, but especially for Kings, 1. Timoth. 2. they should first of all be remembred: & S. *Peter* setteth down the King as the chiefe, 1. Pet. 2. *Agatho* B. of Rome writing to *Constantine* the Emperour, confesseth himselfe *Imperij famulum*, a seruant to the Emperour, *actio. 4. Synod. 6. Constantin.*

5 He saith, *and with thy seruant our Pope*: he is their Pope and Bishop onely, that are vnder his Dioceese and Seignorie: he hath no iurisdiction ouer other Churches: *Pelagius* 2. 1. *epistol. decret.* calleth it *profanum vocabulum*, a prophane name to be called vniuersall Bishop: and *Gregor.* 1. *ad Eulog.* Patriarke of Constantinople findeth fault with him, for giuing him the stile of vniuersall Pope, calling it, *superba appellationis verbum*, a proud name. And here also let it be noted, whether our English Papists can be true subiects, that in their Masse and other prayers preferre the Pope before their Prince, and acknowledge him to be their Pope and Bishop.

6 *Hoc sacrificium laudis*: This sacrifice of prayse: it is only then a spirituall sacrifice of thanksgiuing, not a materiall and externall sacrifice, as they beare men in hand. *Bellarmine* misereth, that the Sacrifice of Christs body, is called a Sacrifice of prayse, because thereby God is praysed, &c. *Contra.* First, God thereby is greatly dishonoured, when they adore a piece of bread, and Christs bodie also is disgraced, being made subiect to wormes and corruption, and to be eaten of mise and dogges: all which inconueniences ensue vpon the carnall presence. Secondly, the Apostle sheweth, what the Sacrifice of prayse is, namely, *the fruite of the lippes*, Heb. 13. 15. but Christs bodie is not the fruite of the lippes: though their Priests can make Christs body with fiue words speaking, yet I thinke they dare not say, that Christs body is the fruite of the Priests lippes.

lippes: if they should, the Apostle confuteth them, who expoundeth himselfe, that the fruit of the lippes is, *the confession of the Name of God: Ergo*, Christs body is not the Sacrifice of prayse.

7 The Priest saith, *Worshipping the memoriall of the Virgine:* But Christ instituted the Sacrament to be kept in remembrance of himselfe, and not for the worship of Saints.

8 *By whose merites and prayers, namely of the Saints, graunt we may be defended.* But S. *Iohn* saith, *If any man sinne, we haue an aduocate with the Father, Iesus Christ the righteous*, 1. Iohn 2. 2.

9 In the second prayer of the Canon, they pray, by vertue of the oblation *of bread* and wine *to be deliuered from eternall damnation:* for as yet the elements are not consecrated. *Bellar.* They conclude this prayer, through Christ our Lord, by whom, and not by the oblation, they desire it to bee graunted. *Contra.* They doe for fashion sake indeede conclude their prayers, *through Christ &c.* but they do also ascribe their Petition to the vertue of the oblation: *that God being well pleased with that oblation, &c. would deliuer them from eternall damnation, &c.*

10 *We beseech thee* (saith the Priest) *to receiue this oblation, which we beseech thee in all thinges to make blessed:* Here the Priest is made a Mediator betweene Christ and his Father; desiring God to sanctifie the body and blood of his Sonne. Thus beginneth the third prayer of the Canon. *Bellarmine* answereth, they pray not here for the Eucharist now consecrated, but to be consecrated, that it may be made the bodie and blood of Christ, *c.* 23. *Contra.* First, they pray for that oblation, whereby they prayed a little before to be deliuered from damnation: *Ergo*, for an oblation consecrated. Secondly, after the consecration they pray also in the same manner, *Which we beseech thee vouchsafe to accept.*

11 *Who the next day afore hee suffered:* But the Scripture saith, The same night. *For this is my body:* Here they haue put in *enim*, of their owne, and left out, *Quod pro vobis datur.* Such is their boldnesse, that they are not ashamed to change the words of our Sauiour Christ.

12 *Take yee, &c.* Why then doth the Priest take it alone? seeing Christ appointed it to be taken of many.

13 *Eate yee, &c.* Why then do they hang it vp in a Pixe? seeing Christ would haue it eaten.

14 *Drinke yee all of this*: why then doth the Priest drinke it alone? seeing by the institution all are to drinke of it.

15 He saith further in the fourth Prayer: *The holy bread of eternall life, which vouchsafe thou with pleasant countenance to behold:* The bread of eternall life is Christ himselfe, if this be he, how dare yee presume to offer him vp to his Father? *Bellarmine* answereth, that they pray not in respect of the Sacrifice offered, but in respect of the Minister, that offereth. *Contra.* They desire God not to behold the Priest, but the oblation.

16 *Abiron didst vouchsafe to accept the righteous gifts of Abel, and the sacrifice of Abraham.* Here the Sacrifice of Christ is compared to the sacrifice of beastes: and the Priest seemeth to attribute as much efficacie to the one, as to the other: he compareth the gifts and sacrifices together, not the sacrificers in respect of their deuotion, as *Bellarmine* trifleth.

17 *And the holy sacrifice which thy high Priest Melchisedech did offer vnto thee.* This is a plaine vntruth, and a flat lie, as we haue shewed already, that *Melchisedech* sacrificed bread and wine.

18 After the words of consecration rehearsed, the Priest is willed in the Rubricke, *to rubbe his fingers, because of the crummes:* but if it be Christs bodie, it cannot be crummie. And againe, let the fourth crosse *be made vpon the bread:* here it is called bread after the consecration: then is it not Christs bodie: So by their owne Canon, they are conuinced to be in an error.

19 *Commaund these to be brought by the hands of thy holy Angell, vnto the high Altar in heauen.* What an absurd thing is this, that he should desire that to be carried into heauen, which hee eateth and deuoureth? And if this be the body of Christ, what need the helpe of an Angell to carrie vp to heauen? Is not Christ able to lift vp his owne body? Or what need that to be conueyed to heauen, which was neuer from thence? *Bellarm.* The Angell doth not carrie vp Christs body into heauen, but their seruice and obedience. *Contra.* Hee saith, *Iube hæc, &c.* Command these things, &c. looking to wards the hoast and the chalice: *Ergo*, he meaneth, that Christs bodie and blood should be carried.

20 *As many of vs as shall receiue thy Sonnes body and blood:* And yet for the most part none receiue, but the Priest; and when the people doe communicate, the wine they haue not: how then can he say, *As many?*

21 *Remember, O Lord, the soules of thy seruants, which rest to the sleepe of peace, and grant them a place of refreshing and rest:* Here is another error contrary to the Scriptures in praying for the dead, and the prayer also is contrary to it selfe: for first he saith, they rest in peace, and yet afterward prayeth for their refreshing: thus beginneth the fift prayer of the Canon. *Bellarmine* answereth, that they which are in Purgatorie, are at rest from the workes of sinne, though not from all labour, &c. *Contra.* They which are dead in Christ, *do rest from their labours*, Apocal. 14. 13. that is, from all laborious and painfull torments.

22 In

22 In the sixt prayer, *Vouchsafe that they may haue a portion with the Saintes*, ending *through Iesus Christ, &c.* the Rubricke forbiddeth *Amen* to be sayd; contrary to the Apostle, 1. Cor. 14. 16. that would haue Amen to be said to the publike blessing and thankesgiuing in the Church.

23 *Deliuer vs by the blessed intercession of the Virgine:* What then is become of Christs Mediation and Intercession? who euer liueth to make Intercession for vs, Heb. 7. 25.

24 *Let this mingling together of the body and blood of our Lord Iesus Christ, be vnto me saluation of minde and body:* Then is not Christs blood shedde vpon the Crosse the full sufficient and perfect saluation of mankinde, if there be another saluation beside.

25 Againe, if it be the very bodie and blood of Christ, how can they be mingled together, seeing the very body and blood of Christ cannot be deuided? *Bellarmine* answereth, that they are mingled onely by reason of the formes of bread and wine, which remaine. *Contra.* Formes and accidents cannot be mingled without substances, and therefore, if there be no substance remayning but of Christs body and blood, it followeth, that they are mingled. And further, seeing they hold, by way of their deuised *concomitance*, that the flesh of Christ is with the blood, and the blood with the flesh, what need then any such mixture or mingling at all?

26 *Grant me so worthily to take this body and blood, that I may merit to receiue forgiuenesse of sinne:* O sinfull man, how canst thou merite that which is Christs onely gift? And in the sixt prayer of the Canon, the Priest prayeth thus, *Not weighing our merite, &c.* and here hee prayeth for merite: so that their Masse is contrarie to it selfe.

27 *Let the Priest bow himselfe to the hoast, saying, I worship thee, I glorifie thee, I prayse thee:* What monstrous Idolatrie is this, thus to worship a peece of bread?

28 *The Sacrament of thy body and blood, &c.* If it be a Sacrament of Christs bodie, then is it not the bodie it selfe: for the same thing cannot be both the Sacrament, and the thing whereof it is Sacrament: the signe, and the thing signified; the shadow and the bodie: Sacraments are lowly shadowes, but Christs bodie is not a shadow. Coloss. 2. 17.

29 *Haile for euer, thou most holy flesh of Christ, &c. Haile for euer, thou most heauenly drinke:* Where do they finde in Scripture, to salute God in this manner? the Angell indeed said to *Mary, Aue*, Haile: and S. *Iohn* forbiddeth vs to say to an heretike, *Aue*, which the *Rhemists* translate, *God saue you epist.* 2. 10. Is it not then a seemely thing to say to Christ, *all health, haile*, or *God saue you*? that we should blesse him, of whom we looke to be blessed.

30 *Let not this Sacrament be vnto my iudgement or condemnation:* thus they thinke that Christs flesh may be eaten to condemnation, contrary to the Scripture: *Whosoeuer eateth my flesh, hath eternall life*, Iohn 6. 54.

31 *Deliuer me by thy precious bodie from all mine iniquities, &c. and graunt, that for euer I be neuer separated from thee:* This is contrary to their owne doctrine, that a man cannot be sure to be preserued from finall falling: for if the Masse be an auaileable Sacrifice, as they hold, then is it auaileable to this ende, that they shall not be finally separated from God.

32 *Out of a temporall gift, let it be to vs a remedie euerlasting:* Here he calleth the body and blood of Christ a temporall gift, which is blasphemie, vnlesse they will graunt that there is bread still.

33 *Let this Communion purge vs from sinne:* If they meane the principall purging of our sinne, so doth Christ onely purge vs, Heb. 1. 3. If they vnderstand the instrumentall meanes of our purgation, so are we purged and iustified onely by faith, Rom. 3. 28. *I conclude, that a man is iustified by faith, without the workes of the Law.*

34 *Respect not my sinnes, but the faith of thy Church:* By this reason one may be profited by others faith; which is contrary to the Scriptures: *The iust shall liue by faith*, his owne, and not anothers: Rom. 1. 17. and belike the Priest thus saying, hath no fayth himselfe.

35 *Let vs worship the signe of the Crosse:* What, I pray you will not these Idolaters worship?

36 *Let this sacrifice which I haue offered, auaile to obtaine remission of sinne:* If the Masse be auaileable for this ende, wherefore then dyed Christ?

37 The Priest prayeth, that God would restore *the land consecrated by Christs blood to the Christian faith*: But where do they finde, that the land was consecrated by Christs blood, whereas the Scripture saith, that *the land is defiled with blood*, that is, standeth accursed, Numb. 35. 33. the Apostle saith, *He hath consecrated* (not the earth, but) *them that are sanctified*, Heb. 10. 14. *the blood of Christ purgeth our conscience*, Heb. 9. 14. not the terrene part.

38 And whereas they pray, that the holy land may be recouered out of *the hand of the enemies of the Crosse:* which God hath not done: how is now their Masse auaileable for the obtayning of temporall benefites, as *Bellarmine* would beare vs in hand?

39 The Priest prayeth also, *That the vowes of the faithfull may be directed toward the deliuerance of that land:* The fellowe was superstitious and vnlawfull vowes: as S. *Hierome* writeth vpon these words of the Psalme, *I hope to see God in the land of the liuing: Ergo, Terra Iudæa, quæ illius ditionis erat &c.* Therefore the land of the Iewes, which was vnder his regiment, is not that land of the liuing

nl 22

but he draweth vs to a spirituall vnderstanding: *Hierom de terra promiss.* And againe, vpon these words, *The Lord loueth thy gates of Sion more, then all the tabernacles of Iacob: Numquid istas portas diligit Deus, quas videmus in cineres, &c.* Doth God loue those gates, which are turned to ashes? *Nec stultus quidem hoc persuaderi potest,* Very fooles will not be so perswaded. So then all such vowes are foolish, that are made in respect of the terrestriall Ierusalem, and by *Hieromes* sentence they are fooles, that are so perswaded.

40 In the end of the Masse, according to the vse of *Sarum*, there is annexed the forme of blessing, or consecrating the Paschal Lambe, with this prayer, *Vouchsafe to sanctifie this Paschall Lambe, that as many of thy people as doe eate thereof, may be replenished with all heauenly benediction, &c.* What grosse superstition is this, that they should still retaine the vse of the Paschall Lambe, which cannot be, but to the great derogation of the true Paschall Lambe Christ Iesus, that the body being come, the shadow should bee still retained? And I haue heard it credibly reported, by one sometime brought vp in Barnwell Abbey by Cambridge, that the Monkes did vse once a yeere to rost a Lambe whole, and so to eate it with herbes: what greater superstition can bee found among the Iewes?

OTHER ERRORS IN THE MANNER of celebrating Masse.

41. NOw to make vp the halfe hundred of errors in the Masse, as those before going are found in the matter, so these following are in the manner: as first, all is done and said in the Latine tongue, not vnderstood of the people, and often not of the Priest himselfe, contrarie to Saint *Pauls* rule, *that all things should be done to edifying*, 1. Cor. 14. 12. and they that speake words not vnderstood, *speake in the ayre*, vers. 9.

42 Againe, they vse many irkesome, tedious, and friuolous repetitions of the same words, as *Benedicamus Domino*, Let vs blesse the Lord, is sung tenne seuerall times together, and *Ite, missa est*, is sung thirteene seuerall times, with long and tedious notes. This is contrarie to the precept of Christ, *that we should not, when we pray, vse vaine repetitions*, Matth. 6. 7. for so the word βαττολογήσητε, there vsed, signifieth, being taken from the Poet *Battus*, that vsed often to inculcate or repeate the same things.

43 The Priest is charged in the Rubricke to say diuers prayers, *priuatim*, secretly to himselfe: as that prayer, *Deliuer vs Lord from all euill, past, present, to come, &c.* And, *Thou Lambe of God, that takest away the sinnes of the world.* Likewise, where he saith, *Forsake not vs thy seruants, but forgiue vs our sinnes, &c.* these and many other words must bee pronounced to himselfe: contrarie to S. *Paul*, who would haue prayers so said, that they may be vnderstood, and thereunto *Amen* answered by the people, 1. Cor. 14. 16.

44 The Priest is taught by the Rubricke to make thirtie seuerall crosses at the least vpon the bread, the cup, the Altar, his forehead: as may appeare in the Canon of the Masse, according to the vse of *Sarum*, and as it is translated by Master *Fox* in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Acts and Monuments: wherein first they doe contrarie to that, which they professe in the Canon, saying thus, *Diuina institutione formati*, Being informed by the diuine institution. But no such crossing is to bee found in Christs institution, which they professe to follow. Secondly, whereas they vse to crosse themselues either against the diuell and euill spirits, they neede not feare any such thing, where Christs bodie is: or else they vse it, to blesse withall: but they haue no reason to blesse Christs bodie, whereby they receiue blessing. Thirdly, if the signe of the crosse be so effectuall a signe, as they make it, once or twice were enough, or too much: but the making of it so often, sheweth it to be a vaine, idle, superstitious and vnprofitable ceremonie, as they vse it.

45 Their gesture in saying of Masse, is so changeable, so ridiculous, so affectated, that a man would thinke a Player were comming forth vpon the stage, when the Priest addresseth him to the Masse: nay, *Roscius* was not so full of action, as the Massing Priest is of gesture, varying and chaunging it at the least tortie or fiftie times in a Masse while: first, he boweth his bodie: then he rouseth himselfe and kisseth the Altar on the right side: he boweth againe, and looketh toward the hoast, he ioyneth his hands, wipeth his fingers, lifteth vp the hoast: then he lifteth vp his eyes, and boweth himselfe, and lifteth vp his eyes againe: he boweth againe, and lifteth vp the hoast aboue his forehead, vncouereth the cup, and holdeth it betweene his hands, keeping his thumbe and forefinger together: then hee boweth, and lifteth vp the cup a little, then to his breast, or aboue his head, he letteth it downe againe, and wipeth his fingers for feare of crummes: then he spreadeth his armes acrosse: he boweth his bodie; then rising kisseth the Altar on the right side, after this, he signeth his breast: then he vncouereth the cup, maketh 5. crosses with the hoast, beyond the cup twice, on each side, vnder the cup and before it: then he laieth his hands vpon the Altar: the Deacon then reacheth the Priest the Paten, which he putteth to his right eye, then to his left, and maketh

maketh a croſſe beyond his head with it, kiſſeth it, and laieth it downe, then he breaketh the hoaſt in three, holding two pieces in his left hand, one in his right ouer the cup, which with a croſſe hee letteth fall into it: the Prieſt then kiſſeth the *Corporas*, the Deacon taketh the Pax from the Prieſt, giueth it to the Subdeacon, and he to the Queere: then humbling himſelfe, he firſt taketh the bodie, then the blood; ſo hee goeth to the right horne of the Altar: then the Subdeacon powreth in wine, and the Prieſt rinſeth the cup and waſheth his hands, &c. he turneth himſelfe to the people, commeth againe to the Altar, and turneth to the people the ſecond time, then bowing his bodie, and cloſing his hands he prayeth to himſelfe: he riſeth againe, making the ſigne of the croſſe, and bowing againe ſo goeth from the Altar. This leuitie and inconſtancie, in turning this way, and that way, to the right hand, to the left, now vp, now downe, backward and forward, caſting the armes acroſſe, warbling the fingers, &c. *Moſes* vſed it not in his prayer, that continued holding vp his hands in prayer againſt *Amelek*, till hee was wearie: and *Salomon* endured kneeling on his knees, and ſtretching out his hands to heauen, till he had made an end of his prayer, 1. King. 8. verſ. 54.

ERRORS COLLECTED OVT OF THE CAVTELES of the Maſſe, that follow after the Canon.

46. THe eight cautele is, *that if the Prieſt chaunce to conſecrate water for wine, he muſt conſecrate againe.* Why maſters, if theſe wordes, *this is my bodie*, bee effectuall to make the bodie of Chriſt, why not ſpoken ouer water, as well as ouer wine? If ye vrge Chriſts power, he was able to turne water into wine, and ſo likewiſe water into his bodie: if ye vrge Chriſts inſtitution, that conſecrated onely in wine, he vſed no water at all, and therefore ye breake his inſtitution.

47 In the tenth cautele, *a Prieſt excommunicate is willed to proceede.* Can he then make Chriſts bodie, that is not of his bodie? this were monſtrous: for then not only Prieſts, but euery one may make Chriſts bodie, euen an Heathen or Infidell: for he that is excommunicate is ſuſpended from his office, and is for the time as an heathen man, Matth. 18. 17.

48 Cautele 12. *If a Flie or Spider fall into the cup after conſecration, they muſt bee firſt waſhed, then burned, and the waſhing and aſhes be kept in the ſacring veſſell: if the blood be poyſoned, it muſt not be drunk, but kept in a cleane veſſell.* But this Cautele telleth vs not, what ſhall become of that which is kept, but there it remaineth ſtill, till it ſowre or ſtinke, or putriſie with wormes, which is as bad, as the falling in of a flie: and how an abſurd a thing is it, that Chriſts blood may bee poyſoned, ſeeing there be many preſeruatiues againſt poyſon, much inferiour to Chriſts bodie?

49 Cautele 18. *If a drop of blood fall vpon the Altar, or Altar-cloth, table, &c. the Prieſt muſt licke it vp with his tongue, and the place muſt be waſhed, and the waſhing laid vp, &c.*

Contra. Here the Prieſt hath a good office, to licke ſtones and tables, and clothes with his tongue: but I would aske them, whether euery drop of the Chalice bee Chriſts whole bodie, or part: if a part, then is he diuided: if the whole, then, how many drops in the Chalice, ſo many bodies of Chriſt are there at once: they cannot winde themſelues from theſe abſurdities.

50 Cautele 22. *If any man vomit vp the Euchariſt, it muſt be burned, and the aſhes laid vp by the Altar, &c.* What maſters, will ye make Chriſt an heretike, that ye burne his bodie? And I pray you whence are theſe aſhes? they cannot be of accidents: ye muſt either graunt that it is bread, that is burned; or Chriſts bodie: if the firſt, then there is no tranſubſtantiation: if the ſecond, it is blaſphemie. And cannot Chriſts bodie ſtay a vomite, which many a medicine is able to doe?

51 Cautele 23. *If the Sacrament bee eaten of a mouſe, or if it bee loſt, let the Prieſt doe penance, &c.* Thus by the popiſh doctrine, myce may deuoure Chriſts bodie, and he that found the loſt ſheepe may be loſt himſelfe.

52 Cautele 24. *If by the negligence of the Prieſt the hoaſt doe putriſie, let him doe penance, &c.* If the accidents onely putriſie, there is no harme done, and this penance may bee ſpared: if the hoaſt it ſelfe putriſie, as this Cautele ſaith, then doe they make Chriſts glorious bodie corruptible.

Thus we ſee with how many and what great and horrible blaſphemies this popiſh, and ſuperſtitious Canon of the Maſſe is ſtuffed: indeede it is an epitome and abridgement of Papiſtrie, the marrow, ſinewes, and bones of their idolatrous profeſſion: yea the very darling of the popiſh Church: it is the very proper badge and marke of a Papiſt. He that hateth the Maſſe, hateth the whore of Babylon: he that loueth the Maſſe, cannot loue the truth.

If then I ſhould be demaunded at once, which of all popiſh blaſphemies and hereſies I thinke moſt abominable, contrarie to the faith, and to bee abhorred of all good Chriſtians: (though I know that there are many of this kinde) yet I would readily anſwere the Maſſe: the inuention whereof, I am well aſſured, cannot bee aſcribed but to him that is the author of all lyes, and blaſphemies.

Laſtly, let vs ſee how well the popiſh Maſſe agreeth with their owne Canons: concerning the mingling

mingling of the bread and wine together, it is contrarie to the decree of *Iulius*: *Decret. par. 3. dist. 2. c. 7. Illud, quod pro complemento cõmunionis intinctam tradunt Eucharistiam, &c.* That for the complement of the Communion, they doe giue to the people the Eucharist sopped, or dipped, &c. it hath no warrant from the Gospell.

Bellarmine answereth, that this decree forbiddeth onely that commixtion, which is giuen to the people in the Sacrament, not that, which is done in the Masse, *lib. 2. de Miss. c. 27. resp. ad obiect. 4.*

Contra. The reason in the decree vsed, is generall against all mingling of the Sacrament: *Seorsum panis, seorsum calicis, &c.* The bread was commended or sanctified apart, and the cup apart: neither did Christ giue dipped bread to any of his Disciples, but to *Iudas*, to signifie his prodition, not any institution of a Sacrament. Wherefore this decree is most euident against this superstitious mixtion in the Masse.

Concil. Colonien. par. 2. c. 11. Videbimur operapretium facturi, &c. Wee shall doe very well, if wee cause the Missals and Breuiaries to be perused, that cutting off superfluous things, *& quæ superstitiosa, &c.* and things superstitiously brought in, &c. How can the Missall or Masse-seruice be void of error, which is stuffed with many superfluous and superstitious things?

Synod. Augustens. c. 33. Quod ad apocrypha, &c. As touching apocryphall, fooliſh, and vnsyncere matters, by the corruption of time crept into the Breuiaries, the often repetition of Psalmes, innumerable Suffrages, new Collects, Sequencies, Prefaces, to be amended, & taken out of the seruices, &c. This Canon reprehendeth vaine repetitions, the multitude of Collects in the Masse-seruice, which yet remaine vnpurged.

I will lastly insert the testimonie of *Lindanus* an arch-papist, who reporting the words of *Agobertus* Bishop of Lyons: *Antiphonarium correximus, &c.* We haue corrected the Antiphonarie, cutting off what seemed to vs superfluous, light, false, blasphemous, ridiculous, phantasticall. He addeth further: Who if he were now aliue to see our Missals, &c. how would he call them? in the which not onely Apocryphall stories out of the Gospell of *Nicodemus*, and other toyes, are inserted, but secret prayers, *mendis turpissimis conspurcata*, defiled with most filthie faults: yea the Canon it selfe, *variat & redundat*, doth varie and exceede, &c. *Lindan. lib. 3. de interpret. scriptur. c. 3.* Here is a graue testimonie of a learned writer of their side against the errors, faults, and corruptions of the Masse: how then are they not ashamed to iustifie the same as perfect, and without any reprehension.

I conclude therefore with that saying of *Gregorie*, as he said concerning the word *Antichristus*: so may I in as good sense of this word, *Missa*, as it is now vnderstood of Papists: *Si spectet quantitatem vocis, duæ sunt syllabæ; si pondus iniquitatis, est vniuersa pernicies*: If you marke the quantitie of the word, it standeth but of two syllables: but if we respect the waight of iniquitie, it containeth all impietie and vngodlines. As one sometime pleasantly descanting vpon the name, said, that the Masse was called beyond the Sea (*Misse*:) for that all is amisse in it. Iohn Mallet Fox p. 1204. col. 2.

Soli Deo immortali Patri, Filio, cum Spiritu sancto, sit honor & imperium sempiternum.

Before I leaue this place, being a controuersie of such great waight, I thought good to insert the arguments of the Martyrs against the reall presence, and the contrarie reasons vsed against them by the Papists in those dayes.

THE PAPISTS THEN IN TIME PAST HAVE thus reasoned for their reall presence.

Arg. 1. THe same bodie which was giuen for vs, is truly in the Sacrament: for our Sauiour Christ said, *This is my bodie, which shall be giuen for you.*

But his true bodie was giuen for vs.

Ergo, his true bodie is in the Sacrament: *sic Chedseus cont. Cranmer.*

Answ. Bishop *Cranmer* answereth: His true bodie is truly present to them that truly receiue him, but spiritually: *ibid.* Which answere may be further explained thus: First, wee graunt, that the same is present, but not after the same manner: Christs bodie may be truly present, although it be not there carnally: he is present spiritually by faith, which is his true presence. Secondly, we turne this argument against them: for if the same bodie of Christ bee present in the Sacrament, which he gaue for vs; then is it not present, but onely to those for whom it was giuen: but it was giuen onely for the elect and beleeuers, therefore to the wicked and Infidels Christ is not present in the Sacrament, because for such he gaue not his bodie: and so it followeth, that wicked men

doe not eate Chriſt in the Sacrament, and conſequently Chriſts bodie is not there really preſent: for then the wicked, that communicate, ſhould eate thereof.

Contra. Chriſt, when he ſpake theſe words, *this is my bodie*, ſpake of the ſubſtance of his bodie, not of the efficacie or effect; Chriſts bodie then is more then ſpiritually, that is effectually preſent: *Cheadſey.*

Anſw. Wee graunt, that in the Sacrament there is both the efficacie of the bodie of Chriſt, and the ſubſtance thereof, but the ſubſtance ſpiritually applied by faith: for the fleſh profiteth nothing of it ſelfe, *My words* (ſaith Chriſt) *are ſpirit and life*, Ioh. 6. *ſic Cranmer.* It is therefore no good argument, the efficacie of Chriſts bodie is ſpirituall in the Sacrament: *Ergo*, the ſubſtance of his bodie is not there ſpiritually: for the ſubſtance of Chriſts bodie is there ſpiritually, as the worker; the effect alſo is ſpirituall, as that which is wrought.

Argum. 2. That onely is giuen to vs in the Sacrament, which was giuen for vs vpon the croſſe: but bread was not giuen on the croſſe for vs: *Ergo*, bread is not giuen in the Sacrament: *Cheadſey.*

Anſw. To the propoſition wee anſwere: firſt, the ſame bodie indeede is giuen both in the Sacrament, and vpon the Croſſe, but not after the ſame manner: we haue the ſame bodie, but ſpiritually giuen vs by faith. Secondly, it is not true that that onely is giuen vs in the Sacrament, &c. For there are both the bodie of Chriſt preſent ſpiritually in myſterie, and the bread preſent viſiblie.

Argum. 3. The ſame fleſh, whereby Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman, is giuen of Chriſt to vs to be eaten.

Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman by his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh.

Ergo, his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh is giuen vs to be eaten: *argum. Weſton.*

Anſw. Chriſt giueth vs indeede his true naturall fleſh to be eaten, yet not after a carnall manner, but ſpiritually by faith: *ſic Cranmer.*

Contra. Chriſt gaue vs the ſame fleſh, which he tooke of the Virgin: but he tooke not his true fleſh of the Virgin ſpiritually, or in a figure.

Ergo, he giueth it not vs ſpiritually: *ſic Weſton diſput. Oxonienſ.*

Anſw. Firſt, the propoſition wee graunt, that Chriſt tooke the ſame fleſh of his mother, which he giueth vs to be eaten, but not after the ſame manner: therefore the aſſumption, which includeth the manner, not the thing, is ſophiſtically inferred, and containeth more than is in the propoſition: which ſpeaketh of the ſame fleſh, but not of the ſame manner.

Secondly, this argument may be turned vpon themſelues: as thus,

Chriſt giueth vs the ſame fleſh, which he tooke.

But hee tooke not his fleſh of his mother ſpirituallie at all, but after an humane manner onely:

Ergo, he giueth not his fleſh to vs to be eaten ſpiritually at all.

If this bee a good concluſion, (which let them graunt, if they will) then is the other brought forth by them.

Argum. 4. ex Chryſoſtomo. That thing is ſhewed in the Sacrament, which is worthie moſt highest honour in the earth:

But the bodie of Chriſt is worthie higheſt honour, not the elements of bread and wine:

Ergo, the bodie of Chriſt is ſhewed in the Sacrament, *argum. Weſton.*

Anſw. Firſt, the concluſion wee graunt, if it be rightly vnderſtood: for the bodie of Chriſt is ſhewed ſpiritually to the eye of faith in the Sacrament, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Chriſts death is ſhewed forth: for other ſhewing of Chriſts bodie in the Sacrament there can bee none: The Papiſts themſelues cannot demonſtrate vnto vs Chriſts bodie, but onely the externall ſhapes of bread and wine.

Secondly, we graunt that the bodie of Chriſt, thus ſpiritually ſhewed in the Sacrament, is worthie higheſt honour: and that the outward ſignes, not as bare elements, but as they are myſticall ſeales of hidde and heauenly graces, and the Sacraments inſtituted of Chriſt, are of vs to be highly reuerenced, as the ordinances of God. So then Chriſts bodie ſhewed in the Sacrament, is worthie higheſt honour in earth, and the Sacraments, as ſignes of holie things, are highly to be eſteemed.

Argum. 5. The ſoule is fed by that, which the bodie eateth:

But the ſoule is fed by the fleſh of Chriſt:

Ergo, The bodie eateth the fleſh of Chriſt in the Sacrament, *argum. Cheadſei.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Sacrament is one thing, the matter of the Sacrament another, outwardly the bodie eateth the Sacrament, inwardly wee eate the bodie of Chriſt: as in Baptiſme the fleſh is waſhed with water, that the ſoule may be purged ſpiritually, ſo our bodie eateth the outward Sacrament, that the ſoule may be fed of God: *ſic Cranmer.*

Secondly, to the argument in particular we anſwere thus: firſt to the propoſition: It is not generally

nerally true, that whatsoeuer the bodie eateth, the soule is fed by the same: and if it be but particularly propounded, this instance onely of eating in the Sacrament, then the argument prooueth not, standing wholy of particulars. Againe, the bodie and the soule are fed by the same meate in the Sacrament, but not after the same manner; the bodie is nourished by the naturall propertie of the elements, which they haue to nourish: but the soule, by the sacramentall and supernaturall power, as they are signes and seales of holie things. Secondly, wee graunt that the soule is fed by the bodie of Christ, yet not carnally, but spiritually by faith: so that this argument may be turned vpon them thus: As the soule feedeth vpon Christ, so doth the bodie: the soule is fed by faith: *Ergo* and no otherwise is the bodie. And true it is that the bodie is nourished both with the Sacrament, and with the bodie of Christ: with the Sacrament (though not as a Sacrament) naturally to temporall life; with the bodie of Christ (supernaturally by the gift of faith in the soule) to eternall life: *sic Cranmer ad Westonum.*

Argum. 6. As Christ liueth by the Father, so liue we by his flesh:

But Christ liueth by his Father naturally:

Ergo, we liue naturally by the eating of Christs flesh, *argum. Tresham.*

Answ. 1. The first part of this argument is not generally true: for Christ liueth otherwise by the Father in many respects: for he is the Sonne of God by nature from all eternitie, but so are not we. Secondly, the Papists themselues denie any such naturall eating of Christs flesh: for the naturall foode goeth downe into the bellie, part whereof is turned into the substance of the bodie, part is throwne out into the draught: But neither is true of Christs flesh; for if it were conuerted into our flesh, then should our flesh also bee immortall, and without sinne, as our foode is: and to say, that part thereof goeth the common way of meates, were a monstrous blasphemie against Christs glorious bodie: therefore we cannot so naturally eate Christs flesh. Thirdly, we notwithstanding in a good sense are said naturally to liue by Christ: first, not only because wee are of his nature according to the flesh, but rather in that we make all one mysticall bodie, whereof Christ is the head: that as the bodie naturally liueth by the head, so we doe naturally, that is verely, and in deede, liue by Christ. Secondly, in that Christ doth communicate vnto vs his nature of eternitie and glorie, and will bring vs to be, where he is, wee are said also naturally to liue by Christ: *Sic Doctor Cranmer disputat. Oxonienſ.*

Argum. 7. The speech of Christ, in saying (*this is my bodie*) they would thus proue, not to be a figuratiue, but a proper speech.

Argum. Substantia, is not predicated denominatiuely:

This word (*bodie*) which is the *praedicatum*, is a substance:

Ergo, it is an essentiall predication, not a denominatiue: so it is his true bodie, not a figure of his bodie: *argum. Oglethorpi.*

Answ. Substantia may be predicated denominatiuely, in an allegorie or metaphor, or a figuratiue locution: *sic D. Cranmer disputat. Oxonienſ.* And so is it in this place, where Christ speaketh figuratiuely. Againe, they thus argue.

Argum. A figuratiue speech worketh not:

But Christs speech, *this is my bodie*, worketh: the word of Christ is of strength, and by the Lords mouth the heauens were made:

Ergo, it is no figuratiue speech: *argum. Yongi.*

Answ. 1. The words of Christ doe not worke of themselues, but Christ himselfe, and he worketh by a figuratiue speech. 2. Christs speech, or rather Christ by his speech worketh, in instituting a Sacrament, not in conuerting the substance of bread. 3. God doth worke by his power in the Sacraments, as in Baptisme, so in the Eucharist: But there is no such conuersion in Baptisme, therefore not in the other. 4. The Sacrament of Christs blood is made: the words make the blood to them, that receiue it; not that the blood is in the cup, but in the receiuer: *resp. D. Cranmer disputat. Oxonienſ.* Againe, thus they reason.

Argum. My sheepe (saith Christ) *heare my voyce, and follow me:* but all the sheepe of Christ heare this voyce, *This is my bodie*, without a figure:

Ergo, Christs voyce here hath no figure: *argum. D. Ward.*

Answ. First, the sheepe of Christ follow the voyce of Christ, vnlesse they be seduced and deceiued through ignorance: But the sheepe of Christ, neuer vnderstood this voyce of Christ without a figure: for the fathers doe number this place among figuratiue and tropicall speeches: *respons. D. Ridleij disputat. Oxonienſ.*

Argum. 8. Whereas we alleage such places of Scripture against the reall presence, as doe make mention of Christs ascension into heauen, and his abode there: they on the contrarie labour thus to proue, that Christs ascension into heauen, and his continuance there, is no let to the reall presence of his flesh in the Sacrament.

Christ appeared corporally and really on the earth since his ascension into heauen: as he was

seene of *Paul.* 1. Corinth. 15. and ecclesiasticall stories make mention, that Christ appeared corporally vnto Saint *Peter*, as he fled from Rome, as *Egesippus* writeth, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3.

Ergo, for all Christs being in heauen, he may also be in earth, and so consequently in the Sacrament, *argum. Smithi.*

Answ. First, Christ may, when it pleaseth him, bee in heauen, and in earth, and appeare whom he will: yet it followeth not, that he will doe so. Secondly, that Christ appeared to *Paul* and *Stephen*, Act. 7. we graunt, but he was seene of them in heauen, not in earth: the story that is reported of Christs appearing to S. *Peter*, is not certaine, and therefore it proueth not. Thirdly, though we should graunt the corporall appearance of Christ sometime vpon earth, yet it must needes be with some intermission of his bodily presence in heauen: for corporally to be present in earth, and corporally to bee in heauen at the same time, is contrarie to the Scriptures, and against the nature of an humane bodie: wherefore if Christ abide in heauen after the manner of his corporall presence, as the Scripture saith, The heauens must containe him; this must needes hinder his bodily presence in the Sacrament, *respons. D. Ridlei disput. Oxoniens.*

Argum. 9. Euery Sacrament of the newe Testament hath a promise of grace, and so consequently the Eucharist hath:

But there is no promise of grace made to the bread and wine, but to the bodie, and blood of Christ:

Ergo, the bread and wine are not the Sacraments, but the body, and blood of Christ: *argum. Watson. disputat. Oxoniens.*

Answ. First, there is no promise made to bread and wine, as they are common bread, and wine; but in as much as they are sanctified, and made the Sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they haue a promise of grace annexed vnto them. Secondly, and yet to speake properly, this promise of the spirituall partaking of Christs body, is made not to the bread, and wine, but to them which worthily doe receiue the Sacrament: *Respons. D. Ridlei.*

Argum. 10. *ex Chrysostomo:* That which the woman did hold in her wombe, that same thing holdeth the Priest: but the Virgine did beare the very flesh of Christ in deede: *Ergo argum. Westoni.*

Answ. 1. We grant, the Priest holdeth the same thing, but after an other manner: she did hold the naturall body, the Priest holdeth the mystery of the body: *resp. Ridlei disputat. Oxoniens.* And thus far of our aduersaries arguments.

THE ARGVMENTS OF THE MARTYRS AND holy confessors of Gods truth against the Reall presence.

Argum. 1. IF Christs body be really in the Sacrament, as it is now celebrated in the Church, then so was it present, at the first institution thereof: If Christs body were then eaten in the Sacrament; and Christ as he did eate the Paschall Lambe with his Disciples, so likewise did he the Euchrist: then it will follow, that Christ did eate his owne body, which were very absurd.

Answ. Moreman a popish Doctor graunteth this consequent, that Christ did eate his owne body: against whom Master *Philpot* framed this argument.

Receiuing of Christs body, hath a promise of remission of sinnes:

Christs eating the Sacrament had no such promise: for he had no sinnes, and therefore needed no remission: *Ergo*, Christ in the Sacrament did not eate his owne body.

Answ. 1. First, *Moreman* answereth to the proposition, denying that the receiuing of the Sacrament hath a promise of remission of sinnes: whom Master *Philpot* confuteth by the very words of institution; *Which is giuen for you, which is shed for you for remission of sinnes.*

Answ. 2. Doctor *Weston* answered, that Christ did no more eate the Sacrament for remission of sinnes, then he was baptized: and by this reason may we proue as well, that he was not baptized at all; because Baptisme is giuen for remission of sinnes.

Contra. Though Christ were baptized, not for any neede thereof, but to giue an example to his Church, yet it is otherwise in eating his owne body in the Eucharist: for the water in Baptisme of it selfe is but a terrene element, but Christs body is liuely, and cannot be eaten without some effect or operation. Againe, let it be obserued, how they doe here match the Eucharist and Baptisme together, which elsewhere they deny; affirming that these two Sacraments haue no likelihood each to other: If then they will compare these Sacraments, they must be alike herein: that as the bread in the Eucharist is become, as they say, the body of Christ; so must the water likewise in Baptisme: and so consequently it is as absurd a thing, for Christ to eate his owne body in the Eucharist, as for his body to be washed with his body in Baptisme: *ex disputat. connocat. all. 3 loci.*

Argum. 2. The Angell said to the woman, *He is risen, he is not heere:* Matth. 28. Ioh. 16. *I came from my father into the world: againe, I leaue the world, and goe to my father:* Christ speaketh of his natu-

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turall body: *Ergo*, we may conclude, that his body is not now in the world, *argum. Philpotti.*

Answ. Christ is visibly departed in his humanitie, but inuisibly notwithstanding he remaineth in the Sacrament.

Contra. This distinction may be taken away by the answere of the disciples to our Sauiour Christ in the same place, where he speaketh of his departure, Iohn 16. *Now thou speakest plainly, and vttrest forth no prouerbe:* But if Christ had vnderstoode any such inuisible presence according to the distinction, hee had spoken obscurely, and darkely, not plainely, *resp. Phil. disp. connoc. all. 4 die.*

Argum. 3. *Philpotti:* S. *Peter* saith, Act. 3. *Whom heauen must receiue, till the consummation of all things:* this is spoken of Christs humanity: *Ergo*, it cannot be present vpon earth in the Sacrament.

Answ. Harpsfield answereth, 1. Christ is not *ex necessitate*, of necessitie forced to any place. *Contra:* Christ is no otherwise forced of necessitie to any place, then as he hath by his owne decree appointed his body to remaine in heauen, and so declared it in his word. The decree therefore of God is immutable, not that God is forced by any to keepe it, but because his will and purpose cannot be changed.

Answ. 2. Christ is omnipotent, and may be in heauen, or in earth at his pleasure. *Contra:* of Christs omnipotencie, what he can doe, is not our question, but rather what he doth: it is no good argument, he may doe this or that: *Ergo*, he doth it. So much onely is to be beleeued of Christs omnipotencie, as is in the word expressed: but that Christs bodie is in heauen, and really in the Sacrament vpon earth, is not expressed in the word: *Ergo*, it is not to be beleeued, *sic Philpot Martyr.*

Answ. 3. This word *oportet*, vsed by S. *Peter*, he must, doth not include an absolute necessitie, as may appeare by other places of Scripture: S. *Paul* saith, *Oportet Episcopum vnius vxoris virum esse:* A bishop must be the husband of one wife, yet he may be a Bishop, that was neuer married.

Contra. This word *oportet*, is diuersly taken in Scripture: S. *Paul* describing a Bishop, sheweth his qualitie, what manner of person he ought to be; but S. *Peter* speaking of Christs being in heauen, declareth the place where Christ must necessarily be, vntill his second comming: As when I say (*oportet te hic esse*) you must needes be in this place; here is included an absolute necessitie, that you cannot possibly, at the same instant, be in another place: but when I say, *oportet te virum bonum esse*, you must be a good man: it doth not include any such necessitie, but that you may be an euill man: *sic Philpot disputat. connocat. action. 6.* As then this word is taken in common speech, so also in Scripture: sometime it signifieth (it is meete) conuenient, sometime it implyeth an absolute necessitie.

Argum. 4. As Christ worketh in Baptisme, so he worketh in the other Sacrament.

But in Baptisme he worketh not by any conuersion of substance:

Ergo, there is no such conuersion in the Eucharist: *argum. Cran. disp. Oxon.*

Answ. 1. First, D. *Young* answereth, that by this meanes they will make no change at all in the Sacrament.

Contra. Not so, but wee make a great change: as in them that are baptized there is a great change, when the child of the bond-slaue of the diuell is made the sonne of God: so is it also in the Sacrament of the Supper, when he receiueth vs into his protection and fauour: *sic Cranmer.*

Answ. 2. There is great difference betweene Baptisme, and the Lords Supper: in the Supper the words are directed to the bread: in Baptisme, to the spirit: he said not the water is the spirit, but of the bread he said, *This is my body: sic West.*

Contra. The Scripture in like manner, as here the bread is called Christs body, because it representeth his bodie, so it calleth the spirit a doue, when the spirit descended in likenesse of a doue: as Iohn 1. *Vpon whomesoeuer thou shalt see the spirit descending:* he calleth that which descended, the holy Spirit: the bread then is no more the body of Christ in the Eucharist, then the doue in the Baptisme of Christ lighting vpon him, was the spirite.

Argum. 5. *ex Theodoreto:* who thus reasoneth against the heretike *Eutyches*, who denied two natures of substance to remaine in Christ.

As in the Sacrament of the body of Christ after the consecration, there is the substance of Christs humanitie together with the substance of bread, so in the person of Christ there doe remaine two seuerall substances, that is, his diuinitie and humanitie vnited together, &c. But if so, that there should not remaine in the Sacrament, which is a representation of Christ, the substance of bread, but should be absorpt by the presence of Christs flesh, this would make strongly, not against, but for *Eutyches*, that euen so in the person of Christ, his humanitie should be swallowed vp of his diuine nature annexed thereunto: *argum. Philpotti disputat. connocation.*

Argum. 6. To these reasons we may adioyne those substantiall prooues and arguments exhibited by that famous Clerke, and most constant Martyr Bishop *Ridley*, in his learned disputation at Oxford.

1 The reall presence varieth from the articles of the faith, *He ascended into heauen, &c. and from thence, and from no other place shall he come to iudge the quicke and the dead.*

2 It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lords Supper: first, the Lords Supper was commanded onely to be vsed, vntill the Lord himselfe should come: but if he be come already in his flesh, then must the Supper cease. Secondly, wee are commaunded to vse it in remembrance of Christ: but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing that is past, and absent.

3 This opinion of the reall presence, admitteth many absurdities: as that whoremongers, murtherers, wicked and faithlesse men, yea myce, rats, and dogs also may receiue the very reall, and corporall body of the Lord.

4 It confirmeth and maintaineth that beastly kind of crueltie of the *Anthropophagi*, that is, the deuourers of mans flesh: for it is a more cruell thing to deuoure a quicke man, then to slay him.

5 Againe, the bread which Christ gaue to his Disciples, hee brake: but his body could not be broken, for the Scripture sayth, Exod. 12. *Ye shall not breake a bone of him.* Further the bread which Christ giueth vs to eate, came downe from heauen, Iohn 6. But Christs body came not downe from heauen: *Ergo*, his body is not carnally eaten, and after a fleshly maner.

Argum. 7. Here we may remember also the pithy arguments of that renowned learned man *Peter Martyr*, proposed by him in his disputation at Oxford.

1 The analogie or resemblance betweene the Sacrament, and the thing signified in the Sacrament, must alwayes be kept: But so is it not, if the real presence be affirmed, without the substance of bread and wine: as it is thus further proued. First, one point of resemblance is in nourishing, that as the bread and wine nourish the body, so the body of Christ doth spiritually nourish the soule: but the elements of bread and wine without a substance cannot nourish, they cannot therefore resemble the spirituall nourishment. Secondly, another resemblance in the Sacrament is this, that as one loafe of bread, and one cup of wine containeth many cornes, and grapes; so the mysticall congregation containeth many members, yet maketh but one body: but if there be no substance of bread and wine (which should consist of many cornes, and grapes vnited) remaining, this similitude of the coniunction of the parts and members of the Church, cannot be represented: *Ergo*, there remaineth the substance of bread and wine, or else the analogie of the Sacrament is abolished.

2 The death of Christ is not present really in the Sacrament, but by similitude: for it is done in remembrance of his death: Christ in the Sacrament dyeth not verily, or is crucified againe.

The precious blood of Christ is present in the Sacrament, as his death is present, for Christs blood was shed in his death, and without his dying his blood cannot be shed: if his death be verily and indeed, so is the shedding of his blood: if one be in mysterie, so is the other:

Ergo, the precious blood is not present in the Sacrament, but by similitude, and as the death of Christ is shewed forth.

3 Christs body cannot be really in the Sacrament, vnlesse it be in many places at once: for out of heauen his body must not be vntill Christs second comming:

But his body being a true naturall body cannot bee at one instant present in many places: *Ergo*.

The assumption or second part is thus proued: First, Spirits being of a more rare and subtill substance then a bodie is, cannot be in many places at once: as the soule of man hath his certaine place, so also are the Angels limited at one time to one place: much more is a naturall bodie tyed vnto a definite and certaine place. Secondly, euery quantitie, that is, euery body hauing magnitude, length, and other dimensions, is circumscribed in one peculiar place: but the bodie of Christ hath his dimensions, and is a quantitie: *Ergo*:

4 The wicked receiue not Christs body:

But if Christ be really present in the Sacrament, and so all receiue his body that communicate in the Sacrament, then should the wicked bee partakers of Christs bodie, which is not to be graunted:

Ergo, Christs bodie is not really present.

That the wicked eate not Christs bodie, it is further thus proued:

To eate Christ, is for a man to haue Christ dwelling, and abiding in him, the wicked haue not Christ dwelling in them.

Ergo, the wicked eate not the bodie of Christ. Againe,

Christs body is eaten by faith.

But the wicked haue no faith.

Ergo, they cannot eate the bodie of Christ: that Christs body is eaten onely by faith, it thus appeareth:

That

That bread, the eating whereof giueth eternall life, is eaten by faith: as Iohn 6.47. *He that beleeueth in me hath euerlasting life*, and verse 50. *He which eateth of this bread shall not die.* Here to beleeue, and to eate of the heauenly bread, are all one, because they bring forth the same effect, namely euerlasting life: But Christs bodie is this heauenly bread, that giueth euerlasting life, verse 53.

Ergo, his body is onely eaten by faith. And further thus:

Christs body is either eaten by sense, reason, or faith:

But the wicked eate him not by any of these meanes: *Ergo*, not at all.

Not by sense: for they say, that Christs body in the Sacrament is not sensible: they are the shapes onely and accidents of bread and wine that are seene, felt, and tasted, (as they say) in the Sacrament: Not by reason, for the Sacrament exceedeth all reason. *Nec fides habet meritum, vbi ratio præbet experimentum:* Faith is nothing worth where reason maketh experience: And faith wicked men and vnbeleeuers cannot haue: *Ergo*, they cannot eate Christs bodie at all.

5 The holy Ghost could not come, if the body of Christ were really present, as it is proued, Iohn 16. *Vnlesse I goe from you, the holy Ghost cannot come.*

That the holy Ghost is come it is most certaine: *Ergo*, Christ cannot be really present, for this were to depriue vs of the presence of Gods spirit.

6 If Christ had giuen his body substantially and carnally in the supper, then was that body either passible, or impassible:

But you cannot say that it was either passible, or impassible: *Ergo*, Christs passible bodie is not now giuen to bee eaten, for Christ dieth no more, his bodie is now glorified, and can bee no more passible.

Neither did he giue an impassible bodie to be eaten: for he saith, *This is my body, which shall be giuen for you*: that is, which should suffer and be crucified for them: If it be then neither passible, nor impassible, it is no bodie at all. And thus farre also of these arguments, who list at large further to know the sure and substantiall grounds of the faith of the holy Martyrs in this matter, may supply what is here wanting, which for want of sufficient leysure, and the necessitie of finishing and hastening this worke, I could not at large collect together, may make a supplie thereof by his owne obseruation out of the storie of their actes and doings. Against the reall presence we haue the full consent of antiquitie.

S. *Cyprian serm. de cœna Domini. Panem Angelorum sub Sacramento manducamus, &c.* We eate the bread of Angels vnder a Sacrament in earth, we shall eate the same without a Sacrament more manifestly in heauen: The same bodie shall be eaten in heauen, which is eaten in earth, though not after the same manner: but Christs flesh shall not be eaten in heauen, therefore it is not eaten in earth.

Againe in the same Sermon, *Esu carnis huius, &c.* The eating of this flesh, is a certaine desire of abiding in him: That which food is to the flesh, that is faith to the soule: that, which meate is to the bodie, that is the word to the spirit.

Origen. homil. 16. in Numer. Bibere dicimur sanguinem Christi, &c. We are said to drinke the blood of Christ, not onely in the sacramentall rites, but when wee receiue his word. If Christ beaten in his word, as in the Sacrament, then is he onely eaten spiritually.

Chrysostome also, *hom. 51. in Matth. Tangamus nos fimbriam vestimenti, &c.* Let vs touch the hemme of Christs garment, whose not vesture onely, but his body is set before vs. As Christs garment is set before vs, so is his body; but the one is spiritually done, therefore the other. Againe, *Ne agnum comedentes, in lupos conuertamur, &c.* Let vs not after we haue eaten the Lambe, be turned into Wolues: As men are turned into wolues, so they eate the Lambe; but they are so spiritually only turned: *Ergo*, they do spiritually eate the Lambe: *Non est opus, &c.* We haue no neede of golden vessels, but of golden soules, *ibid.* Christs body then is food for the soule.

Augustine in Psalm. 14. Donec seculum siuiatur, sursum est Dominus; sed etiam hic nobiscum est veritas Domini: corpus enim in quo resurrexit, in vno loco esse oportet, veritas eius vbique diffusa est: While the world shall last, the Lorde is aboue, and the veritie of the Lorde is with vs: for his body, wherewith hee rose must bee in one place, but the veritie thereof is euery where dispersed.

Hieron. ad Marcellum: Stultum est in parua loco vel abscondito quærere, qui totius mundi est lumen: It is great foolishnesse to seeke him in a corner (as the popish Priest doth, that putteth him into the pixe) who lightneth the whole world.

Ambrosius: Qui discordat à Christo non manducat carnem eius, nec bibit sanguinem, etsi tanta rei sacramentum accipiat: Hee that dissenteth from Christ, doth neither eate his flesh, nor drinke his blood, though hee receiue the Sacrament thereof. If wicked men eate not Christs body, and yet eate the Sacrament, then is not the bodie of Christ the Sacrament.

Againe, S. *Ambrose lib. 1. offic. c. 48. Nunc Christus offertur, sed hic in imagine, &c.* Now Christ

is offered, but here in an image or similitude, but there in trueth, where he as our aduocate maketh intercession for vs with his Father: if Christs body then be onely in veritie in heauen, then is not his true body carnally present in the earth.

Likewise, *Tertullian contra Marcion. lib. 4. August. in Psal. 3. cont. Adimant. cap. 12.* In this speech of Christ, *This is my bodie*, doe vnderstand the figure of his bodie. Likewise *Origen. hom. 7. Leuitic. Est in Euangelijs litera, quae occidit*: There is a killing letter in the Gospell, as well as in the old Testament, for if according to the letter we follow that, which is said, *Vnlesse yee eate my flesh, &c.* this letter killeth. And many testimonies wee haue beside, but these here shall suffice, and so I conclude this place.

HEERE FOLLOWETH A SHORT TREATISE CONSISTING OF THREE PARTS: THE FIRST CONTAINETH THE REASONS OF THE HOLY MARTYRS, AGAINST THE MASSE: THE SECOND, A confutation of Masse-gospellers arguments, in defence of their going to Masse: the third dealeth against Popish Recusants.

The First Part.

ARGVMENTS IN GENERALL AGAINST the Idolatrous sacrifice of the Masse.

B. Ridley Martyr. Epist ad Bradford. pag. 1725.

THere are two most perilous engines, whereby Antichrist doth chiefly impugne the veritie and faith of the Gospell, which seeme to bee the most massie posts, and mightie pillers, whereby he vpholdeth, and maintaineth his Kingdome: the one is the idolatrous vse of the Lords Supper, which they haue turned into the idoll of the Masse: the other is the proud and arrogant vsurpation of the primacie of the See of Rome. Of this latter we haue entreated before at large: this other pillar, as we haue hitherto in this place laid particular assault vnto it, so now, we will by Gods grace shake the foundation of it all at once: by setting forth such valiant arguments, wherewith the faithfull and stout Souldiers of Christ, the holy Martyrs and confessors of the truth, haue armed themselues, against this raging beast, that hath deuoured the precious liues of so many of Gods Saints.

Argum. 1. The popish Masse, is not onely diuers from the institution of the Lords Supper, but contrarie to it, not dissenting onely from it, but quite and cleane ouerthwarting, and ouerthrowing it: *Ergo*, it is abominable.

The antecedent or first part of the argument thus appeareth to be true, by these particulars. First, Christ commanded it to be done in his remembrance: the Priest saith Masse in remembrance of dead men. Secondly, Christ tooke bread, and left bread: the Priest taketh bread and conueyeth it away. Thirdly, Christ tooke bread and brake it: the Priest taketh bread and hangeth it vp. Fourthly, Christ tooke bread and gaue it to his Apostles: the Priest eateth euery whit alone. Fifthly, Christ gaue a Sacrament to strengthen mens faith; the Priest giueth a sacrifice to redeeme mens soules. Sixtly, Christ gaue it to be eaten; the Priest giueth it to be worshipped: Christ gaue bread; the Priest saith he giueth a God, *Ergo*, the Masse is contrarie and opposite to Christs institution. *ex dialog. consuend. verit. p. 1392.*

Argum. 2. Whatsoeuer commandeth and practiseth things contrarie to the word, will, and commaundements of God, is to be abhorred and detested: But so doth the Masse: it maintaineth inuocation of Angels and Saints, prayer for the dead, adoration of creatures, yea euen of bakers bread,

bread, opinion of merits, with such like, as we haue proued before seuerally in euery one of these questions: *Ergo*.

Argum.3. The sacrifice of the Masse, which they say is a propitiatorie sacrifice for the quicke and the dead, is iniurious and derogatorie to the death and passion of Christ: *Ergo*, it is abominable.

The first is thus proued: to reiterate a thing once done for the same end wherefore it was begunne, declareth the imperfection of the same thing before: but in the Masse is reiterated the sacrifice of Christ for the same end, for the which it was first offered, namely for propitiation and remission of sinnes: *Ergo*, it maketh Christs sacrifice vnperfect. *Argumentum M. Bradford. Fox*, pag. 1397. col. 2.

Argum.4. The Masse also is blasphemous to the Priesthood of Christ, which is eternall and perpetuall; but by that popish sacrifice it is made not eternall: That thing is not eternall or perpetuall, which admitteth succession of other to doe the same thing, that was done before, Heb. 7. 23. But the Masse Priests succeede after Christ doing the same sacrifice, as they say, which he did before: *Ergo*, they make Christs Priesthood not to be perpetuall. *Argum. Bradford.*

Argum.5. The popish Priesthood is idolatrous and abominable: *Ergo*, so is their sacrifice. *Probatur antecedens.*

No sacrifice ought to be done, but by a Priest vncte for the same, and appointed vnto it: But all Priests are vnmeete to offer sacrifice for sinne, sauing Christ, because they are sinners, Hebr. 7. 27. And onely Christ is called to that honour, to sacrifice for sinnes, he being the onely Priest after the order of *Melchisedech*, Hebr. 5. 6. *Ergo*, popish Priests haue no authoritie to sacrifice for sinnes, but in so doing commit sacrilege and idolatrie. *Argument. B. Ridley. Fox*, pag. 1645.

Argum.6. The Masse is a vaine, needlesse, and fruitlesse action: *Ergo*, to be abolished. It is thus proued:

After eternall redemption found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.

But Christ hath for vs obtained eternall redemption, Heb. 9. 12. and is able perfectly to saue vs, Heb. 7. 25. *Ergo*, all sacrifice and oblation for the same is needles and in vaine. *Argum. D. Ridley.*

Argum.7. As the matter, end, and the Minister of the Masse are, as we haue seene, all idolatrous and vnlawfull; so also is the manner thereof. All things, according to S. *Paules* rule, ought to be done in the Church in a knowne and edifying tongue; 1. Cor. 14. But the Masse is celebrate in a strange and vnknown tongue: *Ergo*, it ought not to be done or vsed in the Church.

Argum.8. The Masse hindreth the right seruice of God: *Ergo*. Whatsoeuer causeth a man to rest in the outward seruing of God, whose seruice should be inward, in spirit and truth; that hindreth the true seruice of God. But this doth the Masse, requiring nothing but exterpall seruice; in hearing, seeing, gazing, peeping, stouping, kneeling, knocking: yea and they make these things meritorious, *Ex opere operato, etiam sine bono motu intentionis*: By the very worke wrought, without any good motion or intention: *Ergo*, the Masse destroyeth the true seruice of God.

Argum.9. The Masse is an enemie to preaching, praying, and all other godly Christian exercises: *Ergo*.

Where one thing is made and thought to be alone sufficient, there all other helpes are needlesse. But the Masse, as they say, serueth for all, to pardon sinnes, to deliuer from Hell and Purgatorie, to giue health both of bodie and soule: *Ergo*, it maketh all other helpes needlesse, hearing of Gods word, praying, repenting, &c. and other helpes to good life. *Argumentum Magistri Foxii*

Argum.10. As the Masse ouerthroweth the true seruice of God, and doth oppose it selfe to all Christian exercises, so doth it also hinder a good life.

Whatsoeuer maketh men presumptuous, and ministreth false hope of forgiuenesse to the wicked, maketh them more prone and readie to sinne, and hindreth good life.

But this doth the Masse, promising sufficient redemption to the wicked, that haue spent their life in drunkennesse, adulteries, wantonnesse, swearing, riot, extortion, and in all vncleannes, if they will but come to the Church and heare a Masse, and take holy bread, and holy water, or finde a soule Priest, or giue somewhat to the Priest to doe penance for him; though they neither pray, nor repent, nor heare the word preached.

This is proued by the confession of *Roger Holland*, who was at the first an obstinate Papist, yet afterward (God hauing mercy vpon him) he was conuerted to the faith of the Gospell, and dyed a constant Martyr. It is not vnknown (saith he) that I was of this your blind religion, and therein continued obstinately all King *Edwards* dayes: and hauing libertie vnder your auricular confession, I made no conscience of sinne at all; trusting to the Priests absolution, he for money also doing some penance for me: which after I had giuen, I cared no further what offences I did, so that lechery, swearing, and all other vices I accounted no offence or daunger, so long as I might haue them absolued for money. *Hac Roger Holland. Martyr suram Bonero. vid. plur. Fox. pag.* 2040. *col.* 1.

Ergo,

Ergo, the Masse bringeth wicked men into a fooles paradise, and maketh them presumptuous, and more bold to sin, and so hindreth good life. Wherefore, seeing the popish Masse is so contrary to the institution of Christ, so full of errors and blasphemies, so derogatorie to the eternall Priesthood, and onely sufficient sacrifice of Christ, a peruerting of sound doctrine, and a destruction of good life and manners: we conclude, that it is an abominable inuention, and say with Doctor *Taylor*, that it is one of Antichrists daughters, *Epistol. ad vxorem. p.* 1588. with Bishop *Ridley*, that it is one of the massie postes, and mighty pillars of Sathans Synagogue, pag. 1725. with *William Tims* Martyr, that in the sacrament of the Altar, Christ is not present neither spiritually, nor corporally, but as they vse it, it is an abominable Idol, pag. 1897. with *Thomas Hudson* Martyr, that it is a patched monster, a disguised puppet, more longer a peecing then euer was *Salomons* temple, pag. 2035. And therefore to be abhorred and detested of euery good Christian.

HERE FOLLOW OTHER REASONS, WHY IT IS not lawfull to resort to the popish Masse, or any part of their Idolatrous seruice.

Arg. 1. FOr as much, as there haue beene some of opinion, (whether caried away with a selfe loue, and singularitie in themselues, or thereunto driuen by reason of their weakenes, in time of persecution) that a man keeping his heart and conscience to himselfe, might present himselfe, for safegard of his life, at the popish idolatrous and massing seruice. How dangerous this opinion is, and how vnlawfull a thing it is so to do, we will by these reasons make it plaine. First, the Masse, and the whole popish seruice, (though the first we graunt, is fuller of abominations, and therefore more dangerous; yet both of them wicked and abominable;) doth repugne manifestly against Gods word. In the Masse, these things are offensiue, and intolerable; the want of shewing the Lords death, in making it priuate, whereas it should be a Communion: the Sacrament is not communicated vnder both kindes: the signe is seruilely worshipped, for the thing signified: Christs passion is iniuried, seeing they make the Masse a propitiatorie sacrifice: *Ergo*, for these abominations, we ought neither to heare, nor see a Masse. *Argum. Ridley. p.* 1718.

In the popish seruice or leiturgie, these notorious abuses and superstitions are common: in their Mattens and Euensong, there is idolatrie maintained, inuocation of Saintes, kneeling to the Rood, creeping to the Crosse, reading fables in stead of Scripture, prayer for the dead, and all is done in an vnknowne tongue, which is forbidden in Gods word. Wherefore seeing they are manifestly opposite to the word of God, we ought not to vouchsafe our presence, lest thereby we should seeme to giue consent vnto them. *Arg. Bradford in epistol. quad. p.* 1647.

Argum. 2. Wee cannot be partakers of Gods Religion, and Antichrists seruice, whereof the Masse is most principall: and the Latine seruice is a plaine marke of Antichrists Synagogue: a man can not be a member of Christs Church, and of the Popes Church: But he that frequenteth their idolatrous assemblies, maketh himselfe a member thereof: *Ergo*, he cutteth himselfe off from the Church of Christ. *Argum. Bradford.*

Argum. 3. To dissemble, and to halte in matters belonging to Gods glorie, is a thing impious and vngodly: but they which are present at Masse, both hearing the name of God blasphemed, and seeing many abominations, and yet holding their peace, doe notably dissemble: for as the Iewes were wont to rend their clothes, when they heard or saw any thing done or spoken blasphemously against God: and *Paul* and *Barnabas* did so likewise, when they saw the people of Lycaonia readie to offer sacrifice vnto them; so ought we to open our mouthes against the blasphemie and abominations of the Masse: but this the Masse-gospellers doe not: *Ergo*, they are dissemblers, and to be condemned in so doing. *Argum. Bradford epistol. quad. p.* 1652.

Argum. 4. Frequenting of Masse impugneth diuers petitions in the Lordes prayer, and so the practise of such is contrarie to the daily prayer they vse: How can we say, *let thy kingdome come*, and goe to Masse, when as nothing in the earth more destroyeth the preaching & kingdome of Christ, than the Masse? How can we pray, *thy will be done*, when we will doe our owne will, and the will of our parents and friends, and not Gods will? How pray we, *deliuer vs from euill*, which knowing the Masse to be euill, doe come to it? *Ergo*, if we meane, as we pray, going to Masse is to bee auoyded: *Argum. Bradford. ibid.*

Argum. 5. The Masse and Latine seruice, and the setters forth of it, condemne the English reformed seruice, as heresie, and so do they which communicate with their assemblies, thus condemning that in practise, which they allow in iudgement: contrarie to S. *Pauls* rule, *Blessed is hee that condemneth not himselfe, in that thing which he alloweth*, Rom. 14. 22. *Ergo*, in going to Masse, they sin against their owne conscience: *Argum. Bradford. p.* 1647. *col.* 1.

Argum. 6. All things, which giue occasion to the wicked to be more obfirmed, to the weake to stumble and fall, are to be abhorred: But Gospellers going to Masse, and by their presence giuing allowance

allowance of it; doe occasion the obstinate to bee more intractable: the weake Papists to bee more obstinate: the strong Gospellers to be sore weakned: the weake Gospellers to be vtterly ouerthrowne: *Ergo argum. Bradford ibid.*

*Argum.*7. *Daniel* refused to be defiled with the Kings meates, Dan.1.8.which were polluted by idolatrie,and so *Iudith* likewise,Iud.12. The Macchabees manfully gaue their liues in defence of the ceremonies of the Law: *Ergo*,we ought much more to endure and suffer all things for the maintenance of the word of God,and Sacraments:*argum. D. Ridlei pag.*1722.

*Argum.*8. God commaunded his people by the mouth of his Prophet *Amos*, chap.5.vers.5. not to seeke Bethel,neither to enter into Gilgall,where idolatrie was vsed: *My soule hath no pleasure in these, saith the Lord, that withdraw themselues*, Hebr.10.38. *If any man prophane the temple of God,him will God destroy*,1.Cor.3.17. All straunge religion is counted whoredome with the Prophets, and they that follow the same goe a whoring: none of those whose names are written in the booke of life, doe receiue the marke of the beast,Apocal.13.

But they that goe to Masse,enter into Bethel,and Gilgall,that is,places of idolatrie,they withdraw themselues from the faith, in their outward behauiour: they prophane their bodies,which are Gods temples, being present at idolatrous seruice: they goe a whoring after a straunge worship: yea and they carrie the marke of Antichrist in their externall obedience: *Ergo*, the Masse is abominable,and they in so doing,are in daunger of Gods curse: *argum. M. Philpotti Martyr, epist.quad.p.*1832.

*Argum.*9. *Abraham*,because he would not bee partaker of their Idolatrie,fled from the people of Chaldea,his natiue countrie: *Lot* departed from the Sodomites,least hee should bee consumed with them: *Sara* would not suffer *Ismael*,who was giuen to mocking,to keepe companie with her sonne *Isaac*,least he also should become a mocker. *Moses* at Gods appointment, commanded the people to depart from the tents of Chore,Dathan,and Abiram,least they should bee all wrapped in their sinnes,and so perish among them: And the Scripture saith,*Goe out of her my people,that you be not partakers in her sinnes, and so receiue of her plagues*,Apocal.18.vers.4. *Ergo*,we must not keepe companie with Idolaters and Masse-mongers, in their idolatrous and massing temples; for so communicating with them in their sinnes,wee doe entangle our selues in their punishment: *arg. Guilelm. Tyms epist. Fox p.*1900.*col.*2.

*Argum.*10. Lastly,what better proofe can wee haue,then the wofull experience of those,who professing the Gospell,were entised through their infirmitie to come to Masse, and afterward either iudged themselues,feeling inwardly an horror of conscience,and so repented them,or continuing in that sinne, were iudged of God.

Examples of the first,we haue one *Cicelie Ormes*,who for the space of a twelue moneth after she had recanted,could not be quiet in conscience,vntill she had vtterly forsaken all poperie,and at the last gaue her life for the faith of Christ,pag.2023. Also one *William Sparrow*,who hauing yeelded to be confessed and heare Masse,had such trouble in conscience,that he could not bee at rest, til he had renued the confession of his former faith,and dyed for the same, *Fox* pag.2026. Many such examples are occurrent euery where to such,as are conuersant in the stories of the Martyrs: and all these iudged themselues,and found mercie.

I will set set downe one notable example of a backslider, who not iudging himselfe, was iudged of God: One *Robert Edgore* seruing in the place of the Clarke, in the Church of Mendlesham in Suffolke,but sore against his conscience, was at the length so depriued of his wittes,that many yeeres after his poore wife was constrained to keepe him bound in chaines.Notwithstanding this so good a warning, one *George Renet*,that had been a talkatiue Gospeller, for lucres sake, set his sonne into the same roome; and being therefore reproued of some good Christians, his neighbours,he wished of God that if it were not Gods will his sonne should serue in that place, God would shew some straunge token, which came euen so to passe: for the Lord sent vpon him a strange swelling in his legges,which rising vp to his bodie did so torment him, that he dyed most miserably and impatiently,*Fox* pag.1918.col.1.

Thus I trust,it appeareth how daungerous and vnlawfull a thing it is for Christians to associate themselues to idolatrous assemblies,and to be present at Masse,or other popish seruice. Now because it is the propertie of flesh and blood,to seeke starting holes,and to search euery corner, to finde some excuse to salue the weaknes, and infirmitie thereof, and with *Adam* as with fig leaues to hide our nakednes: I will therefore set downe certaine obiections with their answeres: which some haue inuented in defence,or at the least to excuse their going to Masse.

CER-

CERTAINE OBIECTIONS WITH THEIR ANSWERES made by Masse-gospellers, in defence of their going to Masse.

*Obiect.*1. IT is not materiall, though my bodie be present, if my heart doe not consent to their wicked doings.

Ans. 1. Saint *Paul* saith, *Glorifie God in your bodie, and in your spirit*, 1.Cor.6.20. It is not enough then, to reserue our soule onely for God; but as he hath made both bodie and soule, so we must honour him in both, *Respons.M.Philpotti pag.*1832.*col.*1.

2. In *Helies* time God counted none to be his seruants and people, but such as had not bowed their knees to *Baal*, 1.King.19.euen so now he is Gods faithfull seruant, that hath not bowed his knee to the filthie Idoll of the Masse, or any other abomination. We must not thinke that God requireth lesse of vs, than the husband of his wife: will the husband admit his wiues excuse, finding her in bed with another, that her heart notwithstanding is her husbands? No more will Christ allow the presence of your bodie at Masse, though your heart be not consenting to it, *Respons.Bradford.p.*1652.*col.*1.

*Obiect.*2. It is a great crime to diuide and separate our selues from the communion and fellowship of the Church, which is the common practise of the Anabaptists in our daies; and of the Nouatians, and the heretikes called (*Cathari*) in times past: therefore we thinke it best to retaine the fellowship of the Church, and to come to the ordinarie and vsuall assemblies.

Answ. The sect of the Anabaptists, Nouatians, and other heretikes is to bee condemned, who vpon no iust or necessarie occasion doe separate and diuide themselues from the Church: also we graunt that the vnitie of the Church is to be retained by all meanes, as a thing necessarie to saluation: but the Popish Masse, as it is now vsed, is not the communion of the Church, but a monstrous Idoll, and grieuous prophanation of the Lords Supper: So that they which abstaine from it, doe not breake themselues off from the fellowship of the Church, but indeed they depart from Babylon, and the abominations thereof, *Respons.D.Ridlei pag.*1718. Vnitie therefore and concord, is to be sought for by all meanes, and embraced, but vnitie, as Saint *Paul* saith, *Secundum Iesum Christum*, According to Iesus Christ: *Sic beat.Latimer ibid.*

*Obiect.*3. Admit there bee some fault in the Masse, and somewhat that may bee mended, and made better: if you doe not consent thereunto, what neede you further trouble your selfe. *Augustine* saith, that communion of the Sacraments defile not a man, but consent of deedes.

Ans. If there were but some small faults, and indifferent matters, or tolerable abuses in the Masse, rather shewing some imperfection, than tending to open impietie; they might for common quietnes sake bee somewhat borne withall. But now seeing it is stuffed full of blasphemies, and spotted with foule idolatrie, manifestly impugning the holie institution of the Lords Supper: no man can with good conscience either in word or deede, giue consent thereunto. *Augustines* meaning is, that the badnes of the Minister, or of the receiuers, pollute not the Sacraments nor the commers thereunto, where the Sacraments are rightly administred: he saith not, that men abhorring superstition, and the traditions of men, thrust vpon the Church in stead of Godsword, ought not to refraine from them for feare of pollution, *Resp.beat.Ridlei.Martyr.p.*1719.

*Obiect.*4. Vnto this your fact in abstaining from the Church by reason of the Masse, the examples of the Prophets, of Christ, of the Apostles is contrarie: for wee doe not reade, that any of them, no not in most superstitious times, refused to communicate in the Temple with the people, in their sacrifices, and other Sacraments of the Law. Our Sauiour Christ and his Apostles, making no doubt or scruple, haunted the Temple: *Ergo*, you also may safely come to the popish Churches.

Answ. That the Prophets, Apostles, yea our Sauiour Christ himselfe, resorted to the Iewish Temple, we graunt: but we reade not that they did communicate with them in their idolatrie, or superstitious worships, but reproued them: onely in the lawfull ceremonies and rites of the law, they associated themselues to their assemblies: So neither are we angrie with the Churches, or the men there congregated, but would willingly resort to them, to heare Gods word, and if we might haue the Sacraments rightly administred: but not to communicate with them in their idolatrous seruices, we are taught by the examples aforesaid, *Resp.beat.Ridl.ad Antonij obiect.p.*1722.

*Obiect.*5. You condemne the Masse, because it is said in an vnknowne tongue, and therefore refuse to come vnto it. So is Baptisme also ministred in the Latine tongue: and yet, you will not say, that a child hauing receiued it, is to be baptized againe.

Ans. There is great difference betweene the popish Masse, and Baptisme vsed in poperie: first, I deny not Baptisme to be a Sacrament in their church, nor say it ought to be reiterated, because the substance

tance of the institution is kept, to baptize in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghost. But the Masse is neither sacrifice, nor Sacrament at all, because many substantials of the institution are wanting, as we haue sheiued before. 2. Though Baptisme, and all other publike exercises ought to be celebrate in the vulgar tongue, yet there is not the like necessitie in Baptisme, because the children are not able to vnderstand what is spoken, in what language soeuer: but to the other Sacrament, none but such as are of discretion, are admitted. 3. Though children baptized in poperie, are not to bee baptized againe, yet when they come to yeeres of discretion, they must be taught and instructed in the Christian faith: and for such children, as are not yet baptized, the parents might doe better to defer their Baptisme, than to receiue it in the popish Church, till some conuenient time, when they may get one to minister Baptisme, not in substance only, but in rites and ceremonies agreeable to Christs institution, wherein the Baptisme of the popish Church faileth, *Resp. Conf. beat. Ridlei. Fox p.* 1722.

Obiect. 6. Some will say, excusing themselues for their going to Masse, God is mercifull, and louing ouer all, and I trust he will forgiue vs.

Answ. True it is, God is mercifull, but wee must not sinne vpon hope of forgiuenesse. Gods mercie is aboue all his workes, and yet but vpon such as feare him: as wee reade in the Psalme; *The mercie of God is on them that feare him*, Psalm. 103. 17. And to feare God is to turne from euill, and doe that which is good. So that they which looke to bee partakers of Gods mercie, must not delight in any knowne and manifest euill, *Resp. Conf. beat. Philpot. Fox pag.* 1832.

Obiect. 7. We are commaunded to obey our Magistrates, though they bee wicked: and therefore seeing they commaund and inioyne vs to come to Masse, we see not how wee can doe otherwise for feare of contempt, and disobedience.

Answ. We are bound indeede to obey wicked Gouernours, but so long onely, as they commaund nothing contrarie to Gods word: if they doe, wee must herein follow the Apostles example, who not obeying the Magistrates wicked precepts, answered; that it was better to obey God than men, Act. 4. And our Sauiour Christ teacheth vs, to giue vnto *Cæsar*, the things that are *Cæsars* and to God, the things that are Gods, *Resp. Conf. Philpot.*

Obiect. 8. Some other there be, that for an extreame refuge in their euill doing, doe runne vnto Gods predestination, and election, saying, If I bee elected of God to saluation, I shall bee saued, whatsoeuer I doe.

Answ. These men bee great tempters of God: they will at the diuels bidding cast themselues downe from the pinnacle of the Temple, by presumption, that God may preserue them by his Angels, through predestination. We must not doe euill, that good may come thereof, whose damnation is iust, saith S. *Paul*, Rom. 3. 8. Wee must also consider, that God hath chosen vs to this end, that we should be holie, Ephes. 1. 4. And Saint *Peter* willeth vs to make our election sure through good workes, 2 Pet. 1. 10. The consideration of our election then, is so farre off from making vs carelesse of good workes, that it will rather stirre vs vp to all godlines of life. So that hee which answereth not himselfe to all obedience of life, hath good cause to doubt, that he is none of Gods elect, *Resp. Conf. Philpot. ibid.*

Obiect. 9. Some doe obiect the example of *Naaman* the Syrian; who being newly conuerted to the worship of the God of Israel, desired to be dispensed with, when hee should goe in with the King into the house of his Idoll *Rimmon*, and there bow himselfe, together with the King, that heere God would be mercifull vnto him: vnto whom the Prophet answered; Goe in peace, as liking of his motion, and yeelding to it.

Answ. This example is so farre from being any warrant for Christians to present themselues in Idolatrous Temples, that it rather maketh against it: for the Prophets answere, Goe in peace, doth insinuate no graunt made of his petition, but rather a prohibition, not to trouble himselfe about those matters: as if he should haue said, content thy selfe, request no such thing, it would trouble thy conscience, but goe in peace, keepe a good conscience, and labour for the peace thereof. That the Prophet is thus to be vnderstood, it shall appeare by these two arguments.

First, the circumstance of this place sheweth it: *Naaman* made two requests: one for a toleration to goe into *Rimmons* Temple: the other, for two Mules loade of earth to carrie home with him, to sacrifice vpon vnto the Lord. Now the Prophet made the same answere to both: he then either graunted both, or denieth both: but graunt them both he did not: for the one was cleane contrarie to the law, to giue *Naaman* leaue to sacrifice in Syria, whereas Ierusalem was onely appointed to bee the place of sacrifice: neither did *Naaman* aske to haue any Priest or Leuite with him, to whom it onely pertained to offer sacrifice: so this had beene another transgression of the law. This request therefore, the Prophet in no wise is to bee thought to haue graunted: *Ergo*, not the other.

Secondly, the vse of this phrase in Scripture, *Goe in peace*, may teach vs how it is to bee taken here: it is twice vsed in one chapter, 2. King. 4. vers. 23. and 26. In the 23. verse the Shunamite, so

soone as her child was departed, which God had giuen vnto her, according to the word of Elias made haste to goe to the Prophet: her husband not knowing the cause, seemed to bee vnwilling: *Wherefore wilt thou goe to him to day, saith he, seeing it is neither new moone, nor Sabbath day?* She answered, *Peace be vnto thee, and so went on her iourney:* In so saying, she condescendeth not to her husbands minde, but willeth him onely to content himselfe, and not to be too inquisitiue. Likewise in the 26. verse, as she was comming toward the Prophet, *Gehezi* met her and said, *Art thou health? is thy husband and the child in health?* She answered, *Peace be vnto thee:* which was not an affirmation of his question, but a watch-word, that he should desist from further enquiring of her. As this forme of salutation is taken in these places, in the same sense did the Prophet vse it, when he said to *Naaman, Peace be vnto thee:* wishing him to content, and quiet his minde, and not to trouble himselfe with such curious matters, which might disturbe the peace of his conscience. And thus I thinke this place is answered.

Obiect. 10. Last of all, it may bee thus obiected out of the 8. of the first to the Corinthians, verse. 10. where the Apostle writeth thus: *If any man see thee which hast knowledge sit downe in the Idols Temple, shall not the conscience of him that is weake, be bold to eate things sacrificed to Idols?* Here the Apostle reprooueth not the sitting downe in, or resorting to the Temples of Idols, but onely the eating of things offred to Idols, whereby the weake might be offended: wherefore it seemeth not by the Apostle to be condemned.

Answ. 1. This question whether it be lawfull to eate things sacrificed to Idols, the Apostle handleth at large, in the tenth chapter from the 19. verse to the end: where the whole question is diuided into three members or parts. First, whether it be lawfull to eate them before the Idols in Idolatrous Temples. Secondly, whether they may buy such meate in the shambles: for that which was left of the sacrifices, the idolatrous Priests put to sale for their aduantage. Thirdly, whether they might eate such things, if they were inuited by the Infidels home to their owne houses. And two last cases the Apostle alloweth in themselues, as matters lawfull and indifferent, vnles the weake brother be thereby offended: but the first he maketh absolutely vnlawfull, without any respect had to the offence: Ye cannot, saith he, bee partakers of the Lordes table, and the table of diuels: that is, they which communicate in Christian assemblies, thereby making themselues members of Christ, ought not to associate themselues to the companie of the idolatrous table, who in their filthie Idols worshipped diuels, verse. 20. 21.

Secondly, this being then the Apostles iudgement in that place, no doubt hee is of the same minde and meaning here, that it is vtterly vnlawfull to sit downe at the sacrificers feasts in the Idoll Temples: yet he speaketh onely of the offence, that may arise to the weake, about the eating of things sacrificed, because this is the matter onely here in question, simplie for the lawfulnes of eating or not eating, without any relation had vnto the place, as it may appeare verse. 4. And therefore the Apostle, who doth alwaies keepe himselfe to the very point of the question, handleth the part lesse pertinent to his purpose, and standeth wholly vpon the other, deciding the rest in the tenth chapter. This place then, is so farre off from giuing allowance, either of Christians resorting then to Idolatrous Temples, or now to popish seruices: that by comparing this place, in the eight chapter, and the other in the tenth, verse. 20. we doe gather a strong argument, against such practises: for as the Apostle there reasoneth against Idoll sacrifices, that they sacrificed vnto diuels, because Idolatrie is the inuention of the diuell: So we may say that Masse-seruice is the seruice of the diuell, that monstrous Idoll being of his inuention and deuising; and they therefore that are partakers of it, doe worship the inuention of the diuell, and so in like manner are partakers of the table of diuels.

I will end now this treatise with a notable saying of Saint *Augustine: Contestor vos omnes coram Deo & Angelis eius, ac denuntio, vt nec ad diabolica illa conuiuia, quæ aut ad fanum, ad fontes, aut ad arbores fiant, veniatis: etsi vobis forte inde aliquid transmissum fuerit, tanquam si ipsum diabolum videatis perhorrescite, vt nec in domum vestram permittatis, de illo sacrilego conuiuio quicquam exhiberi, propter illud Apostoli, Non potestis calicem domini bibere, & calicem dæmoniorum:* I doe charge you all before God and his Angels, and denounce vnto you, that ye neither goe your selues vnto those diuelish feasts, which are made in their temples, by fountaines, or vnder trees: and if any thing chance to be sent vnto you from those feasts, to be afraid to touch it, as if ye saw the diuell himselfe, neither suffer any part of such sacrilegious feasts to come within your house, because the Apostle hath said, Ye cannot be partakers of the Lords cup, and the cup of diuels, *Serm. de temper.* 241.

Thus (I trust) it hath been sufficiently declared, how horrible and daungerous a thing it is, for good Christians and welwillers of the Gospell, though not consenting in heart, yet in bodie to be present at Idolatrous seruices, such as we are perswaded the Masse-worship is. We haue also seene their weake grounds and simple excuses, which goe about to maintaine and vphold their weakenes and imbecillitie herein. And here an end of this matter.

As we haue hitherto declared, how vnlawfull a thing it is, for professors of the Gospell to resort to

to Masse, or Masse-seruice; and answered, what on the contrarie part may be obiected: so now in the next place, we will deale against our Recusants, that refuse to come to the English Leiturgie, as it is now vsed in the Church of England: who being of two sorts, either popish, or schismaticall Recusants, wee will buckle with them both in order, with the popish first, and then with the other. And seeing these also are not all of one sort, for some will frequent our prayers, but not abide to heare sermons; others will resort to both these, but to the Communion in no wise. A third sort more slauishly addicted to poperie than the rest, refuse to bee present at any of them, either prayers, preaching, or Sacraments: we will put them all together, and ioyntly deale with them: first confuting their arguments, which they bring in defence of their recusancie, and then conuincing them by contrarie arguments.

POPISH ARGVMENTS CONFVTED, COMmonly alleaged in defence of Recusants.

Arg. 1. THeir first argument is drawne from the matter of our Communion and seruice: they most blasphemously call our Communion, the cup and table of diuels, wherein the diuell (say they most wickedly) is properly serued, *Rhemist. 1. Cor. 10. annot. in vers. 9.* and that our Communion will come at length to the sacrifice of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, *Rhemist. lob. 4. 4.* And as for our seruice, they say, it is the seruice of *Baal*, and plaine Idolatrie, *Rhemist. 2. Cor. 6. vers. 14.* And therfore they will none of our Communion or seruice.

Answ. First, this new vpstart generation of Papists, in these their lyes and blasphemies, filleth vp the measure of their forefathers: for as they blasphemed, so doe these. One sometime a B. in their Church, vnreuerently calleth the Communion table, an oyster table: Bishop *White*, *Fox* pag. 1765. Another saith, an houell is good enough for our Communion: they get them a tankard (saith he) and one saith, I drinke and am thankfull: the more ioy of thee, saith another, *Weston Fox* pag. 1459. These lyes and blasphemies they cast not at vs, but euen against Christs institution: for they shall neuer be able to shew, as long as the world standeth, that any thing is vsed in our Communion beside or contrarie to Christs institution: Christ tooke bread and wine and blessed it, so doe we: he said, *Take, eate, drinke ye all of this*; so both the bread and cup is distributed in the Communion: he bad vs doe it in remembrance of him; so wee doe celebrate the Communion, as a commemoration of Christs death and passion: and in all things, as neere as we can, we obserue and keepe the first institution. Wherefore, if our Communion bee the table of diuels; if it be the fraft of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, then was Christs euen so, which to think, what horrible and inexpiable blasphemie is it?

Secondly, they do but preuent vs: for the Idoll of the Masse is, as they say falsely of our Communion; and as a notable Martyr said, It is Antichrists daughter, in which the diuell is rather present and receiued, than Christ: Doctor *Taylor*, pag. 1528. For in how many points doe they varie from the institution? Christ said, *Take ye, eate ye*, ministring to many; they make it priuate only to the Priest: Christ appointed it to be eate and drunk; they hang it vp in pixes and make an Idoll of it: Christ celebrated in both kindes; they take away the cup from the people: Christ calleth it the fruite of the vine, and *Paul* bread after consecration: they say, there is neither bread nor wine, but onely the bodie and blood of Christ. See more of this matter, *argum. 1. general. cont. Missam.*

Beside these contradictions to Christs institution: One denieth that the Sacrament hath a promise of remission of sinnes: and yet Christ speaking of his blood, as it is represented in the Sacrament, saith, *which is shed for you, and for many, for remission of sinnes.* The same partie also graunted another great absurditie, that Christ eate his owne bodie, *Moreman. in disput. conuocat. pag. 1412.* Another denieth the Eucharist to be a Sacrament of the bodie of Christ, sauing onely of his mysticall bodie, which is the Church, *D. Coole disput. Oxonien. pag. 1434. col. 1.* Another stoute champion of theirs, denyed that Christ commaunded the Sacrament, or the vse of it: and that *Take ye, eate ye*, was no commaundement. B. *Winchest. p. 1611. col. 1.*

Let any indifferent man now iudge, whether of vs are departed from the institution of Christ: and whether wee may not more iustly call their Masse-seruice, the seruice of the diuell, than they can so terme ours, being in euery respect answerable to Christs institution.

Thirdly, but are they not ashamed to charge vs with Idolatrie? What dare they not now say, seeing they herein, against all shew of truth, will not sticke to belye vs? I pray you where be our Idols of siluer or gold? can you see your selues, or shew others any in our Churches? There are but two things requisite to Idolatrie; To haue and set vp Images, and then to bow downe vnto them and adore them. The Lutheranes haue Images, but adore them not; we neither haue them, nor adore them: Papists doe both: the Lutheranes come neerer Idolatrie than Protestants: if they be not Idolaters, much lesse are we.

I pray you this: if a Iew or Turke, which both of them hate Images, should come first into a popish Church, and see in euery corner an Image, beautified and garnished, and the people kneeling before them, knocking vpon their breasts: afterward let him bee brought into a Church of the Protestants, where there is neither Image to bee seene, nor any crouching or bowing vnto them; whether of these two now would he count Idolatrous Churches? or whether people would he call Idolaters? But thus blinde are the Papists, that they take bitter for sweete, and sweete for bitter, they call good euill, and euill good, as the Prophet saith. They would haue vs to bee counted Idolaters, which neither haue Images, nor yet doe worship them: and themselues to bee none, which doe both. Wee worship not *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, that is, Bread and Wine, as the Manichees sometime obiected against the Christians, and the Papists doe now against Protestants. Wee vse bread and wine in the Sacrament, and reuerence them as holie signes, but we bow not down vnto them, nor worship them. Our aduersaries indeed do make an Idoll of a piece of bread, when the Priest boweth himselfe to the hoast in the Masse, saying, *I worship thee, I glorifie thee:* what monstrous Idolatrie is this, so to adore a cake made of flower? Who are now the worshippers of *Ceres* & *Bacchus* but Papists? For that which they doe such homage vnto, in shew is Bread, in taste and feeling Bread; in the eye, the mouth, and hand, Bread: what is it els then but Bread, whatsoeuer they say? Like vnto the old idolatrous Israelites, who, as the *Septuagint* translate, and as *Augustine* readeth: *Elegerunt nouos Deos, εἰς ἄρτον ἀρίσιμον, vt panē hordeaceū:* They chose new Gods, as barlie bread: that is, they changed their Gods, as men do change their bread, as *Augustine* expoundeth it, *qu. 30. in lib. Iudicum.* So the Papists haue chosen a new God, euen *panē triticeum*, wheaten bread. We may put out *εἰς ἄρτον*, as bread; for they do worship, not barlie, (for that is the only difference) but wheaten bread indeed. Wherefore, seeing our Communion is the seruice of Christ, not the seruice of the deuel, as they blaspheme, & it is as far off from idolatrie, as that which hath the least agreement with it; in this respect they haue no cause to refraine our churches: & thus is their first reason answered.

Argum. 2. Another fault they finde with our congregations and assemblies; calling our Temples and people, schismaticall: and therefore they will not come at them, *Rhemist. anno. 1. Corinth. 6. 14.* Thus then they reason: It is not lawfull to assemble, or pray with schismatikes; you are schismatikes: *Ergo.*

Answ. First, the proposition is not true, that it is not lawfull to pray with schismatikes: for *Schisma*, be nothing else, as it is defined in *Augustine contra Faust. lib. 20. cap. 2. Quam eadem quantem atque eodem ritu colentem, quo cateri, solo congregationis delectari discidio:* For a man holding the same iudgement in religion, and the same manner of worship, onely to separate himselfe from the rest of the congregation: I see no reason, why it is not lawfull to pray with such, who faile not in any point of faith, though they breake the bond of charitie; but both haue the word of God, and Sacraments truly taught and administred: so that by our comming to them, we seeme not to approue their schisme. Did not Saint *Paul* ioyne himselfe to the Iewish Synagogues, which were more then schismatically diuided from the true Church, both enduring to heare the lectures of the law read, as also himselfe to preach amongst them, yea and to pray (for their preaching was not without prayer?) reade Acts chap. 13. and 15.

Secondly, the assumption or second part of their reason, is more false and vntrue than the first: for, be it knowne vnto them, we are no schismatikes, theirs is the schismaticall Church. First, Saint *Paul* sheweth who are schismatikes: namely, *They which depart, and play the apostataes from the faith, giuing eare to the doctrine of diuels, as forbidding of mariage, and teaching to abstaine from meats*, 1. Timoth. 4. vers. 1. 3. But they, not we, teach these doctrines: *Ergo*, they, not we, are the schismatikes and apostataes. Secondly, euery departure maketh not a schisme. Wee are commanded to depart from Babylon, Apocal. 18. 4. that is, not to communicate with their sinnes and errors: so wee in leauing the Church of Rome, haue not forsaken the fellowship of the true Church, but onely shaken hands with their filthie and abominable doctrine.

Thirdly, euery absolute kingdome and Church, may measure themselues by themselues: and may easily know who they are that diuide themselues from the society of that Church, where they liue, without comparison and respect had to other Churches: As to know who are schismatikes in England, we neede not runne to Rome, but they are such, as separate themselues from the lawfull congregations in England, which haue the right vse the Word, and Sacraments: to trie out this matter by their owne rules; who are the schismatikes in our Church? they that steale their Masses in corners, or they that heare diuine seruice, according to Gods word, publikely in Churches? Is the whole congregation schismaticall, or a few singular fellowes rather, that doe diuide themselues from the rest?

S. *Augustine* speaking of the Gentiles in his time, saith, *Si non consentiant veritati vestrae, erubescant paucitati suae:* If they will not agree to your veritie, let them be ashamed of their paucitie: in *Matth. serm. 6.* So may I say of popish Recusants in England, that although their number is not so small, as might be wished, and I trust in time may be, yet God be thanked it is not so great, as that it

is able to counteruaile by many parts the Lordes royall host of Protestants: whose number daily let vs beseech God to encrease: *Ergo*, wee are no schismatikes, and so haue they lost also this argument.

Argum. 3. Catholikes must haue nothing to doe with heretikes, speciallie in prayers: *Ergo*, they refuse to assemble with vs in our Churches, holding vs to be heretikes, *Rhemist. annot. 2. Cor. 6. 14.*

Solu. 1. It is not indeede lawfull to pray with heretikes, because their prayers also are heretikall: but so are not our prayers, which most of them, I thinke, they themselues will not refuse to say Amen vnto: for many of them, the very same, they also vse in their seruice, as the *Gloria in excelsis*, the Epistle and Gospell, the Creede, the Lords prayer, and many Collects and short prayers beside: (for what is good in their seruice and Leiturgie, and may be vsed without superstition, we thinke not much to retaine:) *An heretike* (saith Saint *Paul*) *after two or three admonitions, auoide*, Tit. 3. But what if prayers vsed by those, whom you count heretikes, haue not any thing worthie of admonition or reproofe? why then should such prayers bee shunned, and auoyded? but such are ours: *Ergo*.

2. The accusation of heresie, we do with much better right, and iuster title returne vpon your head, which you shall neuer be able to fasten vpon vs. First, if they will bee tried by Saint *Paul's* rule, he saith, *He that loueth not the Lord Iesus, let him be accursed*, 1. Corinth. 16. 21. Who is he now, that loueth not the Lord Iesus? Is it he, that ascribeth his saluation only to Christ Iesus, in whole and in part, the beginning, continuing, and end: or he rather who hopeth to be saued partly by the death of Christ, partly by his owne merits? who saith, the beginning of his iustification, which they call the first iustification, is of grace: the second (which indeede is nothing else but sanctification, the fruits of iustification) say they, is merited. I thinke the first loueth Christ: such I trust, are we: the second, I am afraid, loueth him not: for Christ will not part stakes, nor giue his honour to another: of this sort, I would our aduersaries were not. They therefore, if any, are the heretikes, and to be holden accursed.

3. Or will they stand to *Augustines* definition of an heretike: *Haereticus est, qui alicuius temporalis commodi, & maximè gloriae & principatus causa, falsas & nouas opiniones, aut gignit, aut sequitur*: He is an heretike, who for some temporall commoditie, or glorie and chiefedome sake, doth either inuent and begin false and new opinions, or doth follow them: *De vtilitat. credend. c.* 1. Now we neither inuent nor follow false or new opinions: not false; for our desire is to be tried with our opinions by the touchstone of Gods word in Scripture reuealed, the only rule of faith: and therfore we loue not the errors of darknes, seeing we hate not ỹ light: not new; for our faith is the ancient Catholik Apostolike faith, reuealed by Christ, preached by ỹ Apostles, professed in ỹ church many hundreds after, sealed with the blood of Martyrs: and this ancient freehold of our faith, they shall be neuer able to driue vs from. Againe, as wee are free from the false and straunge opinions of heretikes, so also wee defie their couetous and ambitious minde. What temporall commoditie (I pray you) did the Protestants looke for, in the late daies of persecution in England, when as for their conscience and faith sake, some lost their liuings and dignities in the Church, Bishoprickes, Archbishoprickes, Deanries, Archdeaconries, yea and their countrie withall? And as for vainglorie, it was farre from them, as it appeareth by their deepe protestations being charged therewith; as you may reade in Master *Bradfords* storie, *Fox* pag. 1606. And Master *Philpot* doth in great vehemencie of spirit in this manner discharge himselfe: *I protest here before God, and his eternall sonne Iesus Christ my Sauiour, and the holy Ghost and his Angels, that I doe not stand in any opinion of wilfulnes or singularitie, &c.* pag. 1800. And who would not beleeue them, both for their earnest protestation sake, but much more for that they declared it in deede? for what list, thinke we, or leisure had those holy men, to seeke for the fame of this world, when they looked euery day when their liues should be taken from them? Fame and estimation is much desired in the world, but hardly will a man purchase it by the losse of his life.

But what shall we thinke of our aduersaries? Is not the hope or rather hauing of gaine a great piller of their profession, and the fayrest white, that they ayme at? Let their Pilgrimages, Masses, Dirges, Trentals, Suffrages for the dead, purgatorie doctrine, pardons, Indulgences, and the like trumpery speake in this case, if lucre were not the mother, that bare them, and the nurse that fed and nourished them. There was neuer any such gainfull religion to the professors thereof since the world began, as popery hath been to Popes, Cardinals, Abbots, Monkes, Friers, and the like. And what for principality? do they contemne and despise it? I thinke no. What els made Popes in times past so proud, as to make Emperors and Kings their slaues and vassals, to tread on their neckes, to make them dance attendance in frost and cold, barefoote, and barelegged at their gates, to cause them to kisse their feet, to hold their stirrop, and leade their horse by the bridle, and such like seruices they put them to? Is not this the prince of pride? Why doth the Pope chalenge to be head of Christs Church, to be the Lord of the whole world, aboue kings and princes, and

proposeth it to bee beleeued as an article of faith to all his subiects: if hee were not possessed with pride? *Erasmus* that famous learned Clerke well perceiued the pride and couetousnes of this generation, when hee being asked by the Duke of Saxony, what hee thought of *Luthers* proceedings, wittily answered, that hee dealt with two things, which were in no wise to bee touched, *the Popes crowne, and the Monkes belly*: meaning the pride of the one, and the couetous desire of the other. Wherefore, if the holding of false and strange opinions on the one side, with hope and desire of gaine or glorie on the other, doe make an heretike, who seeth not that this definition better agreeth to the members of the Church of Rome, then vnto Protestants? We are then no heretikes, much lesse are our prayers and seruice heretical: and therefore our Recusants in this respect haue no cause to absent themselues from our congregations.

*Argum.*4. An other reason of their recusancie is drawne from the Ministers of the word and Sacrament amongst vs: Heretikes, say they, are not to be heard, though they pray and preach the truth, *Rhemist. annot. Mark.*3. *ver.*1. *Ergo*, they will not heare our Ministers either preach or pray.

*Answ.*1. That the truth is not to be heard or receiued at heretikes hands, it hath neither warrant of Scripture, nor good ground of reason: First, *Augustine* saith, reasoning thus out of Scripture, *Euangelium Iudas sine detrimento fidelium prædicauit: Iudas* preached the Gospel, without any hinderance or losse to the faithfull: *Nunquid Paulus gauderet de talium prædicatione, qui contentiosè erant, nisi sciret, quod illis pernitiosum esset, rem castam non castè annuntiare, illis salubre qui per illa proficerent ad salutem*: Or would *Paul* haue reioyced of their preaching, which were contentious, as he doth, Philip.1.18. but that he knew, that it was hurtfull to them that preached the truth not chastly, but holesome to them, that profited thereby to saluation? *Lib.*2. *cont. epist. Petil. ca.*11. Here be two examples out of Scripture, which shew, that the truth by whomsoeuer may safely be preached: our Sauiour Christ neither condemned *Iudas* preaching of the Gospel, that child of perdition, nor yet *Paul* the contentious preaching of false disciples.

Augustine addeth also a third example out of the Gospel: *Botrum carpe, spinam cane: Cathedra Moysi, vitis est: Pharisæorũ mores & doctrina, spina*: Take the grape, but beware the thorne: the vine, is the chaire of *Moses*; the thorne is, the corrupt doctrine and manners of the Pharisies, *Tract. in Ioban.*46. The Pharisies had many erronious doctrines, and therefore our Sauiour Christ giueth his Apostles warning to take heede of their leauen: yet so long as they taught the truth sitting in *Moses* chayre, our Sauiour biddeth to heare them, Mat.23.2. Secondly, besides those examples out of Scripture, it is thus confirmed by reason: *Augustine* denieth that heretikes are worse then ethnikes and Infidels: his reason is, because Christ saith, *If a man heare not the Church, let him be vnto thee as an Infidel*: making that the extreamest, and most dangerous case of all: But, saith he, *In ipsis ethnicis, quod rectum erat, approbarunt apostoli*: the Apostles in the very heathen allowed that was right, as Act.17. S. *Paul* citeth a place out of an Athenian Poet: *Ergo*, that which is right we may heare and allow, euen in heretikes.

2 Yet, though this were granted, that heretikes are not to be heard, no, not speaking the truth, that our Ministers are heretikes, or fauourers or followers of heretikes, or that they draw neere vnto heresie, they shall neuer be able to proue: So that they are satisfied for this, and need not therefore be so scrupulous in this behalfe, in not comming to our prayers.

*Argum.*5. A Catholike man, say the Rhemists, is bound to confesse his faith, *Rhemist. Luk.*10. *ver.*8. And, *Annot. Ioban.*12. *ver.*42. they doe sharpely rebuke and reprehend such Catholikes, as dare not freely confesse their faith: hereupon it followeth, that a Pope Catholike professor ought in no wise to resorte to the Churches of Protestants: which cannot be done without dissimulation of their faith, which they should openly and boldly professe.

*Answ.*1. The Rhemists iudgement in this place concerning the open profession of faith, we doe willingly approue and allow: and we could wish, that all the Pope Catholikes in England at this day were of this minde, and herein would followe the counsell and aduise of their ghostly Fathers of Rhemes: that is, that all English Papists were become Recusants, and would openly shew what lyeth hidde in their breasts, that we might better take heede of them. But it is to be feared, that we haue many hollowe hearted Countrey men, that do openly resort to our congregations in body, but in heart communicate not with vs; who haue English faces, but Romish hearts: These are our most daungerous enemies, and chiefly to be feared: vnto whom we may vse that good olde saying, *Aut appare quod es, aut esto quod appares*: Either appeare as thou art, or be that which thou appearest. So it were to be wished, that these cunning fellowes would either appeare outwardly to be Papists if they be so in heart, or els be Gospellers indeede, as they shew by their outward behauiour.

2 Faith in deed is publikely to be confessed: dissimulation in all matters is to be misliked, but it is worst in religion: yet he, that will make publike confession of his faith, had needs be sure, he

he is in a right faith, least afterward he be ashamed of his faith: And so I would that Popish Recusants did confesse their faith, that is, to abide and endure the examining, sifting and try all of their faith by the Scriptures, and not to refuse our Sermons, bookes, conferences, admonitions, whereby we declare vnto them the errors of their faith: For this is to confesse our faith, as S. *Peter* deuiseth it: *To giue an answere to euery one that asketh vs a reason, &c.* 1. Pet. 3. 15. These Recusants then, are no open confessors of their faith, for as much as they are not ready to giue an account thereof: which course if they would take, I doubt not, but in the ende they should see the errors, whereunto they had been nusled, and so confesse, and set before their face their faith, as *Augustine* saith of sin: *Tu peccatum tuum ante faciem tuam conuerte, si vis vt inde faciem Dei auertat: si peccatum tuum in dorso tuo ponis, Deus ibi faciem ponit:* Set then thy sin before thy face, if thou wilt haue God therefrom to turne his face, but if thou place thy sinne behinde, as on thy backe, that is, hide it, thether also God turneth his face: that is, God will hide his face from thee, as thou hidest thy sinne from him. Thus let these selfe-willed Recusants confesse and acknowledge their faith, that is, sette before their eyes their errors and false opinions, so would God forgiue them their ignorances and errors, and thus they should be right confessors of the popish faith, confessors not to maintaine, but to forsake it and to be ashamed of it. In Psal. 50.

3 A man we graunt, is in no case to dissemble his faith: that is no right faith, or profession, which alloweth dissimulation, nor yet he a good professor, or faithfull man, that will dissemble: for we are not ignorant, what our Sauiour Christ saith, that *whoso denieth him before men, him will he deny before his father in heauen.* To this purpose may be remembred, what *Augustine* reporteth of the conuersion of one *Victorinus* a Rhetorician of Rome: who after he was become a Christian, yet frequented not the Christian assemblies: vnto whom *Simplicianus* a godly Priest was wont to say, *Ego te non deputabo inter Christianos, nisi in Ecclesia te videro:* I will not for my part count you a Christian, vnlesse I see you in the Church of Christians. But he at the first scoffed, saying: *Ergone parietes faciunt Christianos?* then belike the walles of the Church make Christians? Afterward being better aduised, he resorted to the Church, was baptized, and openly (standing in an high place) confessed his faith before the congregation, whereas he might haue done it more secretly: giuing this reason of his so doing: *Non erat salus (inquit) quam docebam in Rhetorica, & eam tamen publice professus sum:* That tended not to saluation, which I taught in Rhetorike, and yet I publikely professed it: meaning that much more faith, whereby we are led vnto life, ought boldly and publikely to be professed, *August. lib. confess. 8. cap. 2.*

This then being fully determined and concluded, that faith is not to be cloked, or dissembled: let vs see how much our aduersaries come short and fayle in this poynt, and so offend against their owne rules; amongst whom, it is an vsuall and common trade in the most, to cloake their popish profession with an outward countenance and semblance of the Gospel. And with Papists it is no rare thing to dissemble both in religion and other affaires of life. Was it not said openly in the Councel of Constance, when they brake the Emperors safe conduct granted to *Iohn Hus*, that *fides non est seruanda hæreticis*, that faith is not to be kept with heretikes? The like answere was made anno 1526. by *Hannart* the Emperors Ambassadour, that whereas the Lady *Katherine* the Emperors yonger sister was promised to *Iohn Fredericke* Duke of Saxony in mariage, and writings were made thereupon, yet after the reformation of Religion in Saxony, the couenant was broken: for with heretikes, said *Hannart*, promise is not to be kept. *Fox.* p. 884. col. 1.

It is not long since here in England solemne promise was made, that the religion established in King *Edwards* dayes should not be altered, and it was made by one that then ruled the helme, yet was it not performed, *vid. Fox.* p. 1407. If they can thus dissemble, and breake their troth and faith in humane matters, who doubteth thereof, but that they will be changelings in Religion: for as S. *Iames* saith, *A wauering minded man is vnstable in all his wayes*, Iam. 1. 8. that is, both toward God and men. He that knoweth the vertue of the Popes dispensations, which can dissolue othes and vowes, may easily thinke that Pope Catholikes may bee dispensed withall to dissemble in Religion: How else came it about, that so many Protestants in shew, in King *Edwards* dayes, were so soone transformed into Papists in Queene *Maries:* and so many Papists then, had so soone put on the face of Protestantes in Queene *Elizabeths* gracious raygne? I could wish with all my heart, that all the Papists at this present day in England, were Recusants, that we might the better take heede of them. But it is to feared, that there be many close Papists in England, that are content for a while to temporize, watching for an houre, which I trust they shall neuer see: like vnto the heretikes called Priscillianists, of whom *Augustine* reporteth, that they thought it lawfull, *mendacio aduersus hæreticos, & se catholicos fingere:* to cloake their heresie by a lie, and to faine themselues good Catholikes, *Lib. cont. mendacium cap. 1.* I would we had no such Romanists now in England, which faine themselues to be true Catholike Protestants.

Thus then are our aduersaries answered for this matter, whom first we desire to follow their owne rules, that is, to deale plainely with vs, and to shew themselues outwardly, as they are in

heart: And then we doe wiſh, that they would glorifie God, and confeſſe their errors, and ſo be reformed both in heart, and changed alſo in their outward profeſſion: ſo may they ſafely reſort to our Chriſtian aſſemblies, without diſſembling their conſcience.

Argum.6. Another reaſon of their Recuſancie is drawne from the ſequell or euent of their comming to our Churches, if they ſhould yeelde thereunto: that is, they thinke that their preſence would grace and countenance, and bring credite to our aſſemblies, which by all meanes they labour to diſcredit, and bring into contempt: for thus the Rhemiſts open their blaſphemous mouth, *It muſt needes be an honour to Caluines communion, when Catholikes are ſeene in the Idols temple, ſitting at the abominable table. Annot.1.Cor.8.ver.10.*

Anſw. Firſt, we know no ſuch *Caluins* communion amongſt vs: that which we haue is Chriſts communion: and of his name both it and we are called: we depend not vpon men, though we praiſe God for ſuch excellent inſtruments, as *Caluine* and *Luther* were, ſtirred vp of God to ſet forth his truth. It is your guiſe, and not ours, to call your profeſſions, and Maſſes after the names of men: you haue Saint *Gregories* Maſſe, Saint *Baſiles* Maſſe, Saint *Iames* his Maſſe, which you doe falſely father vpon him. And in England, you had the vſe of *Sarum*, and the vſes of other Churches: diuers formes of your Maſſe: Contrarie to the decree of the fift Councell *Toletan. can.2. Vnus modus in Miſſarum ſolennitatibus, vnus in veſpertinis officijs, nec diuerſa ſit vltrà in nobis eccleſiaſtica conſuetudo, quia in vna fide conſtamur & regno:* Let one and the ſame way be obſerued at Maſſe and Euening prayer, neither let there be any longer a diuers vſe in the Church, ſeeing we belong to one faith and Kingdome.

Secondly, ye are ſhameleſſe men to call our Churches, Idols temples. We haue no Images or Idols at all to be ſeene in our Churches, much leſſe doe we worſhip them: And as for the bread and wine in the Sacrament, though wee reuerenee them as holy ſignes, yet wee adore them not, neither make idols of them as you doe. If our communion table be an abominable table, then ſo is Chriſts: for we ſay all that Chriſt ſaid, and doe all that he did in the inſtitution of his laſt ſupper: ye are not able to ſhew that in any one iot we haue ſwarued from the firſt inſtitution, as you haue done diuers waies; as in taking away the cup, whereas Chriſt ſaid, drinke ye, as well as eate ye; and making the communion priuate, whereas Chriſt ſaith, *drinke ye all of this*; in reſeruing the Sacrament, whereas Chriſt would haue it eaten and drunke, and in many ſuch things: your Maſſe altar therefore is that abominable table, not our communion table. And you are theſe worſhippers of the Idols of ſiluer and gold, Apoc.9.20. for you haue ſuch Images in your churches, you fall downe and pray before them, and offer incenſe to them, and ſo are moſt groſſe Idolaters: but we follow the rule of your owne Councels, *Synod. Moguntin.cap.42. Nos prauæ ſuperſtitioni viam precludere volentes, omnibus locorum Ordinarijs iniungimus, vt ſi forte in territorijs ſuis concurſus ad imaginem fieri, & homines ad ipſius imaginis figuram reſpectum habere, & quaſi quandam diuinitatis opinionem illi tribuere animaduerterint, ipſam imaginem pro cauſa qualitate tollant, ac mutent:* Wee willing to ſtop all way againſt ſuperſtition, doe inioyne the Ordinaries, that if they ſee in their territories the people to runne to images, and to attribute vnto them a diuine power, hauing reſpect to the figure of the Image, that they either take away, or chaunge the Image. If they bee idolators that haue taken away Idols and aboliſhed them, then will we alſo be Idolators.

Thirdly, now to anſwere to their argument: Firſt, they ſhew of what making they are, and whoſe children they bee, in that they are afraid, that the trueth by them ſhould bee graced, and Chriſts inſtitution honored. They will not come to Church, becauſe they thinke it would be an honor, not to *Caluins*, but to Chriſts communion: to whome wee may ſay, as Saint *Steuen* to the peruerſe Iewes, Act.7.51. *You ſtifnecked and of vncircumciſed hearts, and eares, you haue alwaies reſiſted the holy Ghoſt, as your fathers did, ſo doe you:* And as the Pſalmiſt ſaith, *O ye ſonnes of men, how long will ye turne my glorie into ſhame?* Pſalm.4.2. Doth it grieue you that Chriſt ſhould be honored and his inſtitution reuerenced? O enemies to God and all godlines! Secondly, though they doe come to our Churches, if their hearts bee not reformed, but doe cloake the ſuperſtition of their darke minds, with the ſhew of outward conformitie and obedience, they are ſo farre from gracing our aſſemblies, that they are a diſgrace and a diſhonour to them. And as *Iude* ſaith of ſuch, *They are ſpots in your feaſts of charitie*, verſe 12. ſo theſe are foule blemiſhes in our holy meetings, when as hypocrites doe ioyne themſelues to the aſſemblies of the Saints. They needs not feare, leaſt thus comming, they ſhould honour our communion, nay rather as much as in them lieth, they prophane and pollute it: when holy things are thus caſt vnto dogges, and pearles before ſwine. Thirdly, but if they would reſort to our aſſemblies dutifully, as it becommeth good Chriſtians, to receiue inſtruction and comfort by the word of God and the Sacraments, they ſhould not for all this bring grace or win credit to theſe publike exerciſes, but ſhould themſelues be graced, and receiue honour thereby. The Pſalmiſt ſaith, Pſalm.149.9. *Such honor God vouchſafeth his Saints*, that is, in giuing vnto them his word: ſo ſaith *Moſes*, Deut.4.8. *What nation ſo*

great

great that hath ordinances and lawes so righteous &c. The law of God maketh a people great, that is, honorable: and thus also haue we answered this argument. Wherefore seeing they can now pretend no honest excuse for their Recusancie, for neither is our seruice in it selfe hereticall, neither yet our people that professe it, or Ministers that preach it, heretikes or schismatikes: seeing also they may be freed from dissimulation, when their hearts shall truely be conuerted vnto God, and so yeeld obedience to our publike assemblies, and that by their comming God may be honored, I pray God giue them grace to acknowledge their wilfulnes, and forsake their errors, into the which their blinde guides haue led them, that they may now at length ioyne themselues vnto the true Church of Christ, in the profession of the right faith, to the saluation of their soules.

Here now I thought to haue inserted a treatise against the Brownists, wherein I haue at large confuted the arguments, which they vse against our Church, and likewise propounded our reasons in defense thereof, with a discouerie of diuers erroneous opinions by them held and maintained: but I altered my purpose vpon these reasons. First, the treatise was not fullie finished, and the Printer called vpon me earnestly to make haste. Secondly, because I intended to deale onely against the Papists in this worke. Thirdly, though they be peeuishlie set, yet I iudged them the lesse daungerous enemies, seeing they dissent not from vs in the fundamentall poynts of our faith. Fourthly, many of their assertions are so absurd, that they are rather to be laughed at, then worthie of any confutation. Fiftly, I reserue those labours, to a speciall treatise hereafter as occasion shall serue. Therefore not staying the reader further in these digressions, I proceede to the rest of the Controuersies that follow.

THE

THE SECOND PART OF THIS CENTVRIE, OF THE FIVE POPISH SACRAMENTS.

HERE ENSVE THE CONTROVERSIES OF THE fiue other popiſh Sacraments: Penance, Matrimonie, Confirmation, Orders, Extreme Vnction.

THE FOVRTEENTH GENERALL CONTROuerſie, of popiſh Penance.

VNto this Controuerſie belong theſe queſtions following:

1 Of the name Penance, whether it be rightly giuen.

2 Whether that which they call Penance, but we much better, Repentance, be a Sacrament.

3 Whether there be any other Sacrament of repentance beſide Baptiſme.

4 Of the eſſentiall parts of Penance, as the matter and forme, and of the three materiall parts, Contrition, Confeſſion, Satisfaction: with an appendix, whether Repentance goe before Faith.

5 Of Contrition, 1. The cauſe thereof, 2. The quantitie thereof, 3. Whether it be ioyned with faith, 4. Whether it be ſatisfactorie, 5. Whether Contrition be neceſſarie for veniall ſinnes, 6. Of Contrition which onely proceedeth of feare.

6 Of Auricular confeſſion, 1. Whether it be neceſſarie, 2. Whether it be a diuine ordinance, 3. To whom it is to be made, 4. Of the time.

7 Of Satisfaction, with the ſeuerall branches of this queſtion.

8 Firſt, of penall iniunctions, 1. Whether neceſſarie, 2. By whom to bee impoſed. Secondly, of indulgences, 1. Whether there be any ſuch, 2. The ground of them, 3. In whoſe power they be.

9 The circumſtances of penance, 1. Their habite, 2. Their workes, 3. Of the time of their Penance.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE name of Penance.

The Papiſts.

41. Error. THE Latine word *Pœnitentia*, which they tranſlate, Penance, being deriued of *pœna*, doth ſignifie (ſay they) not onely confeſſion and amendment of life, but contrition and ſorrow for the offence, and painfull ſatisfaction, *Bellarm. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

Argum. Matth. 11. 21. The word muſt needes ſignifie, ſorrowfull, painefull, and ſatisfactorie Penance, *Rhemiſt. Matth. 3. 2.* for no man doth ſit downe in ſackcloth and aſhes, which hath not repented before: this therefore is a penall action that followeth the inward ſorrow. So the Niniuites are ſaid to haue repented, Luk. 11. 32. which *was in ſackcloth and aſhes, and prayer: Ergo*, Penance conſiſteth in an outward penall action. *Bellarm ibid.*

Anſw. The places quoted out of S. *Matthew* and S. *Luke*, proue no ſuch thing: where our Sauiour ſaith, that Tyre and Sidon would haue repented in ſackcloth and aſhes, and Ninive had repented: which is no ſatisfaction for ſinne, but an outwarde ſigne of true ſorrowe for ſinne, inwardly conceiued: for repentance is begun inwardly, and continued and finiſhed outwardly: ſo then aſhes, ſackcloth, was no part of repentance, but an outward teſtification of their inward griefe.

Argum. 2.

Argum. 2. S. *Paul* saith, *I shall bewaile many of them, which haue sinned and not done penance for their vncleanesse, and fornication, and lasciuiousnesse which they haue committed,* 2. Cor. 12. 21. It cannot be said, *which haue not repented,* for, or because of their vncleanesse: for then sinne should be the cause of repentance, which it is not: for inward repentance commeth of some good inspiration: but sinne is properly said to be the cause of outward penance. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, sinne is, not the cause of inward repentance, but the occasion, no more is it of outward punishment: for as the inward repentance proceedeth from a good *inspiration*, so the outward punishment is procured by the inward sorrow, as *the ashes and sackcloth* of the Ninnuites were outwardly vsed, because they first inwardly sorrowed. Secondly, that the Apostle speaketh here of *inward repentance*, it is euident: because 1. he saith, *he shall bewaile*: that is, because they haue not mourned for themselues, he will: as *Ambrose* in the like case; *Si Saul deflesset peccata*: If *Saul* had mourned for his sinne, *Samuel* had not wept: *lib. 5. in Luc.* 2. And it was in the Apostles power to haue inflicted an outward punishment, as he did vpon the incestuous young man: but to cause them to repent, was not in his power: the Apostle then would not haue complained of that, which was in his power to haue enioyned them. 3. And he saith, *I shall bewaile many*: There was a great multitude of them, in which case no such penance could be inflicted, the disease being so generall; and thus *Augustine* expoundeth this place: *Cum idem morbus plurimos occuparit, nihil reliqui facit gemitum*: When as the same disease hath occupied many, there remayneth nothing but mourning: the Apostle doth not now bid them not to eat meat with such, as he gaue a charge concerning the yong man, &c. *lib. 3. cont. Parmen. cap. 3.* So that in *Augustines* iudgement no such externall penance is here signified; a great part of the flocke being with this disease inuaded.

The Protestants.

THat this word (μετανοια) vsed in the new Testament, is more fitly translated *repentance*, to signifie a change of the minde, then by them, *penance*, to betoken some outward penall satisfactorie act, thus it is proued.

Argum. 1. The Greeke word euery where vsed, is μετανοια, which signifieth as *Laurentius Valla* noteth, *emendationem mentis*, the change or amendment of the minde; and no such outward satisfactorie Penance as they pretend. Wherefore it is more fitly englished, Repentance. And although the Latine word *Pœnitentia*, doe not properly expresse the Greeke word, to the which *resipiscere*, and *resipiscentia*, repentance and to repent doe better answere: yet *agere pœnitentiam*, in Latine, is not to doe penance, as the Rhemists translate it, but is all one, as to say, repent: yea, and so the Rhemists themselues reade, be penitent, Mark. 1. 15. and not, doe penance. And Act. 11. 18. they translate, *pœnitentiam*, repentance.

Argum. 2. Matth. 3. 2. *Iohn Baptist* preached and said, *repent, &c.* not, as the *Rhemists* translate, *do penance*: that inward repentance is here signified, it appeareth by these reasons 1. *Iohn* is said *To preach the Baptisme of repentance for remission of sinnes*: Luk. 3. 3. That which hee preached, the people practised: but we reade not of any outward penall workes they did, but onely of contrition and confession for their sinnes, Matth. 3. 6. 2. Againe, Baptisme is in the name of Christ: Penance, is a worke of man, whereby satisfaction is made vnto God, as they teach: how then can it be the *baptisme of penance*? for Christ to satisfie, and man to satisfie, are two contrary thinges. 3. *Iohn* also saith, *Bring forth fruites of repentance*, worthie or meet for repentance: outward penall acts then are the fruits of repentance, they are not repentance it selfe.

Argum. 3. Act. 2. 38. *Repent and be baptized*, not do penance and be baptized: for 1. they were immediatly the same day baptized, vers. 41. What time was there here for any doing of penance? 2. And seeing you make penance a Sacrament, how could they do penance, before they had receiued Baptisme, the first Sacrament? 3. Thus their owne glosse expoundeth, *cauſ. 33. distinct. 1. de pœnit. 87. gloss. Petrus legitur dixisse, &c.* *Peter* saith in the Actes, *do penance, &c.* *Quod de interiori, &c.* Which is vnderstood of the inward, not outward penance: so the same glosse *c. 34. Conuersio est cordis versio*: Conuersion is the version or turning of the heart.

Augustine thus taketh this worde *pœnitentia*, *Tollè pœnitens quicquid sordium contraxit, oportet vt ablaut salutem mentis lachrymis*: The true penitent man must at the least wash away his sinnes with the teares of the minde. If then repentance be in the soule, what is become of this outward satisfactorie penance? De pœnitentia cap. 9.

Colonien. part. 7. cap. 31. Pœnitentia tum rectè prædicatur, cum arguuntur scelera ac flagitia per verbum Dei, & incutitur populo timor iræ, indignationisque, ac iusti iudicij Dei: Then Penance or Repentance is rightly preached, when mens sinnes are reproued by the word of God, and a feare of Gods wrath and iust iudgement is striken into the people. This Councell calleth that Penance, when the people begin inwardly to feele Gods wrath, and so lament for their sinnes: they speake of no such outward satisfactorie Penance.

THE

THE SECOND QVESTION, WHETHER there be any Sacrament of Penance.

The Papists.

43. Error. CHrist (they say) instituted the Sacrament of Penance, when he breathed vpon his Apostles after his resurrection, and sayd vnto them: *Receiue ye the holy Ghost: whose sinnes ye remit, they are remitted: whose sinnes ye retaine, they are retained,* Iohn 20.22. The facultie of the Priesthood consisting in remitting of sinnes, is here bestowed vpon the Apostles, *Rhemist annot. Ioh.* 20. fol. 5. Hereupon they are bolde to conclude, that Penance is truely and properly a Sacrament, *Concil. Trident. sess.* 14. *can.* 1.

Bellarmine addeth further, that here is *externum symbolum*, an externall sensible signe, the words of absolution, and a promise of grace, namely, remission of sinnes: *Ergo*, a Sacrament of Penance: *Lib.* 1 *de pœnitentia cap.* 10.

Answ. First, if the power of remission of sinnes were here first instituted, how could the Apostles baptize or minister the Lords supper before, without power to remit sinnes to the penitent? Christ therefore in this place doth but renew and confirme the authoritie of their Apostleship, which was graunted to them before, Matth. 18.18.

Neither is there here any externall visible signe to make a Sacrament, as euen now shall be seene: and as for the promise of remission of sinnes, it is not here annexed to any externall signe: but generally made to the Apostles to be executed as well without, as with a Sacrament: as the Councell of Cabilon saith: *Deus salutis & sanitatis author plerunque hanc præbet sua potentia inuisibili administratione, plerunque medicorum operatione*: God the author of saluation sometime giueth forgiuenes of sinnes by his inuisible power, sometime by the working of his Ministers, our Positions, *Can.* 33.

Secondly, this power here giuen, is principally exercised by preaching of the word of God, and denouncing publikely or priuately the promises of God, for remission of sinnes to the penitent, or the threates and iudgement of God, in binding the sinnes of the obstinate and impenitent: So Luke 20.24. Christ commaundeth his Apostles to preach repentance and remission of sinnes in his name.

Thirdly, we confesse also a iudiciarie power of the keyes, in binding and loosing, which is exercised in ecclesiasticall discipline, in punishing and absoluing according to the word of God: as the incestuous person was bound, when he was deliuered vp to Sathan, 1. Cor. 5.5. he was loosed againe, when he was restored to the Church, 2. Cor. 2.7. But neither this nor the other was commended to the Church as a Sacrament.

Argum. 2. *Bellarmine* affirmeth, the Montanists and Nouatians were the first, that denied penance to be a Sacrament; for they did not, as some thinke, denie forgiuenesse before God to those that fell, but onely penance and reconciliation in the Church, *Bellarmine cap.* 9.

Answ. As *Bellarmine* is to be trusted in this, so let him be credited in the rest: but in this place he hath deuised a notable forgerie: first, those forenamed heretikes did not onely exclude those that fell in time of persecution from reconciliation to the Church by penance, but euen depriued them of all hope of remission of sinnes before God. *Cyprian* deserueth rather to be credited herein, than this Sophister: *lib.* 3. *epist.* 23. *Puto his indulgentiam Domini non defuturam &c.* I do thinke that mercie with God will not be wanting to those, who once stood in the battell, though they afterward fell: thus he pleadeth against the Nouatians, in the behalfe of those, that were fallen. And *Ambrose* likewise, *lib. de pœnitent. lib.* 1. *c.* 9. thus witnesseth, alledging these words of our Sauiour: *Euery one that beleeueth in him, shall not perish, but haue life euerlasting: if thou desirest to call againe any that is fallen, dost thou exhort him to beleeue, or not to beleeue? surely to beleeue: hee then that hath faith, hath eternall life, he that hath life; is not excluded from forgiuenesse.* These fathers are euident witnesses, that the Nouatians did shut out grieuous sinners from forgiuenesse before God: and thus this Caviller is taken in a notorious lie.

Secondly, it is one thing to take away penance altogether, another to denie it to be a Sacrament: the first these heretikes were guiltie of, the second we affirme, but not the first.

Thirdly, if to denie penance be all one, as to denie it to be a Sacrament, then the fathers are further off (then we) from making it a Sacrament; for they did not graunt publike penance twice: *Augustine epist.* 54. *Pœnitentia in ecclesia non iteratur*: Penance or publike repentance is not iterated in the Church: but we are not so strict, but that to the truely penitent, though they haue fallen againe, we admit a second reconciliation to the Church.

Argum. 3. *Bellarmine*, to proue penance a Sacrament, alledgeth the testimonie of the fathers: he produceth the witnesse of tenne of them: *Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine*, with others: and yet not one of them affirmeth penance a Sacrament: but some do call it *Aliud*

laborum,

Lauacrum, another Lauer, and that it doth imitate Baptisme, *Medicinam pœnitentiæ*, the Medicine of penitencie, and such like, but none of them calleth it a Sacrament: but onely one *Victor Cartennes.* who is brought forth in the eleuenth place, but he is not ancient enough to be credited for this matter, nor of weight to sway against the rest.

The Protestants.

TRue repentance we do acknowledge, which is a dying to sinne, and a walking in newnesse of life, Rom. 6. 4. But a Sacrament of repentance we finde none in Scripture, and therefore we deny it.

Argum. 1. In euery Sacrament there is an externall sensible element, as Water in Baptisme, Bread and Wine in the Lords Supper: but there is none in their penance: *Ergo*, no Sacrament.

Bellarmine answereth, that the words of absolution and confession, are the outward signes in penance: it is not necessarie it should be a visible signe: it is a sensible signe being audible, *cap.* 11.

Answ. 1. There must be the word beside the element: as *Augustine* saith, *Accedat verbum ad elementum*: Let the word be ioyned to the element; and it maketh a Sacrament: the word it selfe cannot be the element: for the same thing cannot both sanctifie and be sanctified. And if the Audible word be the element, by this reason the preaching of the word also shall be a Sacrament.

Bellarmine replieth. 1. That whether the outward signe be visible, or audible, it skilleth not, so it be apte to expresse the spiritual effect: as the signe in penance is, which consisteth in the words of the Priest absoluing, and the confession of the penitent partie: and S. *Augustine* speaketh only of the Sacrament of Baptisme, when he saith, *Let the word be ioyned to the element, &c. Bellarm. cit. resp. ad 7. argum. Kemnitij.*

Answ. If 1. an audible signe sufficed, what needeth water in Baptisme? for there the Minister saith, *I baptize thee*, as in the other, *I absolue thee.* 2. The Apostle saith, *Euery thing is sanctified by the word and prayer*, 1. Tim. 4. 5. If the word do sanctifie, then is it not the thing sanctified. 3. It cannot be shewed, that any of the Sacraments of the law, which did resemble ours, had any such audible signe. 4. *Augustine*, though in that place, speaketh chiefely of Baptisme, yet elsewhere sheweth this to be the generall condition of all Sacraments, to haue a visible signe: as speaking of the anointing of *Aaron*: *Quod in genere visibilium signaculorum sacrosanctum est, sicut ipse Baptismus, &c.* Which in the kind of visible signes is holy, as Baptisme is: So then he accounteth all holy signes, visible, *cont. Petilian. lib. 2. c. 104.*

Likewise, *lib. 3. de doctrin. Christian. c. 7. Deus nobis signa pauca pro multis dedit, facta facilia, &c.* God hath giuen vs few signes for many, easie to be done, excellent in signification, most chast in obseruation, such as is Baptisme & the celebration of the bodie and blood of the Lord: the signes of the Sacraments are easie to be done, not easie to be said: and as they are in Baptisme and the Eucharist, but there they are visible.

Argum. 2. There was repentance and absolution of sinnes both, in the old Testament: for both *David* confessed and was sorie for his sinne, and the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced forgiuenesse from God, 2. Sam. 12. 13. So likewise *Iohn* preached repentance for remission of sinnes, and the people came and confessed their sinnes: here were all things necessarie for true repentance, yet was it no Sacrament all this while, as they themselues confesse, which they hold to be instituted after Christs resurrection, *Trident. Concil. sess. 14. cap. 1.* Why then should it be rather a Sacrament now, then before?

Bellarmine answereth. 1. That the power of remitting sinnes was not giuen to any in the olde law: And that *Nathan* did not remit vnto *David* his sinnes, but onely shew, that God had remitted them: And if *Nathan* did absolue *David*, it was but one singular example, which maketh no law.

Contra. 1. If *Nathan* did declare vnto *David*, that God had forgiuen him, it was sufficient: for the Apostles themselues had no further power, then to declare on Gods behalfe remission of sins to the penitent, and to shew the way how they shall be forgiuen. *Synod. Cabilonens. sub Carolo 33. Confessio, qua Deo fit, purgat peccata, qua sacerdoti fit, docet, qualiter ipsa purgentur peccata:* The confession which is made to God, purgeth sinne, that which is made to the Priest, sheweth how sinne should be purged. So the people being pricked in heart at the Sermon of S. *Peter*, cryed, saying, *Men and brethren, what shall wee do?* Act. 2. 37. then *Peter* himselfe absolueth them not, but onely sheweth what course they should take to haue their sinnes forgiuen. 2. The pronouncing remission of sinnes, is no extraordinarie thing in the old Testament, Isay 1. 18. *Though your sinnes were as crimson*, Chap. 6. 7. *thy sinne shall be purged*: and more plainly, Ezech. 18. 22. Hosh. 14. 3. *Take vnto you words*. And be it that *Nathan* did it but once, yet haue we once in the old Testament absolution of sinnes, which the Iesuite denyeth.

Bellarmin. 2. That Penance, which *Iohn Baptist* and our Sauiour Christ preached, was no Sacrament, because the words of absolution were wanting, in *Iohns* penance; and confession, in that which Christ preached: *lib. 1. de pœnitent. cap. 11.*

*Cont.*1. The people confeſſed their ſinnes before *Iohn*, this they willingly grant: it is manifeſt alſo that he declared to them remiſſion of ſinnes, for he preached the Baptiſme of repentance to the remiſſion of ſinnes, Luke 3.3. And to what ende ſhould, or would the people haue confeſſed their ſinnes, if they had not expected forgiueneſſe of the ſame at *Iohns* hands? 2. Concerning the repentance which our Sauiour preached, there was both the words of abſolution, Luke 7.48. Thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee; and the womans abundant teares, therewith waſhing Chriſts feet, ſtood for confeſſion: and yet more planely, Luke 19. *Zacheus* confeſſeth, verſ.8. Chriſt abſolueth, verſ.9. *This day is ſaluation come to thy houſe.* Here therefore was as much a Sacrament of penance, as was after miniſtred by the Apoſtles.

*Argum.*3. Act.26.20. S. *Paul* hauing ſet downe the ſumme of repentance: *To repent, to turne to God, and to do workes worthie of repentance*: afterward teſtifieth thus, verſ.22. *Saying none other things, then Moſes & the Prophets did ſay ſhould come: Paul* preacheth no other repentance, then the Prophets; but they preached no Sacrament of repentance, which they themſelues confeſſe: *Ergo.*

Bellarmine. 1. *Paul* doth not recite the ſumme of the doctrine of penance, but it is an exhortation onely to penance. 2. And hee ſpeaketh of Penance before Baptiſme, which is no Sacrament. 3. And the things which the Apoſtle ſaith agreeable to the Prophets, are not concerning penance, but as touching the paſſion, and reſurrection of Chriſt, as it followeth, verſ.23. *reſp. ad 4. argum. Kemnitij.*

Anſ. Firſt, 1. the ſumme of the doctrine of repentance, is to turne in heart to God, and to bring forth good fruits: as *Auguſtine*; *Fructus eſt dignus pœnitentia tranſacta flere peccata, et eadem iterum non agere*: it is a worthie fruit of repentance, to lament ſinnes paſt, and not to do the ſame againe. *Serm. de tempor. 66.* This ſumme of the doctrine of repentance, the Apoſtle here ſetteth downe, not 2. by way of exhortation onely, but he ſaith *he ſhewed, Annunciauit*, he preached or declared it vnto them, by way of inſtruction. Secondly, there is one and the ſame kind of repentance, both before and after Baptiſme, as followeth in the next argument. Thirdly, not the preaching only of Chriſts *ſuffring* is the doctrine agreeable to the Prophets, but of *remiſſion of ſinnes*, in his name, and ſo conſequently of *repentance*, as S. *Peter* ſheweth, Act.10.43. *To him all the Prophets witneſſe, that through his name all that beleeue ſhall haue remiſſion of ſinnes.*

*Argum.*4. There is one and the ſame kind of repentance before Baptiſme and after: but the firſt is not a Sacrament, as they confeſſe: *Ergo*, no more is the latter.

Bellarmine, Penance after Baptiſme requireth particular confeſſion of ſinnes and *laborious* workes, ſo doth not penance before Baptiſme. *Bellarm. c.*11.

Anſw. Firſt, particular confeſſion is not requiſite at all, as afterward ſhall be ſhewed: but both confeſſion, and bringing forth of good fruite are neceſſarie in repentance before Baptiſme, as may appeare, Matth.3.6. they *confeſſed their ſinnes*, verſ.8. *Bring forth fruites, &c.* Secondly, *Auguſtine* ſetteth forth *Zacheus* as an example of true repentance, *ſerm.*116. *de tempore*: who both confeſſed his ſinnes and made reſtitution, Luke 19.8. being not yet baptized.

Serm. de Baptiſme ad Infantes.

Auguſtine thus writeth, *Sacramentum ideò dicitur, quia aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur*: It is called a Sacrament, becauſe one thing is ſeene, another vnderſtood. And then he ſaith, *Quid ideò & ſi vident, aut alijs queunt oſtendere in eo quod ſacramentum pœnitentiæ vocant*: But neither do they ſee, or can ſhew to others, any ſuch viſible ſigne in that which they call the Sacrament of repentance. Here *Auguſtine* denieth repentance to be a Sacrament, becauſe it hath no viſible ſigne.

Bellarmine anſwereth here moſt abſurdly, that *Auguſtine* by a viſible ſigne vnderſtandeth that which is ſenſible to any of the ſenſes, though it be to the hearing, *cap.*11. *reſp. ad* 5. *argum. Caluini.* Thus that which is onely heard, ſhall be ſaid to be viſible, which is moſt abſurd, and needeth no other confutation.

The Maſter of the Sentences propoundeth 2. reaſons againſt the Sacrament of penance, which require a further anſwere: firſt, *if outward penance be a Sacrament*, then it would follow, that *Non omne Sacramentũ euangelicum id efficit, quod figurat*: That euery Sacrament of the Goſpel doth not effect that, which it figureth: but inward repentance doth effect the outward, not contrariwiſe. The anſwere there is this, that the propoſition is true onely of thoſe Sacraments, that were inſtituted in the Goſpell, *but Penance and Matrimonie had their beginning before*: but ſeeing theſe new Sophiſters make Penance a Sacrament of the Goſpell, they muſt find out another anſwere. *Lombard lib.4. diſt.22. c.*

The other reaſon obiected is this; if externall Penance be a Sacrament, it will follow, that *ſacramenti*, the ſacramentall thing or worke ſhould goe before the Sacrament, as inward repentance is the ſacramentall thing, and goeth before outward penance: the *Maiſter* ſaith this may well be ſo, but we ſee not how; it would haue a better anſwere, I would haue them demur further vpon it.

This trueth alſo is ſealed: *Agnes Snoth* burned for denying the Sacrament of penance: *Foxe* pag.1859.

THE

THE THIRD QVESTION, WHETHER THERE BE any other Sacrament of repentance, beside Baptisme.

The Papists.

BAptisme serueth onely, they say, for remission of sinnes done before: for sinnes committed after Baptisme, the Sacrament of Penance, which is a distinct Sacrament from Baptisme, is appointed for a remedie: and therefore is fitly called, *The second table of refuge after shipwracke: Concil. Trident. sess. 14. can. 2.* 44. Error. Secunda tabula post naufragium.

Argum. 1. Saint *Iohn* saith, *If we confesse our sinnes*, hee is faithfull to forgiue vs, 1. Epist. 1. 9. he saith not, that by the memorie of Baptisme, but by confession, which is a part of penance, our sinnes are forgiuen, *Bellarm. cap.* 13.

Answ. First, wee say not, that by the bare memorie or remembrance of Baptisme, sinnes after committed are done away: but that the sacramentall force of Baptisme doth extend it selfe to our whole life, that is, to bee a seale vnto vs of remission of all our sinnes in the blood of Christ. Secondly, the confession of our sinnes is not a taking away of the force of Baptisme, but a more effectuall applying thereof, as the people which were baptized by *Iohn* confessed also their sins. Thirdly, it is no good argument, wee must confesse our sinnes after Baptisme: *Ergo*, Penance is another Sacrament beside Baptisme: for confession of sinnes is a fruite of the Sacrament of Baptisme.

Argum. 2. In the old law Circumcision was not appointed as a remedie for sinnes committed afterward, but they had sacrifices and other expiations, &c. so in the new Testament Baptisme is not appointed to purge sinne after Baptisme, but we haue the sacrifice of the new Testament, and absolution, &c. *Bellarm. cap.* 13.

Answ. First, the force and efficacie of Circumcision was seene in the reformation of the whole life: why else doth *Stephen* thus charge the Iewes, Act. 7. 51. that they were of *vncircumcised hearts and eares*? signifying thereby, that they did not expresse the force and vertue of their first circumcision in the renuing of their hearts, reforming of their eares: if then to circumcise the eares, be an effect of circumcision, but infants cannot be circumcised, because they neither heare, nor vnderstand; then it followeth, that the effect of circumcision was not limited onely to that time, but was to bee exercised and applied thorough the whole life. Againe, Circumcision being *the seale of the righteousnes of faith*, Rom. 4. 11. and faith being *the life* of the soule, Rom. 1. 17. it followeth that the whole righteousnes and spirituall life of man, not the beginning onely was then sealed in Circumcision, and now in Baptisme.

Secondly, as then they had sacrifices and Sacraments, not to begeta new faith, or to obtaine new remission of sinnes, but to confirme them in their first faith, and to applie the remission of sins sealed in Circumcision: so now beside Baptisme we haue the Eucharist, no sacrifice, but a Sacrament to cherish and reuiue in vs our first life in Baptisme: like as food doth not giue a new life to the bodie, but onely sustaineth the first life receiued in the birth, &c.

Argum. 3. The Apostle saith, Hebr. 6. 6. *that they which haue been once lightened*, (that is 1. baptized) *if they fall away should be renewed by penance*: they cannot bee renewed againe by that penance, which is by Baptisme: *Ergo*, by another 2. penance they may; vnlesse 3. ye will say, that the Apostle excludeth such as fall after Baptisme altogether from *Penance*, which was the heresie of the Nouatians, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, to be *lightened* is not to bee baptized: the Apostle addeth further, vers. 5. *They that haue tasted of the good word of God*: but infants haue no *taste of the word*; therefore they are not illuminate in Baptisme. Secondly, if by penance you vnderstand Baptisme, then you haue made a good reason for vs, that hold no other Sacrament of Penance but Baptisme. Thirdly, S. *Paul* speaketh not of euery falling after Baptisme, but of manifest apostasie, and vtter renouncing of the grace receiued, for who there was no more hope at all: which was not the error of the Nouatians, that denied reconciliation to those that fell of infirmitie: but the Apostles owne position, Heb. 10. vers. 26. *That there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinne at all for those, which after the knowledge of the truth sinne wilfully*, that is, obstinately and with a malicious and peruerse minde, as the Apostle expoundeth himselfe, vers. 29. *They tread vnder foote the Sonne of God, &c. and despite the spirit of grace*: of such the Apostle speaketh in this place, that they doe *crucifie to themselues the Sonne of God*. Fourthly, if your exposition be admitted, you haue gained nothing but this, that there is repentance after Baptisme, which you call penance, and this we denie not: but any other Sacrament of repentance, we acknowledge not, which you should haue proued.

The Protestants.

WE acknowledge no other Sacrament of repentance, but Baptisme.

Arg. 1. The Scripture so calleth it, *The baptisme of repentance for remission of sins*, Mar. 1. 4.

Bellarmine answereth, that the Baptisme of *Iohn* was called the baptisme of repentance, not the baptisme of Christ, *cap.* 14.

Answ. 1. We haue proued before Contro. 12. quest. 7. that the baptisme of *Iohn*, and of our Sauiour Christ was all one, and therefore this distinction faileth. 2. That Christs baptisme was baptisme of repentance, S. *Paul* sheweth Rom. 6. 4. *We are buried by baptisme into his death, &c. that we should walke in newnes of life.* Christs baptisme then teacheth vs to dye vnto sinne, and to rise vp to newnes of life: but this is repentance, Hebr. 6. 1. *Repentance from dead workes: Ergo*, Christs baptisme preacheth repentance.

Deside ad Petrum cap. 19. So *Augustine* calleth Baptisme, *Sacramentum fidei, & pœnitentiæ*, the Sacrament of faith, and repentance: what need we then seeke for a new Sacrament of repentance, which cannot any where be found in Scripture?

Bellarm. First, *Augustine* calleth Baptisme the Sacrament of faith, and *Penance* which goeth before Baptisme, not of that, which followeth after. Secondly, *Iohns* Baptisme is called the baptisme of *repentance to remission of sinnes*, not that it gaue remission of sinnes, but it wrought repentance, and repentance remission of sinnes: but Christs baptisme worketh not repentance, but repentance goeth before, *cap.* 14. *resp. ad argum.* 3.

Answ. First, How 1. can baptisme be the Sacrament of faith and *Penance* before going, seeing children, that haue baptisme, haue as yet neither faith nor repentance? 2. And you contradict your selues: for you hold Penance before Baptisme to be no Sacrament, and yet you say that *Augustine* calleth Baptisme the Sacrament of Penance before going. Secondly, 1. Repentance went before *Iohns* baptisme: for they confessed their sinnes before *they were baptized*, Matth. 3. 6. but without repentance, there can be no confession. 2. And that *Iohns* baptisme sealed remission of sins vnto them, it is euident, because they did thereby *escape the wrath to come*, Luk. 3. 7. but Gods iudgements cannot be auoided, where sinne is not first remitted.

Argum. 2. If baptisme and the vertue thereof cannot bee abolished by sinne, then there is no neede of another Sacrament of repentance: but the first is true, *Ergo* the second.

Bellarmin. The grace of regeneration had in Baptisme, may afterward be lost and put out by sinne.

Answ. First, as touching the grace of election, whereby infants are saued in Baptisme, being taken away in their infancie, it is diuellish doctrine to say it may be lost: *for whom Christ loueth, he loueth to the end*, Ioh. 13. 1. Secondly, the grace of regeneration, which is not conferred in Baptisme, but onely sealed, and afterward by the worke of the spirit effected in the hearts of the faithfull, cannot be lost where once it is wrought: *for the gifts and calling of God are without repentance*, Rom. 11. 2. And your owne Canons confirme the same: *Diuina clementia dimissa peccata vltrò redire in vltionem non patitur*: The diuine clemencie doth not suffer sinnes once remitted to returne againe vnto punishment, *Gelasius cauſ.* 33. *qu.* 3. *distinct.* 4. *c.* 24.

Argum. 3. Baptisme is of no lesse force and efficacie, than circumcision: but that was durable and permanent Sacrament, effectuall through the whole life, being the *seale of the righteousnes of faith*, Rom. 4. 11. But 1. faith sanctifieth both the first and latter repentance: *For without faith it is impossible to please God*, Hebr. 11. 6. *Ergo*, euen repentance following depended as then vpon circumcision, so now vpon Baptisme. 2. And if Baptisme be the seale of righteousnes, but without finall and continuall repentance there is no righteousnes, it is therefore the seale and Sacrament of all and euery repentance.

Decret. par. 2. *cauſ.* 23. *qu.* 1. *c.* 40. in the title thus: *In extremo positus etiam ab hæretico pœnitentiam accipere valet*: At the point of death a man may receiue penance of an heretike. And in the Canon it selfe: *Sine sancti baptismi sacramento*: Without the holie Sacrament of Baptisme he would not goe out of his life. Heere Baptisme is interpreted to bee the same thing, that is called before Penance.

Synod. Colonien. Docendus est populus, quod in baptismo abolea tur vetus homo, remisso omni peccato, atque nouus exoriatur, &c. The people must bee taught, that in Baptisme the old man is abolished, all sinne being taken away, and the new man beginneth. But to put off the old man with his workes, Colos. 3. 9. is nothing else but repentance, which is from dead workes: *Ergo*, Baptisme is the Sacrament of repentance.

THE

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, OF THE ESSENtiall parts of penance.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE MATTER and forme of popiſh penance.

The Papiſts.

THe forme of this Sacrament, ſay they, conſiſteth in the words of abſolution, pronounced by the Miniſter, the matter thereof is the contrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction of the partie penitent, *Concil. Tridentin. ſeſſ. 14. cap. 3. Bellar. lib. 1. cap. 15.* 45. Error.

Arg. Bellarmine here hath no argument out of Scripture: and as for the popiſh Councels of Florence and Trent alleaged by him, we hold them not worth the anſwering. He only obtrudeth this reaſon: A ſenſible ſigne of iuſtifying grace inſtituted of God is a part of the Sacrament: but the action of the penitent partie, weeping, and confeſſing his ſinnes, is a ſenſible ſigne that hee is iuſtified: *Ergo. Bellarm. cap. 14.*

Anſw. Firſt, a ſenſible ſigne ſufficeth not, it muſt be a viſible element, that is the matter of the Sacrament, as water in Baptiſme, bread and wine in the Euchariſt: but the action of the penitent is no viſible element. 2. Againe, no humane action, ſuch as this of the penitent is, can bee a part of a diuine Sacrament. Thirdly, it is no ſigne of grace, for an hypocrite may doe all this, as *Ahab* did, and not be iuſtified. 1.

The Proteſtants.

NEither is their penance a Sacrament, neither can theſe be parts of a Sacrament.

Argum. 1. In euery Sacrament there are two things required: *res terrena*, and *actio externa*, the earthly thing or element, as is water in Baptiſme; and the externall action: neither doth the element alone, nor the action alone make a Sacrament: as in Baptiſme there is both water, which is the matter; and the waſhing, that is the action. Wherefore ſeeing in their penance there is nothing but the action of the Miniſter, and the action of the receiuer, it can bee no Sacrament.

Argum. 2. The parts of euery Sacrament, as the forme, the matter, muſt be inſtituted of Chriſt: but this are they not able to ſhew for the forme and matter of penance, namely, the inſtitution of Chriſt: *Ergo*, it is no Sacrament. For in theſe words of our Sauiour Chriſt, *Whoſe ſinnes ye remit, &c.* which is the onely place of inſtitution, which they are able to alleage for this their deuiſed Sacrament, though wee ſhould graunt, that the wordes of abſolution may bee picked out of this place, which they ſay containe the forme; yet there is no mention of contrition, confeſſion, ſatisfaction in the partie abſolued, wherein conſiſteth the matter. If *Bellarmine* anſwere, as elſewhere he ſaith, that theſe alſo may be gathered out of this place, becauſe ſinnes muſt not be forgiuen, but to thoſe that confeſſe them; *Bellarm. cap. 10.* We replie againe: 1. That in the inſtitution of a Sacrament there muſt be expreſſe mention of the materiall parts thereof, as it was in the inſtitution of Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper. 2. By the ſame reaſon we will conclude againſt the Ieſuite, that our Sauiour Chriſt abſolued not, but vpon confeſſion going before: for it is not like that he would forgiue ſinnes, where ſinnes were not acknowledged: and thus there being confeſſion and abſolution in the penance that Chriſt preached, it muſt needes bee a Sacrament after their definition, which *Bellarmine* inſtantly denieth.

Argum. 3. Some of the principall Schoolemen are of a contrarie iudgement to *Bellarmine*: one thinketh, namely *Gropperus*, that the action of the Prieſt is the materiall part of this Sacrament, and not the action of the penitent partie, *Enchirid. Colon.* Other, as *Scotus, in 4. ſentent. diſtinct. 14. qu. 4.* and *Ockam, Ioannes Maior* doe thinke, that the abſolution of the Prieſt is the onely eſſentiall part of penance. They reaſon thus:

Firſt, that is a Sacrament which is conferred by the Miniſter: but onely abſolution is conferred by the Miniſter, not the confeſſion of the penitent: *Ergo.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the penitent partie is *cooperator miniſtri*, is the helper of the Miniſter.

Contra. 1. Yet dare he not ſay he is the Miniſter: 2. He may as well ſay, that the people, which eateth and drinketh and communicateth in the Euchariſt, is the Miniſters fellow-worker in the Sacrament.

Secondly, that onely is of the eſſence of the Sacrament, which is cauſe of the Sacramentall effect: but abſolution onely is the cauſe of remiſſion: *Ergo*, it is onely of the eſſence.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that as a man conſiſteth of two parts, the ſoule, and bodie, yet he vnderſtandeth onely by the ſoule: ſo the Sacrament conſiſting of two parts, may worke onely by one of them.

Contra. First, if the Sacrament haue two parts, and work only by one of them, then is the other superfluous. Secondly, the spirit or soule of man onely vnderstandeth formally; but the matter and obiect of the vnderstanding is deliuered by the outward senses: so likewise to the sacramentall work must concurre as well the matter, as the forme thereof. Thus the Papists disagree among themselues, and each doe confute another: which sheweth that their Sacrament of Penance is but a new deuice, seeing they know not themselues what certainlie to hold.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS QVESTION, OF the three materiall parts of popish penance, contrition, confession, satisfaction.

The Papists.

46. Error. THese three (they say) are the true and proper parts of penance, contrition, and painfull sorrow of the heart, confession to the Priest, and satisfaction to God for our sinnes, *Concil. Trident. sess. 14. can. 4. Rhemis. Matth. 3. fol. 2.*

Argum. 1. Contrition is proued, Psal. 51. 17. *A contrite heart is a sacrifice to God.* Confession, Matth. 3. They were baptized in Iordane confessing their sinnes. Satisfaction, Matth. 11. 21. They would haue repented long agoe in sackcloth and ashes, *Bellarm. cap. 19.*

Answ. First, that godly sorrow and contrition of the heart, is necessarie to true repentance, we neuer will denie: but that this sorrow is any satisfaction to Gods iustice, we abhorre it as a monstrous blasphemie. Secondly, Confession and acknowledgement of our sinnes vnto God; and in some cases, where the conscience is not satisfied, to the Minister or some other faithfull man, we doe willingly graunt: but that it is necessarie to make generall confession of sinnes to the priest, that place proueth it not: for *Iohn* had had shriuing worke enough for many yeeres, to heare euery mans particular confession. Thirdly, that sitting in sackcloth and ashes, was no satisfaction for sinne, but an outward signe of true sorrow for sinne.

Argum. 2. In *Dauids* repentance, there was contrition: *his heart smote him*, when he had numbred the people, 2. Sam. 24. 10. Confession, *I haue sinned exceedingly.* Satisfaction, by his prayer and offring of sacrifice, &c. In the Publicane, Luk. 18. there was contrition in that he durst not lift his eyes to heauen: Confession, *Lord be mercifull to me a sinner:* Satisfaction, in smiting vpon his breast, *Bellarm. cap. 19.*

Answ. First, *contrition* we graunt in both these, as a preparation to a further repentance, not as any part of satisfaction to Gods iustice. Secondly, here is also confession, but not auricular, by particular enumeration of sins. *Dauid* maketh confession but of that one sin at that time committed, the Publicane confesseth in generall, and both confesse vnto God; what is this to auricular confession to the Priest? Thirdly, *Dauid* offreth sacrifice onely 1. as a testimonie of his thankfulnes vnto God, not by way of satisfaction: 2. and it was a small satisfaction in the Publicane for all his notorious sinnes to smite vpon his breast: 3. Doe you thinke, that oppression, forgerie, extortion, such as the sinnes of the Publicanes were, Luk. 19. 8. are of so small waight, that they may bee done away with a knocke vpon the breast? 4. This smiting vpon the breast was a signe of contrition, no part of any satisfaction: And so *Augustine* saith, *Tundere pectus quid aliud est, quam arguere, quod latet in pectore, &c.* To knocke vpon the breast, what is it else but to reproue that, which lieth hid in the breast? *in Matth. serm. 8.*

The Protestants.

WE doe make two parts onely of true repentance, according to the Scriptures, that is, the mortifying of the old man with his workes, by dying vnto sinne: vnto the which belongeth true sorrow, and contrition of heart for our sinnes, 2. Corinth. 7. 11. acknowledgement and confession thereof before God, 2. Sam. 12. 13. and a perfect hatred and detestation of sinne, and indignation with our selues for the same, 2. Corinth. 7. 11. The other part is the renewing and quickening of the new man in vs, which consisteth partly in setting our consciences at peace with God, our sinnes being forgiuen vs, Rom. 5. 1. and working in vs a zeale, studie, care, and desire of newnes of life, 2. Cor. 7. 11. These two parts onely we finde in Scripture.

Argum. 1. Isai. 1. 17. Cease to doe euill: Learne to doe good: wee must dye vnto sinne, and walke in newnes of life, Rom. 6. 4. Put off the old man, put on the new, Coloss. 3. 9.

Bellarmine answereth, 1. *Partes sunt iustitiæ, non pœnitentiæ:* These are parts of righteousnes, not of repentance: namely, to cease to doe euill, and learne to doe good, *cap.* 20. 2. And againe, *cap. 19. propos. 4.* Penance is onely from dead workes, and all men need not repentance, Luk. 15. 7. but the mortifying of the flesh, and to bee renewed in the spirit, appertaineth to all. 3. Neither can it bee shewed any where in Scripture that it is called repentance to decline from euill, and to doe good.

Contra

Contra. First, it followeth not, they are parts of iustice or righteousnes, therefore not of repentance: To make satisfaction is a part of repentance, by their own confession, yet is it also a worke of righteousnes; as *Zacheus*, Luk. 19. 8. restoreth what he had wrongfully gotten: And the Apostle saith, *Being made free from sinne, ye are made the seruants of righteousnes*, Rom. 6. 8. Freedome from sinne, which is nothing else *but repentance from dead workes*, Hebr. 6. 1. is the seruice of righteousnes, which is our sanctification; for here we speake not of our iustice before God in Christ, but of iustice which is wrought in vs.

Secondly, it is an hereticall position, that any are so iust, which neede no repentance: 1. For if they neede no repentance, they should haue no sinne: and whosoeuer saith he *hath no sinne is a liar*, 1. Iohn. 1. 8. then it followeth, *if we acknowledge our sins, he is faithfull to forgiue vs our sinnes.* The Apostle excludeth not any (no not himselfe) that haue sinnes, from confession of sinnes, which is a part of repentance. 2. Our Sauiour speaketh of such iust persons, as in their owne presumptuous opinion were such: so he saith, *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance*, Matth. 9. 12. Thinke you that any were so iust, that Christ needed not to haue come into the world for their sakes, as here he saith, *I came not*; then needed he not also to haue dyed for them. 3. Againe, heare what was decreed, *Concil. Milevitan. can.* 8. where *Augustine* was present: *Placuit, vt quicunque dicit, &c.* They which hold, that they which say those words of the Lordes prayer, *forgiue vs, &c.* doe rather say them in humilitie, than in truth, let them bee accursed. If euery man truly craueth in the Lords prayer forgiuenes of his sinnes, then euery man is truly a sinner, and so hath neede of repentance.

Thirdly, it is more boldly than truly, or wisely said, the Scripture no where doth call it repentance to cease to doe euill, &c. Isay. 58. *Is not this fasting, to loose the bands of wickednes, &c.* vers. 7. *to deale thy bread to the hungrie?* By fasting here is vnderstood repentance, as vers. 3. *Wherefore haue we fasted, &c. and punished our selues?* but punishment belongeth, euen in their owne sense, to repentance.

Argum. 2. Remission of sinnes doth alwaies followe true repentance, Act. 3. 19. *Repent and turne, that your sinnes may be put away, when the time of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord:* but remision of sins doe not alwaies follow contrition, confession, satisfaction: as all these three were in *Iudas*, and yet he hanged himselfe: therefore these three, contrition, confession, satisfaction, are not the parts of true repentance.

Bellarmine answereth: first, *Iudas* was baptized, and receiued the Eucharist, and hanged himselfe, yet were they the right Sacraments. Secondly, *Iudas* had not true contrition, which alwaies is ioyned with hope, neither did he make particular confession of all his sinnes, nor yet was satisfaction enioyned him by the Priest.

Anso. First, there is difference betweene the Sacraments and repentance: for the Sacrament is one thing, *res sacramenti*, the vertue of the Sacrament another: the first may bee receiued to death, or to life: for they *that receiue vnworthily, are guiltie of the bodie and blood of Christ*, 1. Corinth. 11. 27. but the other, is *omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium*, is to life vnto all, not to destruction, *Augustin. tract. 26. in Ioann.* So is true repentance not vnto death vnto any, but vnto life. Secondly, you make contrition a part of repentance, *Non vt in corde sedem habet:* Not as it is in the heart, but as it is manifested by signes, *Bellarm. cap.* 17. therefore hope is no part of popish contrition being in the heart. 2. *Iudas* also confessed his sinne in particular, *I haue sinned in betraying the innocent blood:* he made not a particular confession of all, no more did *Dauid* or the Publicane, alleadged before as examples of repentance. 3. His satisfaction was not enioyned by the Priest: if he should haue expected their sentence, they would haue enioyned none at all: and who I pray you enioyned *Dauid* his satisfaction, when he offred sacrifice to God? or the Publicane, when hee smote vpon his breast, for these (you say) were their satisfactions?

Argum. 3. *Durand* (one of their owne writers) denieth contrition and satisfaction to bee parts of penance: the first, because contrition is not sensible, but euery part of a Sacrament should bee sensible. The second, because satisfaction in act is not necessarie, but it sufficeth if it bee in vow and desire, *Durand. in 4. distinct. 16. qu.* 1. Thus we see how well they agree together.

Bellarmine thus answereth: first, contrition is a part of penance, not as it is in the heart, but as it is manifested by signes. Secondly, penance may be without satisfaction: but then it is as it were maimed, and imperfect.

Contra. First, contrition by signes may bee in hypocrites, and so dissembled: such as the Prophet speaketh of, *to bow themselues like bulrushes*, Isay. 58. which the Lord denieth to be repentance: *Is this a fast that I haue chosen? &c.* They shewed their contrition by fasting and humbling themselues, yet the Lord refuseth it: wherefore such contrition is no part of true repentance, which is acceptable to God.

Secondly, if penance may bee without satisfaction, then is it no part of a Sacrament: for a Sacrament can want none of the materiall parts: take water from Baptisme, or bread and wine from

the Eucharist, and they are no Sacraments at al. Again, repentance may be perfect without actual satisfaction, as was the repentance of the theefe vpon the crosse. But I need not labour to strengthen or fortifie *Durands* arguments, it is sufficient that the truth hath euidence from the aduersaries thereof.

Likewise for the parts of true repentance, their owne Canons doe witnesse: *Decret. p. 2. cauſ. 33. diſtinct. 1. de pœnitent. c. 39. Pœnitentia eſt mala præterita plangere, & plangenda iterum non commitere.* It is repentance to bewaile the sinnes past, and not to commit the same againe.

Augustine saith, *Fructus eſt dignus pœnitentia, tranſacta deflere peccata, & ea iterum non agere.* This is true repentance, to lament for sinnes past, and not to commit the same againe: Though this
Serm. 66. bee no perfect definition of repentance, yet wee see that both confession and satisfaction are excluded.

Colonienſ. part. 7. cap. 39. Sacerdos monebit confitentem, vt quod admiſſum eſt deteſtetur, & ſic bonam vitam inſtituat, ne in vltimo lethale crimen poſtea incidat: The priest must moue him that confesseth, to detest that which is committed, and so afterward to frame his life, that hee fall into no deadly sin. Here also are these two things required to repentance, to hate sinne, and embrace righteousnesse.

This truth also is sealed: *Iohn Lambert* Martyr, I know none other penance, except it bee mutation of liuing, by casting away old vice, and taking them to new vertue: *ad artic. 10. pag. 116.*

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER REpentance goe before faith.

The Papists.

47. Error. THeir opinion is, that repentance goeth before iustification by faith, and that it is a way vnto faith and iustification in the remission of sinnes: *Pœnitentia eſt via ad remiſſionem peccatorum, & priùs inſtificationem, Bellarm. cap. 19.*

Argum. Act. 2. 38. Repent and be baptized in the name of Christ for the remission of sinnes: Remission of sinnes followeth repentance: *Ergo*, iustification also and faith follow repentance. Act. 8. 22. *Repent of this thy wickednesse, and pray God, if it be possible, the thoughts of thy heart may be forgiuen thee.* Here forgiuenes followeth repentance.

The Protestants.

Anſ. FIrst this place prooueth not, that remission of sinnes followeth repentance, because baptisme was giuen after repentance: for Baptisme doth not giue remission of sinnes, but is a seale onely and confirmation of our faith, in the remission of sinnes. Secondly, neither is remission of sinnes obtained before God, by the act of our repentance: but wee are alreadie, being once called, iustified before God, by the remission of our sinnes, and imputation of the righteousnesse of Christ, Rom. 8. 30. *Whom he called, he iuſtified:* Iustification immediatly followeth our calling: by repentance, and other workes that follow, our calling is made sure, 2. Pet. 1. 10. our saluation finished, that is, assured to our selues: Philipp. 2. 12. *Make an end of your ſaluation by feare and trembling.* So then feare and trembling which worketh repentance, beginneth not our saluation, but onely doth assure vs of the same. So wee must distinguish, as the Apostle saith, betweene the beginning of faith and iustification before God, and the perfection and assurance thereof to our selues: faith is first whereby wee are iustified, and our sinnes remitted before God, then followeth repentance whereby our hearts are assured to our selues of this remission.

Thirdly, 1. Saint *Peter* so saith to *Simon* that hypocrite, not that he doubted of remission of sinnes vpon true repentance, but that hee doubted of *Simons* true repentance, as it followeth verse. 23. *I ſee thou art in the gall of bitternes.* 2. Or he so saith, to shew vnto *Simon* how difficult, or hard a thing remission of sins was. 3. And though remission of sinnes be alreadie decreed before God, yet is it not felt in the hart, nor the conscience assured thereof, til after effectual repentance, as *Nathan*, presently when *David* had said, *I haue ſinned*, saith, *the Lord also hath put away thy ſinne*, 2. Sam. 12. 13. This notwithstanding *David* yet felt not the comfort thereof in his soule, for the which he praieth, Psalm. 51. 12. therefore when remission of sinnes is placed after repentance, it sheweth the assurance thereof made vnto our hearts after repentance, not the first decree or graunt thereof with God, which goeth before repentance.

Argum. 1. Iustification goeth before sanctification: for this is the fruit of the other: but repentance is part of our sanctification, renouation, or regeneration, being called by S. *Paul, A walking in newnes of life*, Rom. 6. 4. *Ergo*, it followeth and commeth after our iustification. And seeing without faith it is impossible to please God, Hebr. 11. 6: how should our repentance be acceptable to God, vnlesse it proceeded of faith? Faith then is initiate and begun in vs before repentance, which we denie not, by true repentance and other fruites of sanctification, to be daily strengthened and encreased.

Argum. 2.

Argum. 2. *Bellarmine* himselfe, forgetting belike his owne positions, proueth that Faith goeth before repentance, by the example of the Niniuites, Ion. 3. 5. *They beleeued God and proclaymed a fast.* Whereupon he concludeth, that Faith is the cause of Repentance. *Bellarm. cap. 19. propos. 2.* And he vnderstandeth iustifying faith, *propos. 4.* Mortification, *fructus fidei iustificantis*, is the fruite of iustifying faith, *Ergo*, iustifying faith goeth before repentance. The Master of the Sentences affirmeth the same out of S. *Augustine*, *Non satis sit quod doleat, sed ex fide doleat:* Let it not suffice, that he is grieued, but let his griefe be of faith, *Lib. 4. distinct. 14. a.* And *Distinct. 15. c. Immundi sunt omnes, &c.* They are all vncleane, whom faith cleanseth not, by faith purifying their hearts: Act. 15. 9. And in the same *Distinction, d. Sine charitate non potest esse vera pœnitentia:* Without charitie there can be no true repentance, and without faith there can be no charitie: Galath. 5. 6. *Faith working by loue.*

Augustine sayth, No man is iustified but by the grace of Iesus Christ: *Non solum remissione peccatorum, sed prius ipsius inspiratione fidei & timoris dei, donec sanet omnes languores nostros:* Not onely by remission of sinnes; but first, by inspiring into vs faith and the feare of God, till he haue cured all our maladies. He sayth (as wee heare) that faith is inspired before we haue remission of sinnes and the feare of God, without the which there is no true repentance. Epistol. 105.

Iohan. 1. decret. 11. Fides omnes actus hominis præcedere debet: Faith must goe before all the workes or doings of man: *Ergo*, before repentance.

THE FIFT QVESTION, OF CONTRITION: the first part of their Penance.

There are certaine poynts which we doe agree vpon.

1. We grant, that true contrition and sorrow of the heart is necessarie vnto repentance, and that it standeth very well with the libertie of the Gospell, and is profitable for Christians. 2. Corinth. 7. 10. *Godly sorrow causeth repentance to saluation.*

2. That true contrition is ioyned both with a full hatred and detestation of sinne committed, 1. Corinth. 11. 31. *We must iudge and condemne our selues*, as also with a full purpose to amend our liues, Act. 11. 23. This point is handled by *Bellarmine* against other Papists, which denied a formall purpose of amendment of life to be requisite in contrition, *lib. 2. cap. 6. 7.*

3. That true contrition before God is sufficient, before the absolution of the minister, so that the partie haue a purpose afterward to be reconciled to the congregation: which point *Bellarm.* handleth also against some other of his sect.

Let vs then now see what difference of opinion there is betweene vs concerning contrition.

The Papists.

1. They hold that contrition is neyther wholy of mans free will, nor yet wholy of God: but that man by his free will, holpen of God, is able to repent: so that he doth only, *Deo adiuante, pœnitere*, He is brought to repentance, God only helping and assisting him, *Bellarm. de pœnit. lib. 2. cap. 3.* 48. Error.

Argum. Ioel. 2. Rent your hearts: Matth. 3. *Agite pœnitentiam*: Repent ye: To what end should God command those things that are not in our owne power: *Ergo*, contrition is in mans power and free will: *Bellarm. cap. 2. propos. 2.*

Solu. First, it is no rare thing in Scripture to finde, that God commandeth vs impossible things: as S. *Paul* sayth, Rom. 8. 3. that the precepts of the law are impossible: the reason thereof is rendred, Galath. 3. 24. *The law was a schoolemaster to bring vs to Christ*: So God commandeth hard things, that we finding no strength in our selues to doe them, we should seeke for helpe at his hand: as *Bernard* sayth well, *Non latuit præceptorem præcepti pondus hominum vires excedere, sed indecens visus ex hoc ipso sua illos insufficientia admoneri, &c.* Our master was not ignorant, that his commandements did exceede our strength, but he thought it good hereby to admonish vs of our insufficiencie. Super Cantic. Serm. 50.

Secondly, another reason of these precepts, is this: to let vs know, that although the will of man hath of it selfe by nature no inclination to that which is good, yet it is otherwise then a peece of clay, and God speaketh to men otherwise then vnto beasts, *Consensus voluntarius videtur à bestijs*, as *Bernard* sayth, Our voluntarie or free consent doth discerne vs from beasts. So it is in the power of man, *velle*, to will, that is somewhat; but *velle bonum*, to will that which is good, is of God. Thirdly, though God giue repentance, and all other good gifts, yet he worketh them by meanes, as by the preaching of his word, by precepts, exhortations, and such like: whereby wee are stirred vp to seeke that at Gods hand, which wee finde not to bee in our selues. Fourthly, those places doe as well conclude, that it is wholy in mans power to repent, as in part: for to what end should God command, that which is not wholie and fullie in mans power to performe; as the Iesuite obiecteth.

Argum. 2. Contrition is an acceptable sacrifice to God, Psalm. 51. 17. but that which is coact, not

not voluntarie, is not acceptable: *Ergo*, contrition is voluntarie. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. We deny not but that contrition is a voluntarie *and free offering* vnto God, as the Prophet saith, Psalm. 119. 108. *Accept the free offerings of my mouth.* But as *Augustine* saith, *Deus ex nolentibus volentes facit:* God of nilling maketh vs willing: so then it is made a voluntarie sacrifice, not by the power of mans will, but by the worke of Gods grace.

The Protestants.

TRue contrition of heart, as all other good thoughts in vs, as they are good, come onely of God: our cogitations indeed are our owne, but all the goodnes of them is the meere gift of God, Iam. 1. 17.

Argum. 1. 1. Tim. 2. 25. If at any time God will giue the repentance: Repentance then is the gift of God. And *Augustine* writing vpon these very words, sayth, *Quantumlibet præbeat pœnitentiam, nisi ipse dederit, quis agit pœnitentiam?* Although he neuer so much giue occasion of repentance, yet vnlesse he bestow vpon vs the full gift of repentance, no man is able to repent. Thus he plainly distinguisheth betweene *præbere pœnitentiam.* to offer occasion to repent: as he proueth out of S. *Paul*, Rom. 2. 4. the bountifulnes of God calleth thee to repentance; and *dare pœnitentiã*, to giue or grant repentance. But if God should only helpe our free will, and work together with vs to repentance, and not do al alone himselfe, he should rather *præbere*, then *dare pœnitentiam:* offer occasion by stirring of vs vp to repentance, then grant vs repentance it selfe, which were contrarie to the Apostle.

Argum. 2. The Prophet *Dauid* saith, *Create in me a cleane heart*, Psal. 51. 10. Like as then God in the creation of the world, had no helper, or assistant, but all was his worke: so in the renewing of the heart, to create is onely Gods worke, to inspire good thoughts, and to make a new heart, is to create, or make a new creature, as S. *Paul* calleth it, 2. Cor. 5. 17. *Ergo*, it is onely and wholy the worke of God: as S. *Ambrose* saith, *Gratia tota repellitur, si non tota suscipitur:* Grace is wholy refused, if it be not wholy receiued: *Epistol.* 84. *Hieroni. Quodcunque in suo riuulo fluit ad fontem refert:* Whatsoeuer floweth in the riuer must be referred to the fountaine. *ad Ctesiphont.*

Lib. de libera arbitrio. *Bernard* sayth: *Non partim gratia, partim liberum arbitrium, sed totum singula peragunt, totum hic, totum illa, sed vt totum in illo, sic totum ex illa:* Not partly grace, partly free will, but each of them wholy worketh, this wholy, and that wholy; wholy indeede in free will, but wholy of grace: so he maketh the will of man onely to be as the passiue matter, wherein grace worketh: they worke not both together actiuely.

The Master of the sentences agreeth, *Lib. 4. distinct. 20. a. Opus est non hominis, sed Dei fructifera pœnitentia, inspirare eam potest, quandocunque vult suamisericordia:* Fruitfull repentance is not the worke of man, but of God, which he can inspire, when he will, of his mercy. Repentance then proceedeth altogether from the mercie of God.

Concil. Arausican. 2. can. 7. Si quis per naturæ vigorem, bonum aliquod quod ad salutem pertinet vitæ æternæ, cogitare, eligere, &c. If any man say that by the strength of nature man can thinke or chuse any good thing belonging to eternall life, or giue consent to holesome preaching, he is deceiued by the spirite of heresie, seeing the Lord saith, you can doe nothing without me. This Councell leaueth not any strength at all in mans free will.

In defence of this truth dyed *Thomas Spicer, Iohn Denis, Edmund Poole*, that man hath no free will of himselfe to doe any good thing, pag. 1912. articul. 7.

The Papists.

49. Error. 2. THey affirme, that contrition, which is ioyned with an inward terror of the minde, and proceedeth from the sight and consideration of our sinnes, doth not appertaine to the lawe, but to the Gospell. *Bellarm. lib. 2. c. 2. propos. 3.*

Argum. 1. Christ preached repentance, to the which contrition belongeth, Matth. 4. 17. *Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hand:* but Christ was a Minister of the Gospell, not of the law. *Bellarmin. ibid.*

Answ. First, repentance hath part from the law, part from the Gospell: from the law it hath the sight of sinne and terror of minde for the same; from the Gospell it hath hope and comfort, springing of faith in Christ: wherefore this reason sheweth not, that repentance in euery parte thereof is of the Gospell. Secondly, though the law and Gospell are in nature and propertie distinguished, yet they may be ioyned in vse: so *Moses* the Minister of the law may preach Christ, and Christ the Minister of the Gospell doth also establish the law, and by the terrors of the law call men to the knowledge of their sinne, where repentance beginneth.

Argum. 2. The law hath no promise of grace, contrition hath a promise of grace, as Isay 66. 2. *To whom will I looke, but to him that is poore and of a contrite spirite: Ergo*, contrition is not of the law. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, it is true, that the law hath not in it selfe, the promise of grace annexed, *For grace and trueth commeth by Iesu Christ, Iohn* 1. 17. Yet by grace the law is made as a readie way and instrument to bring vs to Christ, in whom we finde grace, and so contrition wrought by the terrors of

of the lawe, doth prepare a way vnto grace. Secondly, contrition, as it is a worke of the lawe, being but yet begun in terror and feare, obtaineth not the promise, but being perfited by faith in Christ, and in the comforts of the Gospell, it findeth grace and mercie: as here in the Prophet, to contrition of heart is ioyned poorenes of spirit, which is a deniall of our selues, and an apprehension of Christ by faith.

The Protestants.

That the terrors of a contrite heart, and the sight of sinne, where contrition beginneth, commeth by the knowledge of the lawe, the Scripture is plaine.

Argum. 1. Rom. 7. 7. *I knew not sinne, but by the Lawe*, I had not knowne lust, *Vnlesse the lawe had said thou shalt not lust*: therefore by the lawe commeth reuelation of sinne, which is the beginning of true contrition.

Argum. 2. S. *Paul* calleth the lawe, *the killing letter, and the ministerie of condemnation*, 2. Cor. 3. 6, 9. But the Gospell is the *ministrie of righteousnes and life*: Wherefore contrition, as therein is set before vs our damnable state by sinne, and ministreth to vs a sight of condemnation, is of the law. So likewise, Galath. 4. 3. We are in bondage and feare vnder the law, but by the Gospell we are made sons, and so receiue the spirit of the Sonne: *Ibid. ver. 6. Ergo*, the feare, terrors, and as it were bondage of the soule, is of the lawe. *Ambrose* saith, *Lex iram operatur, fides gaudium*: The lawe worketh wrath, faith bringeth ioy: *In 3. ad Roman. Ad hoc data lex vt terrori esset, &c.* Therefore was the lawe giuen to be a terror to men, to prouoke them to good life.

The Papists.

1. SOme of the Papists affirme, that in Contrition it is not necessary to haue a *formall*, that is, a *resolute* and *expresse* purpose of newnesse of life, but that this is alwayes included in the detesting of sinne; which *implicite* or *inclusiue* purpose is sufficient: So *Ioban. Maior in 4. sententiar. distinct. 14. qu. 1. Veg. lib. 13. in concil. Trident. c. 13.* 50. Error.

Argum. Dauid onely confessed his sinne, saying; *Lord I haue sinned*: so the Publican; *Lord be mercifull to me a sinner*: there is no expresse purpose of amendment of life mentioned. Likewise, the thiefe vpon the Crosse had no such expresse purpose: *Ergo*, it is not necessarie.

Solu. First, that *Dauid* had a full purpose of the heart, euen in that instant to turne vnto God, it is euident, Psal. 51. 13. *Then shall I teach thy wayes to the wicked*: this Psalme was made by the Prophet, as a testimonie of his repentance, for that sinne, for the which *Nathan* reproued him: and here he professeth, that he will become a new man.

Secondly, the Publicane finding mercie and departing iustified, no doubt had also an expresse purpose in himselfe for euer to forsake his sinne, for otherwise hee could not haue beene iustified, nor found remission of sinnes: for this is the law and perpetuall rule of forgiuenesse, Ezech. 18. 21. *If the wicked turne from his sinnes, &c. and keepe all my statutes: his transgressions shall not be mentioned*: to find remission then, these two things are required, *forsaking of sinne, and doing that which is right*: and this is signified in the Publicanes smiting vpon his breast: as *Augustine* saith, *Pectora tundamus vt super peccata nostra pauimentum solidemus, &c.* Let vs knocke vpon our breasts, not to make a pauement, as it were, and beaten floore vpon our sinnes: for hee that beateth vpon his breast and is not corrected, doth harden his sinnes, he taketh them not away: so then the Publicane in this smiting vpon his breast, was amended and corrected, and thought with himselfe, neuer to doe the like againe. De Disciplin. Christian. cap. 1. Tom. 9.

Thirdly, 1. The thiefe vpon the crosse, being in the very agonie of death, and not expecting life, could not in that short time expresse euery part of his vnfained repentance. 2. Yet there appeareth in him, as that short moment could afford, both a detestation of sinne in condemning himselfe and his fellow, and a loue of righteousnesse, and desire thereunto, if hee had liued, in commending the innocencie of our Sauiour.

The Protestants.

WE hold, that as in true Contrition, there must be perfect hatred of sinne; so also there is ioyned with it a determinate purpose of amendment of life.

Argum. 1. The place before cited out of *Ezechiel*, proueth it: Ezech. 18. 21. Likewise Isay 1. 16. *Wash you, make you cleane, cease to do euill, learne to do well*: Act. 11. 23. *They exhorted all, that with purpose of heart, they would turne to the Lord*, Ephes. 4. 22. *Cast off the old man, put on the new, &c.* All these places do euidently proue, that in true contrition and repentance, there is required a forsaking or dying vnto sinne and liuing vnto righteousnesse.

Argum. 2. *Bellarmine* is a notable witnesse for vs, against this error, which hee laboureth to confute, *lib. 2. de pœnit. ca. 6. 7.* in two whole Chapters: and herein hee is also a witnesse against himselfe, for *lib. 1. c. 20.* he confuteth the contrary opinion, that to *cease to do euill*, and *learne to do well*, are not two parts requisite to repentance, and answereth that place by vs alleaged, Isay 1. 16. *Cease to do euill, &c.* But now much forgetting himselfe, but the truth preuayling more with him, he produceth this very place, to proue, that in true contrition or repentance, there must be a purpose

pose of amendment, which is the same thing, that we defend; both before *qu.4. part 2.* and in this place. *Augustine* vpon these wordes of the Prophet *Isay*, *Lauamini*, be yee washed, &c. *Lauatus est, & mundus est qui & praterita plangit, & iterum non admittit:* He is washed and is cleane, which doth bewaile his sinnes past, and doth not commit them againe: *de temper. serm.66.*

The Papists.

51. Error. 4. THey teach, that Contrition ought to be perfect, because it must proceed from the loue of God, which is the most perfect kinde of loue, *Catechis. Roman. pag.439.* and that the greatnesse of the griefe ought to be answerable to the quantity of the sinne: so they conclude, that a man shall neuer know when hee is sufficiently contrite, *Thomas Aquinas*: for hee must be contrite for euery great sinne hee hath committed, *Tileman. Hesshus. loc.9.de pœnitent. artic.* 5. 27.28.32.

*Argum.*1. That perfect Contrition is required, *Bellarmine* pretendeth to proue by these Scriptures, 1 King.8.48. *If they turne againe vnto thee with all their heart, &c.* Ioel.2. *Turne vnto me with all your heart, &c.* Bellarm.*c.*10.

*Answ.*1. Those places do well proue, that our sorrow ought to be vnfeigned, and that we should neither dissemble, nor be indifferent in our sorrow: but we must giue our whole heart vnto God, that is, not to haue a double heart, and as the wordes are; *a heart and a heart*, Psal.12. 2. So then in our Contrition a godly endeuour, and a diligent care is required, a sufficiencie our sorrow cannot be performed: *No, though our eyes were as fountaines of teares*; as the Prophet wisheth, Ieremy.9.1.

The Protestants.

WHat is this else but a plaine doctrine of desperation? for when is a man able so perfectly to be contrite, as his loue toward God ought to be perfect? or how can his sorrow be equiualent to the waight of his sinnes? or can a man remember all his sinnes, that hee should be sory for?

*Argum.*1. The sorrow of Christians is not infinite or vncertaine, but it is determined and limited. Saint *Paul* saith, That he should not be swallowed vp of too much heauinesse, 2 Corinthians 2.7. And againe, *My Epistle made you sorie, though for a season*, 2.Corinth.7.8.

Argum 2. Iob.9.2. *We cannot answere God one thing of a thousand:* our greatest sorrow is not sufficient for our least sinne: therefore there can be no proportion betweene the greatnesse of our sinne & the quantitie of our sorrow: *Peter* committed a great sinne in denying of his Master, and yet vpon his bitter weeping he was receiued to mercie, as *Hieronie* saith, *Petrum ter negatorem in suum locum restituere lachryma*: *Peters* bitter teares after thrice deniall restored him to his place: Was *Peters* sorrow any way answerable in measure or quantitie to his sinne? We must indeed weepe bitterly as *Peter* did, and after we are throughly humbled, we are certaine, that God will looke vpon vs, as he did vpon *Peter*: and the inward feeling of Gods fauour will be the boundes and limits of our sorrow.

Their owne Canons are more equall, which do not enioyne so strict penance, and such immeasurable contrition, as these new masters require: as *decret. Gregor. lib.5. tit.38. c.5. Alexander* 3. concerning certaine that in their confession say, that *they cannot abstaine from those sinnes*, he decreeth, *Eorum confessionem recipere debes, &c.* You must receiue their confession, for though it be no true repentance, yet it is a true confession.

De tempor. natal. Serm.3. *Augustine* saith, *Ista est vera pœnitentia, quando quis sic conuertitur, vt non reuertatur*: This is true repentance, when a man doth so turne vnto God, that he returne not vnto sinne. When a man therefore hath in this manner repented, he may be sure that hee hath mourned sufficiently. It is therefore vntrue, that a man is vncertaine when he hath sorrowed enough.

Synod. Colonien. part.7. cap.19. Quamuis quis peccato mordeatur, si tamen pœniteat, vt de cætero peccandi voluntatem nullam habeat, confidens de Domini misericordia accedat ad Eucharistiam sumendam, &c. Although a man be grieued in conscience for his sinne, yet if he repent him, so that he haue a purpose not to sinne againe, trusting to Gods mercie, let him come without feare to the Communion: If he thus sorrowing be without feare, it followeth, that God in Christ accepteth his sorrow as sufficient.

The Papists.

52. Error. BEllarmine hath here a certaine fond conceite of his owne, bringing in this destinction of sorrow in contrition; that there is *Dolor summus intensiue, appreciatiue*: The greatest and highest sorrow, intensiuely, and by way of estimation: of this sort he giueth an example, as a good man may weepe more for the losse of his children, then for his sinnes, yet in his choyce he had rather loose his children, then offend God: this is that kinde of griefe by way of estimation, though intensiuely he grieue more for his children, yet, when he maketh an estimate of the one and the other, he preferreth that in his iudgement, which is the least in his affection: this kinde of griefe

when

when as the affection goeth before the iudgement, hee thinketh is sufficient for contrition. *Tolet. cap.* 11.

Argum. Ioel. 2. *Turne vnto God with all your heart*: this must be vnderstood of this greatest kind of griefe, by way of estimation, &c.

Ans. Whereas it is said, 1. King. 8. 49. *If they turne vnto thee with all their heart and soule, &c.* how can they turne with the whole heart and affection, when as they in their affection can sorrowe more for other things? wherefore as God will haue the whole and entire soule, that is the iudgement, so the whole heart also and affection. As *Augustine* saith, *Inani tristem, &c.* I finde one very heauie, I aske him, Friend, why art thou heauie? saith he, I haue lost my money: *Locus immundus fructu nullo*: This is an vncleane place, there can be no fruite: *De tempor. serm.* 151.

The Protestants.

THough I denie not but a right good man, may sometime breake out more into affection for some temporall losse, than for the committing of sinne, as Matth. 2. 18. *The women mourne for their children, and would not be comforted*: yet this is not a vertue to be commended, but an infirmitie to be amended, as it was commendable in *Eli*, who hearing patiently the heauie newes of the death of his sonnes, when mention was made of the taking of the Arke, could hold no longer, but through feeblenes caused by sudden griefe, fell backward and brake his neck, 1. Sam. 4. 17.

Argum. This hath been the continuall practise of the Saints to lament more for sinne, than for any other temporall losse whatsoeuer: as *Dauid* saith, Psalm. 6. 6. *I cause my bed euery night to swime, and water my couch with teares*: Psalm. 119. 136. *Mine eyes gush out with riuers of water, because they keepe not thy law*. Matth. 26. 75. *Peter went out, and wept bitterly*: No earthly matter could haue drawne from them such plentifull store of teares: wherefore the Saints did euen weepe most *instanter*, that is, earnestly and effectually for sinne.

Your owne canons are cleere in this point: *Decr. par. 2. caus. 33. distinct. 3. c. 42. Satis durus est cui nemo dolorem, &c.* Hee is very hard whose griefe of minde the teares of his bodie cannot declare: but let him know, *se culpabiliter durum*, that he is very culpable in his hardnes, which doth lament the losses of time, the death of his friend, &c. and doth not shew the griefe for sinne with teares: Let none therefore excuse themselues, that they haue not a fountaine of teares, who with teares doe shew the griefe of temporall things. This sentence is rehearsed out of *Augustine*, and approued by the Master of Sentences, *lib. 4. dist. 15. f.* whereby they are defined to bee culpable, which doe more expresse the losse of things temporall, by their teares, than of spirituall: which is that which *Bellarmine* alloweth as good and commendable.

The Papists.

1. COntrition (they say) as it is not altogether without hope to obtaine mercie: so can it not haue *certitudinem remissionis peccatorum*, a certaine or vndoubted assurance of remission of sinne, *Concil. Trident. sess. 6. cap. 9. Bellarm. lib. 2. cap. 2.* 51. Error.

The Protestants.

GOdly sorrow and contrition bringeth ioy and comfort to the soule in the end, with vndoubted assurance of the forgiuenes and remission of sinnes.

Argum. 1. Godly sorrow worketh in the true penitent person, a cleering of the minde, 2. Cor. 7. vers. 11. but the soule and conscience cannot be cleered and set at rest, vnlesse we bee perswaded that our sinnes are forgiuen vs: *Ergo*.

Argum. 2. All hope is certaine, and bringeth vndoubted assurance, and therfore it is called the anchor of the soule, Hebr. 6. 19. Wherefore either contrition is voyde of hope altogether, (which they will not graunt) or if it haue any hope, it is sure and stable, and worketh a full perswasion and assurance of the mercie of God.

Augustine saith, *Petrus mox à Domino indulgentiam accepit, qui amarissimè flenit trina negationis* De tempor. *ruinam*: Peter straightway receiued pardon and indulgence, when hee had most bitterly beway- serm. 66. led the sinne of his three-fold denial of Christ. How could *Peter* immediatly haue felt and received the remission of that great sinne, if the Lord had not assured his conscience thereof?

The former Canon of the Cullin Councel saith, That when a man hath sorrowed for his sinne, purposing not to doe the like, *Securus & intrepidus accedat*: Let him draw neere without feare, and boldnesse. He that is secure and without feare, doubteth not: *Ergo*, he is assured of the forgiuenes of his sinne.

Bernard also saith: *Animam pœnitentiæ lachrimis afflictam spiritus paracletus liberiter consolatur, frequenter visitat, & ad veram fiduciam plenè reformat*: A soule afflicted with penitent sorrowe, the spirit of comfort doth comfort, often visite, and fully bring it to the trust of pardon: *de interior. domo*. cap. 37. The soule then may haue a full and assured trust of forgiuenes.

Their owne Canons are cleere for vs: *Decr. par. 2. caus. 33. distinct. 1. cap. 50. Nemo potest bene agere pœnitentiam, nisi qui speraverit indulgentiam*: No man can truly do repentance, if he do not hope for indulgence. *Ibid.*

Ibid. dist. 3. c. 39. Leo. Iudam non pœnitentia reuocauit ad Dominum, sed desperatio traxit ad laqueum: Repentance did not recall *Iudas* to the Lord, but desperation brought him to the snare. That repentance then is not good nor acceptable, which is not full of assurance, and in hope comfortable.

Iohn Husse holy Martyr: Vnto a true absolution, first there is required contrition. Secondly, a purpose and intent to sinne no more. Thirdly, true confession. Fourthly, stedfast hope of forgiuenes: as Christ saith, *My sonne, beleeue, and thy sinnes are forgiuen thee.* pag. 616. artic. 5.

The Papists.

54. Error. 6. THey affirme, that contrition is a necessarie meane vnto *iustification*, and that a man cannot be iustified, till he haue been truly contrite for his sinnes, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de pœnitent. c. 1.*

Argum. Luk. 13. 3. *Except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish.* Act. 3. 19. *Repent, and turne, that your sinnes may be put away, when the time of refreshing shall come: Ergo,* contrition is necessarie to iustification, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, it followeth not, without repentance and true contrition there is no iustification: *Ergo,* repentance is a meane vnto iustification: for faith cannot bee without workes, yet workes are no meane vnto faith: so repentance and contrition are the fruits of iustification, not a meane thereunto. Secondly, there is difference betweene iustification, and saluation, or glorification: contrition is a meane and way to saluation: by repentance thorough the mercie of God in Christ wee are preserued from *perishing* and euerlasting destruction: and repentance goeth before our consummation, and perfect abolition of our sinnes in the day *of refreshing* at the comming of Christ: But it followeth not, that contrition therefore is a meane vnto iustification; for first we are *iustified*, then afterward *glorified*: our saluation is accomplished, Rom. 8. 30. Thirdly, contrition is a meane to assure vs of our iustification, but not to iustifie vs: as the Apostle saith, Phil. 2. 12. *With feare and trembling finish your saluation.*

The Protestants.

THat true contrition is necessarie, we willingly graunt, and that without it remission of sinnes cannot bee had: but wee denie that it is a necessarie meane vnto iustification: a necessarie signe, fruite, or worke of iustification it is, but not a meane or cause.

Argum. 1. We are iustified by faith, Rom. 4. 5. *To him that beleeueth in him, that iustifieth the ungodly, faith is counted for righteousnes:* But faith goeth before repentance, as *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth by the example of the Niniuites, who first beleeued, and afterward repented, *Bellarm. lib. 1. cap. 19. propos. 2. Ergo,* iustification is before repentance, and so consequently repentance is no meane vnto it.

Argum. 2. Good workes are no meane to iustification, for then they should goe before iustification: but as *Augustine* saith, *Bona opera non præcedunt iustificandum, sed sequuntur iustificatum:* Good workes doe not goe before him that is to bee iustified, but they follow him that is alreadie iustified.

But contrition is a good worke: confessed and proued by *Bellar. lib. 2. cap. 2. Ergo,* it is no meane vnto iustification.

Augustine saith, *Nouit vnde Apostolus vas præsumere de operibus ante fidem, ac si merito operum gratiam accepissemus, præcaterum cum te fides inuenit:* The Apostle would not haue vs presume of workes before faith, as if by the merite of workes wee had receiued faith: for faith found them before: *in Psal.* 31. If then good workes goe not before faith, and faith and iustification come together, as I haue shewed, then contrition, being a good action, precedeth not iustification.

The Papists.

55. Error. 7. THey make contrition a part of satisfaction for our sinnes, and to be a cause of iustification and remission of sinnes, not onely in disposing and preparing of vs thereunto, but working thereby wee verily obtaine and deserue remission of our sins, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de pœnitent. cap. vltim.*

Argum. 1. Luk. 7. 47. Many sinnes are forgiuen her because she loued: Not only faith, but loue or charitie obtaineth remission of sinnes, *Bellarm. ibid. Rhemist. in hunc locum.*

Answ. The argument is 1. not from the cause to the effect, but from the effect to the cause: for Christ doth not reason thus, she loued much, therefore many sinnes are forgiuen her: but contrariwise, *Many sinnes are forgiuen her, therefore she loueth much:* As the next wordes declare: *to whom little is remitted, he loueth little.* 2. And our Sauiour saith in plaine wordes in the last verse, that *her faith had saued her*, whereof her loue was an effect. 3. And further, as the Apostle saith, *We know that we are translated from death to life, because we loue the brethren,* 1. Ioh. 3. 14. he saith not, wee are translated, but wee know wee are: so this woman by her loue might know or bee assured that her sins were remitted her. And *Bellarmine* hath a saying not much vnlike, that these words of Christ, Many sinnes are forgiuen her, *confirmant absolutionem inuisibiliter datam,* do confirme the absolution inuisibly giuen before, *lib. 2. c. 14. resp. ad obiect. 1.* Her loue was a meanes then to confirme her absolution, which was inuisiblie giuen before.

Argum. 2.

Argum. 2. Ezech. 18. 27. When the wicked turneth away from his wickednesse he shall saue his soule, &c. vers. 31. Make you a new heart and new spirit, and cast away from you all your transgressions. The turning then away from sinne is the cause of life and of newnes of soule: *Ergo* of iustification, Dan. 4. vers. 24. *Redeeme thy sinnes by thine almes, &c. Ergo*, good charitable workes are the cause of the forgiuenes of sinnes, *Bellar. c. 12.*

Answ. First, the places 1. in *Ezechiel*, if they bee taken in his sense, would proue, that it is in a mans power to conuert his soule, or to renew his owne heart, whereas the Prophet acknowledgeth it wholy to be the Lords worke, Psal. 51. 12. *Create in me a new heart:* and Iere. 31. *Conuert vs O Lord, and we shall be conuerted.* 2. But why the Lord thus speaketh to man, in bidding him conuert, Saint *Augustine* rendreth the reason: *Quia non sicut in lapidibus insensatis Deus saluatorem nostrum operatur:* Because God worketh our saluation in vs, not as in senseles stones: *cont. Pelag. lib. 1. c. 5.* Man therefore saueth his soule, or maketh his heart new, but as Gods instrument; as the axe in the workmans hand: it is Gods spirit that maketh man to make his heart new. 3. *Bellarmine* himselfe helpeth vs with a sufficient answere, that remission of sinnes is first inuisiblie giuen, and then by our earnest repentance, it is confirmed and assured vnto vs: so then repentance is a meane to the assurance of forgiuenes, as these places proone; but not to the inuisible grace or gift of remission.

Secondly, 1. The word in *Daniel* signifieth not to redeeme, but to breake off. for so is this word *peracha* vsed, Gen. 27. 40. *Thou shalt breake his yoke from thy necke.* 2. By (redeeming) admitting that reading, may be vnderstood not redemption to be made before God, but recompence to bee made vnto men, whom he had iniuried. 3. Neither doth the Prophet speake of the forgiuenes of his sinnes, but of *the prolonging of his peace and prosperitie:* for these words, *Forsitan ignoscet Deus:* God perhaps may forgiue your sins, are not read in the Hebrue. 4. And how could the almes of an vnbeleeuer, such an one as *Nabuchadnezzar* was, be a cause of forgiuenes, seeing without faith nothing is acceptable to God? 5. Lastly, the Kings righteous and mercifull dealing should be only a testimonie to his conscience, that his sinnes were forgiuen. 6. *Concil. Cabilonen. c. 36.* It is decreed that sinnes, *de iudiciis*, committed willingly, or wittingly, are redeemed by almes: *Sic enim videtur Deum mercede conducere:* So they should seeme to hire God with a reward.

The Protestants.

The contrition of the heart meriteth not, neither is any cause of the forgiuenes of sins, which doth issue only out of the fountaine of Gods mercie by faith in Christ, the Scriptures doe testifie.

Argum. 1. Rom. 3. 24. *We are iustified freely by grace.* If freely, then is not our iustification merited, or caused by any worke of ours.

Answ. answereth: first, that we are iustified freely, though it be by the merit of contrition, because contrition is the gift of God. Secondly, contrition meriteth not, *ex condigno*, of condignitie or worthines, but *ex congruo*, of congruitie: which kinde of merite is founded not in Gods iustice, but in his benignitie and bountie, *Bellarm. cap. 12.*

Contra. First, this is the very answere 1. of the old Pelagians, who did in like manner affirme, that the good will of man was of God, because it could not be in a man, vnlesse man were, *vt bonum velit, à Deo habet*, but for a man to be, is of God: for if therefore remission of sinnes bee of grace, and the gift of God, because contrition, whereby it is merited, is the gift of God; then say also that wee may bee saued by nature, and yet by the gift of God, because the nature of man is the gift and worke of God. 2. But the Apostle confuteth this glosse, in saying further, *We are iustified freely, &c. thorough redemption in Christ Iesu:* if thorough redemption, then not thorough contrition. 3. And againe, men first must be reconciled vnto God, and of enemies bee made friends, before he giue them gifts: as the Apostle saith, *Christ first led captiuitie captiua*, that is, subdueth and remoueth sinne that led vs captiue, and then *gaue gifts vnto men*, Ephes. 4. 8. Then must we first bee reconciled vnto God, which consisteth in the forgiuenes of our sinnes, Rom. 3. 25. before wee can haue the gift of contrition. Wherefore if reconciliation and forgiuenes of sinnes goe before contrition, it can be no meritorious cause of the remission of sinnes.

Secondly, 1. No merite or worke is of mercie, but of iustice, as the Apostle saith, Rom. 4. 4. *To him that worketh the wages is not counted by fauour, but by debt:* wherefore the merite of congruitie is no merite, being founded in Gods mercie. 2. Neither is there any congruitie or consequence at all, that God should respect vs being his enemies: but enemies wee are before wee are reconciled by the remission of our sinnes; wherefore contrition, going before remission of sinnes, and so reconciliation, cannot deserue so much as of *congruitie*, if there were any such merite.

Argum. 2. That the contrition of the heart is no cause of our iustification, neither doth merite or deserue remission of sins: Saint *Paul* sheweth, Rom. 4. 5, 6. *To him that beleeueth faith is counted for righteousnes:* And *Dauid* declareth the blessednes of that man, to whom God imputeth righteousnes without works. It is faith then only that obtaineth remission of sins: and a man is iustified

without any respect had to his workes. Therefore neither contrition, nor any other worke inward or outward, procureth remission of sinnes, but faith onely is the meane.

So *Augustine* saith, *Opera sequuntur iustificatum, non præcedunt iustificandum:* Workes follow a man alreadie iustified, they goe not before to iustification, *De fide & operibus, cap.* 14. Therefore the worke of contrition is not available to iustification.

Interrelig. Cæsarea. cap. 17. *Illa satisfactio, quæ culpam & æternam pœnam expiat, soli Christo tribuenda est:* That satisfaction, which taketh away the fault and eternall punishment, is onely to bee attributed to Christ: *Ergo*, contrition doth not satisfie for the sinne.

Lastly, *Iulius* 1. *Decret.* 11. thus testifieth, *Fides omnes actus hominis præcedere debet:* Faith must goe before all the acts of men. *Cyrill. Alexand. expos. Nycen. symbol. Sicut fides absque operibus mortua, &c.* As faith is dead without workes, so we may turne it and say, works are dead without faith. Contrition then is either before faith or after; if before, being without faith, it is a dead worke, as is here specified, and so cannot merite: if after faith, then it commeth after iustification and remission of sinnes: for by faith are we iustified; Rom. 3. 26. *That he might be a iustifier of him, that is of the faith of Iesus.*

We want not the evidence of some of their owne side: *Capreolus in secund. senten. dist.* 40. *Dominicus à Soto lib.* 2 *de natur & grat. cap.* 4. doe denie that contrition any way either of congruitie, or condignitie meriteth remission.

The Papists.

56. Error. 7. COntrition (they say) is not necessarie for veniall or small offences, neither is a man bound thereunto, *Scot. lib.* 4 *distinct.* 17. *articul.* 3. The Master of Sentences thinketh that a generall confession sufficeth for mortal sinnes, which a man vnderstandeth not, *lib.* 4. *dist.* 21. *a.*

The Protestants.

THis assertion is cleane contrarie to Scripture: for the Prophet *Dauid* prayeth not only to be kept from presumptuous sinnes, Psalm. 19. 13. but euen to be cleansed from his secret faults, vers. 12. The Prophet *Dauid* saith, Psalm. 32. 5. *I acknowledged my sinne, neither hid I mine iniquitie, and thou forgauest, &c.* Wherefore mortall sinne not vnderstood, but lying hid, cannot be acknowledged, and so consequently not forgiuen.

Augustine saith, *Non solum propter vitæ huius ignorantiam, sed etiam propter ipsum pulverem mundi huius, qui pedibus adhæret, quotidianam habere debemus pœnitentiam:* Not onely for the ignorances of this life, but euen for that drosse and dust of the world, which hangeth vpon our feete, wee ought daily to repent vs. He meaneth the lesser and smaller scapes of our life. And againe, *Homo dum iste vivit in sæculo, humanis affectibus veluti pedibus terram calcans ipsa conversatione vitæ huius contrahit, unde dicat: dimitte nobis debita:* Man, as long as he liueth in this world, with his affections, as with feete treading vpon the ground, he gathereth drosse, for the which he had neede to say, forgiue vs our sins, &c. *in Iohan. tract.* 57.

Decr. par. 1. *caus.* 33. *distinct.* 3. *c.* 42. *Christus legionem ejiciens non reliquit vnum ex omnibus:* Christ casting out a legion, left not one of all: shewing, that if wee haue a thousand sinnes, we must repent them all.

The Papists.

57. Error. 8. THere is a kinde of contrition that proceedeth onely from the feare of punishment, when a man doth leaue sinning, not for any loue or delight he hath in God, but onely for feare of damnation: Euen this contrition also is good and profitable: yet this seruile feare is at length cleane driuen out by charitie. But there remaineth still in the godly an awe and feare of God and his iudgements, with mistrust, and feare of hell and damnation; as Matth. 10. *Feare him that can cast bodie and soule into hell: Rhemist. Iob.* 4 *sect.* 6. And *Bellarmine* saith, that if a sinner, *solum pœnæ fugiendæ causa, &c.* onely to auoide punishment, doe take heede of sinne, this is a good and profitable feare, *lib.* 2. 17.

Argum. Ierem. 5. 22. *Feare ye not me* (saith the Lord) *which haue placed the sand for the bound of the sea?* Malach. 1. 6. *If I be a father, where is my honour? if I be a master, where is my feare?* Mat. 10. vers. 28. *Feare him which is able to destroy both soule and bodie in hell.* Here wee see that God exacteth euen the feare of seruants, and the feare of hell punishment, which is a seruile feare, *Bellarmine cap.* 17.

Answ. First, the Lord in these places by his Prophets speaketh vnto the prophane wicked of those times: as Ierem, vers. 21. *Heare O foolish people, and without vnderstanding:* and Malach. 1. 8. it followeth in the same verse, *O ye Priests that despise my name:* These prophane persons had neede to be terrified with the feare of Gods iudgements: but it followeth not, that this feare is necessarie for the seruants of God. Secondly, the Prophet *Malachie* ioyning the honour of sonnes, and feare of seruants together; vnderstandeth not a seruile, miserable, and slauish feare, but such as dutifull and obedient seruants yeeld vnto their masters as fathers, which is a commendable feare, and fit alwaies to bee retained. Thirdly, our Sauiour speaketh by way of comparison: *that they*

they should not feare them which kill the bodie, &c. he preferreth a *seruile* feare of God, before this *worldly* feare of men: yet so that hee would not haue them stay here, or rest in this feare, for the which he diuers times reproueth them: as Luk. 12. 32. *Feare not little flocke, it is your fathers will to giue you a kingdome.* Fourthly, we confesse that this seruile feare is profitable to make a beginning and further entrance: as Prou. 1. 7. *The feare of God is the beginning of wisedome:* but afterward loue must succeede in the place thereof.

The Protestants.

First, we acknowledge that the feare of punishment is necessary in the beginning, to make a way for true loue to enter, as the bristle or needle (as *Augustine* saith) maketh roume for the threed to enter. Wee also confesse, that there is a continuall feare and reuerence of God in the godlie, such as children haue of their parents: but as for any mistrust or feare of hell and damnation, after loue be once entred, and we made the children of God, which breedeth terror and anxietie of conscience, it is cleane expelled, and thrust out of the doores by loue.

Argum. 1. So saith the Apostle, *There is no feare in loue: but perfect loue casteth out feare, and maketh vs to haue confidence in the day of iudgement,* 1. Iohn 4. 17, 18. But hee that feareth damnation and is afraid of the day of iudgement, cannot haue confidence in that day. So *Augustine: Quid dicimus de illo, qui capit timere diem iudicij? si perfecta in illo esset charitas, non timeret?* What say we to him, that feareth the day of iudgement? if loue were perfect in him, he would not feare it?

Argum. 2. Matth. 25. 25. The slothfull seruant saith to his master, *I knew thou wast a hard man, &c. and therefore I was afraid.* This seruant was not commended for this feare, but blamed and reproued, and cast into vtter darknes: for his master said, *Thou euill and slothfull seruant.* And *Origen* hereof writeth well: *Nec est bonus huiusmodi timor, nec liberat nos talis timor à tenebris exterioribus:* Neither is this feare good, neither doth it deliuer from vtter darknes: *Tract. 33. in Matth.*

Bellarmine replieth: that to feare God cannot be euill; but they that haue this seruile feare, doe notwithstanding feare God: *Ergo, c.* 18.

Contra. First, the diuels feare God and tremble, Iam. 2. 19. doth hee thinke there is any good feare in diuels? Secondly, neither doe those feare God, but hell: for if there were no hell, they would not feare God at all.

Argum. 3. God is not to be loued for hope of reward: *Ergo,* neither to bee serued for feare of punishment.

Bellarmine answereth, that the reason is not alike: for the obiect of loue is good, the obiect of feare is euill: God is good, and therefore to bee loued for himselfe: but he is not euill, and therefore to be feared for another, *cap.* 18. *resp. ad argum.* 6.

Contra. First, the obiect indeede of seruile feare is euill, but the obiect of a godly feare is good; as Eccles. 12. 13. *Feare God and keepe his commaundements:* will he say that the obiect of this feare is euill? Secondly, if God be onely to be feared for another thing, then all feare shall be *seruile,* and the *filial* feare is abolished, when God is feared and reuerenced as a father for himselfe. Thirdly, *Hieron* sheweth the reason to be alike: *Qui diligit, &c.* He that loueth, keepeth the commaundement, not because he is compelled with feare of punishment, or greedines of reward, but because, that which is commaunded is good: *Tom. 4. de filio prodigo.*

Synod. Moguntin. cap. 10. *Libertatem Christianam intelligimus, &c. non vt alij homines panarum metu imperio legis compellantur, &c.* We vnderstand Christian libertie, not that wee should not doe those things which are commaunded, but that we should not as others are, be drawne or enforced to keepe through feare of punishment, &c. *Ergo,* there remaineth no feare of punishment in the righteous.

We haue most cleere testimonies beside: *Ambros. epist.* 84. *Timoris, quo Deus metuitur nulla distinctio, &c.* There is no difference in name of that feare, wherewith God is feared, &c. there is feare of punishment, here is carefulnes for the reward: Of the seruile feare it is said, perfect loue expelleth feare, but of the liberall feare; The feare of the Lord is holie and remaineth for euer. And againe, *epistol.* 7. *Velle sapientis, seruire insipientis:* To be willing, is the part of a wise man; to serue, of a foole: in the Law there is seruitude, in the Gospell libertie, &c. *Seruit peccator formidini:* A sinner is a slaue to his feare.

Hieron. de 42. *Mansionib. Duplicia sunt in scripturis vincula, &c.* There are two sorts of bands in Scripture, &c. but Christs bands are voluntarie, *Et vertuntur in amplexus,* and are turned into embracings.

Decret. Gregor. lib. 5. *tit.* 41. *c.* 8. *Qui ex timore facit præceptum, aliter quam debeat facit, & ideo iam non facit:* He that of feare doth the commaundement, doth it otherwise then he should, and therefore doth it not at all. By all these testimonies it is euident, that this seruile feare of punishment hath no place where the loue of God is.

THE SIXT QVESTION, OF AVRICVLAR Confession, the second part of penance.

The Papists.

38. Error. NOne can rightly seeke for absolution at the Priests hands, vnlesse they confesse particularly at the least all their mortall sinnes, whether they be committed in minde, heart, will, and cogitation onely, or in word, and worke, with all the necessarie circumstances and differences of the same, *Rhemist. Ioh.* 20. *sect.* 5. And this sacramentall confession, as they call it, must be made secretly to the Priest, *Concil. Trident. sess.* 14. *can.* 6.

Argum. 1. This wonderfull power of remitting and retaining of sins, which was giuen to the Apostles and their successors, Ioh. 20. 22. were giuen them in vaine, if no man were bound to seeke for absolution at their hands: which cannot be had of them without distinct vtterance to them of our sinnes: for they cannot rule the cases of conscience, vnlesse they haue exact knowledge and cogitation of their sinnes, *Rhemist ibid.*

Answ. 1. God hath not made his Ministers in Christs stead iudges of cases of conscience, as though there were in them an actuall power to remit and absolue sinnes: but their office is only to declare and set forth vnto all penitent persons, the promises of God for remission of sinnes, and the seueritie of Gods iudgement against impenitent persons: which is especially performed in the preaching and applying of the word either publikely or priuately: as Saint *Paul* calleth the Gospell committed vnto him, *the word of reconciliation*, 2. Cor. 5. 16.

2. A man therefore may by their ministerie, which are the preachers of reconciliation, finde remission of sinnes, without a particular declaration thereof: neither is it necessarie for them to haue so exact a knowledge of our sinnes, seeing they are not absolute iudges of the conscience, but the ministers and ambassadours of reconciliation, 2. Cor. 5. 20.

3. And Ministers are not to stay while suite is made vnto them for their helpe, but they ought to exhort and desire men to be reconciled to God by their ministerie.

Bellarmine answereth, that the Priests are truly and properly iudges of mens sinnes, and haue a iudiciarie power not to declare or testifie the forgiuenes of sins, but truly to binde, or loose them. First, they are called the *keyes*: which doe verily open and shut the doore, not signifie the opening and shutting: as Christ is said to haue the key of *Dauid* to open and shut, which power Christ communicated to the Apostles and their successors. Secondly, to *binde* and to *loose* doe not signifie, to *denounce* and declare, but in deede to put on, or take off the bondes; so are they said to retaine sinnes: and what is it else to retaine, but *nolle remittere*, not to be minded to remit? Thirdly, the words are, *whose sinnes*, not all mens sinnes are remitted, but whom the Priest shall iudge meet: but the word is preached to all, remission of sins is not giuen to all: therfore this is not vnderstood of the preaching of the word, but of the iudiciarie power of the keyes. Fourthly, in that Christ breathed vpon them, it sheweth, that as a blast doth extinguish the fire, and chase the cloudes, so they had power verily to extinguish sinnes, and not to declare onely: *Bellar. lib.* 3. *c.* 2.

Contra. First, the keyes 1. of the Church doe truly open and shut, being executed according to the will and minde of the master of the house: the seruant to whom the keyes are committed, doth open and shut, yet but as a seruant, and according to his masters direction: so the keyes of the Church are committed to men, but as ministers of the keyes, not to open and shut at their pleasure, but as Christ prescribeth. 2. But it is not farre from blasphemie, to say that the same power of the keyes, which Christ hath, is communicated to the ministers of the Church: *for he openeth, and no man shutteth, &c.* Reuel. 3. 8. but man may open to some, to whom Christ may shut, and he shut the doore against others, to whom Christ may open: yea and when the Pharisies had said, *Who can forgiue sinnes, but God onely?* Mark. 2. 7. Christ reproueth them not, but sheweth, that he (being both God and man) *had authoritie also to forgiue sinnes.* Christ therefore onely properly forgiueth, the Apostles forgiue as his ministers. 3. And that these keyes are dispensed in preaching the word, and not onely in the discipline of the Church; it is euident, Act. 14. 27. a doore of faith is opened *by the preaching of the Apostles*, Matth. 23. 13. The Pharisees by not preaching true doctrine are said to shut vp the kingdome of heauen. Thus their owne canons testifie, *epist. Clemen. Per ipsum, per verbum Dei, & salubre consilium curetur*: He that is troubled with his sinne, and confesseth to the Minister, &c. that by him thorough the word of God, and holesome counsell he may be cured. Sinnes then are cured and healed by the word of God.

Secondly, the Apostles and they, which succeede them, doe truly binde and loose, remit and retaine sinnes, but as ministers, and so long as they execute this authoritie according to Christs will: as *Peter* hath the *keyes*, but he is first *built vpon the rocke*, Matt. 16. 18. the Apostles haue power to bind and loose, Matth. 18. 18. but they must doe it in Christs name, vers. 20. otherwise, *a curse causeles shall not come*, Pro. 26. 2. And, *though men curse, God will blesse*, Psal. 109. 28. The blind man

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was cast out by the Pharisees, but he was receiued in by Christ, Iohn 9.35. S. *Ambrose* saith, *Dei munus, ministerium sacerdotis est, &c. Quis tantus est, &c.* In giuing the spirite, the gift is Gods, the ministerie the Priests, &c. who is so great, as to arrogate to himselfe the bestowing of this gift? *Lib.1. de spirit. sanct. c.7.*

Thirdly, 1. As the word of God is not to be denied to any, that will receiue it; so neither is remission of sinnes to be withheld from any by the will of man, that doe desire it: the word is not to be cast before swine and dogges, Matth.7.6. no more is remission of sinnes to be graunted to the unpenitent. 2. If the Minister shall at his pleasure denie remission to the penitent, his sentence bindeth not before God: as *Origene* well saith: *Si alicui non recte iudicis, &c.* If any man by the erroneous iudgement of those, which gouerne the Church be cast out, if he haue not deserued to be cast out, is not any thing by this error of iudgement, &c. *Hom.14. in Leuitic.*

Fourthly, the breathing which Christ vsed, betokened the giuing of the holy Ghost, which truly and properly doth remit and retaine sinnes, as the winde chaseth away the cloudes. This then sheweth not a iudiciall authoritie in men, that are but the ministers of the spirite, but an absolute power in the spirite: as *Ambrose* excellently saith, *Per spiritum sanctum peccata donantur, &c.* Sinnes are forgiuen by the holy spirite: but men to the remission of sinnes doe exhibite their ministerie: *Non ius aliquod potestatis exercent:* They do not exercise any right of power, &c. they pray, God forgiueth; the seruice is mans, the munificence is frō a superne power; *lib.3. de spirit. c.19.*

*Argum.*2. As the Priests in the law had only authoritie to discerne the leprosie of the people, and therefore Christ sendeth the lepers to the Priest, Luk.17.14. so men must reueale the spirituall leprosie of sinne to the Priest, *Rhemist. ibid.*

Answ. First, the leprosie was not healed by the Priest, but onely declared to bee healed: so sinnes are declared to be forgiuen by the Priest, not properly forgiuen. Secondly, the Priest retained not knowledge of all diseases, but of this, that was contagious: therefore it would not follow hereupon, that all sinnes are to be confessed to the Priest; but such as are notorious, where publique confession is by Church discipline inioyned: and such confession we denie not. Thirdly, the argument followeth not from the Priests of the law, to the Ministers of the Gospell: for the Priesthood of the law is translated wholy vnto Christ, who hath all knowledge to discerne, and power to heale our spirituall diseases.

*Argum.*3. Act.19.18. *Many that beleeued, came and confessed, and shewed their workes:* Hence the Iesuite would inferre the necessitie of auricular confession, *Lib.3. de pœnitent. cap.4. Bellarm.*

Answ. This place serueth nothing at all for his purpose: First, all that beleeued came not to confesse, but such as were pricked in conscience, with remembrance of some especiall sinnes, as it followeth, ver. 19. they that vsed curious Arts brought their bookes: but the papistes inioyne auricular confession of necessitie to all. 2. It is not said they made particular rehearsall of al their sinnes, but generally confessed themselues to be sinners: as *Daniell* confesseth, cap.9.5. *We haue sinned and done wickedly, &c.* 3. It was no confession made in the eare, but publikely before all the multitude: but auricular confession is made only in the eare of the Priest. Fourthly, these beleeuers came but once, that we reade of, in the beginning of their conuersion to confesse, and they came willingly without constraint: But they exact a yearely confession of the people, and enforce them to it. They must seeke better grounds for their eare confession then this, or else they are like to misse of it.

Bellarmine replieth, 1. *That they confessed all their sinnes:* for when the Scripture speaketh absolutely of sinnes, all must be vnderstood: as Matth.9.2. *Thy sinnes are forgiuen thee:* that is, all thy sinnes. 2. The Ephesians might confesse oftner, then this once, though it be not mentioned; for we may say as well, they were not baptized, because it is not expressed. 3. Neither are all with vs bound to confesse, but they which are touched in conscience. 4. Neither is it expressed, whether they confessed priuately or publikely. 5. They came willingly to confession, because there was yet no law to enioyne them. *Bellarm. cap.4.*

Cont. First, where I mention is made of forgiuenesse of sinnes, all must be vnderstood, because there is a necessitie, that all be forgiuen: but of confessing all sinnes there is no necessitie, 2. And they confessed their workes, *πράξεις*, but the Papists exact confession of thoughtes and words. 3. Neither confessed they all their workes, but such as were notorious and offensiue, as it followeth vers.19. such were the workes of them that exercised curious artes.

Secondly, 1. There is no question but they were baptized, because it is Christs generall ordinance; so is not auricular confession. 2. Neyther could they confesse, as they did, to S. *Paul* verely, because he was not alwayes with them. 3. Neither afterward could the beleeuers confesse such workes, as they did in their infidelitie.

Thirdly, it is vntrue, that you say; for you require confession of all whatsoeuer, neither do you giue absolution, but vpon such confession: but all that sinne haue neede of absolution: therefore all must confesse.

Fourthly, it is euident, that this confession of their workes was publike, as it is expressed verſ.19. *They which vſed curious artes, burned their bookes: In conſpectu omnium*, in the ſight of all.

Fiftly, if the Scriptures authorize not any law to enioyne confeſsion, it is great preſumption for you, to lay ſuch a yoke vpon the Lordes people.

Argum.4. 2.Cor.5.19. *He hath committed to vs the word of reconciliation, now wee are embaſſadours for Chriſt, &c.* But how can men be reconciled, vnleſſe they make their caſe knowne, and confeſſe their ſinnes. *Bellarm cap.4. loc.2.*

Anſw. 1. If thoſe Embaſſadors reconciled to themſelues, it were fit confeſsion ſhould be made to them, but ſeeing *they pray to be reconciled to God*, it ſufficeth to confeſſe to God. 2. The word of reconciliation is committed vnto them: *Ergo*, by the preaching of the word men are reconciled: but confeſsion of ſinnes is not requiſite at euery preaching of the word.

Argum.5. Iam.5.16. *Confeſſe your ſinnes one to another, and pray one for another*: that is, the Elders and Prieſtes ſpoken of verſ.14. muſt pray for them, and to them they muſt confeſſe: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. This place is very direct againſt them. 1. If to confeſſe one to another, be vnderſtood of the people and the prieſt, then muſt the prieſt confeſſe to the people, as the people doth to him: for ſo the word ἀλλήλοις ſignifieth, as 1.Theſſ.4.18. *Comfort your ſelues one another, &c.* 2. The Apoſtle addeth, *The prayer of a righteous man auaileth much*; hee ſaith not, the prayer of a righteous Prieſt, but of any righteous: ſo verſ.19. *If any of you hath erred, and ſome man hath conuerted him, &c.* He ſpeaketh not onely of the Miniſter, but of any other faithfull man.

Argum.6. 1.Iohn 1.9. *If we acknowledge our ſinnes, he is faithfull and iuſt to forgiue vs our ſinnes, and to cleanſe vs from all vnrighteouſneſſe*: this is not vnderſtood of confeſsion made to God. 1. For Gods faithfulneſſe is in keeping his promiſe; but there is no promiſe extant in Scripture, of forgiueneſſe to thoſe, that confeſſe to God, but to thoſe, that confeſſe to the Miniſters, &c. 2. And if it ſufficed to confeſſe to God, men would not care to ſeeke for forgiueneſſe at mans hands, and ſo Chriſt had ſaid in vaine, *Whoſe ſinnes ye remit, &c. Bellarm.c.4.*

Anſw. Firſt, it is boldly and vntruely affirmed, that there is *no promiſe, &c.* to them that confeſſe to God: there is 1. nothing more euident in Scripture, as 1.King.8.47. *If they ſinne againſt thee, &c. and returne and pray, ſaying, Wee haue ſinned and done wickedly, then heare thou in heauen, and be mercifull:* here is a direct promiſe of mercie to thoſe that confeſſe to God. 2. Neither is the Miniſtrie to be deſpiſed, but there is great vſe thereof: 1. both by the preaching of the word, in calling vpon the people to repent, and confeſſe their ſinnes to God: 2. And where the griefe of ſin is ſuch, as the ſoule of the penitent cannot wraſtle againſt it, in this caſe he is to reſort to the Miniſter. 3. And it is the Miniſters part, where hee ſeeth euident ſignes of repentance, to declare the mercie of God, and looſing of ſinnes vnto ſuch, though not confeſſed vnto him: *Peter* confeſſed not to Chriſt, but only wept, and was forgiuen: the inceſtuous partie confeſſed not to *Paul*, but by his great ſorrow ſhewed his repentance, yet the Apoſtle forgaue him, 2. Corinth.2.10. 4. Like as then the Leper being firſt cured of Chriſt, was bidde to ſhew himſelfe to the Prieſt, Matth.8.4 according to the law: ſo they, which confeſſing vnto God, do finde remiſſion, muſt notwithſtanding by the miniſtrie of the word labour to be confirmed therein.

Secondly, this place is chiefly to be vnderſtood of confeſſing vnto God. 1. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh generally of all, excluding not himſelfe: but to whom ſhould the Apoſtles confeſſe but vnto God. 2. The Apoſtle ſaith, *to cleanſe vs*: but man can not cleanſe vs, this is onely Gods worke. 3. And God onely cleanſeth *from all vnrighteouſneſſe*: for all our ſinnes cannot be made manifeſt to men, no, not to our owne conſcience: but, *though our owne heart condemne vs not: God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things.* 1.Iohn 3.20.

Argum.7. In the laſt place *Bellarmine* produceth many teſtimonies out of the councels and fathers, to proue auricular and particular confeſſion, making them to ſpeake that, which they neuer knew: the places alleaged, I purpoſe not particularly to anſwere, for theſe reaſons. 1. Becauſe my purpoſe is to deale chiefely with places of Scripture. 2. For that I entending chiefly the good and profite of the vnlearned, I would not diſtract them, or hinder them from more profitable knowledge by the curious diſcuſsing of the fathers. 3. This worke would by this meanes haue growen to a greater volume, then was fit for euery mans vſe. 4. I thought it not needfull to handle at large theſe teſtimonies, writing in our owne language, which the aduerſarie, that firſt gaue occaſion vnderſtandeth not. 5. Becauſe ſome other learned men of our Church, with a godly zeale and good ſucceſſe, haue alreadie vndertaken the thorough confutation of all popiſh allegations: to whom I wiſh both all diuine aſsiſtance, and humane encouragement, to proceed in ſo excellent an enterpriſe. 6. The Printer haſtening the worke, which was more then halfe printed, before all was finiſhed, neither time nor leiſure ſerued to deale in the teſtimonies of the fathers.

D.Reynolds. D.Sutcliffe.

Yet thus much ſhall ſuffice for a generall anſwere at this time: that none of the teſtimonies alleaged,

alleaged, till we come to the yeere 600. and after, when superstition began to encrease (and the testimonies of the times following we much regard not) do witnesse for auricular confession: but all of them, if a survey be taken of them, do speake of one of these fiue confessions: eyther 1. of confession to be made to God: as *Tertullian*; *Exomologesis est, qua delictum Domino confitemur*: That is confession, whereby wee do confesse our sinne vnto God, *Apologet. cap.* 4. Or els 2. of publike confession made before the whole Church, for some publike sinne; as the same *Tertullian*: *Ergo, cubitum fratrum genua protendis, Christum exoras*: When thou bowest thy selfe to thy brethrens feete, thou entreatest Christ. Thirdly, they speake of a confession, which they made each to other, *Beda in* 5. *Iacob. Quotidiana leuiaq; peccata alterutrum coaqualibus confiteamur, &c.* Our daily sinnes let vs confesse to our equals, one to another. Fourthly, they commend confession made to the Priest, when the conscience otherwise cannot be setled: so *Origen. hom.* 2. *in Psal.* 37. *Sunt q; qui habeant intus inclusam escam indigestam, &c.* As they, which haue meate vndigested in the stomacke, if they do vomite, are eased; so they that sinne, while they conceale it, are in a manner choaked, but vomiting of it vp by confession, &c. Fiftly, a generall confession to bee made, with reconciliation before the receiuing of the Communion, *Cyprian* maketh mention of: *Nec ad communicationem venire quis possit*: But none might come to the Communion, before hee had confessed, &c. *lib.* 3. *epist.* 16. All these kinds of confessions we acknowledge to haue been wel knowne to the fathers, neyther do wee mislike them: but none of the ancient writers for 600. yeeres after Christ do witnesse for auricular confession, and particular enumeration of sinnes.

The Protestants.

CONfession of sinnes, such as the Scripture alloweth, we doe acknowledge: as namely these foure kindes: There are priuate confessions, either to God alone, as *Daniel* confesseth, 9. 4. or for the easing of our conscience, to man also, as to him whom we haue offended, Matth. 5. 24. or to any other faithfull man, the Minister or some other, that we may be holpen and comforted by our mutuall prayers, Iam. 5. 16.

And herein we thinke and say with Bishop *Ridley* holy Martyr: Confession to the Minister, which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and enforme the weake, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed I euer thought might doe much good in Christs congregation, and so I assure you I thinke euen at this day, pag. 1728. *Epistol. ad West.*

There are also two kinds of publique confession, either of the whole congregation together, Nehe. 9. 3. or of some one or more, that make publique confession of their sinne, for the satisfying of the congregation, whom they haue offended: which belongeth to Ecclesiasticall discipline, 2. Corinth. 2. 6. Beside these kindes of confession, it is commendable also, which is practized in some reformed Churches, that before the receiuing of the Sacrament, particular examination should be had of such as are to communicate, not so much to confesse such sinnes to the Minister, as to grieue their conscience, and so to finde ease for their griefe; as it is vsed to be done to this day in the reformed Churches of Bohemia. *Harm. sect.* 8. *c.* 5. *confess. Bohem.* And of Auspurge, *sect. Lenic.* 3. and of Saxonie, *sect.* 14. *confess. Saxon. Neither are any admitted to the Communion, except they be first heard and absolued of the pastor:* but chiefly that euery one may be particularly examined, tried and made fit concerning their faith, and so prepared to come worthily to the Lordes table: this vse *Kemnitius* thus writeth of, *in* 2. *part. exam. c.* 5. *de confess. Confessionis vsus apud nos fuit, &c.* The vse of confession is reteyned with vs, &c. In this priuate colloquie, the pastors make triall of their auditors, whether they vnderstand the doctrine of sinne, of the degrees of sinne, of the wages thereof, and of faith in Christ, they are brought to a consideration of their sinnes, and asked if they doe earnestly repent for the same, if they haue a purpose to amend their life, and whether they doe not continue in certaine sinnes, &c. Master *Caluine* also approueth this vse: *Lib.* 3. *institut. cap.* 4. *sect.* 13. *Interim quia fiebant se oues pastori, &c.* That the sheepe should present themselues to the Pastor, as often as they receiue the Communion, I am so farre from reclayming against it, that I would haue it euery where obserued. And *Epistol.* 302. he sheweth, that the like vse is retained in Geneua. *That no man may come to the holy table, before it be known to the Minister, that he hath profited in religion in some measure, and once a yeare the Minister in euery parish goeth to euery house, to make triall both of their life and faith.* Such confession, triall and examination, as these Churches haue receiued, I hold very conuenient and profitable, and the like to be desired and much wished for in our Church. But this particular confession, yea 1. of all sinnes, euen of them which are 2. secret, 3. and vpon paine of damnation, 4. and to none but the Priest, how visit soeuer; is an Antichristian yoake.

Argum. 1. It is not necessarie to make confession at all vnto men: the Prophet *Dauid* confesseth onely vnto God. Against thee O Lord onely haue I sinned, Psal. 51. 4. *Augustine* also sayth, *Quid mihi cum hominibus vt audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint languores meos?* What haue men to doe to heare my confessions, as though they were able to heale my sores? *Confession. lib.* 10. 3.

Argum. 2.

*Argum.*2. If a man otherwise cannot finde ease of conscience, but will open his sinnes to one: it is not alwayes necessarie he should seeke to the Minister, though hee be most conuenient, if hee be a fit man; any other faithfull godly man may serue: for so the Apostle biddeth vs, Acknowledge our faults, not to the priest, but one to another, Iam. 5.16. Whereupon *Augustine* writeth, *Peccata nostra debemus non solum Deo, sed etiam sanctis & Deum timentibus confiteri*: We must confesse our sinnes not onely to God, but to men also that feare God: He sayth not *Sacerdotibus*, only to the Priests, *Homil.*12.

*Argum.*3. Such a particular enumeration of sinnes is not necessarie, neither is it possible: it sufficeth, where our sinnes are kept from our sight, to say with the Prophet, Cleanse mee from my secret sinnes, Psalm.19.12. *Augustine* sayth, *Quot habes in corde compunctiones faciendas, tot habe illic punctiones confessionum*: Looke how many sinnes doe pricke thy conscience, so must thy confession be. It is an vncomfortable doctrine to teach men to labour to remember all their sinnes, and to make a particular catalogue of them: they haue worke enough to be eased of those sinnes that lye heauie on the heart.

Bellarmine answereth, that if the enumeration of sinnes to men be impossible, and vncomfortable, so is it in our confession to God, to whom also wee are to confesse, whatsoeuer sinnes we know, and remember, and otherwise men are not enioyned to confesse to the Priest. *Bellarm. lib.*3.*c.*16.

Contra. First, the Lord himselfe doth not exact such a particular enumeration, as the Popish law doth: for Christ teaching his Disciples to pray, taught them to say thus, *Forgiue vs our trespasses, &c.* not willing them to make a particular rehearsall of their sinnes; but the Popish Priest will accept no confession, if it be not particular. Secondly, in making confession to God, the Lord may bring our sinnes to remembrance, Psalm. 50.21. *I will set them in order before thee*, which the Priest cannot doe. Thirdly, there is more comfort in confessing to God, because he hath power onely to forgiue, the other is but as Gods minister, and it is more comfortable to goe to the Master, then to the seruant: and we may more boldly open our infirmities to God, which we often are ashamed to shew to men.

*Argum.*4. Christ saith, *As my father sent me, so send I you; and when he sayd, receiue ye the holy Ghost, whose sinnes ye remit, &c.* Here our Sauiour Christ giueth authoritie and power to remit sinnes, to his Apostles, as he himselfe executed the same in earth: But Christ forgaue sinnes without any such particular confession, as to the woman, Luk. 7. that washed his feete with her teares: *Ergo*, remission of sinnes may be pronounced without auricular confession, whereas by other signes the sorrow of the heart may be made knowen.

Bellarm. The Apostles had not the like power to remit sinnes, as Christ himselfe had: for Christ was able to iustifie and forgiue sinnes without a sacrament: But the Apostles did it by meanes: *Bellarm.cap.*18. Neither as yet was the sacrament of confession instituted. *cap.* 17.

*Answ.*1. The difference between Christs and his Apostles working is this, that Christ by his owne power did forgiue sinnes, the Apostles in Christs name onely, as his Ministers and instruments: But concerning the outward meanes of saluation, Christ vsed the same which his Apostles did: he preached the Gospell, called for faith, and repentance, as his Apostles afterward did: and as Christ then forgaue sinnes without a sacrament, so did hee by the ministerie of his Apostles: *Paul* hath the word of reconciliation committed to him, 2.Cor.5.19. he reconcileth to God by the preaching of the Gospell, which was no sacrament. *Concil. Cabilonens. can.*33. *Deus salutis & sanitatis author plerunque haec praebet sua potentia inuisibili administratione, plerunque medicorum operatione*: God the autor of health and saluation, often giueth remission of sinnes by his inuisible power, often by the ministerie of the spirituall Phisitian. Sinnes are euen now forgiuen without the ministerie of man, and without auricular confession, and consequently without your popish sacrament of Penance: this therefore maketh no difference betweene Christs working, and his Apostles working.

2 But be it granted that Christs power herein was greater then his Apostles to forgiue sinnes without confession: was also the power of the Prophets greater then theirs? I thinke they will not say so: yet *Nathan* pronounced absolution of *Dauids* sinnes, without particular confession, he only sayd in generall, *I haue sinned*: therefore the Apostles did, and so the ministers of the Gospell may remit sinnes without auricular confession.

3 If your Sacrament of confession were not instituted by Christ (which is the reason that you giue, why he vsed it not) then is there no such Sacrament at all: for Christ onely instituted Sacraments, the Apostles instituted none, but deliuered to the Church, as they had receiued from Christ. 1.Cor.11.23.

*Argum.*5. A notable euidence against auricular and priuate confession we haue out of *Sozomen* his storie, *lib.*7.*c.*16. Who thus reporteth, that *Nectarius* Patriarch of Constantinople, by reason of an adulterous acte committed betweene a Deacon of the Church, and a noble Matron, that

that came to confesse to the penitentiarie Priest, deposed the said Priest, and abolished that kinde of confession, *And permitted, that euery man should doe according to his owne conscience in comming to the sacred mysteries.*

Bellarmine answereth, that *Nectarius* discontinued publike, not priuate confession, because the woman publikely confessing her fault, there followed a tumult among the people: 2. and after *Nectarius* time, priuate confession was vsed in the Greeke Church: *Bellarm. lib. 3. cap. 14.* 3. Yea, they themselues allow priuate confession. *Ibid.*

Anso. First, *Nectarius* abolished priuate not publike confession: 1. For the office of the Penitentiarie, was to receiue their confession secretly, *Quia grane visum est Episcopis in media plebe, velut in theatro, &c.* It seemed hard to the Bishops, that in the middest of the people, as in a theater, they should confesse their sinnes: *Nicephor lib. 12. c. 28.* Further, 2. *Socrates* saith, that the woman comming to the Penitentiarie, did *particulatim*, particularly confesse her sinnes: *lib. 5. cap. 19.* 3. The tumult might arise not vpon hir publike confession, but the publike notice afterward.

Secondly, priuate confession was not after this vsed in the Greeke Church: 1. *Origene* saith, *Hom. 2. in Psalm. 36. Si malorum tibi conscius, &c.* If thou art guiltie to thy selfe of any sinnes, reuele them by confession to the Lord; trust in him, and he will heale thee. 2. *Chrysostome hom. 2. in Psalm. 50. Si confunderis alicui dicere, &c.* If thou be ashamed to confesse to another, confesse thy sinnes in thine owne soule, I say not, thou shouldest confesse to thy fellow seruant, to cast thee in the teeth, but to God, &c. 3. *Decr. p. 2. caus. 33. dist. 1. c. 90. Some doe say that we must confesse only to God in Greci*, as the Grecians. *Bellarmine* saith, that these words, *vt Greci, are like to haue been thrust into the text. Anso.* So he saith, that *Sozomen* the reporter of this storie, *telleth many lies*: These are but grosse shifts. 4. *Thom. Waldens.* a Popish writer graunteth, that *Nectarius* did simplie abrogate confession.

Thirdly, priuate confession with examination and triall of euery mans faith, we acknowledge in such manner as I haue before expressed, but a particular enumeration of sinnes, with a necessitie of conscience, which breedeth superstition, rather then instruction, without any godly consolation or exhortation at all ministred, we refuse and condemne as Antichristian.

We want not here the testimony of antiquitie: *Alexander epist. 1. Confessio non extorqueri debet, sed sponte pro fiteri:* Confession must not bee violently extorted, but voluntarily confessed: but now in the Popish Church euery man is bound of necessitie to professe.

Concil. Cabilonens. can. 33. Et peccata confiteamur Deo, &c. Let vs both confesse our sinnes vnto God, and say with *Dauid*, against thee haue I sinned, or confessed my sinne, and according to the instruction of the Apostle, let vs confesse one to another, that we may pray one for another to be saued. As wee must pray one for another, so we must confesse our sinnes one to another: Now the Priest only prayeth not for the people, but the people also for the Priest: *Ergo*, neither must they confesse their sinnes onely to the Priest.

Interrelig. Cæsar cap. 17. Qua in mentem non venient generali confessioni reste includuntur, & nihilominus remittuntur, quam si ea confitendo enumerasses: Those sinnes which come not to thy minde, may be included in a generall confession, and they shall notwithstanding as fully be remitted as if they were particularly numbred. A particular enumeration therefore of sinnes is of no necessitie, as now in the popish Church is required.

We haue sufficient euidence out of their owne decrees. *Decret. part. 2. caus. 33. dist. 1. cap. 1. 2. Non inuenio quid dixerit Petrus; inuenio quod fleuerit, &c.* I finde not what *Peter* said, I finde he did weepe, &c. *Lachrymæ lauent delictum, &c.* Let teares wash away the sinne, which is a shame to confesse.

Ibid. cap. 4. gloss. Antequam sacerdotibus ora nostra ostendamus: Before wee shew our face to the Priest, that is, confesse our sinnes, we are cleansed from the leprosie of sinne. *Cap. 37. gloss. Sicut circumcisio data est Abrahamo:* As circumcision was giuen to *Abraham* as a signe of iustice, not as a cause of iustification, so confession is offered to the Priest, in token of pardon receiued, not as a cause of remission to be obtained.

Magist. lib. 4. distinct. 17. a. Ore tacente interdum veniam consequimur: Sometime wee obtaine pardon, the mouth being silent: if therefore remission of sinnes may be had, where there is no confession at all; and, where confession is vsed, it is a signe of remission alreadie had, not a cause of remission afterward to be obtained, then is not such confession necessarie to obtaine remission of sinnes, as is by the Papists affirmed.

This much also hath the scale of the holy martyrs: *Leonard Keyser* of Bauaria burned for denying auricular confession: *yet three kinds of confessions be granted: the first of faith; which is alwaies necessarie: the second of charitie; when a man hath offended his neighbour: the third not to be despised, which is to take counsell of the auncient Ministers of the Church*, pag. 885.

Iohn Bradford holy Martyr, setteth downe these reasons against auricular confession: first, they make

make it meritorious. Secondly, they make it of necessitie, taking him for no good Christian, that vseth it not: Thirdly, it requireth an impossibility, that is, the numbring and telling of al our sins. Fourthly, it alloweth praying to Saints: *Precor sanctam Mariam*, you must say, or the Priest for you. Fifthly, it is iniurious to the libertie of the Gospel, &c. pag. 1653.

AN APPENDIX OF OTHER CIRCVMSTANCES of Auricular confession.

The Papists.

59. Error. 1. THis order and custome of Confession, they hold to be a diuine ordinance, no humane tradition, *Concil. Trid. sess. 14. can. 6. 8.*

Argum. 1. The antiquitie of confession sheweth it to be a diuine ordinance, seeing it hath bin alway vsed in the Church, euen from the beginning, *Bellarm. lib. 3. 12.*

Answ. First, It is vntrue, that auricular confession hath been of ancient time vsed in the Church. In *Chrysostomes* time it was not: who sayth, *I require thee not, that thou shouldest confesse thy sinne to thy fellow seruant: in Psal. 30. homil. 1.* Your owne glosse sayth: *This institution of penaunce began rather of some tradition of the vniuersall Church, then of any authoritie of the old or new Testament: De penitent. distinct. 5. in principio.* *Erasmus* saith, *apparet tempore Hieronymi institutam non fuisse*: It appeareth, that in the time of *Hierome*, this secret confession of sinnes was not ordained, &c. *But herein our Diuines not aduisedly considering, what the olde Doctors doe say, are deceiued: that which they say of generall and open confession, they wrest by and by to this secret and priuie kinde of confession.* Secondly, it is apparant, that there was no publike constitution for auricular confession before the Laterane Councell, *anno* 1215. held by *Innocentius* 3. so that from thence it seemeth to take beginning.

Erasm. in schol. in epitaphium Fabiolæ.

Argum. 2. Auricular confession seemeth so hard and difficult a thing, that it is like the people would neuer haue endured it, if it had not been by some diuine authoritie established: And againe, such is the vtilitie and profit that ariseth thereby, that God must needs be the author of. *Bellarm. lib. 3. cap. 12.*

The commodities that confession bringeth, he rehearseth to be these. First, Gods mercie appeareth, not in condemning vpon confession (as the iudges of this world doe) but in forgiuing: his iustice, in that first, men are humbled by confession. Secondly, the Pastors themselues are benefited, in knowing by this meanes the diseases of their sheepe, that they may minister the remedies the better, and applie the word against such sinnes. Thirdly, the commonwealth is profited, when as by this meanes men are reconciled, things are restored, &c. which things by the ciuill Courts cannot be amended. Fourthly, the parties themselues doe finde mercie for sinnes past, and strength to resist the like afterward. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. 1. Auricular confession in deed is a grieuous and hard yoke, which because the people haue borne, it followeth not, it should be of Gods institution: It was 1. an hard thing, that the idolatrous Israelites should sacrifice their children to their idols, that *Baals* Priests should launce their flesh with knines. The Pharisees 2. also did lay heauie burdens and grieuous to be borne vpon the people, Matth. 23. 3. yet none of all these were of God. Many things beside were hard in poperie: as that the Pope should 3. tread vpon Emperors neckes, and make them his vassals and slaues, that he should with his taxes, annates, Peterpence, rob and pill the people, all these were hard yokes: to the which the people were made subiect, not wittingly, nor by the working of any diuine power; but as S. *Paul* prophecied: *God sent them strong delusions to beleeue lyes*, 2. Thes. 2. 11. they were besotted with a superstitious feare, and so became slaues to this yoke of confession, and other obseruances. And 4. againe, in that the Iesuite saith, it is an hard yoke, he hath made an argument against himselfe, for Christ saith, *my yoke is easie*: therefore this yoke being hard, is none of Christs.

2 Concerning the fruite and vtilitie, that commeth by auricular confession, you shall see what it is. *Concil. Lateranens. part. 50. ca. 21. Significasti nobis quendam Presbyterum cum alterius coniuge diabolico instinctu in ecclesia frequenter dormisse:* You signified to vs that a certaine Priest of a diuelish motion, did often lie with an other mans wife in the Church. Here we see adulterie is one fruite of such confession. Further saith *Robert Smith* holy Martyr, it hath been a bewrayer of Kings secrets, and the secrets of other mens consciences; and it hath been vsed as a meane to picke mens purses: as he reporteth a storie of his owne knowledge, how a Gentleman his Master, confessed to a Priest, was bound by the Priest to forgiue a great summe of money to one Master *Gresham*, whereof the Priest had a good share, and so robbed his wife and children: and how afterward a great part of that debt by the gentlemans brother, some two or three hundreth pounds was recouered. *Foxe*, pag. 1692. Here be other fruites of auricular confession, treason, cousonage, robberie: And therefore it was well said of one *Richard Beflocke*, (who was persecuted for it) that auricular confession had

had killed more soules, then all the billes, clubbes, and halters haue done, sithence King *Henry* was King of England, pag. 1207. col. 1.

3 As for those particular commodities rehearsed, they arise not of auricular confession. First, Gods mercie is more seene in forgiuenes without confession made to men, when as we confesse onely to God, Psal. 32. 5. *I confessed my wickednes to the Lord, and thou forgauest me, &c.* His iustice also, is that he forgiueth not, but where men are first humbled by true sorrow and contrition: as *Peter* wept bitterly before he found mercie, and yet confessed not.

Secondly, it is not any way profitable to the Pastor to know mens particular faults, a generall confession, with some rehearsall of the manifest and greater sinnes sufficeth for the knowledge of the Pastor: neither should the Minister be so vndiscreete, as to bring mens secret infirmities into the pulpit: this maketh nothing for auricular confession.

Thirdly, I shewed before, that this auricular confession was the occasion of adulteries, treasons, reuealing of secrets, of couſenage, and such like: therefore the Common-wealth was hindered thereby, not benefited any thing at all.

Fourthly, the parties confessing, did neither find true remission for their sinnes past, (being taught rather by their owne satisfactorie workes to merite their forgiuenes, than to depend vpon Gods mercie:) neither were they armed against sinne afterwards, but rather emboldened to commit the like; seeing by confession in the eares of the priest, and by procuring his fauour, they might yeerely be cleered from their offences.

Fifthly, all these aforesaid benefits the Church enioyed in the Apostles time: Gods mercie and iustice appeared in forgiuenes of sins: the pastors and teachers tooke knowledge of the diseases of their flocke; many notorious sinners were corrected and amended; the penitent persons found comfort and strength against sinne: yet was there then no auricular confession heard of, nor many yeares after.

Sixthly, for the profite and vtilitie that commeth by auricular confession, their owne Canons witnesse: *Caus.* 30. *qu.* 1. *c.* 10. *Non debet Episcopus aut Presbyter commisceri, &c.* The Bishop or Presbyter must not companie with the women that come to confesse: Such trickes as these, were very common, when popish confession was vsed. *Caus.* 33. *dist.* 6. *c.* 2. *Deponatur, &c.* Let him be deposed, that reuealeth the sinnes of the penitent person: This was an other of the fruits, to reueale the secrets of them which confessed.

The Protestants.

They are neuer able to shewe that it had any diuine institution: but it was a meere deuise and inuention of men. First, we reade that *Nectarius* a good Bishop of Constantinople, did abrogate this custome of confession vpon this occasion, which had before time been vsed in that Church: for it was found out, that a certaine woman of the citie, vnder this pretence of confession, had vnlawfull companie with the Priest to whom she confessed: whereupon the good man abolished that custome, seeing more harme than good to come by it. And this act of his was approued by that famous preacher *Chrysostome*, who succeeded him in that See: but if it had been the ordinance of God, it ought not for some abuse to haue been abolished. Beza Antith. pap. cap. 7.

Bellarmine answereth: First, that *Sozomene* the reporter of this storie, *Multa esse mentitum*, hath forged many things therein. Secondly, he denyeth, that *Nectarius* the author of this act, was, *Vir sanctitate, & eruditione clarus:* A man famous for his holines and learning, as *Caluine* speaketh of him. But these are but fillie shiftes: to blame the author and the reporter: he answereth therefore in the third place, that *Nectarius* onely abolished publike confession, because the woman publikely acknowledging her adulterie, caused a tumult and vprore among the people. *Bellarmine cap.* 14.

Anſw. It appeareth rather that *Nectarius* abolished priuate confession, than publike. 1. He did remoue the Priest from his office, that was appointed to take the confessions: which Priest was elected from the rest, *Probata vita, taciturnus & prudens:* Such an one as was of an honest life, and could keepe counsell. But what neede he deepe counsell in publike confessions, made in the hearing of all? *Bellarmine* answereth: that some sinnes he heard publikely, some priuately, which required secrecie. Answere: But *Nectarius abrogauit Presbyterium pœnitentiarium*, did abrogate the whole office of the penitentiarie Priest, as the Iesuite confesseth, so that he had no power, no not to heare priuate confessions. 2. Publike confession could not be any cause of the womans adultery, but was a meanes rather to restraine it, and therefore *Nectarius* should not haue done well, to haue remoued that, which was a bridle to sinne; neither would *Chrysostome* his successor haue consented thereto: but priuate confession hath giuen very fit oportunitie to the committing of vncleannes, as we heard before out of the Laterane Councell: this therefore was abrogate, not the other. 3. Publike confession remained a long time after *Nectarius* dayes in the Church: as *Augustine* reporteth of one *Victorinus* a Rhetorician, who being conuerted to the faith, *palam ex edito loco professus est*, did professe the Christian faith solemnely out of an high place in the Church; Nicephor. lib. 12. cap. 28.

Church: *lib.8. confession. cap.2.* Againe, afterward in the time of *Leo.1.* Bishop of Rome, *anno 462.* this custome of publike confession was in vse: which although he somewhat restraine, lest some for feare, *à pœnitentiæ remedijs arceretur*, should be driuen from vsing the remedie of penance: yet he concludeth thus: *Plenitudo tamen fidei videtur laudabilis, quæ propter Dei timorem apud homines erubescere non veretur.* Yet the fulnesse of faith is commendable, which for the feare of God, refuseth not to be ashamed among men: he commendeth publike confession. It was not then by *Nectarius* abrogated, but continued long after in vse in the Church: It was therefore priuate confession which he remoued, whereunto *Chrysostome* afterward agreed: *Ergo*, it was no diuine constitution. The more full answere to this, see before *quæst.6. argum. protestant.5.*

Argum.2. Our Sauiour Christ neither by precept nor example, ordained auricular confession, nor yet the Apostles afterward required of the people any such particular enumeration of their sinnes: *Ergo*, it is no diuine ordinance.

Bellarmine answereth, that Christ as yet (that is, while he liued) had not instituted the Sacrament of confession: insinuating thereby, that afterward hee did: their Master saith, *Multa fecit, quæ scripta non sunt:* Many things were done, that are not written: *Lib.4. dist.17. f. Bellarm. lib.3. c.17.*

Contra. First, if Christ instituted not the Sacrament of confession, then is it no Sacrament at all: for 1. he onely had power to institute Sacraments. And 2. it is euident that Christ, while he liued vpon the earth, ordained no such thing: as it may appeare by *Peters* repentance, who wept for his sinnes, but confessed not: and 3. their Master graunteth, that *Nondum facta erat institutio confessionis*: That confession was not yet instituted. *Lib.4. dist.17. f.* 4. If they say that Christ instituted it afterward, *Ioh.* 20. when he breathed vpon his Apostles, &c. First, that is but a meaning of the power of binding and loosing, and opening and shutting, giuen before, *Mat.16.19. 18.18.* For to remit and retaine sinnes, is the same that binding and loosing is. Againe, Christ said, *Consummatum est*, That all was finished vpon the crosse, that was necessarie for the saluation of man: Therefore confession, if it be necessarie, as they affirme, was instituted before: how else was all finished.

Secondly, though many particular acts of the Apostles were done, that are not written; nothing concerning the doctrine of the Church, is vnwritten: and I thinke they are not so absurd, as to build Sacraments vpon vnwritten traditions: they must find expresse Scripture for Sacraments, which they are neuer able to doe for confession.

Lastly, what the Apostolike institution is for confession, their owne Canons testifie: *Dist.1. de pœnitent. c.90. Apostoli institutio nobis sequenda est, vt confiteamur alterutrum peccata nostra:* The Apostles institution must be followed, to confesse our sinnes one to another.

Augustine also saith, *Si deest Sacerdos, confiteatur proximo:* If a Priest cannot be had, let a man confesse to his neighbour: *Ergo*, to confesse to a Priest, is no certaine ordinance of God: for then might it not be changed.

De pœnit. cap. 10.

The Papists.

60. Error. 2. IT is necessarie that euery man should confesse to his owne parish Priest, *Thom. de Tabiena. Hostiens. loc.7. err.46.* And that the acts of penance, as contrition, confession, are meritorious. *Mag. lib.2. dist.27. Thom. Bonauentur.* with others. *Bellarm. lib.2. de penitent. c.12.*

The Protestants.

Answ. YEa, but *Augustine* saith, *Sacerdos, vt perfectus medicus, primùm sciat curare vulnera sua, & tum detergere aliena:* The Priest as a cunning phisition, must first know how to cure his owne sinnes, before he can helpe another, *De salutaribus docum. cap.50.* And in another place, *Quærat sacerdotem scientem ligare & soluere, ne ambo cadant in foueam:* Let him seeke a Priest that knoweth how to binde and loose, least both fall into the ditch, *De pœnitent. dist.1. c.88.* But such an one cannot be had in euery parish: for many times the parish Priest is worse then he that commeth to be confessed: such an one, *Augustine* saith, is not to be taken, and therefore men should not in that case binde themselues to their popish Priest.

Argum. Saint *Iames* saith: *Confesse your faultes one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed, for the prayer of the righteous auaileth much, &c.* As we must pray one for another, so we must confesse our faultes, but it is not onely the Priests part to pray, but euery righteous mans part, (vnlesse you will say, that there are none righteous but Priests:) *Ergo*, we may confesse to any righteous man, sooner then to an vnrighteous Priest.

Synod. Colonien. part.7. cap.33. Magnopere necessarium iudicamus, vt Sacerdos, qui confessionibus est, sit integer, eruditus, silentij tenax, aliquo dispendio, magis quàm pascendis ouibus oberrabundus: We thinke it requisite, that the Priest which receiueth confessions, be vpright, learned, silent, otherwise he is more like to spill the sheepe, then to fill, or feede them. But euery popish parish Priest is not such: *Ergo*, the people are not bound to confesse vnto them.

Dist. 6. de penit. c. 1. Sacerdoti meliori confiteatur: Let a man confesse to the best Priest. *C. 3.* Prbanus alloweth to confesse to another priest, *pro ignorantia,* for the ignorance of their owne priest. *Sacr. Interpret. al. lib. 5. tit. 10. c. 2. Bonifac. 8.* The Bishop may giue leaue to his subiect, *Ideo non debere confessorem:* To choose a fit confessor: Therefore it is not necessarie to confesse to the parish priest. *Clement. lib. 3. tit. 3. c. 2.* Licence is graunted to the Friers to heare confessions. *Extravag. communes. lib. 5. tit. 3. c. 2. Ioan. de Poliaco* did hold, that *Iterum confitendum est:* That notwithstanding confession made to any other, they must confesse to their owne priest, which is by *Pope Ioh. 22.* condemned for an error: so that they themselues are euident witnesses, that it is not necessarie to confesse to the parish priest.

That the actes of penance, as contrition, confession, are meritorious; is both contrary to the Scripture: for after *Dauid* had confessed his sinne in the presence of the Prophet *Nathan, 2. Sam. 12.* 13. yet he praieth vnto God in this manner, *Haue mercie vpon me according to the multitude of thy mercies:* he ascribeth all to Gods mercie, nothing to the merite of his confession.

Saint *Ambrose* witnesseth the same, in 1. *ad Ephes. Homines sic benedicit Deus, &c.* God so blesseth men, that he bestoweth the gift of grace vpon them, not according to their merits, but according to his mercie.

The Glosse vpon their owne Canons, *distinct. 1. de penit. c.* 37. thus testifieth, *Fit confessio ad declarandam penitentiæ, non ad impetrationem veniæ:* Confession is made to shew repentance, not to obtaine pardon.

The truth also is sealed: *Richard Colins* troubled for saying, That in all thinges wherein he offended God, he should onely shriue himselfe to God; and in which thinges he offended man, he should shriue himselfe to man; *Fox.* pag. 832. *Ergo,* not necessarie alwayes to be confessed to a Priest.

The Papists.

3. It is enough for men once a yeare in the time of Lent, to confesse themselues, *Concil. Trid. sess. 14. can. 8.* 61. Error.

The Protestants.

Augustine saith contrarie, *Non tantum laici sed etiam sacerdotes vna die esse non debent sine penitentia:* Not onely lay men, but not Priests ought to be one day without repentance, *In Apocalyps.* His reason is, because they cannot be one day without sinne.

Againe, the communion is often to be receiued: saith our Sauiour, *This doe as oft as ye drinke it in remembrance of me.* S. *Ambrose: Accipe quotidie, quod tibi quotidie prosit:* Take that euerie day, which may euery day profit thee. He that deserueth not, or is not fit to receiue euery day, is not fit to receiue after a yeare, *De Sacram. lib. 5. c. 4.* Therefore also we are often to examine and confesse our selues, seeing that without triall and examination, we must not approch to the Lordes table. 1. *Cor.* 11. 28. *Let a man examine himselfe, &c.*

Matheus Dymonetus Martyr at Lyons, *anno* 1553. The true confession ought to be made, not the Priest once a yeere, but euery day to God, and vnto such whom we haue offended. *Fox,* pag. 908.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, of satisfaction.

This question containeth these parts: First, whether the sinne being forgiuen, there remaine any punishment.

2 Whether the temporall punishment of this life may bee redeemed by good workes.

3 Whether the wrath of God may be satisfied for sinne, and the punishment due vnto the same.

4 Whether one man may satisfie for another: of these now in their order.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE PVNISHment remaine, the sinne being once pardoned.

The Papists.

They doe affirme, that it may stand with the iustice of God to forgiue the sinne committed, and yet reserue the punishment, *Concil. Trident. sess. 14. can. 14.* 62. Error.

Argum. The Lord forgaue vnto *Dauid* the sinne of adulterie and murder, which he had committed, yet hee punished him in the death of his child, 2. Sam. 12. 13. 14. *Bellarmin. lib. 4. cap. 2.*

Resp. That Crosse was laid vpon *Dauid,* not as a punishment of his sinne, but as a fatherly correction or chastisement, to exercise him and make him more carefull for the time following: as

De peccat. merit. & remiss. lib. 2. 34.

Augustine saith, writing vpon the same example: *Subsecutus est illum comminationis effectus, vt posteris in illa humilitate exercerentur, atque probarentur*: The effect of the threatning immediatly followed, that *Dauids* godlines might thereby be tried and proued: Hee saith not, that *Dauid* might thereby be punished.

Bellarmine answereth: First, but the Scripture saith, that *Dauids* sinne was the cause of the death of his child, because by this deede thou hast caused the enemies of God to blaspheme, the child that is borne, shall dye, 2. Sam. 12. 14.

Ans. This place rather maketh against the Iesuite: for *Dauid* is not here punished in his child for the deede which he had done, but because in the deede doing he had giuen offence to the enemies of God, both to stop their mouthes, that they should not accuse Gods iustice in sparing *Dauid*; and to make him more carefull afterward, the Lord sent this crosse: as *Chrysostome* saith, *Hom. de pœnitent. Propter hoc imposuit nobis pœnam non de peccatis sumens supplicium, sed ad futura nos erigens*: For this cause God laieth punishment vpon vs, not to reuenge our sinnes, but to erect vs for afterward.

Bellarm. 2. Death is the punishment of originall sin, and yet although that sinne be forgiuen, death notwithstanding followeth: *Ergo*, the punishment remaineth after the sinne remitted.

Ans. 1. Though death came in first by sin, yet is it not now vnto the children of God a punishment of sin, but an end of their miserie, and an entrance to a better life: sinne indeede is a sting of death, but our sinnes being forgiuen vs in Christ, death hath lost his sting, 1. Cor. 15. 55. So death remaineth, but without a sting, it is no more a punishment of sin to the children of God: so then, as the guilt of sin is taken away, but not the blot or staine therof, so the sting of death, which is the guilt of sin, is gone, though corruption and mortalitie remaine. Secondly, the cogitation and remembrance of death, is a notable meane to withdraw our minds from earthly things, and to prepare vs for the Lord: for this cause also death remaineth, so it is not vnto vs a punishment of sin.

Thus *Augustine* excellently saith: *Mortem corporis Deus homini, &c.* God inflicted vpon man the death of the bodie for sinne: but after the remission of sinne, *propter exercendam iustitiam*, he hath not taken it away for the exercise of iustice: *de peccator. remission. lib. 2. c. 34.*

Arg. 2. 1. The Israelites were punished for the golden Calfe, and yet God at *Moses* request had pardoned their sinne, Exod. 32. 2. Likewise when the people murmured, Numb. 14. God at the prayer of *Moses* forgaue their sinne, vers. 20. *I haue forgiuen it according to thy request*: yet they all for this sinne dyed in the wildernesse. 3. So *Moses* and *Aaron* because they did not *glorifie God* at the waters of strife, receiue this punishment, that they should not enter into the land of promise, Numb. 20. 12. and yet no man will say, but that *Moses* and *Aaron* after this were reconciled to God. 4. Amongst the Corinthians diuers were punished with death, for vnworthie receiuing the Sacrament, yet were they reconciled to God: therefore the punishment of sinne sometimes remaineth, euen after the sinne is forgiuen, *Bellarm. lib. 4. de pœnitent. c. 2.*

Answ. First, the two first examples haue the same answere: 1. That in some of them who perished through vnbeleefe, neither their sinne was remitted, nor yet the punishment: but the temporall plagues were beginnings and forerunners of eternall: as *Augustine* saith, *Vindicta diuina incipiet, & ardebit vsque ad extremam damnationem*: The Lords reuenge beginneth here, and burneth to extreame condemnation. Your owne Canons affirme the same: *Moses pro peccatis populi &c. Moses* entreated for the sinnes of the people, but yet obtained no pardon, *decr. par. 1. dist. 50. c. 27.* 2. Againe, God at *Moses* request did onely pardon that great punishment, which he had determined in the vtter ouerthrow, and destruction of that nation: Numb. 14. 12. *I will smite them, and make thee a greater nation than they.* And thus the Psalmist expoundeth this place, Psalm. 106. 23. Therefore *he minded to destroy them, had not Moses his chosen stood in the breach, to turne away his wrath, least he should destroy them.* 3. And those iudgements were not so much punishments to that nation, as examples vnto others, both to acknowledge Gods iustice and to glorifie him: Numb. 14. vers. 20. *I haue forgiuen it according to thy request, notwithstanding all the earth shall be filled with the glorie of the Lord*: as also to take heede to offend in the like. 1. Cor. 10. 6. *These are ensamples to vs, to the entent that we should not lust after euill things, as they lusted.*

Secondly, concerning the examples of *Moses* and *Aaron*, and of the Corinthians, I doe answer, that these were not punishments of their sins, (for there is no proportion betweene temporall punishment, and the greatnes of sin) but as *Augustine* well saith, as he is also cited in the Decrees, *distinct. 3. de pœnitent. c. 7. Vel ad demonstrationem debitæ miseriæ, vel ad emendationem labilis vitæ, vel ad exercitationem necessariæ patientiæ, &c.* Either to demonstrate the deserued miserie, or for the amendement of our vncertaine life, or the exercising of necessarie patience, the punishment abideth a man temporally, whom the sinne condemneth not eternally. So God doth chastise his children temporally, either to make them more heedfull, & to draw them more effectually to repentance, or to exercise their patience, or for the good example of others: but that their corrections are properly punishments for sinnes, it is not to be thought; neither doe these examples proue it.

Thus

Thus *Moses* was corrected, not punished, both that others might take warning by his example, and that he himselfe should be more carefull not to offend in the like, and that he might thereby be the better prepared, being depriued of the earthly Canaan, to seeke for the heauenly.

The Protestants.

That our sinnes being once freely forgiuen vs in Christ, there remaineth no punishment either temporall or eternall, to be by vs for our sinnes endured: we proue it thus.

*Argum.*1. Christ said to the sick of the palsie, Mark.2.5. *Sonne, thy sins are forgiuen thee.* Whereby our Sauiour would haue them to vnderstand, that the sinne being once forgiuen, the sickenesse of the bodie, which was the punishment of sinne, could not continue: for the cause being remoued, the effect ceaseth.

*Arg.*2. Ierem.31.34. The Lord saith, *I will forgiue their sins, and remember their iniquities no more.* Ezech.18.22. *His transgressions shall be mentioned no more vnto him.* Isay.44.22. *I haue put away thy transgressions as a cloud.* Mich.7.19. *He will cast all their sins into the bottome of the sea.* Psal.32.1. *Their sinne is couered:* but the sinnes of the righteous being once forgiuen, are not couered, no more remembred, cast into the bottome of the sea, if they be againe reuiued by punishments: *Ergo*, where sinne is once freely forgiuen before God, there remaineth no more punishment. *arg. Calum.*

Bellarmine answereth, that God is said, not to remember sinne, to couer it, to blot it out, though hee doth temporally punish for it, because hee doth not remember it vnto euerlasting punishment.

Contra. First, the Lord saith, *I will remember their iniquities*, not for euer, *but no more:* If then our sins should be remembred againe, how can it be true, they are remembred *no more?* to remember no more, and not to remember for euer, are two diuers things. Secondly, Ezech.18.22. it followeth, *but in his righteousnesse, that he hath done, shall he liue:* The righteous after his sinnes are forgiuen, and no more mentioned, *liueth in his righteousnesse:* but to bee punished for sinne, is not to liue in his righteousnesse: for sinne yet liueth, and is reuiued by the punishment: *Ergo*, the righteous after forgiuenes obtained, is not punished for sinne. Thirdly, Isay.44.22. As a mist or clowde is chased of the Sunne, so are our sinnes: but the mist is wholy dispersed and dissolued that nothing of it remaineth: *Ergo*, so are our sinnes. Fourthly, like as that which cast into the sea, and descendeth to the bottome, riseth not againe; as the Egyptians are sayd to haue sunke downe to the bottome like a stone, Exod.15.5. And Ierem.51.63. the Prophet vseth this signe to signifie the finall destruction of Babel; he bindeth a stone to the booke of the curses against Babel, and throweth it into the midst of Euphrates, saying, *Thus shall Babell be drowned, and shall not rise, &c.* Wherefore our sinnes in this sense being cast into the bottome of the sea, when they are freely forgiuen vs in Christ, shall rise no more to iudge vs either in this world or the next.

*Argum.*3. The Prophet *Isay* saith, *The chastisement of our peace was vpon him*, 53.5. *And hee hath reconciled vs in the bodie of his flesh, to make vs vnblameable, &c.* Coloss.1.21.22. Therfore Christ hath borne all punishment due to our sinne, not onely eternall, but temporall. *He hath borne our infirmities*, Isay.53.5. *euen all of them, and hath deliuered vs from the whole curse of the law*, Gal.3.13. *by*, from temporall punishments, which are part of our infirmities, and belonging to the curse.

Bellarmine answereth, that Christ hath immediatly satisfied for our sinne and eternall death: but for temporall punishment mediatly onely, giuing vs power by his death to satisfie for them: *lib.4 de pœnitent. cap.*15. *respons. ad argum.*4.

Answ. Christ hath immediatly in his owne bodie satisfied for the whole punishment of sinne. 1. Christ hath immediatly taken away the curse of the law, because he was made a curse for vs: but temporall punishments for sinne are part of the curse, which if they remaine still, then are we yet vnder the curse. 2. Christ also hath borne our infirmities; but if he giue power onely to vs to beare, then we beare them, and not he. 3. Againe, if any punishment for sin yet remaine, then are we not yet at perfect peace with God, because his wrath is not yet fully satisfied: But Christ hath vpon the Crosse set vs at peace with God, 1.Coloss.1.20. *Ergo.*

The afflictions of this life are the louing corrections of God to admonish vs, not plagues to punish vs: as *Augustine* saith well, *Tota miseria generis humani dolor medicinalis, non sententia penalis:* The miserie of man is but a medicinall griefe, not a sentence of punishment: *in Psal.*138. And againe, *Homines cum ista patiuntur, &c.* Men when they suffer these things, either as in *Iob* their merits are examined; or as in *Herod*, their sinnes punished, *epist. ad Hieron.* Not the righteous then as *Iob*, but the wicked as *Herod* are punished for their sinnes.

Let vs see what further euidence we haue euen from the lawes of men. First, the Ciuill law thus testifieth: *Cod.lib.*4. *tit.*14. *leg.*6. *Seruus liber facti non tenetur, &c.* A seruant being made free, can not bee chalenged for any thing committed against his master before his freedome. *Cod.lib.*9. *tit.*51. *leg.*1. *Antonin. Restitutio à principe concessa, &c.* Restitution graunted by the Prince, *in integrum restituit*, doth restore a man fully and wholly. *Leg.*4. *Ex indulgentia reuersus ab exilio, &c.* He

that by the Princes pardon is returned from exile, is not bound to his former creditors. If then the making free of a seruant, doth exempt him from all former daungers and penalties; if the indulgence of the Prince doth restore a man fully, and freeth him from all debts and creditors, if this equitie bee in the law of man; how much more shall not the true libertie, which wee haue in Christ, and the most bountifull indulgence of God, together with our restitution in Christ, discharge vs from all debts and punishments whatsoeuer belonging to our sinnes?

The Canon law is a witnesse also for vs: *Distinct.3. de poenitent.c.83. Subsecutum illius commutationis effectum, &c.* That which God threatned to *Dauid*, came to passe after his sinne was forgiuen him, *vt pietas hominis in illa humilitate exerceretur, &c.* that the mans godlines might by humilitie bee exercised and tried. It remained not then as a punishment, but as a triall and aduertisement.

The Master of the Sentences to the same purpose: *Lib.4.dist.4.f. Soluto reatu peccati pœna temporalis manet, &c.* The guilt of sinne being dissolued, the temporall punishment remaineth, that that life should more studiously bee sought for, which is free from all paine. And yet more euidently: *Distinct.15.a. Quinque modis flagella contingunt, &c.* The Lord laieth his scourges fiue manner of waies, that by patience their (merite) or vertue may bee encreased, as in *Iob: ad custodiam virtutum*, to bee a safegard to their vertue, that pride tempt them not, as in *Paul*; to correct their sinnes, as *Mary* became leprous, *Moses* sister; or to the glorie of God, as in the man borne blind, Ioh.9. or for the iudgement of punishment, as in *Herod*. None of all these reasons wee refuse: so then corrections or chasticements the righteous taste of; iudgements and punishments for sinne are proper to the wicked.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THE TEMporall punishment of this life may be redeemed by good workes.

The Papists.

63. Error. THat we may redeeme and buy out as it were the punishments due to sinne in this life by our good workes, sauing whereas God hath certainly determined to punish, as in *Dauids* case, it is their generall sentence. They hold also that the temporall paines of Purgatorie may bee in like manner redeemed.

*Argum.*1. God purposed to destroy the citie of Niniueh: but that, being pleased with their fasting, sackcloth and prayers, he saued the citie. Ierem.18.7. *I will speake suddenly against a nation to destroy it, &c. but if the nation repent of their wickednesse, I also will repent of the plague.* Wherefore temporall punishments may be by good workes redeemed, *Bellar.lib.4.c.*3.

Answ. First, the argument followeth not: God sheweth mercie vpon our repentance: *Ergo*, repentance redeemeth the punishment due, &c. for if it bee of mercie that God spareth vs, as the Apostle saith, *the bountifulnes of God calleth thee to repentance*, Rom.2.4. then is it not of our works. Secondly, prayer and fasting are but effectuall signes of repentance, they are not meritorious causes of forgiuenes. *Dauid* fasted and prayed, yet he sueth vnto Gods mercie, Psal.51.1. *According to the multitude of thy mercies doe away mine offences.*

*Argum.*2. *Daniel* said to *Nabuchadnezzar* the King, Redeeme thy sinnes by righteousnes, and thine iniquities by shewing mercie to the poore, chap.4.24. *Bellarm.cap.*3.

Answ. The text is rather thus to be read: 1. Breake off thy sinnes by righteousnesse: that is, leaue off to doe euill: as it is by *Tremellius* translated more agreeable to the Hebrue: so is the word פרק *parach*, interpreted, Genes.27.40. Thou shalt breake his yoke from thy necke: 2. For if redemption bee here properly vnderstood, it would follow that men may redeeme not onely the punishment of their sinnes, but the sinnes themselues: for *Daniel* saith, redeeme thy sins, not the punishment of thy sinnes: and so take Christs office out of his hand. 3. By true and faithfull repentance, and other good workes proceeding of faith, wee may aucide Gods heauie iudgement due to our sinnes, yet not for the merite or satisfaction of any worke, but through the merits onely of Christ. See this argument answered more fully before, quest.5.part.6.

The Protestants.

COncerning the paines in Purgatorie to be redeemed in this life, we haue prooued before sufficiently, that this purgatorie place is but a popish dreame, and therfore no such paines there to be feared: And for the chasticements of this life, where God seeth they are necessarie, he inflicteth them vpon his children; when as he seeth other cause, he spareth vs for his mercie, his iustice is not bought out with the price of our workes.

*Argum.*1. As our sinnes are forgiuen, so is the punishment due vnto them: but our sins are forgiuen vs freely in Christ, Ierem.31.34. *Ergo*, so is the punishment.

S. *Paul* also saith, We are freely iustified by grace, Rom.3.24. by the forgiuenes *of our sins, through the*

the redemption that is in Christ: Ergo, not by the redemption of our owne workes: *argum. Melanct. Calvini lib. 3 Instit. c. 4 sect. 25.*

Bellarmine answereth, that it is of grace, that our workes doe redeeme the temporall punishment, because they haue this grace and power in Christs death: so then Christ doth freely forgiue our sinne, and the euerlasting punishment due vnto it, he doth freely forgiue also the temporall punishment, in giuing vs grace freely to satisfie for it, *cap. 13. respons. ad 5 argum. & 14 resp. ad lib. 4. de pœnitent.*

Contra. This is an impious distinction, and contrarie to the Scriptures. 1. The Apostle saith freely, thorough the *redemption of Christ*, vers. 24. *Ergo*, not by the redemption of our works. 2. Againe, the punishment of sinne is taken away in our reconciliation vnto God: for God punisheth the wicked and his enemies, not those which are reconciled: But *our reconciliation is by faith in Christs blood*, Rom. 3. 25. *Ergo*, not by workes. 3. Further, *the forgiuenes of our sinnes* (saith the Apostle) *through the patience of God:* but Gods patience is seene in the forbearing the punishment of sinne: So then Gods righteousnes in forgiuing our sinnes, and his patience in forbearing or doing away the punishment, are here by Saint *Paul* ascribed to faith in Christs blood: *Ergo*, satisfaction is no more made for the punishment, than for the sin it selfe. 4. Lastly, grace and workes cannot satisfie or worke together, Rom. 11. 6. *If it be of worke, it is no more of grace; if of grace, it is no more of worke:* How then is it possible that wee should satisfie both by grace and worke together?

Argum. 2. That purgatorie paines are not redeemed by any works of this life, that place sheweth, Matth. 3. 8. *Bring forth worthie fruits of repentance:* By these workes, testifying repentance, men doe flye from *the wrath to come*, vers. 7. and the tree that bringeth not forth *these fruits, is cast into the fire*, vers. 10. This is the euerlasting wrath of God and fire, which wee doe not satisfie for, but preuent by these fruits: so these are workes to bee performed by the liuing, they pertaine not to the dead: they preuent euerlasting destruction through faith in Christ, for the which, they themselues confesse, our works doe not satisfie.

Againe, there must bee some proportion betweene the price of redemption, and the thing redeemed: but so is there not betweene our good workes, and the punishments due to our sinnes: for as *Iob* saith, *We cannot answere him one thing of a thousand*, Iob. 9. 3. *Bernard* also saith, *Quis amplius grauat dicens, nimium laboramus, nimium ieiunamus, cum nec millesimæ, immo nec minimæ parti debitorum suorum valet respondere: serm. de quadrup. debit.* Who will now murmure and say, wee labour too much, fast too much, when as wee are not able to answere the thousand part, no not the least part of our debt? But how can wee redeeme our punishments by our workes, vnlesse our works were in waight and number answerable vnto them? *Ergo*, wee cannot redeeme them by any such meanes.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER A MAN may truly satisfie the wrath of God, for the punishment due vnto sinne.

The Papists.

IT is not a sufficient satisfaction, to beleeue that Christ hath abundantly satisfied for vs; neither yet is it enough to amend and correct our liues: but God also must bee satisfied for our sinnes, by the punishment and chastisement of our selues, as by affliction layd vpon vs by God, or penance inioyned by the Priest, or by prayer, fasting, almes-deedes, which we do take vp our selues: *Concil. Trid. sess. 14. can. 13. Rhemist. Matth. 11. 21.* 64. Error

Bellarmine also affirmeth, that Gods grace assisting vs, wee may satisfie God for the temporall punishment of sinne, *ex propriis*, of our own, *ad æqualitatem*, to an equalitie, *ex condigno*, condignly, or worthilie, *cap. 8.*

Argum. 1. Matth. 3. 8. Bring forth fruits worthie repentance: he preacheth satisfaction by doing worthie fruits of penance, as fasting, prayer, almes, and the like, *Rhemist. Bellar. c. 8.*

Answ. 1. Fruits worthie of repentance, are no satisfaction for sinne, or the punishment thereof, but arguments of true repentance, effects, not any part thereof. 2. Againe, in this place mention is made of euerlasting destruction, vers. 10. *Euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen downe and cast into the fire:* wherefore if by *worthie workes*, they vnderstand satisfactorie works, then will it follow that satisfaction may bee made not onely for temporall, but eternall punishment. 3. Further, worthie workes, are *expounded to be good workes*, vers. 10. And *Bellarmine* expoundeth thus, *To doe workes worthie repentance, is so to worke, as it beseemeth him that is penitent: Bellarm. ibid.* This therefore is nothing else, but newnes and holines of life, whereby we doe shew our effectuall repentance. 4. This place proueth neither *æqualitie*, nor *condignitie*, nor a *propertie* of our owne satisfaction; which all three are against the Scripture: there is no equalitie, *we cannot answere God*

one of a thouſand, Iob.9.3. No *propertie*, 1.Cor.4.7. *If thou hadſt receiued it, why reioyceſt thou, as though thou haddeſt not receiued it?* No *condignitie*, Luk.17.10. *When we haue done all that is cõmaunded, we are but vnprofitable ſeruants.* 5. Neither will this euaſion ſerue, that by grace our workes ſatiſfie: for grace and workes are ſo diuers, that they cannot concurre together: Rom.11.6. *If it be of workes, it is no more of grace, &c.* grace taketh away workes, and workes take away grace, if they bee ioyned as working cauſes together.

*Argum.*2. Iudge your ſelues, that you be not iudged, 1.Cor.11.31. We muſt puniſh our ſelues according to the waight of the ſinnes paſt, *Rhemiſt.* And againe, ſaith the Apoſtle, *What great puniſhment hath it wrought in you?* 2.Cor.7.11. This is nothing elſe but the ſatisfactorie puniſhment for our ſinnes, *Bellarm. lib.4. cap.*8.

Anſw. The Apoſtle meaneth nothing elſe, but an heartie and earneſt ſorrowe for our ſinnes, whereby we doe iudge and condemne, and as it were puniſh our ſelues, yet we are farre from making any ſatisfaction hereby for our ſinnes: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Omnis iniquitas puniatur neceſſe eſt, aut à pœnitente homine, aut vindicante Deo: vis non puniat? puni tu: antequam ipſe intendat vt puniat, in confitendo præueni & puni.* All ſinne muſt needes bee puniſhed either of man himſelfe repenting, or God reuenging: if thou wilt not haue him puniſh, puniſh thou: before he intend to puniſh, preuent him by thy confeſſion, and puniſh thy ſelfe. So then this puniſhment of our ſelues is nothing elſe, but true repentance and confeſſion of our ſinnes. In Pſal.58.

2. Again, this puniſhment, of which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, was wrought in the, it was not inioyned them by the Prieſt. 3. Beſide, this repentance, whereof this *puniſhment* was an effect, *was to ſaluation*, verſ.10. which was the eſcaping of euerlaſting death: but for euerlaſting puniſhment they themſelues dare preſcribe no ſatisfaction but in Chriſt. 4. The Apoſtle ſheweth the end and vſe of this puniſhment, which was to *cleare* themſelues, and to worke in them a *zeale* and *deſire* not to ſatisfie.

*Argum.*3. If good workes may merite or deſerue eternall life, much more may they avert and turne away temporall puniſhment: but the firſt is true, Matth.20. verſ.8. the kingdome of God is called wages or rewarde: 2.Timoth.4. verſ.8. it is called *the crowne of iuſtice, which God the iuſt iudge ſhall giue.* So it is a rewarde iuſtly giuen to mens deſerts: *Ergo*, good workes may much more redeeme temporall puniſhment, *Bellarm. cap.*8. *lib.*4. *de pœnitent.*

Anſw. We vtterly denie, that heauen can bee merited with good workes. Firſt, Saint *Paul* hauing firſt ſaid, *the wages of ſinne is death*, addeth further, *the gift of God is eternall life*, Rom.6.23. he calleth it *a gift*, and not wages.

Secondly, it is called in the parable, *a rewarde or wages*; but not in reſpect of the workmans labour, but of Gods couenant and promiſe. For 1. if it were by deſert, then he that laboured twelue houres, had deſerued more, than he that wrought but one. As Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *de vocat. Gentium, lib.*1.3. *Hora vndecima intromiſſos in vineam, &c.* They which were ſent into the vineyard at the eleuenth houre, the diuine indulgence made equall to the labourers of the whole day, not paying the wages of their labour, but powring out the riches of his goodneſſe, &c. that they which endured much labour, and receiued no more then the laſt, ſhould vnderſtand, *Se demum gratia non operis accepiſſe mercedem:* that they receiued a gift of grace, not a reward of the worke. 2. And the Lord ſaith, verſ.15. *Is it not lawfull for me to doe as I will with mine owne?* but if they had deſerued it, it had been *their owne.* 3. Saint *Paul* alſo directly affirmeth, Rom.4. verſ.4. *that wages is not counted of fauour, but by debt:* let them ſay then if they dare, that to obtaine heauen is not of Gods fauour.

Thirdly, 1. it is a crowne of iuſtice, but not of ours, but of the iuſtice of faith in Chriſt: as the Apoſtle ſaith, verſ.7. *I haue kept the faith.* 2. And it is Gods iuſtice to giue it in reſpect of his promiſe, not of our deſert, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Ex miſericordia promiſſam, ſed iam ex iuſtitia ſolvendam:* Promiſed of mercie, but now in iuſtice to be paied: *ſerm.*2. *de verb. Apoſtoli.*

*Argum.*4. *Bellarmine* bringeth in a great troupe of ancient writers to ſpeake for ſatisfaction, but they are not ſo pregnant to ſerue his turne: our generall anſwere to them all is this:

Firſt, that the moſt of his witneſſes are partiall, and not old enough to bee credited, ſuch as liued in the latter ages of the Church, as *Iſidore, Rabanus, Damianus*, with other.

Secondly, many writings paſſe vnder the names of *Cyprian, Ambroſe, Hierome, Auguſtine*, which were not theirs: as there goeth vnder *Cyprians* name, a booke *De inuentione capitis Baptiſtæ, &c.* Of the inuention of *Iohn Baptiſts* head: In which treatiſe mention is made of *Athanaſius*, and *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, and *Pipinus*, that were long after *Cyprians* time. The like exception may bee made againſt ſome of the reſt.

Thirdly, the authentike fathers ſpeake of three ſatisfactions: firſt, of ſatisfaction made vnto men, as vnto the whole Church, or to any other ỳ are offended: and in this ſenſe ſpeaketh *Cyprian, epiſtol.*3. *ad Cornelium*, ſpeaking of ſchiſmatikes, *Si cum precibus & ſatisfactionibus veniant, audiantur, &c.* If they come with entreating and ſatisfactions, let them bee heard: *Si minas & malèdicta*

ingerunt;

Argument: If they threaten or curse, let them be refused: the satisfaction is to be made to them, whom they threaten, but they threaten not God, but men: in this sense also, the olde translation readeth, Act. 24. 10. *That Paul satisfied, that is answered for himselfe*: and 1. Pet. 3. 18. *Be readie to satisfie every man, that asketh a reason, &c.* this satisfaction then is made vnto men.

Secondly, there is a satisfaction made vnto a mans owne conscience, as 2. Cor. 7. 11. *What clearing of your selues*, defence, or satisfaction, (as *Erasmus* readeth, and the old interpreter in other places translateth the word ἀπολογία,) *hath it wrought*: so *Ambrose ad virgin. lapsam c.* 8. cited by *Iohan. Grande*, *grandem satisfactionem*: a great sinne, requireth great satisfaction, that is, great sorrow, to satisfie and settle the conscience.

Thirdly, they speake of satisfying God, but eyther in hyperbolicall speech, commending thereby the necessitie of repentance, whereby God is, as it were, satisfied, the better to stirre vp men thereunto: or els, they vnderstand a satisfaction, not of Gods iustice, but of Gods commandement and will, in obeying his voyce, by comming to repentance, which God in mercie accepteth of: so *Tertullian* saith, *Habes cui satisfacias, & quidem volentem*: You haue one, who is willing to be satisfied: *lib. de pœnitent.*

The Protestants.

THat Satisfaction ought to be made vnto men, either by restitution, as *Zacheus* restored that which he had wrongfully gotten; or by reconciling our selues to those, whom we haue offended, as Matth. 5. 24. we do willingly grant: but that the wrath of God may be appeased and satisfied for our sinnes, or the punishment due vnto the same by any worke of ours, it is a great blasphemie, and cleane contrary to the course of Scripture.

Argum. 1. That it is sufficient to returne vnto God by true repentance and amendment of life, without any satisfaction, either for our sinne, or the punishment of sinne: the Prophet *Ezechiel* sheweth, where speaking of the conuersion of a wicked man, he saith, His iniquities shall no more be mentioned, or laid to his charge, chap. 18, 22. But if after the sinne remitted, there should remaine some punishment behind, his sinnes should still be remembred and mentioned: there is therefore no satisfaction for the punishment of sinne, because none remaineth.

Bellarmine answereth, God remembreth no more their sinnes, in that he doth not punish them by eternall death, *cap.* 15. *respons. ad argum.* 1.

Obiect. When the righteous suffer temporall chastisements, hath God their sinnes then in remembrance, or hath he not? If he haue, then the Prophet should speake vntruely, who saith, *their iniquities are not mentioned*: if hee haue not, it commeth to our saying, that God doth chastise his children without respect had to their sinnes, or remembrance thereof. I suppose this *Dilemma* will put the Iesuite to some businesse before it be well answered.

2. Againe, vers. 20. the Prophet saith, *The righteousnesse of the righteous shall be vpon him, and the wickednesse of the wicked shall be vpon him*: but now if the righteous be punished for his sinne past, the wickednesse shall be vpon the righteous man, which is contrary to the saying of the Prophet.

3. Further, Ezech. 33. 12. *Impietas impij non nocebit ei*: The wickednesse of the wicked shall not hurt him, in that day he turneth from his wickednesse: but if he be punished for his wickednesse, though he be returned, then doth his wickednes hurt him. *Bellarmine* answereth as before, that his wickednesse doth not hurt him, or hinder him from euerlasting life, *lib.* 4. *c.* 11. *Cont.* 1. Chastisements and corrections, which God layeth vpon his children, to make them more careful and circumspect, are profitable, and not hurtfull at all, as the Prophet *Dauid* saith, Psal. 119. vers. 71. *It is good for me, that I haue beene afflicted*: But punishments and iudgements for sinne, how are they not hurtfull, and a wound vnto the soule? 2. So then, as *the righteousnesse of the righteous shall not deliuer him* in the day of his transgression; so the *wickednesse of the wicked shall not hurt him*. vers. 12. but the former righteousnesse shall not deliuer a man, no not from temporall iudgements: *Ergo*, the former wickednesse of a man shall not hurt him, but deliuer him from temporall punishments. 3. Further, vers. 17. *The way of the Lord is equall, the way of man vnequall*: man many time punisheth, where he forgiueth; but Gods way is not like vnto mans: wherefore God punisheth not after forgiuenesse. See a further answere to *Bellarmines* exception before, in the second argument of the first part of this Question.

Argum. 2. Our Sauiour Christ required no satisfaction to be made vnto God, for her sinnes that was accused of adulterie; but saith onely to her, *Goe, sinne no more*, Iohn 8. 11. *Ergo*, no satisfaction for sinne is required by the Scripture, *argum. Lutheri.*

Bellarmine answereth, 1. That Christ doth not absolue her from her sinne, but onely from the punishment, which was to be stoned to death. 2. Or he might see so great contrition in her, that it was a sufficient satisfaction; as we reade of *Marie Magdalene*. 3. And Christ might by his authoritie at once pardon the fault and the punishment, but Ministers must keepe themselues to the Law, &c. *Bellarmine. lib.* 11. *resp. ad* 2. *argum.*

Cont. First, that Christ did pardon her sinne, it 1. appeareth, in that hee saith, *Goe, sinne no*

more

more: for though she sinned no more, if this were not pardoned, it was sufficient to condemne her before God. 2. As for the outward punishment of death, Christ doth not deale in it, it belonging to worldly gouernours: he refused to be Iudge of an inheritance, Luke 12.14. which is lesse than to be Iudge of life and death.

Secondly, 1. It is like there was not such an extraordinarie contrition in this woman, being immediately before deprehended in adulterie. 2. And if there had beene such a perfect change, which cannot be without a full purpose of amendment; why doth our Sauiour say vnto her, *Goe, sinne no more?* 3. *Maries* teares did not satisfie for her sinne, *shee was saued by her faith*: her teares declared her loue, Luke 7.47.50.

Thirdly, though Christ had all power in himselfe, and was aboue his law, yet he came to fulfill *all righteousnesse*: Matth. 3.15. and as he sent the Leper being cleansed to the Priest, to offer according to the Law, Matth. 8. so healing the spirituall leprosie of this woman, hee would not haue omitted the law of satisfaction, being as necessarie in this spirituall case (if any such thing were required) as the resorting of the Leper to the Priest.

Argum. 3. Isai. 43.25. *I am he that putteth away thine iniquities for mine owne sake.* Likewise 53. vers. 4. *He hath borne our infirmities, and caried our sorrowes: the chastisement of our peace was vpon him, and with his stripes are we healed.* God of his free mercie doth forgiue our sin: Christ also hath fully satisfied for vs: *Ergo*, there is no satisfaction in vs: we are made whole by his stripes, and not our owne.

Likewise the Apostle saith, that Christ is the propitiation for our sinnes, 1. Iohn 2.2. *Behold the Lambe of God, that taketh away the sinnes of the world*, Iohn 1.29. *Christ his owne selfe bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree*, 1. Pet. 2.24. *Ergo*, Christs death fully and wholy redeemeth vs, there neede no other satisfaction.

Bellarm. First, we grant, that Christs death is sufficient to redeeme all the sinnes of the world, but Christs death profiteth not, vnlesse it be applyed by faith, the sacraments, and other applicatorie meanes and instruments, among the which, satisfaction is one, for the expiation of temporall punishment. Secondly, it is true, that by Christs merite we are only iustified and reconciled, yet this letteth not, but that we may satisfie also by the vertue of Christs death for temporall punishment. *Bellarmin. c.* 14.

Contra. First, there 1. is no other meanes appointed for the application of the fruits of Christs death, but faith: Rom. 3.26. *He is a iustifier of him, that is of the faith of Iesus*: vers. 22. *The righteousnesse of God by the faith of Iesus*: vers. 25. *To be a reconciliation through faith in his blood*: If through faith wee are reconciled, iustified wee haue righteousnesse; all other meanes of application are vnnecessarie and superfluous. 2. Againe, no workes of ours can applie Christs death, no, not good workes, Ephes. 2.8.9. *Yee are saued by grace through faith, not of workes, yea of good workes*: vers. 10. *Which God hath ordayned*: 3 That which applieth Christs death, *applieth his righteousnesse for remission of sinnes*: Rom. 3.25. but satisfaction applieth not Christs death for remition of sins, but onely to remoue the punishment: *Ergo* it appheth it not at all.

Secondly, 1. If we be reconciled and iustified by Christs death, then are wee at peace with God, Rom. 5.1. but God doth not punish those for their sinnes, with whom he is at peace. 2. Againe, Rom. 8.33. *God with Christ hath giuen vs all things beside*: *Ergo*, not remission of sinne only, but the punishment also. 3. Vers. 33. *Who shall accuse the chosen of God, it is God that iustifieth*: *Ergo*, sinne is not laid to the charge of them that are iustified, and so consequently, they are not for the same iudged or punished, seeing they are not for the same accused.

Argum. 4. If men should satisfie by their owne workes, both Christs honor is 1. empayred, seeing the whole worke is not left to him; our conscience 2. cannot be quieted, depending vpon our owne satisfaction. 3. And beside it is impossible, seeing that man sinneth euery day, and euery houre, and how can he satisfie for sinnes past, continually multiplying new? *Argum. Calvin. lib. 3. instit. c. 4. sect. 27.*

Bellarmine answereth, 1. Christs honor is more encreased, in that he himselfe doth not onely satisfie for our sinnes, but giueth power to his members in some sort to satisfie likewise. 2. The conscience may be secure and at peace being assured of the remission of sins, though some temporall punishment remaine. 3. One act of contrition euen in a moment of time may satisfie for many mortall sinnes, how much more one houre, one day of contrition, &c. *Bellarmin. c.* 14.

Contra. First, he may as well say, it had been for Christs honor, to haue taken vp to him vpon the crosse some one of his members, and to haue giuen him power by his death to satisfie: but the Scripture saith contrary, Isay 48.11. *I will not giue my glory to another*: Psal. 115.1. *Not vnto vs, but vnto thy Name giue the praysse*. Secondly, the Prophet saith, *There is no rest in my bones, because of thine anger, and of my sinne, and I roare for the griefe of my heart*. Psal. 38.3,8. As long as he was chastised for his sinne, he could find no rest, neither in bodie, nor soule: how then can the conscience be at quiet, being vnder the punishment of sinne. Thirdly, it 1. seemeth, you thinke it an easie

matter

matter to satisfie for sinne, being not ashamed to say, that it may be done in a moment? ye know not what true repentance or true contrition is: it worketh in vs, 1. care, 2. clearing of our selues, 3. indignation, 4. feare, 5. desire, 6. zeale, 7. punishment, 2. Cor. 7. 11. Can all these be wrought in a moment? 2. And seeing that continually a righteous man falleth, *riseth seuen times a day and riseth againe*, by repentance, Prou. 24. 16. he hath enough to doe still to wrestle against present sinnes: and being alwaies in transgression, how can he satisfie God for his transgression? for *if thou straitly markest iniquities*, saith the Psalme, *quis sustinebit? who is able to sustaine it?* Psal 130. 3. Therefore man being compassed alwaies with sinne, cannot sustaine Gods wrath, much lesse satisfie or appease it.

Argum. 5. The Prophet Isay saith, chap. 1. 17, 18. *Cease to doe euill, learne to doe well, &c. Though your sinnes be as crimsin, I will make them white as snow.* Here is no satisfaction required. Likewise, Jerem. 50. vers. 20. *In those daies the iniquitie of Iacob shall be sought for, and there shall none be found.* Ezech. 36. 22. *I doe not this for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for mine owne holie name sake, &c.* The people did not satisfie God for their temporall deliuerance out of captiuitie, but it proceeded of Gods mercie: *arg. Calvin.*

Solum. First, the Prophet *Isay* promiseth the perfect remission of sinne to those that did *cleanse* and wash themselues by contrition, repentance, and other good deedes, which are their satisfaction: this place rather maketh for satisfaction, than against it. Secondly, the Prophet *Ezechiel* speaketh there of the grace of the new Testament, which is not ascribed to the merits of the Israelites: and if it bee vnderstood of their temporall deliuerance, wee graunt that the temporall punishments of the next world is alwaies redeemed by satisfaction, but not the temporall punishment of this life: this maketh not therefore against satisfaction, *Bellar. cap. 15. resp. ad arg. 3. & 6.*

Contra. First, by making of their sinnes as *white as snow or wooll*, is vnderstood the perfect remission of sinne: and the condition required before, is to *cease to doe euill*, to *learne to doe well*, to *wash themselues*. If these be satisfactorie workes, and goe before remission, then will it follow, that not the punishment onely, but the sinne it selfe is by these workes redeemed: if they come after, what punishment can remaine to bee satisfied for, seeing there is no rednes, or bloodines remaining, (whereby the punishment of sinne is signified) but all is as *white as snow*?

Secondly, 1. It is euident, that the Prophet speaketh directly of their temporall deliuerance, vers. 24. *I will take you from among the heathen*, though vnder this temporall benefite is included also the promise of spirituall grace. 2. Neither is the question, whether the temporall punishment of this life be alwaies redeemed, but whether, when it is remoued, it be by satisfactorie workes redeemed. This place euidently sheweth, that this deliuerance of the Israelites (though they endured seuentie yeeres captiuitie, with much affliction, which were as like to satisfie, as any painfull works that can bee suffered) is not attributed to their merits, but to the bountifull mercie of God. 3. And if satisfaction may be made for Purgatorie penance, much more should it be auailable against the iudgements of this life: But seeing your satisfaction faileth in the lesse, which wee daily haue experience of, and you send vs to finde the force thereof, in a greater punishment, which no man euer did see, you giue iust occasion to them, which are not wilfully blind, both to reiect your deuise of Purgatorie, and to reiect your sandie foundation of satisfaction.

Argum. 6. In the Law there were no satisfactorie 1. workes appointed for the expiation of sinne, but onely the sacrifice, 2. which were not counted as the 3. workes of men, but did depend of the onely sacrifice of Christ, whereof they were shadowes: 4. yet in the Law all rites of expiation were diligently prescribed: *argum. Calvin.*

Bellarmine answereth: first, the sacrifices of the law were appointed as satisfactions for the temporall punishments of sinne: for they did neither take away the sinne it selfe, nor the eternall punishment: Psal. 51. 16. *Thou desirest no sacrifice, the sacrifice of God is a contrite heart.* Secondly, neither did the sacrifice serue for all sinnes: for blasphemie, homicide, adulterie, idolatrie, no sacrifices were appointed, but ashes and sackcloth, &c. Thirdly, God hath not in the law exactly set down all the rites of expiation. Fourthly, the sacrifices, as they were diuine workes being instituted of God, so were they also the laborious workes of men, and consequently satisfactorie, in that they were an hindrance to their substance, and depended vpon the faith of the offerers, *cap. 13. respons. ad argum. 5.*

Contra. First, the sacrifices of the law were appointed for the *forgiuenes* of the sinne it selfe, Leuiticus 4. *The Priest shall make attonement for him, and it shall be forgiuen him.* 1. How could attonement or reconciliation be made, without remission of sinne? 2. If sacrifices were not to that end, then had they no meanes at all to assure them of remission of sin. 3. Yet in themselues those sacrifices could not *purge the conscience*, Heb. 9. 9. *but did onely purifie as touching the flesh*, vers. 13. that is, take away the legall and outward vncleannes: but they did also sanctifie inwardly, being offered by faith, as they were types and shadowes of Christs sacrifice, which is that *Dauid* affirmeth Psal. 51. 16.

Secondly,

Secondly, 1. The sinnes of homicide, adulterie, idolatrie, blasphemie, were sinnes punishable by death, and therefore no such expiation by sacrifice was appointed for them, as for other sinnes: *Blood could not be expiated, or purged, but by blood.* 2. *Dauid* notwithstanding after he had committed two of those sinnes, hauing first sacrificed a contrite heart vnto God, did afterward finde comfort and further assurance of remission, in offring the sacrifices *of righteousnesse*, Psal. 51. 19. that is, right and lawfull sacrifices applied to the right end, which is to testifie their faith and repentance. 3. But ashes and sackcloth were no satisfactions for such sinnes. 1. For *Bellarmine* himselfe saith, that sinne cannot be satisfied for, but the punishment onely. 2. And *Dauid* hauing repented thoroughly for his sinne, yet pretendeth no satisfaction, but sueth for mercie, Psal. 51. 1. 4. Wherefore either the sacrifices of *righteousnes* and faith, were the propitiation for such sins, as they were Sacraments of Christs death, or else they had no meanes of expiation at all, which is not to be admitted.

Thirdly, it is a great vntruth, that the Lord by *Moses* did not exactly set downe all manner of expiations fit for that time, seeing the Scripture saith, that *Moses was faithfull in all the Lords house.* Heb. 3. 2.

Fourthly, seeing he graunteth that the sacrifices depended of the faith in the offerer, and faith is the gift of God, and is founded in Christs death; he hath made a good argument against himselfe, that the sacrifices were not satisfactions, but workes of faith, applying the vertue of Christs death: the sacrifices then of the law were applicatorie, not satisfactorie.

Argum. 7. Hosh. 14. 2. *Take away all iniquitie, and receiue vs graciously, so will we render the calues of our lips.* If all iniquitie be taken away, then none remaineth to bee satisfied for: if after forgiuenes, nothing but thanksgiuing be required, then no satisfaction is to bee performed: *argum. Calvin. ibid.*

Bellarmine answereth: first, iniquitie may bee removed, though the punishment doe remaine. Secondly, after forgiuenes, though wee bee not acquited of the temporall punishment, wee are to giue thanks. Thirdly, if God sometime do so forgiue, that he require no satisfaction but of praise, it followeth not that he should doe so alwaies, *Bellarm. c. 15. resp. ad argum. 6.*

Contra. First, how 1. can *all iniquitie* bee removed, when as the punishment yet remaineth? there must be some sinne to be punished, or else God punishing without sinne should bee vniust. 2. Againe, the Prophet speaketh directly of removing the punishment also, vers. 1. *They shall fall by the sword*, vers. 2. *Thou hast fallen by thine iniquitie:* But now vers. 3. vpon their repentance the Prophet sheweth, that they shall fall so no more: all iniquitie, both the sinne and the paine shall be removed. 3. Againe, vers. 5. *Mine anger is turned away:* but when God punisheth for sinne, he is angrie.

Secondly, thanksgiuing followeth after 1. full remission had, and all iniquitie removed: but where satisfaction is to be done, there is not yet full remision: for *Bellarmine* confesseth, that *Plena remissio, quoad omnem pœnam reatum:* Full remission is in respect the guilt of all punishment removed, *cap. 15. resp. ad loc. 3.* Therfore the calues of the lips could not yet be offred, when as somewhat remaineth to be satisfied. 2. Reioycing and giuing of thankes cannot bee without comfort and perfect assurance of remission: but where God yet iudgeth for sinne, and the punishment remaineth to be satisfied for, there can be no such assurance.

Thirdly, this course here prescribed by the Prophet, is perpetuall, and generall for all the faithfull of God: he speaketh to all Israel, vers. 2. yea vnto all the faithfull seruants of God, vers. 10. *who is wise, and he shall vnderstand these things.* And the Prophet *Dauid* saying, *What shall I render to the Lorde for all his benefits to me? I will take the cuppe of salvation, and call vpon the name of the Lorde:* Psalm. 116. 13. 14. sheweth, that God requireth no other satisfaction at our hands, but giuing of thankes.

Argum. 8. The Publicane vpon his repentance was iustified, and no satisfaction required: so likewise *Peter* was forgiuen, without any satisfaction: So to the man sicke of the palsie, Christ said, *Arise, thy sinnes are forgiuen thee*, Mark. 2. 9. Neither is the contrarie to bee seene in the rest of the examples in Scripture of remission of sinnes, but they were forgiuen freely without any satisfaction required: *argum. Calvin. ibid.*

Bellarm. First, the Publicane was not iustified without satisfaction, as smiting vpon his breast, confessing his sinne. Secondly, *Peter* also satisfied by his teares. Thirdly, 1. Christ forgiueth to the sicke man his sinne, but not the temporall punishment. 2. His long sicknesse might satisfie God for his sinnes. 3. Christ might at his pleasure together pardon both the sin and the punishment; but his ministers cannot doe so, *cap. 16. resp. ad argum. 2.*

Contra. First, the 1. smiting of the breast in the Publicane was a signe of his contrition, no part of satisfaction. 2. He saith, *God be mercifull to me a sinner:* here he could not satisfie, because he crieth onely for mercie. 3. And was the Publicanes sinne so small, thinke you, that he could satisfie for it, with knocking vpon the breast? 4. But this his contrition went before, he was iu-

stified

stified afterward: but satisfaction goeth not before iustification, no not in the popish doctrine: for they say sinnes are first remitted, and then afterward the punishment is satisfied for.

Secondly, 1. Doe you thinke, that *Peters* deniall of Christ, was so small an offence, that he could satisfie with his teares? 2. *Peter* wept before he found forgiuenes, as *Ambrose* saith: *Verecunda lachrymæ sine horrore culpam loquuntur:* Shamefast teares without horror doe confesse the fault. But satisfaction followeth forgiuenes, wherefore *Peter* did not satisfie by his teares. *Ambrose* saith; *Lachrymæ veniam non postulant, sed merentur:* Teares doe not aske pardon, but they are worthie or fit to be pardoned. *Peter* then was not as yet pardoned, weeping for his sinnes, *Ambros. in Luc.* 22.

Thirdly, 1. The sicke man had not onely his sinne forgiuen, but his temporall punishment released: for Christ said to him, *Arise, take vp thy bed and walke.* 2. Neither did his sicknes satisfie for his sinne, it was then saith that healed him, vers. 5. neither was there any plate for satisfaction, his sinne being not yet forgiuen. 3. And that Christ did not this by his extraordinarie authoritie, but by the same power which he hath committed to his Apostles and their successors, the Rhemists directly affirme, in their annotations vpon this place: neither was this extraordinarie: for in all the examples alleaged, Christ tooke the same course in forgiuing sinne without any satisfaction.

Lastly, we haue plentifull euidence from the Fathers, Councels, and their owne decrees, against this superstitious doctrine of satisfaction.

Cyprian. lib. 3. ad Quirinum, cap. 42. Fidem tantum prodesse, & tantum nos posse, quantum credimus, Marc. 9. Omnia possibilia credenti: That faith onely profiteth, and we are able to doe as much as we beleeue: as Mark. 9. *All things are possible to him that beleeueth.* If faith onely profiteth, what neede is there of satisfaction?

Ambros. lib. 2. de pœnitent. cap. 8. Veniam tanquam ex fide speremus, non tanquam ex debito: Let vs hope for forgiuenes, as of faith, not of debt. But satisfaction is of debt.

Hieronym. ad Marcellam. Tantam in nobis fidei stabilitatem esse dominus desiderat, &c. God requireth such stabilitie of faith in vs, *vt certius esse quod credimus, quam quod patimur iudicemus:* That we should iudge that more certaine, which wee beleeue, then that which wee suffer. But the Papists contrarie, doe hold no certaintie of remission of sinnes by faith, without suffering by satisfactorie workes.

Concil. Arausican. 1. decret. ex Gratian. Authoritate Dei, &c. By the authoritie of God, and the iudgement of his spirit, we doe thrust them out of the bosome of the Church: *quousque resipiscunt & ecclesiæ Dei satisfaciant:* till they repent and satisfie the Church of God. Here are two things required, repentance toward God, and satisfaction to his Church, not to God.

Damas. de pœnitent. 1. c. 1. Non inuenio quid dixerit, &c. I finde not what *Peter* said, I finde that he wept: *Lachrymas lego, satisfactionem non lego:* I reade his teares, I reade no satisfaction.

Bellarmine answereth, that by *satisfaction*, here is vnderstood excuse or defence of his sinne, as it followeth, *Quod defendi non potest, &c.* That which cannot be defended, may be washed.

Sic. First, the Master of the Sentences vnderstandeth it otherwise for true satisfaction, and maketh his answere, That *Peter* might satisfie, though it be not expressed, or that confession was not prætermitted, *lib. 4. dist. 17 f.* Secondly, *Gratian* also doth so vnderstand it, alleaging to the like purpose saying of *Chrysostome, ibid. c. 2. Lachryma lauent delictum, &c.* Let teares wash away the sinnes, which is a shame to confesse: And proueth hereby, that contrition may suffice without confession: to speake of excuse or defence had bin impertinent. Thirdly, S. *Ambrose* expoundeth himselfe: *Inuenitur tacuit, &c.* I see the reason why *Peter* held his peace, least that the crauing of pardon so soone might offend. *Peter* was farre from excusing his sinne, or *Ambrose* from so imagining.

Augustine saith, *Peccasti in fratrem? fac satis, & sanatus es:* Hast thou offended thy brother? satisfie him, and thou art healed. *Qui multos offendit peccando, placare multos debet satisfaciendo:* Hee that hath offended many in sinning, must appease many by satisfying them. These kinds of satisfaction both publikely and priuately wee acknowledge: but satisfaction to God, neither hee, nor we acknowledge. In Mat ser. 16. de pœnit. c. 16.

Isiderius cap. 3. Qui pretioso Christi sanguine redimitur, & cui meritum passionis Christi applicatur, is continuo iustificatur, &c. He that is redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, and to whom the merit of Christs passion is applied, he is straightway iustified. And S. *Paul* saith, *Whom he iustifieth, he glorifieth*, Rom. 8. 30. Satisfaction therefore to be performed by man is superfluous, seeing Christs death bringeth iustification, and glorification.

This truth is sealed: Master *Tindall* holy Martyr thus witnesseth: Satisfaction is a full recompence or amends making to him, whom wee haue offended, which recompence wee are able to make one to another, and are bound so to doe: but to God none can make any mends or recompence, but onely Gods owne sonne Christ Iesus our Sauiour: *Fox* pag. 1249. col. 2. artic. 1.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER ONE man may satisfie for another.

The Papists.

65. Error. SAtisfactorie workes are not only profitable to the sufferers themselues, but also for other their fellow members in Christ, and one may beare the burthen, and discharge the debt of another: *Rhemist. Coloss. 1. sect. 4.*

Argum. The passions of the Saints are suffered for the common good of the whole bodie, as Saint *Paul* saith, *Now I reioyce in my sufferings for you, and fulfill that which is behinde of the afflictions of Christ for his bodies sake, which is the Church*, Coloss. 1. 24. Here S. *Pauls* afflictions are meritorious and satisfactorie for the Colossians, *Rhemist.*

Ans. 1. The Apostles sufferings were for the glorie of God, and the confirmation of their faith: and in this sense he saith, his afflictions were for Christs bodie, that is, his Church sake: but therefore it followeth not, that they were meritorious, either for himselfe, or others. 2. His sufferings are said to be Christs, who suffereth in his members, not that they receiue any force from Christ to be satisfactorie, but because he was made like and conformable by his sufferings vnto Christ, Rom. 8. 17. *Augustine* also thus expoundeth the place: *Non dixit, pressurarum mearum, sed Christi, quia membrum erat Christi:* He saith not, of my sufferings, but of Christs, because he was a member of Christ. They are not then the sufferings of Christ, as though they receiued a satisfactorie power from Christ: but because he was a member of Christ, who suffered together in and with his members. Thus also answereth Sir *Iohn Bostwick* holy confessor: That where Saint *Paul* saith, *for the Church*) he doth not vnderstand thereby, the redemption, satisfaction, or expiation of the Church, but for the edifying and profiting of the same: And by the afflictions of Christ, he vnderstandeth those which he now suffereth in his members: And so he concludeth, and sealeth this doctrine, *that if the Scripture teach vs that no man can worke his owne saluation, but when wee haue done all that is commaunded, wee shall be found but vnprofitable seruants: much lesse can any man worke another saluation: Fox* pag. 1261.

The Protestants.

NOne can merite or satisfie for themselues, much lesse for others: neither can one man beare the burthen, or pay the debt of another mans sinne.

Arg. 1. The Scripture saith, *The soule that sinneth, the same shall die*, Ezech. 18. 20. *Euery man shal beare his owne burthen*, Galat. 6. 5. *None can redeeme his brother, or giue a price to God for him*, Psal. 49. 8.

Augustine vpon those words, Ioh. 16. 23. *What soeuer ye shall aske in my name, he will giue it you: Exaudiuntur quippe omnes sancti pro seipsis: non autem exaudiuntur pro omnibus, vel amicis, vel inimicis, &c.* The Saints are heard praying for themselues: but they are not heard praying for all their friends or enemies, because it is not said simply, *he will giue*, but, *he will giue to you: Ergo*, much lesse can they satisfie for others, if their prayers be not heard alwaies for others.

Leo epistol. 81. De fortitudine fidelium exempla nata sunt patientiæ, &c. From the fortitude of the faithfull wee haue examples of patience, not gifts of righteousnesse: their deaths were only for themselues, neither did they thereby pay any others debt, Christ our Lord only is he, in whom all men are dead and crucified.

Argum. 2. We cannot doe for our selues all that which is required at our hands: *But when wee haue done all, wee must say, wee are vnprofitable seruants, wee haue done that which was our dutie to doe*, Luk. 17. 10. *Ergo*, it is not in any mans power to satisfie for another. So *Ambrose* writeth vpon this place: *Quis tanta salutis beneficia, digno possit æquare seruitio?* Who can with his seruice answere in equalitie so great benefits of saluation? *Quis potest soluere, quod accepit?* Who can pay that he hath receiued? *serm. 10. in Psal. 119.*

Bernard also saith, writing vpon these words of the fiue foolish virgins; *Giue vs of your oyle: Sunt a patribus vix in suis saluabuntur, &c.* A foolish request, the iust man shall hardly be saued: the oyle of the Saints doth scant suffice themselues, how much lesse sufficeth it themselues and others: *Noe, Daniel, Iob*, shall not deliuer, no not their children, but as the soule that hath sinned shall dye; so the soule that hath done righteously shall onely liue. Here are three notable arguments included: first, mens righteousnesse sufficeth not themselues, much lesse others. Secondly, by the testimonie of the Prophet, that those holie men there named, should but saue themselues. Thirdly, from the like: as wicked men do only by their owne sinne condemne themselues, so the righteous only liue by their owne righteousnes. Ezech. 14. 16.

But here they will come in with a stale distinction, that, *Si iustitia rigorem spectemus*: If wee respect the rigor of Gods iustice, no mans iustice is sufficient for himselfe, *sed ex Dei misericordia & liberalitate, &c.* But of Gods mercie and liberalitie, they may profit themselues and others: *Inter relig. Cæsar. cap. 23.*

Ans.

Ans. Gods mercie in Christ, and the workes of supererogation cannot stand together, Rom. 11. vers. 6. *If of grace, then not of workes.* And *Paul* counteth all things doung, in respect of Christ, Phil. 3. 8. The Psalme also saith, that *no man can redeeme his brother*, Psal. 49. 7. And Christ onely hath workes to supererogate to others, *Of his fulnes we have all received, &c.* Ioh. 1. 16.

Distinct. 1 de pœnitent. Non alium statuatis nuntium, &c. Appoint not another messenger, who should offer your gift for you: *Per vos peccastis, per vos erubescatis:* Ye haue sinned by your selues, by your selues be ashamed. Euery man must repent for himselfe.

Magist. sentent. lib. 1. distinct. 48. c. Nullus passione redempti sumus, nisi Christi: We are not redeemed by any mans passion, but Christs: The passions of the Saints did profite those, which endured them, and they are profitable also to others, (that is for example) but they are not our redemption. *Lib. 3. distinct. 18. c. Vix unicuique sua virtus sufficiebat, &c.* Euery mans vertue doth scarse suffice himselfe: much lesse then is he able to satisfie for another.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF INDVLGENCES and penall iniunctions.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER PENAL and painfull workes are necessarie vnto repentance.

The Papists.

NOt onely amendement, and ceasing to sinne, or repentance in heart before God is alwaies enough to obtaine full reconcilement, but there must be outward penaltie, correction, and chastisement beside, *Rhemist. 2. Corinth. 2. sect. 2.* 67. Error.

Argum. The incestuous person was rebuked of many, 2. Cor. 2. 6. which word implieth, beside inward repentance, outward correction and chastisement.

The Protestants.

Ans. WE acknowledge, that in notorious sinnes, and offensiue to the Church, as this of the young mans was, inward repentance is not sufficient, but that after sharpe discipline, by the outward testification of sorrow, and publike confession, satisfaction must be made to the Church: but it followeth not that this course should bee taken for all sinnes, which a man repenteth him of. And yet wee graunt that outward signes of our sorrow are alwaies necessarie in true repentance, not as satisfactorie meanes to redeeme our sinnes, but onely as infallible tokens and effects of our repentance. As *Augustine* saith, *Satis durus est, cuius mentis dolorem oculi carnis non sunt declarare:* He is hard hearted, the griefe of whose minde, the eyes of his flesh doe not shew forth: *de pœnitent. cap. 9.*

Argum. 1. There are but two essentiall parts of repentance and true conuersion vnto God: To turne from our sinnes, and leade an holy life. So saith the Lord by the Prophet, *If the wicked will turne from his sinnes and keepe all my statutes*, Ezech. 18. 21. This is all God requireth, without any other penall workes: wherefore ceasing from sinne and amendment of life, which necessarily include the true sorrow and conuersion of the heart, are sufficient for repentance.

Argum. 2. *Peter* was receiued to mercie without any satisfaction; so was the Publican, Luc. 11. likewise Christ said to the sicke of the palsie, *Arise, thy sinnes are forgiuen thee*, without any penall iniunction: *Ergo*, such penall workes are not necessarie. See more of this argument before, pag. part. 3. *argum. protestant.* 8. and all the other arguments concluding against satisfaction, may be applyed against the necessitie of penall and satisfactorie workes.

Augustine. Conscientiam bonam faciunt, præteritorum malorum condigna satisfactio, & instantium malorum cauta prouidaque declinatio: condigna satisfactio est malefacta corrigere, & correcta non reiterare. De interior. dom. prœem. The worthie satisfaction for euils past, and a warie declining of euils present, doe make a good conscience: Worthie satisfaction is this, to correct that is euill, and being amended, not to fall into the same againe. Here satisfaction is nothing else but true repentance, and no other workes of satisfaction but to cease from euill, and doe good, which are the parts of true repentance.

THE SECOND PART, WHICH BE THE Penall Satisfactorie workes.

The Papists.

PRayer, fasting, almes, are those satisfactorie workes, whereby we doe satisfie God for the temporall punishment due vnto sinne: and beside these, there are other, *opera indebita:* workes 68. Error.

which we are not bound vnto, as whipping and beating of the body, and such like: *Bellarmi. lib. 4. de panitent. c. 6.*

68. Error. *Argum.* First, that prayer, fasting, and such other workes commaunded are satisfactions, the Scripture testifieth, Psalm. 50. 15. *Call vpon me in the day of trouble, I will deliuer thee, &c.* Ioel. 2. 17. *Turne vnto me with all your heart, with fasting, weeping, and mourning: who knoweth if he will returne and repent, &c. Ergo,* with prayer and fasting God is satisfied: *Bellarm. c. 6.*

Contra. First, prayer is a fruit of faith, Rom. 10. 14. *How shall they call on him, vpon whom they haue not beleeued:* and fasting is a meanes to make our repentance more effectuall, being ioyned with weeping and mourning: all these are fruits and effects of faith, by the which God is reconciled to vs, and his wrath appeased, and we at peace with God, Rom. 3. 24. & 5. 1. Secondly, it is not then the prayer which satisfieth or is auaileable before God, but faith, Iam. 5. 15. *The prayer of faith shall saue the sicke.* Thirdly, and this is euident by the circumstance of these places, Psalm. 50. 15. *And thou shalt glorifie me:* if God haue the glorie of our deliuerance, it is to be ascribed to his mercie, not to our satisfaction: and Ioel. 2. 13. *The Lord is mercifull, gracious, &c.* but if fasting doe satisfie Gods iustice, what need they flee to his mercie?

69. Error. *Argum* 2. Saint *Paul* whipped and beate himselfe, 1. Cor. 9. 27. *I beat downe my bodie:* for so the word signifieth, to beat till the bodie be blew. The Publicane beat vpon his breast: *Iohn Baptist* was apparelled in Camels haire, &c. *Ergo,* painefull and laborious workes not prescribed or commaunded, are acceptable to God, and satisfactorie: *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. First, it is a vaine surmise, that Saint *Paul* scourged or beate his owne bodie, as your Friers Flagellants vse to do: 1. the Apostle taketh his similitude from champions that vse to fight, and one beat another, which the word ὑπωπιάζω signifieth; and so continuing the metaphore, saith, *I doe beat downe, &c.* 2. The same word is vsed, Luc. 18. 5. *I will doe her right, least she come and ouer-whelme me weare: Obtundat me,* it were absurd to say, *least she beat me.* 3. The Apostle sheweth, how he doth beat his bodie, *by bringing it into subiection,* which may be done otherwise than by beating: 4. the the Apostles doctrine is contrarie, Ephes. 5. 29. *No man hateth his owne flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it.*

Secondly, the beating vpon the Publicanes breast, was a signe of his great sorrow, and of the displeasure taken against his sinne; hee did not in so doing wound or offer violence to his bodie. *Augustine* saith, *Tundere pectus, quid aliud est, quam arguere quod latet in pectore, &c.* To knocke vpon the breast, what is it else, but to checke or to reproue sinne lying hid in the breast, *In Matth. Serm. 8.*

Thirdly, all these workes are commended in Scripture: as to mortifie and subdue the flesh, which Saint *Paul* did, Coloss. 4. 5. *Mortifie your earthly members:* to testifie sorrow by the smiting of the ioynts and parts together, as the Publicane is warranted, Nahum. 2. 10. *The heart melteth, the knees smite together.* *Iohns* austere life and conuersation was agreeable to his calling, which was to be *a cryer in the wildernesse,* Matth. 3. 2. and our Sauiour commendeth him for his strict life, Matth. 11. 7, 18. Wherefore these examples serue not at all to warrant laborious workes, not prescribed nor commaunded.

Fourthly, admit these workes to be laborious and painefull, yet were they not satisfactorie. Saint *Paul* saith, *he was crucified with Christ,* he had mortified and subdued his flesh; yet he challengeth no satisfaction thereby, but saith, *I liue by the faith in the sonne of God,* Galat. 2. 20. The Publicane maketh suite for mercie, *Lord be mercifull to me a sinner,* therefore intended no satisfaction: and *Iohn* was so farre from seeking any merit or satisfaction by his life, that he confesseth, *he was not worthie to beare Christs shoes,* Matth. 3. 11. Wherefore by these places, no satisfactorie penall workes can be warranted or perswaded.

The Protestants.

FIrst, prayer, fasting, almes, are the liuely fruits and effects of faith, necessarie to be done, and through Christ acceptable vnto God, but there is no merit or satisfaction in them.

Argum. No workes which are commaunded, and wherein we are indebted vnto God, are able to satisfie, because wee haue done no more, *then was our dutie to doe,* Luk. 17. 10. Saint *Ambrose* saith, *Nemo in operibus glorietur, &c.* Let no man glorie in his works, because of right we owe obedience to the Lord, &c. *Nec in te patitur dominus vnius vsum esse operis, aut laboris, &c.* God doth not suffer thee to haue the vse of any one worke or labour, because while we liue, we must be alwayes working, *Ambros. in 17. Luc.* But prayer, fasting, almes are commaunded, and so our due debt vnto God: *Ergo,* they are not satisfactorie.

Hierome saith, *Caue, ne si teiunare ceperis, te putes esse iam sanctam, &c.* Take heed least thou thinke thy selfe holy, when thou beginnest to fast; for this vertue is but an helpe, it is not the perfection of holinesse, *ad Calant.* but satisfaction is the very perfection of workes.

This is also the opinion of some of the Popish writers, *Non satisfieri per opera aliàs debita:* That we cannot satisfie by workes that are due, or debted: *Thomas, Durandus, Paludanus in 4. dist. 15.*

Wherefore

Wherefore prayer, almes, and other workes being commaunded, and so our due debt vnto God, cannot satisfie.

Secondly, neither is God so much as pleased with voluntarie punishments inflicted vpon the bodie, much lesse doe they worke any satisfaction.

Argum. Coloss. 2. The Apostle calleth it, *a shew of wisdome in voluntarie religion, in not sparing the body, &c.* is no true wisdome, but a shew of wisdome; not religion prescribed, but voluntarie: like as *Baals* priests did lance and cut themselues with knives, being therefore derided of the Prophet, 1. Reg. 18. Such are the painefull workes which monkes and heremites doe afflict their bodies with: God requireth no such things at their hands.

Bellar. S. *Paul* reproueth those, that of superstition afflict their body, not for the health of their soule: *lib. 14. de pœnitent. c. 4.*

Contra. First, those also pretended by afflicting of the body to humble the soule, *in humblenes of mind, and not sparing the body:* Secondly, all voluntarie or will-worship, ἐθελοθρησκία (which *Hierom* translateth, *falsa religio*, false religion, or false worship, *Algasia. qu. 10. tom. 4.*) is superstitious: wherefore the Papists that offer vnto God workes not commaunded, euen of their owne deuising, to be satisfactions for them, are also guiltie of superstition.

Bellarmine also is a witnesse for vs against himselfe: *Satis facticia opera non in observationibus ab hominibus excogitatis, &c.* We doe not place satisfactorie workes in obseruations inuented of men, but in fasting, almes, prayer, which in the Scriptures haue precepts, examples, and large promises, *lib. 4. c. 13. resp. ad arg. 7.* a more euident testimonie against voluntarie satisfactions cannot be produced.

Lastly, *Augustine* saith, *Qui tundit pectus, & non corrigitur, solidat peccata non tollit*: He that beateth his breast, and is not corrected, doth harden or consolidate his sinnes; he taketh them not away: *Tom. 9. de disciplin. Christian. c. 10. Ergo*, beating of the flesh, being not a mollifying of the heart, doth worke no satisfaction.

THE SECOND PART, BY WHOM PENALL workes are to be inflicted.

THree waies, they say, God is satisfied: 1. by bearing patiently the punishment that God layeth vpon vs: 2. by assuming voluntarily the laborious and painefull workes of penance: 3. and in willing vndergoing the sentence of the priest in his penall iniunctions. Of the first, there is no question betweene vs, that we are patiently to endure the Lords crosse, though thereby wee neither merit, nor satisfie: the other two they would proue thus.

First, that penall workes may voluntarily be vndertaken, these examples shew it: *Iob* saith, *I do reprehend my selfe, and repent in dust and ashes:* Iob. 42. 6. *Dauid*, of himselfe fasted and praied, 2 Sam. 12. he was not enioyned to doe it. So likewise *Ahab* humbled himselfe with fasting and sackcloth, 1. King. 21. he was not bid so to doe; yet God was well pleased with it: *Bellar. l. 4. c. 4.* 70. Error.

Contra. First, these were not voluntarie workes, to humble themselues with fasting and sackcloth, but such as God called for, and were by the Prophets prescribed to the people, when they by repentance did turne vnto God: Ioel. 2. 12. *Turne vnto the Lord with fasting and weeping, &c.* Wherefore by these examples they haue not prooued, that voluntarie and vnbidden punishments, as whipping and scourging of the bodie, and such like, are of our selues to be inflicted. Secondly, none of these were penall or satisfactorie workes of penance, but liuely and euident signes of true repentance. Thirdly, it is very absurd, that *Ahab* a wicked hypocrite, is matched here with *Iob* and *Dauid*, the faithfull seruants of God, in the exercise of true repentance: that God spared *Ahab*, it was not of his satisfaction, but of Gods mercie, remitting temporall punishment for temporall repentance: for how could *Ahab* satisfie God, that did sell himselfe to worke wickednesse. And they themselues graunt, that a man being in deadly sinne, cannot satisfie: *Bellarm. c. 13. resp. ad argum. 7.*

Secondly, the Priests haue power to enioyne workes of penance, as affliction of bodie, mulct, penaltie, correction, by almes-deeds, fasting, abstinence, and such like, *Conc. Trid. sess. 14. can. 15. Damasc. 2. Corinth. 2. sect. 2.* 71. Error.

Argum. To them is giuen authoritie to bind and loose: *Ergo*, to enioyne penance: As they loose their sinnes, so they bind them vnto the penall workes of penance: and as they haue power to remit sinnes, in respect of the fault and euerlasting punishment; so to retaine sinnes, for the temporall punishment: *Bellar. lib. 4. c. 5.*

Ans. 1. Some kind of mulcts, Church discipline is not to deale withall: as bodily punishment, and pecuniarie fines, which are to be imposed at the discretion of the Magistrate: *Synod. Mogunt. cap. 77. Archidiaconus mulctas pecuniarias punire non præsumat*: The Archdeacon shall not presume to punish with pecuniarie mulct. Secondly, wee graunt an holsome vse of the keyes in Church discipline,

discipline, in punishing and cleansing of notorious offenders in the open face of the congregation: but priuatly to enioyne men penance for their secret sinnes, is an Antichristian yoke. Thirdly, yet publike penance enioyned notorious offenders, is no part of their satisfaction to Godward, but a signe of their reconciliation to the Church, which they haue offended; and it is profitable for the example of others, that they by such publike shame may be terrified from the like offending. Fourthly, binding and loosing are contrarie actes, when the ministers by the word of God bind, they loose not; when they loose, they bind not: but the popish priest doth both loose and binde together; loose the sinne, binde the punishment: and the authoritie which Christ giueth, is to remit and retaine sinne: As for remitting or retaining of the punishment, it belongeth to the iudge of the world, Christ himselfe.

The Protestants.

FIrst, for a man to lay any voluntary or deuised punishment vpon himselfe to be a satisfaction for his sinne; it is contrarie to the Scripture.

*Argum.*1. Mark.7.7. *In vaine do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandements of men*: but the inflicting vpon the bodie such punishments, as in whipping, scourging, beating of the flesh, is the doctrine and commandement of men: *Ergo*, it is a vaine worship. *Bellarm. Aufo.*1. Obedience to men displeaseth not God, but when they commaund things contrarie to God. 2. It is the commandement of God, that we should repent with fasting, sackcloth, &c. *lib.*4.*c.*4.

Contra. First, nothing can be more contrary to Gods word, then to teach men by their owne punishment, to satisfie the wrath of God: for the Scripture teacheth, *that Christ is our peace, that he hath reconciled vs to God by his crosse, and slaine hatred thereby*, that was before betweene God and vs, Ephes.2.14.16. there remaineth therefore nothing to be satisfied for, by vs. Secondly, to repent with fasting; to make our sorrow more effectuall, which they also shewed in those times by ashes and sackcloth, was the commandement of God, and the practise of the Saintes: but to make bald the head, to cut and afflict the flesh, was the vse of idolatrous priests, 1.King.18. neither liked nor allowed of God.

*Argum.*2. The Apostle saith, Heb.12.9. *We haue had the fathers of our bodies, which corrected vs, &c. should we not much rather be in subiection to the Father of spirits, that we might liue?* And vers.10. *They chastened vs after their owne pleasure, but he for our profite, &c.* Here the Apostle maketh two sorts of Correctors, man for the body, God for the soule: and two kinds of corrections, inflicted either by earthly parents, or by the Father of spirites: From whence I conclude, that all corrections tending to the life of the soule, are applied by *the Father of spirites*: therefore as children are chastened of their fathers for offences toward them, they do not chastise themselues; so our heauenly Father correcteth his children, they do not punish themselues.

Origen saith in 14. Matth. *Si quando, &c.* If at any time wee fall into the necessitie of temptation, let vs remember, *Quòd Iesus non compulit ingredi nauem illam*: That Iesus constrayned vs to go into the shippe: as the Apostles went not into the shippe of themselues to saile on the troublesome sea, but Iesus compelled them, Matth.14.22. so no man is willingly to runne into any affliction, but when he is thereto appointed of God.

Secondly, penall iniunctions imposed for satisfaction by Priests, are not warranted by the word of God.

*Argum.*1. Such workes as God requireth necessarie to repentance, cannot be refused without sinne, as such, whereof the Prophet speaketh, Isay.1.17. *Learne to do well, seeke iudgement, &c.* But the iniunctions of the Priests may be refused without sinne, as some of their popish diuines hold: as *Scotus*, *Gabriel*, and this *Bellarmine* denieth not, though the rest he saith be of another minde, *lib.*4.*c.*13. therefore the Priests penall iniunctions are not those, which the Lord requireth in his word. *argum. Philipp. apolog. confess. Augusten.*

*Argum.*2. The Indulgences of men may dispense with the satisfactions enioyned by the Priest, but they cannot free them from those precepts, *Bring forth fruits worthie of repentance*: *Ergo*, such satisfactions are not prescribed or commanded of God.

Bellarmine answereth, that the Indulgences of men, do not free any from Gods precepts, but onely from the paines, and punishments: as it is the Apostles precept, *to pay tribute to whom tribute belongeth*: Rom.13. Yet the Prince may pardon the tribute, but for all this hee freeth not any from the Apostles precept. *Bellarm. lib.*4.*c.*13.

Contra. First, the reason is not alike, man may remit a debt or dutie vnto man: *Ergo*, man may dispense with a debt due vnto God: nay, seeing one man cannot remit the debt of another, how vnreasonable is it, that any should presume to remit any thing due vnto God. Secondly, the argument is not answered, neither do I thinke that father *Robert* doth well vnderstand himselfe in his answere: for if penal satisfactions be comprehended in this commandement, *Bring forth worthie fruites, &c.* as they pretend they are; this being a precept of Scripture, if they can dispense with this, then do they dispense with Gods precepts: wherfore they must either confesse, that their

satisfactions

satisfactions are not these *worthie fruites*; and so they haue no ground in Scripture: or if they be, they haue no power to dispense with them.

Argum. 3. True repentance is a free worke, not of compulsion, or coaction: Saint Paul exhorteth men to iudge themselues, that they be not iudged, 1. Cor. 11. 31. But now when penance is layd vpon a man, and not voluntarily taken of himselfe, he is iudged rather of another, he doth not iudge himselfe. *Augustine* saith, *Quem pœnitet, punit seipsum, prorsus aut punit, aut punit Deus, vt illum puniat, puni tu:* He that repenteth, punisheth himselfe: either thou punishest, or God: if thou wilt not haue God to do it, punish thy selfe. A man therefore must punish himselfe, he must not be punished of another in his repentance to Godward: for of outward chastisement to the world, now is not the question.

Augustine saith, *de temp. serm.* 181. *c.* 16. *Nunquam spernit pœnitentiam, &c.* God neuer despiseth repentance, if it be simply & syncerely offered vnto him: *Etiamsi quis explere non potuit omnem satisfaciendi ordinem:* Though a man cannot fulfill all the order of satisfaction? Here wee see repentance, without satisfaction prescibed and enioyned, is sufficient. Likewise *ad fratres in eremo. serm.* 11. *O Monache, fac vt mens tua sit liber, quem vidit, &c.* O thou solitarie fellow (Monke) let thy minde be that booke, which *Ezechiel* saw, wherein were written Lamentations: *Ad has Lamentationes te convertas:* Turne thee to these Lamentations: Here are no outward Satisfactions enioyned, but inward Lamentations.

Decret. Gregor. lib. 5. *tit.* 38. *c.* 1. *Manifesta peccata non sunt occulta correctione purganda:* Manifest sinnes must not be purged with secret correction. But popish priests many times enioyne secret penance for great sinnes, wherein they do contrarie to their owne Canons.

THE THIRD PART, OF PARdons and Indulgences.

The Papists.

1. THe principal Magistrates of the Church are no lesse authorized to pardon, then to punish, and to remit the temporall punishment due to sinners, the offence being first forgiuen, which we call an Indulgence or pardon, *Rhemist. 2. Cor. 2. 4. Concil. Trid. sess.* 25. 71. Error.

Argum. To whom you forgiue any thing, I forgiue also, 2. Cor. 2. 10. Here the Apostle forgiueth the young man a piece of his punishment, when he might haue kept him longer in penance for his offence, *Rhemist. ibid.*

Sol. 1. We denie not, but that the Church may release such publike exercise of humiliation, which is inioyned offenders for triall of their repentance, and some satisfaction of the Church, when it seeth that they are sufficiently humbled. But it followeth not, that the Church therefore releaseth offence with any necessary part of repentance towards God. 2. Whereas you say, the Apostle notwithstanding his rebuke was sufficient, might haue kept the young man still in temporall punishment: it is cleane contrary to the Apostles owne rule, who perswadeth the Corinthians to forgiue him, least he should be ouercome of too much heauinesse, vers. 7. The Apostle therefore would neither forgiue nor release him, before they had forgiuen him, and he had satisfied the whole Church, vers. 10. Neither would he keepe him longer in punishment, hauing once sorowed sufficiently, vers. 6. The Apostle therefore did neither binde nor release him at his owne pleasure, but as he saw repentance to be wrought in the offender.

The Protestants.

THe power which the Pope and popish Bishops do challenge vnto themselues, in giuing Pardons and Indulgences, is most blasphemous.

1. They doe take vpon them to release both the punishment of this life, and the paines of Purgatorie also: and say, that their pardons profite both the dead and the liuing, *Bull. Leon.* 10.

1. Contrarie to their owne Canons, *par.* 2. *caus.* 24. *qu.* 2. *c.* 2. *Gelasius: Ecclesia viuentes potest tantùm soluere, non mortuos:* The Church may loose or binde those which are liuing, but not the dead. And it is grounded vpon that saying of our Sauiour, *Whatsoeuer you binde in earth, &c. Super terram (inquit)* He saith vpon the earth: for hee that dieth being bound, *nusquam dicit absolui,* hee is nowhere, is absolued. And *Clemens* 5. reproueth certaine pardoners, and decreeth against them, which made them beleeue, that gaue them almes, *Quòd animas eorum (vt mendaciter asserunt) de purgatorio extrahant:* That they drew out of Purgatorie their friends soules, as they lyingly said: *Clement. lib.* 5. *tit.* 9. *c.* 2.

2. They pardon not onely the punishment, but the sinne both past, and to come, for dayes, yeeres, hundreds, thousands of yeeres: howsoeuer the Rhemists would beare vs in hand, that an indulgence is a release but of the punishment. Such was the first Iubile pardon graunted by *Boniface* 8. *anno* 1300. And another by *Leo* the 10. *anno* 1513.

3. *Clement* 6. in his bull of the Iubile yeere, saith thus, *Mandamus Angelis quatenus animam omnium*

viam accedentium, &c. We command the Angels, to carrie all the soules of those that come to Rome this yeere, out of Purgatorie into Paradise: *Et concedimus cruce signatis, vt ad eorum vota, duarum trium animas, quas vellent, è Purgatorio liberarent:* And we graunt to all those, that haue taken vpon them the holy Crosse, to deliuer two or three soules at their pleasure out of Purgatorie. See what monstrous blasphemies here are. See also the Boston pardons graunted by Pope *Innocent*, Pope *Iulie*, Pope *Clement*, which gaue them release of all their sins for fiue hundred yeeres, *Fox.p.*1178.

2. Contrarie to their owne Canons: *Clem.lib.5.tit.9.c.*2. Certain Pardoners, and Questors are condemned, *quia à pœna & culpa absoluant:* which tooke vpon them to absolue both from the fault and punishment.

3. They giue indulgences for temporal seruices; as for giuing towards Subsidies for the maintenance of warre, for building of bridges, and such like: for the which the Councell of Basil is reprehended, *epistol synod.*7. But the Apostle graunteth indulgence to the incestuous person onely because of his true sorrow, which testified his repentance, 2.Cor.2.7.

4. They tooke vpon them to grant plenarie and generall indulgences, as to all that do such and such things: as in the yeere of Iubile, to all, that visite Rome. So the Councel of Basil gaue plenarie indulgence to all resiant in the Councell, *sess.*45. Thus did not *Iohn Baptist*, who ministred Baptisme of repentance and remission of sinnes, (which is the true indulgence) not to all indifferently, but to those which confessed their sinnes, Matth.3.6. the rest hee rebuked, and threatned with Gods iudgements. Yea their owne Decrees testifie: *Distinct.*50.27. *Satis temerarius est, qui cunctis remissionem peccatorum se dare posse putet:* He is very rash, that thinketh he is able to giue remission of sinnes to all.

5. They graunt indulgences to many that are absent, and vnknowne, not examining their contrition and repentance: so did not our Sauiour, who vsed to heale those onely in whom hee saw faith, Mark.5.34. *Thy faith hath made thee whole*, Mark.9.23. Luk.7.50. Yea and their owne Canons say, *Peccati venia non datur nisi correcto:* Pardon of sinne is not granted, but to those which are amended: *sext.decretal.regul.iur.*5.

6. Their indulgences were restrained to seuerall limits and circuites: *Decret.Greg.lib.5.tit.*38. *c.*4. *Indulgentiæ non prosunt non subditis:* Indulgences doe not profite those which are not subiects to the Bishop, that is of his dioceese. But Christs indulgence is generall to all, Ioh.3.15. *Whosoeuer beleeueth in him shall not perish.*

7. They giue indulgence not for the time past only, but for the time to come, giuing as it were thereby a libertie to sin. Christ doth otherwise: after he had freed the adulterous woman, Ioh.8. he saith, *Goe and sinne no more:* he doth not absolue her for the time to come, but onely giueth her an admonition: See the Canon of *Gelasius* following.

8. Their indulgences did flye in euery corner like flyes in the ayre, or moates in the Sunne: whereof there hath been an ancient complaint: *Fiunt hodie tot indulgentiæ, &c.* There are so many indulgences now adaies, that they grow into contempt, *opusc.tripart.lib.*3.*c.*9. But the Scriptures make not saluation so easie or common a thing, but that euen the righteous doe finde it through much difficulrie obtained, 1.Pet.4.18.

9. By their indulgences they could giue power to other to deliuer soules, as before in the bull of *Clement* 6. but Christ gaue power only vnto the Apostles and Ministers to remit or retaine sins, to binde, or loose: they can haue no committies on this behalfe.

Fox.p.844. 10. And that which filled vp the measure of iniquitie, they set their pardons to sale as in Pope *Leo* his time, his pardoners for ten shillings would giue to any man power, to deliuer one soule at his pleasure out of Purgatorie.

Argum. The Scripture saith, that God onely forgiueth sinnes, Mark.2.17. And that Christ no otherwise, then as God, forgaue sinnes, vers.10. His Apostles only as his Ministers and Ambassadors, in his name, declare and pronounce remission of sinnes, 2.Corinth.5.19. Wherefore there is no such power giuen vnto men, at their pleasure to binde or loose.

De Baptism. lib.3.cap.18. *Augustine* saith, *Non secundum arbitrium hominum tenentur, aut soluuntur peccata, sed ad arbitrium Dei, & orationes sanctorum:* Sinnes are not loosed, or retained at the pleasure of men, but according to the will of God, and prayers of his Church.

Gelasius epistol.ad Sanct. Audium subtrito dolo non legitur, quod eorum voce deprimitur: date nobis veniam, dum tamen nos in errore duremus? Nescio inter quæ mundi prodigia hoc possit admitti: Remitti culpa de præterito potest, correctione sine dubio subsequente, &c. It was neuer heard of in the world (as they say,) giue vs pardon, but let vs continue in error still: this may bee well counted a monstrous thing: the fault that is past, may be forgiuen, if amendement of life follow after. This learned Bishop counteth it a monstrous thing, to forgiue sinnes to come, when still continuing in sin: but this is an vsuall practise in the Popes Consistorie at Rome, to forgiue sinnes for many yeeres to come.

This doctrine also hath beene sealed: *Thomas Clarke* persecuted for saying, the Pope hath no authoritie

authoritie to giue pardon, and to release any mans soule from sinne, and so from paine, *Fox.* pag. 830.

Iohn Fortune Martyr, being asked if he did not beleeue, that the Pope had power to forgiue sins, answered; The Pope is but a man, and the Prophet *David* saith, *No man can deliuer his brother, nor make agreement for him vnto God*, Psal. 49. *Fox* pag. 1918.

Here also may be remembred, how one *William Button* apposed a pardoner with this question: *Whether the holy father the Pope could deliuer soules out of Purgatorie? There is no doubt of that said the other. Why doth he not then (quoth Button) of charitie deliuer all soules from thence?* For this speech the good man was troubled, *Fox* pag. 1230.

This also was Master *Latimers* question: *If by the Pope, who could with a word of his mouth (as they say) haue spoyled all Purgatorie; doth suffer notwithstanding so much money to be beset about his way, and to spare vs of so many Patrones in heauen, as he might deliuer out of Purgatorie*, pag. 1748. col. 1.

The Papists.

1. THe satisfactorie and meritorious workes of the Saints which doe abound, being communicable, and applicable to the faithfull that want, are the very ground of the indulgences and pardons of the Church, and the very treasure thereof, and to be dispensed according to euerie mans neede by the pastors of Church, 2. *Corinth.* 1. *sect.* 5. *Coloss.* 1 *sect.* 4. *Rhemist.* 71. Error

The Protestants.

HEre are many blasphemies and vntruths couched together.

1 That a mans penalties may exceede and be greater than his sinnes, and so his abounding may supplie another mans want. For thus the Rhemists say: *Which cannot stand with the iust of God, to punish a man more then he hath deserued.* And it is contrarie to the Scriptures: *Enter not in iudgement with thy seruant: for in thy sight shall none that liueth be iustified*, Psal. 143. 2. And Iob saith, If the Lord should call him to account, he should not answere one to a thousand, 9. 3.

2 How can the Church-gouernours dispense the merites of one to another? Who made them stewards of another mans good? Ye say also the contrarie your selues, That the abounding passions of the Saints are applicable to others by the sufferers intention, *Rhem.* 1. *Coloss.* 1. 2. Then not by the Churches dispensation.

3 It is a great blasphemie, that one may be holpen by another mans merits, and it doth derogate from the death of Christ, whose only merits are the treasure and store-house of the Church: The most righteous man that euer was, can but saue his owne soule, Ezech. 14. 14. And that onely by Christ.

Augustine saith: *Vnusquisque pro se rationem reddet, nec alieno testimonio quisquam adiuuatur apud Dominum vix sibi quisque sufficit. &c.* Euery man shall giue account for himselfe, before God no man is holpen by the testimonie of another: the testimonie of his owne conscience doth hardly suffice for himselfe. In Matth. serm. 22.

The Papists.

3. THe dispensing of pardons and indulgences, is onely committed, they say, to the chiefe Magistrates the Popes and Bishops: and as the Bishops in their Dioceese haue especiall cases reserued to themselues, wherein inferiour Priests are not to deale; so the Pope hath also his proper reseruations, wherein other Prelates are not to meddle, *Concil. Trident. sess.* 14. *cap.* 7. The cases reserued to the Pope are 51. in number, *Fox* pag. 785. The Bishop of Paris, *ann.* 1515. reserued these cases to himselfe, to dispense in murder, witchcraft, sacriledge, heresie, simonie, adulterie, *ex Tilem. Helbus. lac.* 9. *de pœnitent err.* 63. Likewise the yeeres of their pardons are limited: Bishops may not exceede 40. daies pardon: the Pope may be lauish in his hundreds and thousands: yea, and this reseruation of cases, standeth not onely with the externall policie of the Church, but is of force euen before God, *Concil. Trident: sess.* 14. *cap.* 7. 74. Error.

The Protestants.

WE will not much contend with them about reseruation of cases, for we acknowledge no such power to giue pardons, or indulgences, either in superiour or inferiour Priests: yet we will shew how this deuice of theirs standeth not with their owne doctrine.

Argum. 1. It is a greater power to remit the sinne, than to release the punishment: but euery Priest hath the greater power, as they say, to remit sinnes, yea as fully as hath the Pope himselfe: *Alwin* in his booke of pardons, *cap.* 2. *Ergo*, why haue they not the lesse power, which is by indulgence to dispense with the punishment? And that of these two, the remission of sinnes is the greater, is confessed by the *Rhemist.* 2. *Cor.* 2. *sect.* 6.

Argum. 2. In the point of death, the reseruation of cases hath no place: but at that time euery Priest may absolue from all manner sinnes and punishment, *Concil. Trident sess.* 14. *cap.* 7. But euerie houre is with some, and ought to be with all, the point of death: because wee are vncertaine when it commeth, and therefore ought alwaies to be in a readines. Therefore euen by their owne rule euery Priest hath at all times authoritie to absolue in all cases.

Againe,

Againe, if theſe wordes of Chriſt bee ſpoken to all Miniſters and Preachers of the Goſpell, Ioh. 20. 22. *Whoſe ſinnes ye retaine, &c.* (which cannot be denied) to them all then is committed equally that power of binding and looſing, which is exerciſed by the preaching of the word.

Their owne Canons doe giue authoritie to euery Prieſt to enioyne penance; *Decr. Greg. lib. 5. tit. 38. c. 12.* and they do bind euery man, *iniunctam ſibi pœnitentiam adimplere*, to fulfill the penance inioyned; or els, *viuens ab eccleſiæ ingreſſu arcetur*: He that refuſeth muſt be kept out of the church as long as he liueth, and want Chriſtian buriall, when he is dead. If euery Prieſt then by their law hath power to inioyne penance; why not alſo to releaſe penance? Wherefore herein they doe their Prieſts wrong.

And ſeeing we are entred to ſpeake of the abuſe and vſurpation of the keyes in the popiſh Church, as in reſeruation of caſes, and ſuch like, I will briefly touch other notable abuſes and corruptions among them in the diſpenſation of the keyes, and eſpecially concerning excommunication: wherein they apparantly tranſgreſſe their owne canons.

ABVSES IN THE POPISH CHVRCH, IN THE adminiſtration of the Keyes, and namely about Excommunication.

1. THe ancient Canons forbid, that the dead ſhould be anathematized, or excommunicate; *Anaſtaſ. decr. 2. Monentes nos Apoſtolus, &c.* The Apoſtle admoniſhing vs, &c. leaſt any offence might riſe in the Church, while we goe about to iudge of them, which are paſſed out of this life, &c. *Whether we liue or die, we are the Lords: Why doeſt thou iudge another mans ſeruant?* And to the ſame effect *Paulinus* thus anſwereth *Iuſtinian* the Emperour; *Quibus recitabitur ſententia damnationis noſtræ, &c.* To whome ſhall the ſentence of our condemnation be recited? To what end ſhould we warre with the dead? &c. But nothing is more common with Papiſts, than to excommunicate the dead.

2. Excommunication in time paſt in the purer ages of the Church, was not vſed to be denounced againſt Kings: *Epiſtol. Laodienſ. cont. Paſchal. 2. Si quis vetus & nouum teſtamentum, &c.* If any man turne ouer the old and new teſtament, he ſhall euidently find, *quod aut nimis, aut difficile poſſunt*, that kings and princes may hardly or not at all be excommunicate; they may be admoniſhed, reproued, &c. Behold Pope *Hildebrand* was the firſt, *qui leuauit ſacerdotalem lanceam contra diadema regum*, that lift vp the prieſtly weapon againſt the crown of Princes. But now they take vpon them at their pleaſure to excommunicate princes, and it hath been the practiſe of the Popes a long time.

3. They did not vſe of auncient time to excommunicate vpon diſpleaſure, but for ſome notable ſinne: *Origen. tract. 24. in Matth. Eſt videre multos doctores, &c.* Wee may ſee many doctors and teachers, that ſuffer not to enter into the Church, &c. *Non propter peccata, &c.* They doe not excommunicate for ſinne, but of diſpleaſure and contention; and they are better many times than themſelues, &c. But this was vſuall in Poperie, to excommunicate men vpon diſpleaſure, as *Arundell* Archbiſhop of Canterburie ſuſpended all the Churches in London, that did not ring their belles at his comming: *Fox. p. 554.*

4. The vſe hath been, that none for light or ſmall offences ſhould be excommunicate. *Concil. Aurel. 5. can. 2. Nullus ſacerdotum quemquam recta fidei hominem, &c.* That no prieſt for light cauſes or matters, ſuſpend any man from the communion: But the contrarie is practiſed among them; as *Courtney* Archbiſhop of Canterburie ſuſpended certaine poore men, becauſe they brought litter for his horſe in ſackes. *Fox. p. 555.*

5. It hath been decreed, *Diem peremptorium ad primam citationem non ſtatuendum, maxime cum de rebus Eccleſiaſticis agitur*: That a peremptorie day ſhould not be ſet vpon the firſt citation, eſpecially in Eccleſiaſticall matters, but that the partie ſhould be further expected: *Lateranenſ. ſub Alexand. 3. part. 2. c. 9.* The contrarie is with them practiſed, vpon the firſt citation to excommunicate.

6. Likewiſe it was decreed, *Penitùs interdicimus, vt cauſa cupiditatis nullus, &c.* We do inhibite, that none vpon couetouſnes doe excommunicate, or abſolue, eſpecially where the cuſtome is, that the excommunicate partie when he is abſolued, ſhould pay money. *Lateranen. ſub Innocent. 3. c. 49.* But they vſe to excommunicate for want of their fees.

7. Another fault before this time complained of, *quod tot hodie ſiunt excommunicationes per officiales*: That there are now ſo many excommunications by officials, that they are contemned and turned to laughter: *Opuſc. tripart. lib. 3. c. 9. Senonenſ. concil. decret. mor. 31.* We ſtraightly charge, *vt caueant ab earum multiplicatione, &c.* That they take heed of multiplying excommunications, *ne in vilipendium deducantur*, that they be not made nought worth. But nothing is more common with them, than for popiſh curſes and excommunications to flye abroad.

8. *Lateranenſ.*

8. *Lateranens. sub Alexand.* 3. *part.* 1. *c.* 3. *Nisi admonitione canonica præmissa, &c.* That the prelates should not pronounce the sentence of excommunication, but vpon canonicall admonition going before; so also was it decreed, *Concil. Oxonien. sub Stephano*: But it is their vse, to excommunicate at the first, without any other admonition.

9. It hath been the vse, that for publicke and notorious sinnes, men should be excommunicate: *Concil. Cabilon. sub Carol. c.* 25. *Si quis publicè peccat, &c.* If any man sinne publikely, *secundum ordinem canonum pro merito suo excommunicetur, &c.* let him according to the canons be excommunicated for his demerite, and so be reconciled: But it is a rare thing with them to excommunicate for adulterie, blasphemie, vsurie, and such like, but to enioyne a little popish penance, and so to reconcile them.

10. *Carthag. 4. c.* 84. *Episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi Ecclesiam, &c.* Let the bishop forbid none to enter into the Church, and to heare the word, whether a Gentile, Iewe, or heretick, vntill the Masse, &c. which was then nothing else, but the communion: But with them excommunicate persons are excluded from hearing the word at all, wherby they might be brought to repentance for their sinne.

11. None in the purer times of the Church were excommunicate, before their cause was heard: *Epistol. Leodiens. Nec à Papa Romano nos excommunicatos credimus, &c.* Neither doe we beleeue, that we are excommunicate of the Pope, for we know he is not ignorant, what *Nicodemus* saith; our lawe condemneth no man, vnlesse it heare him first: But they vse to excommunicate without presence of the partie, or hearing of the cause.

12. It is their law, that *excommunicatus non potest excommunicare*, that they which are excommunicate, cannot excommunicate others. *Caus.* 24. *qu.* 1. *c.* 4. But the Papists stand *ipso facto* excommunicate, as all heretickes and idolators doe: and Master *Beza* saith, he told them to their face at Pissiacum, that there was none of all the popish hierarchie, which by the puetand auncientrions of the Church is not *ipso facto* to be pronounced excommunicate. *Epist.* 19. p. 28.

13. Their owne canons make two kinds of excommunications: the greater, which is *à communione fidelium*, from the communion of the faithfull; and the lesse, *à perceptione sacramentorum*; from the receiuing of the Sacraments: *Decr. Greg. lib.* 5. *tit.* 39. *c.* 59. And the greater excommunication is not to be vsed, but vpon great offences: *Synod. Colonien. part.* 13. *cap.* 5. *Cùm excommunicatio pœna sit, quæ nulla maior in Ecclesia*: Seeing excommunication is a punishment, when the which there is no greater in the Church, let no man be excommunicate, *nisi propter peccata lethalia*, but for deadly sinne. Now the contrarie is practised with them, which draw out euen the greater excommunication vpon euery small occasion, neuer vsing the lesse at all: And that it is the greater excommunication, both their practise sheweth, in separating not from the communion only, but from the entrance into the Church; and the Canon likewise witnesseth, *excommunicatio simpliciter lata*, an excommunication simply pronounced, without any condition, is vnderstood of the greater: *Decr. Greg. lib.* 5. *tit.* 39. *c.* 59.

14. By the auncient Canons, it is not lawfull to haue any fellowship with excommunicate persons: they all stand excommunicate, *qui cibo, potu, osculo, &c.* which doe communicate with them in meate or drinke, &c. *Caus.* 11. *q.* 3. *c.* 3. *Nicolaus. Sine spe sit reconciliationis*, He is without hope to be reconciled, that doth companie with the excommunicate. *C.* 7. *Martin. Nequidem vel seruitium eis loquendum*: They must not openly or secretly talke with them. *C.* 18. *Idem*, It is not lawfull to go to the house of one excommunicate. *C.* 26. *Communicare non licet ijs*: It is not lawfull to communicate with those, that keepe companie with the excommunicate. *C.* 25. *Greg.* Now then the Canons beeing thus strict, that not onely they that keepe companie with the excommunicate, but they which communicate with the companions of the excommunicate, that doe eate, drinke, and talke with them, doe stand also excommunicate: by this meanes, thousands of people (excommunications being so common as they are) shall stand subiect at once to the sentence of excommunication.

15. Because excommunication was counted so hetuie a sentence: *anathema, æterna mortis damnatio*: It is the damnation of eternall death, to be anathematized or excommunicate. *Caus.* 11. *q.* 3. *c.* 41. In the same place it is decreed, that the sentence of excommunication, *non ferenda sine conscientia Episcopi*, should not be giuen without the knowledge of the bishop or Archbishop himselfe. But the contrarie is practised amongst them; euery officiall, deputie, or suffragane, hath as great power to excommunicate as the bishop himselfe.

16. Beside, excommunicate persons (by the Canons and Imperiall constitutions) are depriued of all priuiledges and immunities: *Excommunicandus non audiendus in iudicio*: An excommunicate person is not to be heard in iudgement, *decret. Greg. lib.* 5. *tit.* 39. *c.* 21. *Non sunt homicidæ*. They are not guiltie of murder, that take armes against the excommunicate: *Caus.* 23. *q.* 5. *c.* 47. *Vrban. In nullum testimonium recipiendi*: They must not be receiued as witnesses in any cause: *Calixt. epist.* 2. They are subiect *Bannо imperiali* to the imperiall outlawrie, if they stand one

yeere

yeere excommunicate: *Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.13.Frederic.* Who seeth not, what inconueniences will ensue, that thousands being wrapped in the sentence of excommunication at once, as I shewed *artic.14.* shall also incurre the penaltie and danger of the Princes lawes.

17 It is prohibited by the Canons, that any man should excommunicate in his owne cause, *Pro vindicta propriæ injuriæ, quod sacris regulis prohibetur:* to be reuenged for any iniurie done to himselfe, which is forbidden by the sacred rules: *caus.23.qu.4.c.27.Gregor.* The contrary is practised by popish Prelates: as see an example before *artic.4.*

18. *Nicen.2.can.4.* It is decreed, that no man, *Propter auri exactionem vel alicuius alius fortè venerandum templum claudere:* Should for the exacting of gold or siluer, or such like shut vp the Church doores, that is, interdict it, that the diuine mysteries be not solemnized in it: The popish practise is contrary, who for the omission of the least dutie, or fee, belonging to them, and vpon other small occasions, do interdict Churches; an example hereof see in *Arundell artic.3.*

19. By the old Canons, he that was excommunicate, was solemnely reconciled to the Church, *Terra prostratus veniam postulat:* Falling downe to the ground, he must aske forgiuenes: and publike prayer was to be made for him in this manner: *Præsta quæsumus Domine huic famulo tuo &c.* Graunt Lord, we pray thee to this thy seruant worthie fruite of repentance, that he may be restored to the holie Church, from whose integritie hee hath erred by sinning, *caus.11.qu.3.c.108.* But now among them absolution is done in secret, without any notice giuen, or submission made before the congregation.

20. Lastly, to end where I began, in time past the Presbyters were ioyned with the Bishop in the administration of the keyes of the Church, as in binding, and loosing: but the Pope & popish prelates were the first that brought in reseruation of cases, and appropriated al to themselues, excluding the rest, as it may appeare by this reseruation of cases: and for the truth of antiquitie in this behalfe, these authorities I had at hand.

1. *Caus.11.qu.3.c.106. Debent 12 sacerdotes episcopum circumstare, &c.* Twelue other Priests must stand by the Bishop, when hee pronounceth excommunication, &c. *C.108.* Likewise, when the penitent partie was to be reconciled, the Bishop must be assisted with as many.

2. *Caus.12.qu.2.c.51. Nec episcopi sine presbyteris, nec presbyteri sine episcopo res ecclesiæ vendant, &c.* Neither the Bishop without the Presbyters, nor the Presbyters without the Bishop must sell the goods of the Church. If they were ioyned together in dispensing of the temporall goods of the Church, much more in the spirituall.

3. They were ioyned together in deciding and ending of controuersies of the Church. *Caus.15.qu.7.c.2. Præsentibus senioribus episcopus, &c.* The Bishop shall heare the causes of the Clergie, the Seniors or Elders being present. *C.6. Nullus causam audiat episcopus, &c.* Let the Bishop heare no mans cause without the presence of the Clergie. *Decret.Gregor.lib.5.tit.7.c.9. Latum 3. Episcopi cum consilio Clericorum, &c.* The Bishops with the counsell of the Clergie must iudge of heretikes.

4. *Innocentius 3.* decreed, that *omnis utriusq; sexus, &c.* that euery one of both sexes vpon paine of excommunication, should confesse *proprio sacerdoti*, to their owne Priest, and should fulfill *iniunctam pœnitentiam*, penance inioyned by him, *decret.Greg.lib.5.tit.38.c.12.*

5. *Synod.August.c.19. Potest quilibet confessor pro peccatorum magnitudine, ex causa, quæ sibi iusta videbitur, ad tempus communione interdicere:* Euery confessor may according to the greatnes of the sinnes, as he shall see iust cause, for a time to interdict from the Communion. If then the Priest haue power to binde, why hath he not power to loose? and if to loose, then also to binde? Their owne Canons allow them so inioyne penance, to interdict the Communion; why not also to giue indulgence.

6 *Origen* saith: *Episcopi & presbyteri, quibus sunt credita cathedræ, qui tradunt ecclesias, quibus non oportet, &c.* Bishops and Presbyters, to whom the chaires or seates of the Church are committed, which doe deliuer Churches to those, whom they should not, are they that sell Doues, &c. Hee saith, that to both of them the chaire of the Church is committed: *Origen.tract.15.in Matth.*

7. *Ambrose* thus writeth: *Lib.2.de Cain & Abel.c.4. Remittuntur peccata per Dei verbum, cuius Leuites interpres & executor est, Leuites igitur minister remissionis est:* Sinnes are remitted by the word of God, whereof the Leuite is the interpreter, and executor, the Leuite then is the minister of remission.

8. To this agreeth our English confession, *Harm.sect.11.* Seeing one manner of word is giuen to all, and one onely key belongeth to all, we say, there is but one onely power of all Ministers, as concerning opening and shutting.

9. To this accordeth a reuerent learned man of our Church, writing thus: After Bishops were appointed, &c. at length by custome Presbyters were vtterly excluded from all aduice and counsell, whereof *Ambrose* complaineth, and Bishops onely entermedled with the regiment of the Church. This manner of subiection in Presbyters, and prelation in Bishops, grew onely in conti-

nuance

sance of time, and not by any ordinance of Christ or his Apostles: B. *Bilson. Of the regiment of the Church. p.*237. Whereby this reuerend author insinuateth, as the truth is, that at the beginning Presbyters were ioyned with Bishops in the regiment of the Church and dispensation of the keyes, howsoeuer it is come to passe, that they are now vtterly excluded.

We haue the testimonie of the holy Martyrs: *Richard Fourm* holy Martyr, In preaching of the word is all the power contained of binding and loosing, *Fox* p. 913. col. 2.

Iames Bainham Martyr: He that preacheth the word of God, and liueth thereafter, hath the key that bindeth and looseth both in heauen and earth: the which key is the same Scripture that is preached, and the Pope hath no other key to binde or loose, but the key of Scripture, *Fox* p. 1029. col. 1.

THE NINTH QVESTION, OF THE CEREmonies and circumstances of penance.

The Papists.

1. THey inioyne their penitent Clients to poll their heads, and their women to weare a vaile, to goe in blacke, to put on sackcloth, to looke sowrely: and such like presumptions they haue concerning the habite of those that doe penance, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de pœnitent. cap.* 22. 75. Error.

The Protestants.

OVr Sauiour cleane contrarie biddeth his Disciples, not to looke sowrely, nor to disfigure themselues, when they fast and repent, or to shew any other outward token of their sorrow, but to doe it secretly betweene themselues and God, to wash their face, to annoynt themselues withall, that it appeare not to men that they fast, Matth. 6. 16. 17.

Augustine also answering a certaine obiection, that yong men newly maried might make: How can I haue my head or chaunge my habite? saith thus, *Vera conuersio sufficit tibi, sine vestimenti immutatione*: The true conuersion of the heart may suffice thee without changing of thy vesture. De tempor. serm. 67.

The Papists.

2. THey inioyned them to fast bread and water certaine daies in the weeke, to lie hard, to abstaine from mariage, or to doe some great almes-deedes to satisfie for their sinne, *Bellarm. ibid.* to goe a pilgrimage, and such like workes of penance were prescribed them. 76. Error.

The Protestants.

TRue repentance consisteth not in such outward exercise of the bodie, but is a conuersion rather of the heart. It was the manner of hypocrites, idolators and superstitious men, to seeke to appease their gods with afflicting of their flesh, as the Gentiles did cut their haire, Deut. 14. 1. Baals priests did launce their flesh. 1. King. 18. 28.

Argum. What is to bee thought of such punishing of the carkasse, Saint *Paul* sheweth, Col. 2. 23. He calleth it voluntarie religion or superstition in not sparing the bodie: when men do not vse such outward exercises of fasting and abstinence for the chastisement of the flesh, to subdue it to the spirit, but with an opinion of meriting thereby, preferring them before the faith and conuersion of the heart, as the Papists doe.

Augustine saith, *Non sit satis, quòd doleat, sed ex fide doleat, & non semper doluisse, doleat*: Let it not suffice to be sorrowfull, but let his sorrow proceede of faith, and let it grieue him, that hee is not alwaies grieued for his sin. So then true repentance is especially an inward work of faith, rather then in exercise of the bodie, and it ought alwaies to continue. Wherefore it consisteth not in such laborious workes, which if a man should long endure, he should end his life sooner than repentance. De pœnit. cap. 13.

Their owne Canons thus testifie: *Caus.* 33 *qu.* 2. *c.* 13. 14. *Leo, Coniugia post pœnitentiam legitimam non ingentur*: Let not mariage bee denied after due penance. Concerning the interdicting of meate, the Councell of *Cabilon. c.* 35. *Quidam, quibus in pœnitentia vini & carnium vsus, &c.* Some, to whom in penance the vse of wine and flesh is interdicted, they not changing their mind but their meate, doe line more delicately of other things. *Spiritualis autem pœnitentia maxime in pœnitentibus vigere debet*: But spirituall repentance ought most of all to flourish in penitent persons.

And against this heauie yoke of penance in prescribing so many superstitious obseruations, thus standeth in the Canon: *Caus.* 26 *qu.* 7. *c.* 12. *Homini, cui graue pondus pœnitentiæ imponis, &c. necesse est, &c.* The man, vpon whom you impose so heauie a yoke of penance, must either of necessitie reiect your penance, or receiuing it, and being not able to beare it, hee must be more scandalized or offended.

The Papists.

3. THey measure their penance by number of yeeres and daies: They haue their *quadragenas*, fortie daies penance: *septenas*, seuen yeeres penance: *Ex Tilemon. Hessus. loc.* 9. *de pœnitent.* 78. Error.

*Err.*83. And they lengthen or cut short the time of penance at their pleasure, to continue three, seuen, or ten yeeres, yea sometime more. *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *de pœnitent. c.*22.

The Protestants.

THat true repentance is not to be measured by the time, but by the right sorrow and contrition of the offender, Saint *Paul* teacheth vs, who writeth for the young man to be released, because of his great and sufficient heauines for his fault, 2. Cor. 2. 7.

De tempor. serm. 66. *Augustine* also saith, *Pœnitentia vera, non annorum numero, sed amaritudine animi censetur: pœnitentia quamuis sit exigui temporis, &c.* True repentance is not measured by number of yeeres, but by the bitternes of the soule: though it be but for a short time, yet it is not despised before that iudge which regardeth the heart.

Synod. Cabilonens. sub Carolo. cap. 34. *Non pensanda est pœnitentia quantitate temporis, sed ardore mentis:* Repentance must not be weighed by the quantitie of time, but feruencie of minde.

Can. 35. *Multi, quod sine dolore dicendum non est, in pœnitentia non tam peccati remissionem, quam temporis constituti expectant expletionem:* Many, which wee say not without griefe, in repentance respect not so much the remitting of their sinne, as the fulfilling of the set or appointed time of penance.

Decret. par. 2. *caus.* 26. *qu.* 6. *c.* 12. *Iulius: Deus inspector cordis, non temporis:* God is a beholder of the heart, not of the time. *C.* 13. *Celestin. Vera conuersio mente æstimanda, non tempore:* True conuersion is to be measured by the minde, not the time. *Distinct.* 1. *de pœnitent. c.* 84. *Non tam consideranda mensura temporis, quam doloris:* The measure of the time is not so much to be considered, as of the griefe of the heart.

THE FIFTEENTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, OF MATRIMONIE.

THe seuerall questions belonging to this Controuersie are these:

1 Whether Matrimonie be a Sacrament properly so called.

2 Of Polygamie, that is, the marying of many wiues either successiuelie, or at once.

3 Of the causes of diuorce, and whether it be lawfull to marie after diuorce.

4 Of the degrees in mariage: First, the manner of supputation or accounting of degrees. Secondly, whether the degrees forbidden, Leuit. 18. may be dispensed with. Thirdly, whether any other degrees may be by humane law prohibited.

5 Of the impediments of mariage, of two sorts: first, of those that may hinder the contract of mariage onely. Secondly, of such impediments as may both dissolue the contract and the mariage also consummate.

6 The comparison of mariage and virginitie, whether either be preferred before the other before God.

7 Of the times of mariage prohibited.

8 Of the ceremonies and rites of Mariage.

Of these in their order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER Matrimonie be a Sacrament.

The Papists.

76. Error. THat it is properly and rightly a Sacrament instituted of God, and not deuised of men, *Concil. Trid. sess.* 24. *can.* 1.

Argum. 1. Ephes. 5. 32. This is a great Sacrament: Matrimonie is here a signe of an holy thing, representing the coniunction of Christ, and his Church: *Ergo*, a sacrament.

Answ. First, the words are thus to be read rather, *This is a great mysterie.* Or if wee reade sacrament,

ment, they haue no great aduantage, seeing they are not ignorant, that the originall word *mysterie*, which they translate sacrament, is attributed to other things then sacraments: as 1. Timoth. 3. vers. 16. *Mysterie of godlines*: Apocal. 17. 5. *A mysterie great Babylon.* Neither doe they themselues much vrge this argument. Secondly, the Apostle saith not, that Matrimonie is a mysterie, but I speake of Christ and his Church, vers. 32. Thirdly, Matrimonie wee confesse to be instituted of God, and to be a signe of a holie thing: yet no sacrament: for so was the Sabboth ordained of God, and signified the rest in Christ, Heb. 4. 8. yet was it no sacrament. Wherefore all significatiue and mysticall signes are not sacraments.

Bellarmine replyeth, that this mysterie whereof the Apostle speaketh, is to be applyed vnto marriage, as it is a signe of the coniunction of Christ and his Church. First, *Hierome* and *Chrysostome* so expound it; and *Nazianzene* likewise. Secondly, this Pronoune demonstratiue, *hoc*, must be referred to that which went before, where he spake of marriage. Thirdly, the argument of the whole chapter sheweth it, for by the example of Christ and his Church, the Apostle exhorteth men to loue their wiues; but if this mysterie appertained nothing at all to marriage, the Apostles argument faileth. Fourthly, the Apostle saith εἰς Χριστὸν, not ἐν Χριστῷ; not *in Christ*, but *to Christ*: shewing hereby, that the mysterie in marriage is referred to Christ. *Bellar. de Matrim. c. 2.*

Contra. First, *Hierom* speaketh onely of the marriage of *Adam* and *Eue*. *Adam Christum, &c.* *Adam* prefigured Christ; *Eue* the Church: this maketh nothing for marriage now: for that marriage was before sinne in the state of innocencie, and before the time of grace: it followeth not it was a figure then, and therefore a signe now. *Chrysostome* onely saith, *Magnum mysterium, relinquens qui genuit, &c.* This is a great mysterie, that woman forsaking him that begat her, should cleaue to her husband, &c. he speaketh not of any mysterie in marriage referred to Christ. *Nazianzene* rather maketh against them: *Scio, quia locus iste, &c.* I know, that this place is full of Sacraments; but thinke it to be vnderstood of Christ and his Church: he saith no more than the Apostle doth, making no mention of marriage.

Secondly, this demonstratiue τοῦτο, is in Scripture referred to that which followeth, as well as to that which goeth before: as Mark. 16. 17. *These signes*, ταῦτα, *shall follow them that beleeue*; and then the signes are rehearsed.

Thirdly, it followeth not, because the Apostle draweth his exhortation from the loue of Christ to his Church, that whatsoeuer hee speaketh of Christ and his Church, should be represented in marriage: as vers. 26. *He gaue himselfe for it, that he might sanctifie it, and cleanse it, &c.* Can he shew any such mysterie in marriage?

Fourthly, he sheweth his ignorance in the Greeke tongue: for εἰς is often times taken for ἐν, in: εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, To sit in the Church: *Aeschin.* εἰς τὴν στήλην, To write in a pillar, *Demost.* So that in this place εἰς, *to*, may very well be taken for, ἐν, *in*.

Lastly, *Ambrose* vpon this place, *Mysterium sacramentum grande, &c.* This mysterie is a great Sacrament, in the vnity of the man and woman: *nec hoc produi, &c.* yet he bringeth not forth this, but rendreth another cause of the Church and the Sauiour.

Argum. 2. Matrimonie giueth grace of sanctification to the parties married. Shee shall be saued in bearing of children, if they continue in faith and loue, 1. Timoth. 2. 15. These are the graces giuen by matrimonie: *Ergo*, a Sacrament.

Ans. First, we denie that any sacraments giue or conferre grace, they are instruments onely of grace. Secondly, wee also graunt, that by matrimonie God giueth to the faithfull this speciall grace, To liue in holines and purenesse, from the filthie pollution of the flesh: but the sacraments are seales of spirituall graces, and serue for the encrease of faith: it is not sufficient to be a meanes of any common gift, but of the spirituall and iustifying grace to make a sacrament. Thirdly, wherefore if by faith and loue here they vnderstand onely the fidelitie and dutie of wedlocke, they are not those spirituall graces, whereof sacraments are seales: if wee take them for the true faith and loue, which are the common graces of the faithfull, as the very meaning is, they are as well to be had out of wedlocke, as in it. Lastly, if they will receiue *Hieromes* exposition of this place (which I doe not greatly vrge) they can haue no colour at all out of this place; for this sentence *Si permanserint*, If they continue, he referreth to the children: *Si illos erudierint in fide, &c.* If they bring them vp in faith and loue, &c. And this seemeth to be more agreeable to the letter, because here the Apostle chaungeth the number, speaking in the plurall, *If they continue*: but before in the singular; *Shee shall be saued, &c.* And where it is obiected, That then the saluation of the women should depend vpon the faith of their children: the answer is, That the Apostle speaketh not of the causes of saluation, but of remoouing the impediments, that women notwithstanding bearing of children in sorrow, which was laid vpon them for a punishment shall be saued; their bearing of children shall be no impediment vnto their saluation, if they haue a care to bring them vp well. If therefore *Hieromes* interpretation beare any credite with them, *aduers. Iouinian.* the graces here named, doe appertaine to the children, not to the women.

The Protestants.

THat matrimonie is no sacrament of the Gospell, speaking now properly, and vnderstanding a sacrament, for the seale of the grace of God in the remission of our sinnes by Christ, it is thus prooued:

Argum. 1. Matrimonie was instituted by God, before sinne in Paradise, therefore it can be no sacrament of the Gospell.

Matrimonie also may be betweene Infidels, who are not capable of the sacraments of the Church: *Ergo, Argum. Luther. Caluin.*

Bellarm. answereth: 1. the ioyning together of *Adam* and *Eue*, had no promise of grace, or spirituall benediction, but onely a corporall: *Increase and multiply*: and therefore there is great difference betweene that marriage, and ours now: *Bellarm.*

Contra. 1. Looke what promise of grace the marriage of Christians now hath, the same had matrimonie in Paradise: as marriage hath now a promise of fœcunditie and mutuall comfort, and to be a remedie against vncleanesse: the two first were promised in Paradise: *Fœcunditie*, Gen. 1. 28. mutuall helpe and comfort, 2. 20. the third was not then needfull, sinne as yet not being knowne in the world. Secondly, S. *Paul* speaking of the marriage of the faithfull, Ephes. 5. 31. vseth the same forme of wordes which *Adam* did at the very first institution, *Therefore shall a man leaue father and mother, &c.* hereby shewing the institution and substance of that matrimonie, and ours, to be all one. Thirdly, the master of the Sentences saith. *Lib. 4. dist. 2. b. Coniugium est peccatum institutum est id sacramentum*: Marriage was instituted before sinne, to be a sacrament. *Distinct. 22. c. Sacramentum pœnitentiæ, sicut & coniugij ante tempus gratia à primordia humani generis fuit*: The sacrament of penance, as likewise the sacrament of marriage, were from the beginning of mankind before the time of grace: then it followeth, that matrimonie is no sacrament of the Gospell, being instituted before.

Bellarm. 2. The matrimonie betweene Infidels is but a ciuill contract to performe the duty of nature: but the marriage of Christians is more, *Bellar lib. 1. de Matrimon. cap. 5.*

Contra. Though Christians know, how better to vse marriage, than Infidels; yet the end and scope of them both is all one, as for mutuall comfort, for propagation, and to auoid fornication: these be the chiefe ends of marriage, which in some sort are to be found among Infidels: and therefore it is no sacrament.

Argum. 2. Our aduersaries are contrarie to themselues: for they call matrimonie a prophanation of Orders, *Martin. sect. 15. cap. 11.* And they say it is more tollerable for a Priest to keepe many concubines, than to marrie: *Pighius ex Tileman. Hesshus. loc. 21. Err. 2.* Doe these fellowes meane in good sooth, that matrimonie is a sacrament, which they make so vile, polluted, and vncleane a thing?

Pope *Siricius* also applyeth this saying of S. *Paul*, against marriage of Ministers, *They that are in the flesh, cannot please God, Epist. ad Himerium Tarraconens.* But if matrimonie were a sacrament, why should it not agree with Orders, one sacrament with another?

Bellarm. answereth, that *Siricius* condemneth not marriage, but sacriledge, that is, the vnlawfull marriage of ministers. Secondly, it cannot be denyed, but that in the act of matrimonie there is vncleannesse, *& turpitudo*, filthinesse: for why else should the priest say to *David, Keep thy selfe from women?* 1. Sam. 21. And what else is the cause, why men are ashamed to exercise this act before others? and the Apostle saith, *That the virgine careth for the things of the Lord, &c. that she may be holy both in bodie and spirit*, 1. Cor. 7. 34. *Ergo*, they haue an holinesse in bodie, which the married haue not: and therefore in some sense it may be said of marriage: They that are in the flesh, cannot please God: *resp. ad arg. 2.*

Contra. First, 1. the marriage of ministers is commendable, and allowable by the word of God, as I haue shewed before in that controuersie: and the Scripture saith, Hebr. 13. 4. *Marriage is honorable among all men*: 2. againe, that place Rom. 8. 8. They that are in the flesh, is egregiously abused: for the Apostle speaketh not there of marriage, but of the sinfull workes of the flesh: 3. *They that are in the flesh, are not subiect to the law of God, neither can be*, v. 7. *they are not Christs*, which say thus if ye dare of married persons: 4. the Apostle also speaking to such as were married men, as to *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, whome he greeteth by name, Rom. 16. 3. saith, v. 9. *Ye are not in the flesh but in the spirit.*

Secondly, 1. how far is this fellow from the heresie of the Marcionites & Tatianites, they counted marriage vnlawfull, & he calleth it vncleane: 2. the priest speaketh of a legall kind of cleanlines, as in that respect the virgine *Mary* was to be purified, Luc. 2. 22. will ye therefore iudge her vncleane? 3. neither is euery thing done in secret, vncleane: Christ biddeth vs to pray in secret, Matt. 6. and a man is oft ashamed, that his humble behauiour should be seene in praier, is it therefore vncleane? modestie also teacheth man to couer the vncomely parts, 1. Cor. 12. 23. will ye say therefore, that any of the parts of the body are vncleane? *Augustine* saith, *Nuptiæ sanantur exercitus*

quod

quod deest, vt non negligant occultare, quod dedecet: Marriage is suffered to exercise that which is lawfull, so that it hide that which is vncomely; he saith not, vncleane: *Lib. 2. de grat. c. 7.* 4. The virgine is said to take care to please God, and to be holy, &c. not because the maried are vnholy: for the Apostle saith the contrarie, *If their children be holy*, 1. Cor. 7. 14. how are they vnholy: but it is spoken comparatiuely, because the vnmarried haue better helpes, and are void of those impediments which accompanie marriage. 5. Lastly, the Apostle saith, *the marriage bed is vndefiled*: Heb. 13. 2. how dare he say it is defiled; wee speake not of the abuse, but of the right vse of marriage. *Ambrose* saith, *Copula nuptialis, non quasi culpa vitanda, &c.* The marriage copulation, is not to be shunned as a fault. *Augustine* saith, *Libidinis voluptas non propter nuptias cadit in culpam, sed propter nuptias accipit veniam*; The pleasure of lust is not culpable because of marriage, but pardonable: *De nupt. & concup. lib. 1. c. 14*

Secondly *Bellar.* answereth, That matrimonie is forbidden those that take orders, not as it is a sacrament, but because it bringeth worldly cares and other impediments.

Contra. Nay they prohibite marriage to such, as it is a sacrament: for a principall part of this their sacrament consisteth in the matrimoniall act and copulation: which although *Bellarmine* stiffely denie, is prooued thus euen by his owne confession: he graunteth that matrimonie is a mysticall signe of the spirituall coniunction of Christ and his Church, *cap.* 2. but this is represented in the matrimoniall coniunction: *They two shall be one flesh, this is a great secret*: *Ergo*, herein consisteth the sacrament; and this act of matrimonie (they say) is a pollution of orders: and thus one sacrament is polluted by another.

Bellarmine replyeth, that the act of copulation, or carnall act in Matrimonie, is no essentiall part of the Sacrament. Secondly, it is not absurd, that they which haue one Sacrament, should be without another; as the Apostles refused the ministerie of Deacons: Act. 6. *Bellarm. respons. ad argum. 6.*

First, the Canon of *Leo* is directly contrary: *Cum societas nuptiarum à principio ita sit instituta*: Seeing the societie of mariage was so instituted at the first, *Vt præter coniunctionem sexuum, nihil haberet in se nuptiæ*: That beside the coniunction of sexe, Mariage hath not the Sacrament of coniunction of Christ and his Church, it is not to be doubted, but that the woman doth not appertaine to marriage, with the which there hath beene no matrimoniall act or ministerie. This Canon saith directly, that the sacrament of mariage is in the matrimoniall copulation.

Bellarmine answereth, that the Canon must be read without the negatiue, *Vt præter, &c. habeat, &c.* that beside the coniunction, mariage hath the Sacrament, &c.

Contra. First, if the negatiue be taken away, there is no sense in the Canon: for a woman not carnally knowne, is proued to be no wife, because the Sacrament of mariage onely consisteth in the carnall act. Secondly, the Master of sentences rehearseth this Canon with a negatiue, *lib. 4. dist. 26. g.* *Bellarmine* thinketh most absurdly, that the Master must be read without a negatiue, whereas he alleageth the Canon to proue *Illam mulierem, &c.* That a woman pertaineth not to mariage, that is not carnally knowne, which this Canon proueth not, if the negatiue be omitted. Thirdly, other Canons do agree, *ibid. c. 18. Benedict. Non posse fieri vnam carnem, &c.* They cannot be one flesh, but by carnall copulation: but the mysterie is in being made one flesh, as S. *Ambrose* calleth it *Mysterium vnitatis*, the mysterie of vnitie. Fourthly, *Bellarmine* himselfe graunteth, that when the contract is made onely *per verba de futuro*, by words of the future time, then the carnall copulation is an essentiall part, and that then *ex opere operato*, by the worke wrought, the coniugall act doth conferre grace: *Bellarm. ibid.* Where by the way let it be remembred, that the carnall acte, which before he proued to be vncleane, is now affirmed to be so holy, that it doth conferre grace.

Secondly, 1. He is neuer able to proue, that he which hath one Sacrament of Christian religion, is simply to be denied the other, as they denie Ministers that haue orders, to be maried, which both are sacraments in their religion: but the true Sacraments of the Church, as Baptisme, and the Eucharist, are general and free for all, that are fitte for them. 2. The Apostles refused not the office of Deacons as vnlawfull, but as inconuenient: neyther is this any Sacrament, and the Apostles did execute the office of Deacons at the first themselues. 3. Though it should be graunted, that the Sacraments may be diuided, in respect of persons, that some may haue one and not another; yet it is not to be endured, that one Sacrament polluteth another; as they say, Matrimonie is a defiling of Orders: wherefore they themselues denie it to be a Sacrament: for Sacraments to all are holy, but mariage in Ministers they make vnholy and vncleane.

Argum. 3. In euery Sacrament there ought to be an externall sensible element, as the matter, and a sanctifying worde, as the forme: But in Matrimonie there is neither: *Ergo*, it is no Sacrament. *Argum. Kemnitij. Calum.*

Bellarm. The forme, are the words pronounced by the parties themselues, when they contract Matrimony: *I do take thee, &c.* They also themselues are the matter: yea, and the Ministers

of the Sacrament too: For the Iesuite holdeth, that it is a Sacrament in the very contract and giuing of mutuall consent, before it be solemnized in the Church, *De matrim. cap. 6.*

Answ. First, the Sacrament is one thing, and the receiuers another: therefore the married parties cannot be the sacramentall matter, being the receiuers. Secondly, it is not euery word that sanctifyeth, but the word of God, 1. Tim. 4. 5. but these words, *I take thee*, are no part of the word: *Ergo*, they want also the forme of a Sacrament. Thirdly, the Ministers of Christ, and preachers of the word are only the dispensers of the mysteries and Sacraments of the Church, 1. Corinth. 4. 1. Wherefore the parties themselues could not be Ministers of Matrimonie, if it were a Sacrament.

Fourthly, I will adioyne the reasons of some of the Papists: *Espensæus de clandestin. matrim. 14. Ad huius Sacramenti rationem, patres verbum fidei requisierunt in lege &c.* The fathers in the law required the word of faith to this Sacrament, how much more in the Gospell: but this, *I take thee*, is not the word of faith: *cap. 15. ex Groppero: Vt venerabilem Eucharistiam idem et porrigat & capiat, cætera non item Sacramenta:* The Eucharist, one and the same man may giue and receiue, but it is not so in other Sacraments: no man doth baptize or confirme himselfe: and so consequently, if priuate Matrimonie were a Sacrament, no man could marrie himselfe.

Arg. 4. We haue plentifull testimonie of the Papists themselues, some affirme Matrimonie to be a Sacrament of the old Testament, not of the new: as *Alphonsus à castro, lib. 11. cont. hæreses hæs. 3. Petrus a Soto, lect. 2. de Matrim.* Some hold it no Sacrament at all, as *Durandus*, whose reasons do best follow: other denie priuate Matrimonie to be a Sacrament, being contracted onely, not solemnized, as *Canus*, whom *Bellarmine* confuteth, *cap. 8.* Of the same opinion is *Gropperus* before alleged: *Catharinus* also affirmeth, priuate contract of mariage, without the consent of the parents to be no Sacrament, because it is no mariage: *ex Espens. de clandestin. matrim. c. 15.*

Now *Durand* his reasons, to proue mariage properly no Sacrament, are these.

First, in euery Sacrament, there is some spirituall thing signified, that exceedeth naturall reason; as in baptisme by the washing of water, the remission of sinnes is shewed forth: but in mariage, when two are presented to be ioyned together, a naturall man may comprehend why they are coupled together. It may be answered, that the spirituall thing in mariage, is the coniunction of Christ and his Church. *Contra.* Sacraments doe effect that, which they signifie; but matrimonie doth not effect the vnion of Christ and his Church, but onely the vnion of the male and female: *Ergo*, that is not the principall signification of marriage.

Bellar. answereth, that not the vnion onely, but such an vnion as is insoluble; and as well the vnion of their soules and bodies is signified in marriage, which exceedeth naturall reason.

Contra. First, the vnion of the married parties to be insoluble, is naturall; for both among the Gentiles, as the Romanes a long time, there was no diuorce in marriage knowne or heard of: the Turtle Doues by nature are taught to keepe themselues inseparably one to the other: therefore this exceedeth not humane reason. Secondly, the vnion of the mind is no essentiall part of marriage, for the marriage holdeth in the vnion of the bodie, though there be no vniting of the affections: *they two shall be one flesh*, it is not said, *one soule.*

Secondly, *Durand.* in a sacrament, there must be some holy thing applyed to the receiuer by the minister: as in baptisme, water; in matrimonie it is not so: there is neither any outward holy signe, nor no minister necessarie beside the parties, nor yet any receiuer need be present, for matrimonie may be solemnized by a Proctor betweene parties that are absent: *Ergo*, it is no Sacrament.

Bellar. answereth: The reason why matrimonie is vnlike other Sacraments in these points, is, for that it is of the nature of a contract: now in a contract, the parties themselues suffice; and it may be done in their absence, *Bellar. c. 5. resp. ad argum. 11.*

Contra. In humane contracts it is so, as he affirmeth, no such things are required; but in diuine contracts it is otherwise; of which nature all sacraments are: for as it is said of circumcision, it was *a signe of the couenant*, or contract betweene God and his people, Genes. 17. 11. so all sacraments are badges of our profession, and the cognisance of our obedience promised vnto God: so that in this behalfe there is no difference betweene one sacrament and another; they being all solemne contracts and couenants made betweene God and vs.

Thirdly, Sacraments giue grace, as the Papists affirme; they are seales and pledges of grace, as the Protestants hold; but matrimonie neither conferreth nor sealeth grace; not the first grace, which is remission of sinnes; nor the second, which is encrease of grace. The master of the Sentences saith, that some sacraments doe conferre grace as baptisme, some in *remedium tantum sunt*, are onely appointed for a remedie, as matrimonie: *Lib. 4. dist. 2. a. Durand.*

Bellar. answereth, that the meaning of the Master is, that matrimonie was not principally ordained to this end, for remission of sinnes; and yet it doth after a sort remit sinnes, as the Eucharist and the Sacrament of order: *resp. ad argum. 12.*

Contra.

Contra. First, the Master saith, that matrimonie is *tantum in remedium*, is onely for a remedie: if onely, then it serueth not chiefly, but altogether to that end. Secondly, we deny any sacrament of order: the Eucharist properly serueth to assure our faith of the remission of sinnes, because it is a shewing forth of the Lords death: and our Sauiour saith, *which was shed for you, for remission of sinnes*: but there is no such promise of remission of sinnes annexed to matrimonie. Thirdly, *Bellarmine* affirmed before, *resp. ad arg. 7.* that some sacraments (as matrimonie) are not instituted for remission of sinnes; and now (forgetting himselfe) he saith, it serueth for remission of sinnes: so well he agreeth with himselfe. Fourthly, the Church cannot alter or appoint the essentials of any sacrament, the Church doth appoint the essentials of matrimonie, as in determining what persons are to be married, and in what degrees: *Ergo*, it is no sacrament, *Durand.*

Bellarmine answereth: first, that the ordinance of the Church is of the necessitie of the sacrament, as in penance it is no absolution that is giuen to one of another dioceſſe. Secondly, the materiall part of Matrimonie, is not simply the ioyning together of man and woman, but of such persons as are lawfull: for otherwise the sacrament of Matrimonie might be betweene the father and the daughter, and such like neare degrees.

Contra. First, as for Penance, this sheweth sufficiently that it is no sacrament, because it dependeth of the ordination of the Church: so doe not true sacraments which onely depend of Christs institution: as the Apostle deliuered no other thing as touching the Sacraments, but, that which he had receiued of the Lord, 1. Corinth. 11. 23. Secondly, such degrees in Mariage, as the Scripture prohibiteth, are necessarie to bee obserued, as betweene the father and daughter, &c. But the Church of Rome presuming to forbid other degrees, and to make more persons illegitimate for mariage, then the Scripture doth, taketh vpon her to alter and chaunge the materiall part of Matrimonie: which no Church hath power to doe in true Sacraments.

Fifly, without Baptisme none are capable of any Sacrament: but a man before Baptisme is capable of Matrimonie: *Ergo*, it is no sacrament. *Durand.*

Bellarm. Though it be Matrimonie afore Baptisme, it is no sacrament: but after they are conuerted to the faith, it beginneth to be sacrament.

Contra. The Matrimonie before Baptisme, must either be contracted anew, or else it remaineth the same still: but a new contract is not to be made: for if God haue ioyned them together before, no man must *put them asunder*, Matth. 19. 6. to be contracted and conioyned againe: if they were not ioyned of God, then was it no Matrimonie. Againe, what if but one of the parties be conuerted, the other remaineth an Infidell, and so refuseth to be contracted againe: yet is this Matrimonie holie, and the issue thereof holie, 1. Cor. 7. 14. though there be no new contract. If the same Matrimonie remaine still without alteration, how is it more a sacrament after Baptisme then before, seeing the same essentials, both the matter and forme were in the Matrimonie before? Of the first opinion are *Caprcolus, Eckius*, that a new contract is needfull: of the other, *Thomas de Argentina, Paludanus*: so well they agree together. And thus are *Durands* arguments fortified against this sacrament.

Augustine thus writeth: *Ne quis istam magnitudinem sacramenti in singulis quibusque hominibus uxores habentibus intelligeret, ego autem dico, inquit, &c.* Least any man should thinke when the Apostle had said, *this is a great sacrament*, that this great sacrament is to be vnderstood of all married persons, the Apostle addeth, *but I speake of Christ and his Church.* But if so be Matrimonie were a sacrament, why is it not to be found in all maried folke? Tract. in Ioh. 8

Concil. Florent. in fine: Sacramenta tribus perficiuntur, rebus tanquam materia, verbis vt forma, & persona ministri conferentis sacramentum: quorum si aliquid desit, non perficitur sacramentum: The sacraments are perfited of three things, the things or elements as the matter, the words as the forme, and the person of the minister conferring the sacrament; if any of these be wanting, the sacraments are not perfect. According to this rule Matrimonie is no sacrament: for in the contract, when it should begin to be a sacrament, there want both the matter and the element, which can not be the parties themselues, and the Minister which should conferre the sacrament: neither haue they words of institution to be found in Scripture.

The holie Martyrs haue sealed this truth: *Richard Woodman*: There neede not be a signe of an holie thing, where the holie thing is it selfe: Matrimonie is an holie thing it selfe, and is ended outwardly: *Ergo*, it is no sacrament, *Fox* pag. 1990. col. 2.

Maister *Bembridge* Martyr, he denieth Matrimonie to be a sacrament, but confesseth it to be a sacrament ordeined, &c. and gaue his life in defence hereof. pag. 2046. artic. 10.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF POLYGAMIE, of the mariage of diuers succeſſiuely. Part. 1.

The Papiſts.

80. Error. THeir decrees ſeeme vtterly to condemne and exclude ſecond mariage. *Can.* 31. *c.* 3. Penance is inioyned ſecond mariage, and a Miniſter is forbidden to be preſent at the celebration of them. *C.* 9. Second marriage is called, *honeſta fornicatio*, honeſt fornication. Theſe Canons *Bellarmine* is aſhamed of, and refuſeth them: why then doe they ſuffer them to ſtand among the reſt of the decrees collected by *Gratian*? But yet *Bellarmine* cannot ſo ſhift off the matter: for it appeareth that they haue a very baſe conceite of ſecond marriage, ſeeing they barre all ſuch from orders, as haue been twice married: as in their owne decrees, *C.* 31. *c.* 10. this reaſon is giuen: *Quam ſordida ſit digamia hinc oſtenditur, &c.* How holy a thing it is to be twice married, it appeareth by this, that ſuch are not choſen to the Clergie. And againe, they denie publike bleſſing vnto ſecond mariage. *Bellarmine* would ſalue vp the matter thus, becauſe the bleſſing giuen in the firſt marriage continueth ſtill, *cap.* 9.

The Proteſtants.

COncerning the denying of orders to them that are twice married, I haue entreated elſewhere in the generall Controuerſie of the Clergie: that publike benediction is to be vſed in ſecond marriage as well as in the firſt, we proue it thus:

Firſt, I reaſon thus from their owne principles: Euery Sacrament at the celebration thereof muſt be bleſſed: for, *Euery thing is ſanctified by the word and prayer*, 1. Timoth. 4. 5. But ſecond mariage with them is a ſacrament: *Ergo*, publikely to be bleſſed. And whereas it is alleaged, that the former bleſſing remaineth. I anſwere: firſt, the firſt Matrimonie remaineth not: *Ergo* neither the benediction. For the firſt couples being parted by death, and ſo the mariage knot diſſolued, how can that bleſſing remaine, which was pronounced ouer them but while they liued? Againe, Matrimoniall benediction is no more effectuall, than the benediction in the Euchariſt: but that is often renewed: *Ergo*, ſo may the other.

Secondly, *Raguel* bleſſed the marriage of young *Tobie* and *Sara*, which was giuen in mariage to ſeuen men before, *Tobie* 7. 11, 13. *Ergo*, ſecond marriage may be bleſſed. This booke is Scripture with them, and therefore concludeth againſt them ſtrongly.

Further, where God bleſſeth, there man ought to bleſſe much more: but Gods bleſſing is vpon the married couple being fit for procreation, though it be in their ſecond, or third marriage, *Encreaſe and multiplie*: *Ergo*, the Miniſters bleſſing is to be adioyned.

Laſtly, *Leo* ſaith, *Epiſtol.* 9. *c.* 4. *Ancillam à toro abijcere, & vxorem certa ingenuitatis atque pudicitiæ coniugij, ſed profectus honeſtatis eſt*: For a man to reiect his maide, or concubine from his bed, and to marrie a wife that is a freewoman, is not a doubling of marriage, but a profiting in honeſtie. I reaſon thus: Marriage after fornication doth receiue publike benediction, becauſe it is not the ſecond, but the firſt marriage: *Ergo*, much more ſhall marriage after lawfull marriage be publikely bleſſed: vnleſſe they will make marriage worſe than fornication.

THE SECOND PART OF POLYGAMIE, which is the marriage of diuers wiues at once.

The Papiſts.

81. Error. IT is their opinion, that it was lawfull not onely for the Patriarches of the Hebrues, but for the Gentiles alſo by way of diſpenſation to haue many wiues.

Argum. 1. *Sara* gaue conſent to *Abraham* to take him another wife, which ſhe would not haue done, if it had been vnlawfull: ſo *Iacobs* wiues offered vnto him two other wiues: *Billarm. cap.* 11. *propoſ.* 4.

Contra. Firſt, from the infirmities of holy men, or women, the argument followeth not, to proue the thing lawfull. *Sara* twice diſſembled, and in affirming to be *Abrahams* ſiſter, conſequently denied to be his wife: ſo did *Rebecca* once: it followeth not, that it is therefore lawfull. Secondly, thoſe were *Abrahams* and *Iacobs* concubines, not their wiues: they may as well inferre, that they had a diſpenſation alſo to haue concubines beſide their wiues: that *Hagar* was not *Abrahams* wife, while *Sara* liued, whatſoeuer ſhe was afterward (for ſome think, that *Keturah* his ſecond wife was *Hagar*) it appeareth: 1. Becauſe ſhe is ſtill called *Saraes* maide, and vnder her correction, Geneſ. 16. 6. 2. And the Angel biddeth her humble her ſelfe to her dame, verſ. 9. 3. At the length, ſhe is caſt out with her ſonne, Geneſ. 21. 4. She is alſo ſtill called a *bondwoman*, Geneſ. 21. 10. But if ſhe had been *Abrahams* wife, ſhe ſhould haue been free.

Argum. 2. That it was lawfull alſo for the Gentiles by diſpenſation to haue many wiues, he proueth

proueth by the example of *Laban*, who was an idolater, and gaue to *Iacob* two wiues: *Esau* also, who belonged not to the people of God, had many wiues, imitating therein, as it is like, the example of *Abraham*: *Bellarm. c.* 11. *propos.* 5.

Ans. First, neither *Laban*, nor *Esau* were altogether straungers from the people of God, and therfore are not well brought forth, as example of the Gentiles: for if *Laban* had bin a meere Gentile, *Iacob* had not been sent to take his wife from thence: and *Esau* when he tooke his two wiues, was yet in his fathers house, Genes. 26. 35. and so one of the familie. Secondly, the fact of these proueth no more the lawfulnes of many wiues, than *Labans* Images doe warrant the worship of many Gods. Thirdly, it is not like that *Esau* herein imitated *Abraham*: 1. for *Sara* was dead before *Esau* was borne, and therefore in *Esaus* remembrance hee had not two wiues. 2. And his father *Isaacks* example was neerer to him to be imitated, who had but one wife. 3. If he had respected the imitation of *Abraham*, hee would not haue married out of the Hittites, to grieue his parents. Lastly, *Augustine* saith of the Patriarches, *Coniugio vti sunt propter dei populum propagandum*: They vsed marriage for the propagation of the people of God: Their Polygamie he thinketh was tolerated for the encreasing of the Church. But the Church among the Gentiles was not encreased: *Ergo*, there was no reason of any such toleration amongst them. *August. de Virgin. cap.* 20.

The Protestants.

COncerning Polygamie, or the hauing of diuers wiues at once, our sentence is this: first, that it was neuer lawfull, being either a transgression, of, or at the least a digression from the first institution in the creation. Secondly, yet in the Patriarches wee denie not, before there was yet any law written, in respect of the necessitie of those times, it was by vse and custome tolerated, though not by any dispensation authorized. Thirdly, among the Gentiles, where there was not the like reason or occasion, it was neither lawfull, nor tolerable. Fourthly, after *Moses* law written and the Church in them encreased, we doubt not but that the multitude of wiues was a sinne and corruption.

First, the Prophet *Malachie* saith, chap. 2. 15. *Did he not make one, yet had he abundance of spirit? and where fore one? because he sought a godly seede.* Here the Prophet sheweth, that the first institution in the creation, was of one wife: So our Sauiour, Matth. 19. 8. doth send vs to the first institution, *From the beginning it was not so*, vers. 4. At the beginning God made *them male and female*: one male, and one female: and *they two shall be one flesh*, not three, or foure, but only two are made in one: therefore Polygamie is a breach and transgression of the first institution.

Secondly, that there was neuer any dispensation graunted to make it lawfull, it is euident. 1. Christ saith, *Moses for the hardnes of your hart, &c.* vers. 8. wee reade of no dispensation, but a toleration in *Moses*, and by reason of the hardnes of the Iewes hearts. 2. A dispensation must be as high a nature as the institution: but the first institution was giuen in the creation, and deliuered by tradition, though it were not written, not onely by *inspiration* (as he supposeth) the like reuelation must be shewed for the dispensation. 3. If there had been any such dispensation, why did not the righteous first take benefice of it, to whom it was specially graunted, but wicked *Lamech* was the first that tooke two wiues. 4. And the dispensation being generall, for the procreation of the righteous seede, they should haue offended, that vsed not that libertie being for a common good: as *Isaack*, that had onely *Rebecca*, and by her but one birth. 5. *Augustine* saith, *Nullum legimus Iacob petisse praeter vnam, &c. neque hoc faceret, nisi vxores flagitassent: Iacob* desired but one, neither would hee haue vsed more, if his wiues had not requested it: *lib.* 14. *de Ciuitat. cap.* 21. If there had been any such dispensation, why should he haue desired one rather than two? and whereof needed he to haue the consent of his wiues? it was then a permission onely, no dispensation.

Thirdly, Polygamie among the Gentiles was altogether vnlawfull: first, they serued not for the propagation of the Church, for the which Polygamie was tolerated. Secondly, the fathers are excused, *Quia castius habebant plures, quam nunc vnam*: Because they vsed many wiues more chastly, than now one, as *Augustine* saith: But the Gentiles had no knowledge, how to possesse their vessell in holinesse, *but in the lust of concupiscence*, 1. Thess. 4. 5. They could not vse one wife chastly, much lesse many.

Fourthly, after the law of *Moses* written, Polygamie was a corruption and transgression: first, there was then no necessitie of propagation, as *Augustine* saith: *Cum copia spiritualis cognationis esset*: When there was plentie of the spirituall kindred: *de Virgin. cap.* 16. Secondly, it was contrarie to the law: Deut. 17. 17. *The King shall not take many wiues, least his heart turne away.* The author of the questions vpon Deuteron. vnder *Augustines* name, *cap.* 27. saith, that *David* did not transgresse this lawe but *Salomon*, *Quia habuit paucas, non multas*: *David* had a few wiues, not many.

Answ.

Answ. 1. *Dauid* had not so many as *Salomon*, and therefore was not so deepe in transgression: but yet he had with *Michol* and *Bathsheba* eight wiues, 2. Sam. 3. which are many: yea any number aboue two with the Hebrues maketh a *pluralitie*. 2. The reason of the law is, *least his heart turne away*. This fruite of Polygamie was in *Dauid*; for his heart was turned away from iustice by the loue of women, as appeareth in the storie of *Vriah*. 3. The Prophet *Malachi* calleth it *godlie seede*, which commeth of single marriage after Gods institution: and therefore *Dauid* transgressing herein, was chastised with vngodly children.

Lastly, thus their own decrees testifie: *Caus.* 31. *c.* 10. *Primus Lamech homicida vnam carnem duas fit in duas vxores; fratricidium & digamiam eadem cataclysmi deleuit pœna, &c.* *Lamech* the murderer was the first that diuided one flesh into two wiues: fratricide and digamie, the same punishment of the flood tooke away: *Quantum distat in numero, tantum in crimine*: As thou exceedest in number, so likewise in sinne.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE CAVSES OF diuorce in mariage, and whether it be lawfull to marrie after diuorce.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THERE may be more causes of diuorce, than fornication onely.

The Papists.

81. Error. Diuorce, as *Bellarmine* defineth it, is either from the duties of mariage, as from bed and boord, as wee say, which is properly called *diuortium*, or it is a dissoluing of the knot and bond of marriage, which is called *repudium*.

First then, they affirme, that the very bond and knot may be dissolued in the marriage of Infidels, if one of them after marriage become a Christian: his reason is, because marriage contracted in Infidelitie is no sacrament, and therefore may be dissolued, *Bellarm. cap.* 12. So hee affirmeth those three things: first, that if the Infidell refuse to dwell with the beleeuing partie, the partie refused and forsaken, may marrie againe. Secondly, that though the Infidell be content to dwell together, the other is at his or her libertie to refuse, and may marrie againe. Thirdly, if the Infidell be content to dwell with the beleeuer, but yet so, that he is alwaies entising & prouoking to idolatrie and infidelitie, the beleeuing partie may depart. The first of these is not by vs gainsaid; the other two *Bellarmine* proueth thus.

Argum. Saint *Paul* saith, *If the Infidell partie will depart, let him depart, a brother or sister is not in subiection in such a case*, 1. Cor. 7. 15.

Answ. First, Saint *Paul* giueth not libertie to the one partie at their pleasure vtterly to renounce the other, as though they were no longer man and wife: for Saint *Paul* had said before, that if the *Infidell partie be content to dwell with the other, he or she is not to be put away*. But his meaning is, that if one partie wilfully depart, the other is no longer bound, nor in subiection for the performance of the mutuall duties of mariage. Secondly, though the Infidell partie be yet froward and obstinate, if he be content to dwell with the other, *let her not forsake him*, saith the Apostle: and he giueth a reason thereof, vers. 16. *What knowest thou O wife, whether thou shalt saue thy husband? &c.* Though he or she be yet froward, or obstinate, yet in time they may be conuerted.

The Papists.

83. Error. Secondly, separation from bed and boord may be admitted, they say, for diuers causes, *Concil. Trident. sess.* 24. *can.* 8. *Bellarmine* nameth three: Fornication, according to Christs rule, Mat. 5. Heresie, Tit. 3. An heretike must be auoyded. Thirdly, when one is a continuall offence to another and a prouocation to sinne: *If thine eye offend thee, pull it out*, Matth. 5. 29. *Bellar. cap.* 14.

Answ. 1. Fornication wee admit is a iust cause of separation and diuorce, but not heresie; for Saint *Paul* would not haue a woman to forsake an Infidell, 1. Cor. 7. 13. therfore not an heretike. 2. We must auoyde such, that is, take heede of their poysoned opinions, and shun their companie also, where wee are not otherwise bound. 3. Neither is the eye to be cut off, where there is any hope: but who knoweth whether the offensiue partie may returne to grace? 4. And this place proueth as well a finall cutting off of mariage, as a separation or disiunction.

The Protestants.

First, that there is no cause of vtter dissolution of mariage by way of diuorce, neither that it is lawfull to dismisse or put away the wife, but onely for adulterie and fornication: it is plaine by our Sauiour Christs words, Matth. 5. 32. and 19. 9. where neither infidelitie nor any cause beside is excepted, but onely fornication: *Whosoeuer shall put away his wife*, (saith our Sauiour) *except it be for fornication, &c.*

Bellarmine

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, our Sauiour ſpeaketh of marriage 1. betweene the faithfull: ſo that this rule bindeth not, if either partie be an Infidell. 2. And againe, ſuch ſeparation is here ſpoken of, as is by way of ſome crime, not when it tendeth to greater perfection, and where there is leſſe feare of adulterie; as in the ſeparation of Infidels there is not, when the partie forſaken may marrie againe. Secondly, he anſwereth, our Sauiour only mentioneth the proper cauſe of ſeparation in marriage, which is fornication; the other for hereſie, and inducement to ſinne he leaueth generall to all ſocieties: for theſe cauſes the ſonne may leaue the father, the ſeruant the maſter, and the wife likewiſe the husband.

Thirdly hee anſwereth, that Chriſt in this place ſpeaketh of ſuch a dimiſſion onely, or putting away, as is to continue for euer during their liues: but the other dimiſſions are to endure but for a time: of the firſt kinde of dimiſſion there can be no cauſe but fornication, *Bellarm. cap. 14. reſp. ad dict. 2.*

Contra. Firſt, 1. The words of our Sauiour are generall: *Whoſoeuer ſhall put away his wife*, verſ. 9. And 2. he ſpeaketh to the Iewes, that were not baptized, therefore hee meaneth euen marriage before Baptiſme. 3. And our Sauiour reaſoneth from the firſt inſtitution of marriage in the creation: but the law of the creation bindeth all both Infidels and beleeuers. 2. Againe, when any departeth for hereſie, or infidelitie, it is a departure for a crime. 3. And when the beleeuing party departeth not being forſaken, but voluntarily (for where there is deſertion, the caſe is otherwiſe, as ſhall be afterward ſhewed) how can it be without feare of adulterie, when in this caſe, the marriage is not diſſolued betweene them?

Secondly, 1. It is a falſe poſition, that a ſonne is to forſake his father, or a ſeruant to denie ſeruice to his maſter for hereſie, or infidelitie, the Apoſtle teacheth the contrarie: 1. Timoth. 6. 1. *Let as many ſeruants, as are vnder the yoke, count their maſters* (hee meaneth Infidels) *worthie all honour.* 2. And againe, if any other cauſes of dimiſſion might be pretended, though generall, then were not the rule giuen here by Chriſt ſufficient, nor vniuerſally true: *except for fornication, &c.* if for other things, they might be diſmiſſed.

Thirdly, it ſhall ſoone appeare how inſufficient his third anſwere is: firſt, *Bellarmine* is contrarie to himſelfe: for here he maketh fornication the onely cauſe of perpetuall dimiſſion, much forgetting himſelfe: for he affirmeth likewiſe, that the married parties by mutuall conſent may ſeparate themſelues, and vow continencie: and after their vow thus made, it is not lawfull for them to come together againe: here then is another kind of perpetuall ſeparation. Secondly, neither is diuorce or ſeparation for fornication neceſſarily to continue, during their life time: they may be reconciled: and ſo both *Bellarmine* and the Rhemiſts thinke, expounding that place, 1. Cor. 7. *Let her remaine vnmarried, or be reconciled:* of ſuch as are diuorced for fornication. So *Leo epiſtol. 77. cap. 1.* determineth thus: *Quod debent fœminæ, quæ captis viris nupſerunt alijs, regreſſis de captiuitate virorum ſuorum copulari:* That women, which marrie to others, their husbands being taken captiues, ſhould be reſtored to their husbands after their returne. Here women falling into adulterie muſt returne to their husbands. Againe, the Scripture ſpeaketh for vs: that as God after ſpirituall fornication is readie vpon their repentance to receiue his people againe, Ierem. 3. 1. *Thou haſt played the harlot, yet returne vnto me* (ſaith the Lorde:) ſo Chriſtian charitie requireth, that if it be poſſible, reconciliation ſhould be made betweene man and wife, vpon humble ſubmiſſion for the fault committed. Thus we ſee, that euen in caſe of fornication the way is not ſhut vp againſt compaſſion: therefore the Ieſuite hath anſwered nothing.

Argum. What God hath ioyned together, let no man put aſunder: Matth. 19. 6. But the Papiſts, in deuiſing ſo many ſeparations from bedde and boord, do put aſunder thoſe, whom God hath coupled: for where the duties of mariage are broken off, there mariage it ſelfe is alſo diſſolued: if the man and wife be no longer bound to render the carnall debt one to another, and other ſeruices of loue, the bond of mariage it ſelfe is looſed betweene them: this then is but a friuolous diſtinction, that there are two ſeparations of mariage: *Quoad thorum, quoad vinculum:* One from the bed, another from the bond of mariage: they then making ſo many ſeparations from the one, do alſo diſſolue the other: and ſo man diuideth, where God hath coupled. *argum. Kemnitz.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the bond of marriage is one thing, the debt or dutie of mariage another: for otherwiſe, when the maried parties are abſent by ſome diſtance of place, and ſo the debt not payed, the bond alſo ſhould preſently be diſſolued, and they ceaſe to be man and wife: *cap. 14. reſp. ad dict. 5.*

Contra. Firſt *Bellarmine* granteth, that theſe words, *Whom God hath coupled, &c.* are vnderſtood of the bond of mariage, not of the carnall debt, communion of bedde and boord: *ex confeſſis*, I reaſon thus: That whereby they are coupled and made one fleſh, is the bond of mariage, but the carnall debt maketh them one fleſh; *They twaine ſhall be one fleſh*, Matth. 19. 5. therefore the carnall debt is the very bond of mariage: the propoſition is proued by the words of our Sauiour, verſ. 6. wherefore *they are no more twaine, but one fleſh: Let no man therefore put aſunder, that which God hath coupled*

coupled together: here the making of two one flesh, is said to be the very coupling, wherewith God ioyneth them together.

Secondly, S. *Paul* vseth all these words indifferently, for one and the same thing, debt or due, 1. Cor. 7. 3. to be in seruice or subiection, vers. 15. to be bound to a wife, vers. 27. So then ὀφειλὴ, debt, δουλία, seruice, δεσμὸς, bond: are with the Apostle all one: where then the debt of the flesh is not due, nor the seruice of the bodie, there also the bond is looſed.

Thirdly, that in mariage the *debitum*, debt, and *vinculum*, bond, are all one: and that *relaxatio debiti*, the releasing of the debt, is *solutio vinculi*, the dissoluing of the bond: beside that the Apostle saith, 1. Cor. 7. 27. *Art thou bound to a wife, seeke not to be looſed*; where he speaketh vpto beleuers of the dissoluing of mariage; but they allow no dissolution of mariage, but onely in the case of infidelitie: S. *Ambroſe* also saith, speaking of the dissoluing of marriage, *Non debetur reuerentia coniugij ei, &c.* the reuerence of marriage is not due to him, which abhorreth the author of mariage. *in* 7. 1. *ad Corinth.* The dissoluing of mariage, and not paying the debt, with him are all one: *Caus.* 28. *q.* 2. *c.* 2. *Non eſt ea fides ſeruanda coniugi, &c.* The faith of marriage is not to be kept to him, which departeth because he would not heare Christ: not to keepe the faith or debt of marriage, and to dissolue marriage are the same.

Caus. 32. *qu.* 7. *c.* 18. *Si mulier non valeat debitum reddere*: If the woman be not able to render her debt, or due to her husband, he may marrie another: *Ergo*, where the debt is not payed, the marriage bond is dissolued.

Fourthly, when the parties are absent vpon necessarie occasion, or by consent, here is neyther refusal, nor acquitall of the carnall debt, as there is in forced separations; but in affection and desire, they remayne still subiect one to the other: therefore the reason is not alike: so then I conclude, that they separating, where God alloweth no separation, do contrarie to the Scripture, put asunder, where God hath ioyned together.

We haue also the full consent of antiquitie, that no dimission of mariage is to be admitted but for fornication: *Concil. Anglican. an.* 670. *can.* 10. *Nullus coniugem proprium niſi vt ſuetum euangelium docet, fornicationis cauſa relinquat*: That no man put away his wife, but as the Gospell teacheth, for fornication.

Toletan. 12. *can.* 8. *Preceptum domini eſt, vt excepta cauſa fornicationis vxor à viro dimitti non debeat, &c.* It is the commandement of the Lord, that except for fornication, the wife should not be dismissed from her husband: and therefore whosoeuer vpon any other occasion, except the former crime, doth dismisse his wife; because he separateth that, which God hath ioyned, let him be put from the Communion, so long, till he receiue his wife againe.

Nicholaus 1. *de matrimon. can.* 6. *Quicquid mulier contra te cogitauerit, non eſt excepta cauſa fornicationis reijcienda*: Whatsoeuer thy woman doth practise against thee, she must not be cast off but for fornication. What greater euidence of antiquitie can any man require? This Canon is rehearsed, *caus.* 32. *qu.* 5 *c.* 22.

We haue further euidence: *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 38. *leg.* 11. *Conſtant. Quis ferat, liberos à parentibus, viros coniuges ſeparari?* Who can endure, that children from parents, wiues should be separated from their husbands? Yet I denie not, but that some Imperiall lawes allow other causes of separation, beside adulterie, as homicide, sacriledge, robberie, manstealing, *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 17. *leg.* 8. and impotencie or imbecillitie of nature, *ibid. leg.* 10. yet the Canons of the Church haue otherwise decreed: as here I haue set them downe.

Caus. 29. *qu.* 7. *c.* 19. *Gregor. Excepta cauſa fornicationis*: It is not lawfull for any man to dismisse his wife, except it be for fornication: so likewise *Zachar. caus.* 29. *qu.* 2. *c.* 2. *Caus.* 32. *qu.* 5. *c.* 18. *Quicquid excepta cauſa fornicationis cogitari poteſt horribile, ſuſtineat maritus*: What horrible thing soeuer may be imagined, except the cause of fornication, the husband must sustaine *c.* 21. *Communione priuetur, &c.* Let him be depriued of the Communion, *Qui citra culpam fornicationis vxorem quacunque occaſione dimiſerit*, which beside the fault of fornication vpon any occasion doth dismisse his wife.

Now concerning the marriage of Infidels, *Auguſtine* sometime was of opinion, that the wife might bee dismissed for Infidelitie: but hee reuoketh and retracteth that opinion, *Lib. retract.* 1. *cap.* 19. For elsewhere hee flatly concludeth thus: *A viro non fornicante non licere omnino diſcedere*: That it is not lawfull for a woman at all to leaue her husband, if he commit not fornication, *De adult. coniug.* 1. 7.

And yet further, to make this matter more plaine, we acknowledge no other cause of lawfull diuorce in mariage but that onely, which is prescribed in the Gospell, namely, for adulterie or fornication, Matth. 5. 32. and 19. 9. There is notwithstanding another cause whereby the marriage knot may be dissolued, though not for fornication: as when one of the parties doth wilfully renounce, leaue and forsake the other vpon no iust cause, but either of lightnesse or for diuers religion, as when an Infidell forsaketh a Christian; a Papist, a Protestant; an heretike, a true pro-

fessor

sertion; or vpon any other vnlawfull or vniust cause: for the Apostle saith plainely, *A brother or sister is not in subiection in such things*, 1. Cor. 7. 15. that is, is freed from the yoke or bond of marriage.

First, it is plaine that the Apostle is so to be vnderstood in this place: for the word which hee vseth is, δεδούλωται, is no longer a seruant, or in subiection: which is to be taken in the same sense, as if he should say, δέδεται, hee or shee is no longer bound or tyed: which word the Apostle vseth verse 39. And againe the Apostle hath relation here to the fourth verse, where he saith, *The wife, in the 4. hath no power of her owne bodie*, and the husband likewise: But now, saith he, the Infidell partie hauing wilfully separated himselfe, δεδούλωται, the innocent partie is no longer in subiection, that is, ἐξουσιάζει, hath now power ouer his owne bodie: and is now become, ἐλεύθερος, free, exempt from the marriage knot or bond, in which sense the Apostle vseth the word, verse 39.

Secondly wee must know, what kind of desertion it is, that causeth a dissolution of marriage, and in what manner. First, it must be *malitiosa desertio*, a malitious departure without any iust cause: But when as the husband is absent by consent about necessarie affaires, as the Merchant beyond the seas: or is employed in some weightie businesse, as in warfare, in ambassage, or such like: or is violently deteined in prison or captiuitie, amongst the Turkes, or elsewhere: In these and the like cases the wife is bound to wait and expect the returne of her husband, vnlesse she be otherwise aduertised of his death: According to the decree of the Trullane Synode, *can. 93. Mulieres quæ non expectant viri peregrinantis reditum, sed alteri nupserint, antequam certa sint de morte, mœchantur*: Souldiours wiues, which doe not expect their husbands returne, being in trauell, but doe marrie others, before they be certaine of their death, doe commit adulterie. Secondly, the innocent partie must vse all means to reconcile, reclaime, and bring home againe the wilfull and obstinate partie so departing, if it be possible. Thirdly, if he continue in his obstinacie, and depart, hauing no purpose to returne, the matter must be brought before the Iudge or Magistrate in such cases: who after publike citation of the obstinate partie, and certaine knowledge that he refuseth wilfully to appeare being cited, and is not otherwise letted to come, may with mature deliberation pronounce the innocent partie free and at libertie to marry, according to S. *Pauls* rule, *A brother or sister is not bound in such things*.

Thirdly, neither is Saint *Paul* contrarie to our Sauiour Christ, who alloweth no diuorce but onely for fornication: for that is a diuers case from this, whereof S. *Paul* treateth: And there is great difference betweene lawfull diuorce, and vnlawfull and wilfull desertion: for there the innocent partie first claimeth the priuiledge of separation: here the guiltie partie first separateth himselfe; there diuorce is sued and required: here the innocent partie seeketh no diuorce, but seeketh all meanes of reconciliation: So that properly the setting free the innocent partie in this case, cannot be called a diuorce. Christ therefore speaketh of lawfull diuorce, not of euery dissolution of marriage: for then mention should haue been made in that place of naturall death and departure, which is confessed by all to be a dissolution and breaking off of marriage.

Thus haue I shewed mine opinion with *Beza* and others concerning this point: herein further then in all the rest, referring my selfe to the determination of our Church, and the iudgement of our learned brethren, *Beza. 1. Cor. 7. vers. 15. Hemingius. Tileman. Hesshus. Luther. de captiu. Babylon. cap. de Matrimon. Melanct. loc. theolog. tit. de coniug. Caluin. in 19. Matth.*

We haue also the consent of Antiquitie: *Concil. Lateranens. part. 50. cap. 23.* wee finde this decree: A certaine man for the space of ten yeeres was absent from his wife, the woman came and complained, that shee could no longer expect his returne; then it followeth thus: *Episcopus sicut vir prouidus, parentibus suis mandauit, vt pro eo mitterent, & ipsum ad propria reuocarent. Cumque elapso longo temporis spatio, vir ad propria non remearet: Episcopus in conspectu Ecclesiæ inter eos diuortij sententiam promulgauit, & mulieri, vt alium virum duceret plenariam facultatem indulsit*: The Bishop as a prouident man, did enioyne their parents to send for him and call him home: And after a long time, when he came not, the Bishop in the sight of the congregation did pronounce the sentence of diuorce betweene them, and gaue the woman libertie to marrie another. Which sentence of the Bishop was approoued of the whole Councell. The same Canon, see *decret. Gregor. lib. 4. tit. 17. c. 8.*

Further euidence also we haue for marriage in the case of wilfull desertion: *Ambros. in 7. 1. ad Corinth.* vpon these words, *a brother or sister is not in subiection, &c. Non debetur reuerentia coniugij ei, qui horret authorem coniugij, &c.* The reuerence of marriage is not due to him, which abhorreth the author of marriage, &c. *Ac per hoc non est peccatum ei qui dimittitur propter deum, &c.* And so it is no sinne vnto him, which is dismissed for Gods cause, if he marrie another.

Cod. lib. 5. tit. 1. leg. 2. Constant. Sponsa post biennium, &c. The spouse after two yeere expecting the returne of her husband, may marrie another: *Tit. 27. leg. 2. Post triennium*, after three yeeres she may marrie: *leg. 7. Post quadriennium*, after foure yeeres, if she heare no newes of her husband. If the lawe giue this libertie, when the husband is absent vpon other occasion, and supposed to be dead, much more in the case of voluntarie desertion.

Likewise decreeth the Canon lawe, *Caus.* 28. *qu.* 1. *c.* 4. *Vxor sine vlla culpa relinquitur, &c.* The wife is left without any fault at all, if she refuse to dwell with a Christian husband.

Ibid. qu. 2. *c.* 2. *Greg. Infidelis discedens, &c.* An infidell departing sinneth against God, and the faith of matrimonie is not to be kept with him.

Decret. Greg. lib. 4. *tit.* 19. *c.* 7. *Qui relinquitur ad secunda si voluerit, vota transibit:* He or shee that is forsaken, may if shee will, goe vnto second marriage.

The Papists themselues allow the partie forsaken, to marrie againe; but the difference betweene vs is this: first, they affirme, that where the one partie is an Infidell, the marriage is dissolued, whether the vnbeleeuing partie will remaine or not; contrary to the Apostle, 1. *Cor.* 7. 13. *If hee be content to dwell with her, let her not forsake him.* Secondly, they hold this to be desertion onely, where the one partie is an Infidell: and in this case of infidelitie only matrimonie vpon desertion to be dissolued: whereas if there be a wilfull desertion of the one partie, the case is all one, whether he be a professed Infidell or not: for he that is careless of his wife and family, by Saint *Pauls* rule, *is worse than an infidell*, 1. Timoth. 5. 8.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER IT BE LAWfull to marrie after diuorcement for adulterie.

The Papists.

84. Error. FOr adulterie one may dismisse another, but neither partie can marrie againe for any cause during life, *Rhemist. Matth.* 19. *sect.* 4. no, not the innocent partie may marrie againe: for the marriage knot is not dissolued because of adulterie, *Concil. Trident. sess.* 24. *can.* 7.

Argum. 1. Mark. 10. 11. *Whosoeuer shall put away his wife and marrie another, committeth adulterie against her.* Likewise, Luk. 16. 18. *Ergo*, it is not lawfull to marrie againe at all after the wife be put away, *Bellar. c.* 16. *argum.* 2.

Ans. Saint *Marke* and *Luke* must be expounded by Saint *Matthew*, who saith, *Whosoeuer shall put away his wife except it be for fornication, and marrie another, committeth adulterie:* whereupon it followeth, that not euery one which putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adulterie: wherefore the other Euangelists must be vnderstood to speake of other ordinarie and common occasions, such as were vsuall among the Iewes, for the which then did vse to put away their wiues, and not to include in their generall sentence, this exception of fornication; for then the Euangelists should be contrarie each to other.

Bellar. 1. When *Marke* did write his Gospell at Rome, is it like that he would send the Romanes to *Matthew* for an exposition thereof. 2. It followeth not, *whosoeuer putteth away &c. except for fornication, and marrieth againe, committeth adulterie: Ergo*, he that putteth his wife away for fornication, &c. doth not commit adulterie: and that for diuers reasons, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. First, the Apostles and Euangelists liuing, who did write and preach the Gospell, they needed not to send one to another to know the sense, themselues being directed of the spirit: but now, the best direction we haue, is to expound the Scripture by it selfe, and to make it accord together. Secondly, this exception εἰ μὴ, *vnlesse*, or *except*, doth alwayes inferre the contrarie to that which is affirmed: as Luk. 17. 18. *There are none found to returne to giue God praise, saue this stranger: Ergo*, this straunger did returne to praise God: Likewise Matth. 5. 20. *Except your righteousnes exceed the righteousnes of the Scribes, &c. ye shall not enter into the kingdome of heauen:* Ergo, if it did exceed, &c. they should enter: After the same manner, If whosoeuer doe put away his wife, &c. except for fornication, do commit adulterie; then he that for fornication doth put away and marrie againe, doth not, &c. As for the reasons alledged to the contrarie, they shall be examined in the answeres to our arguments. Thirdly, if they vnderstand *Marke* and *Luke* thus generally without exception, then it shall not be lawfull at all to *dismisse for fornication. Bellarm.* answereth, that this may be prooued out of Saint Matth. c. 5. v. 32. *whosoeuer shall put away his wife, except for fornication: Ergo*, for fornication it is lawfull to dismisse. *Contra.* 1. Doth not he now send vs for the vnderstanding of *Marke* and *Luke*, to *Matthew*? 2. And doth not he himselfe conclude the contrarie vpon the exception? thus he offendeth against his owne rules, and alloweth that in his owne argument, which he misliketh in ours.

Argum. 2. Matth. 5. 32. *Whosoeuer shall marrie her that is diuorced, committeth adulterie:* This must be vnderstood generally, without the exception of fornication; for if it be lawfull to marry an adultresse that is diuorced for adulterie, and not the innocent partie, that is dismissed, but not for adulterie, then should the case of the adultresse be better then of the other: *Bellar. s.* 16 *arg.* 1.

Ans. The adultresse is not straightway to be admitted to second marriage, but it is fit that some restraint should be made in the discretion of the magistrate, least it might be made an vsuall practise for incontinent persons to get them new mates: therefore in this behalfe the adultresse case is not so good. 2. The innocent persons case is much better, because she is free from so great a sinne

a ſinne as the adultereſſe is guiltie of. 3. The innocent partie may be reconciled to her firſt huſband: 1. Cor. 7. 11. which is better than to haue a new husband. 4. If ſhe cannot be reconciled, if the froward partie fall into the ſinne of incontinencie, as hee is moſt like in this caſe (refuſing the companie of an honeſt wife) to be giuen ouer, then hath the innocent partie the ſame remedie, with much better conditions, than the other. 5. Neither doth the argument follow, as it may appeare by this inſtance: Your penance you call the ſecond table after ſhipwracke: ſhe that ſweareth not need not this remedie, the adultereſſe is admitted to it; is the adultereſſe therfore the better becauſe of this ſecond table? no more is ſhe for her ſecond husband. 6. Wherefore the exception in the firſt clauſe of the ſentence, *except it be for fornication*, muſt be ſupplyed alſo in the latter, as it is euident Matth. 19. 5. where the exception is ioyned to both members of the ſentence, both of *diſmiſſion*, and *marrying againe*.

Argum. 3. Rom. 7. 2. The woman is bound by the law to her husband, ſo long as he liueth: nothing but death diſſolueth the bond betweene man and wife: therefore not lawfull to marrie againe after diuorce, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſ. 1. Saint *Paul* muſt be expounded by our Sauiour Chriſt, who maketh exception of fornication, Matth. 5.

2 Neither doth Saint *Paul* denie, that marriage may be diſſolued, while they liue, without breaking of wedlocke: but that although the knot hold during their life, yet by death it is diſſolued. Againe, Saint *Paul* hauing no occaſion to intreat of diuorce, ſpeaketh of marriage as it ſtandeth whole and ſound by the ordinance of God, that if a woman ioyne her ſelfe to another man, her former wedlocke being not lawfully diſſolued, ſhe is a wedlocke breaker.

3 Therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, *Quæ ſub viro eſt mulier*, the woman that is in ſubiection to the man: But ſo is not a woman diuorced and ſeparated, any longer in ſubiection to her husband: therefore of ſuch an one the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not.

4 Laſtly, we muſt conſider the ſcope of the place, and how the Apoſtle applyeth this ſimilitude: As verſ. 4. he ſaith, that the lawe being dead by the comming of Chriſt, we are freed from it, from henceforth to liue vnto him; as the woman is free after the death of her husband to marrie to another: ſo that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of the continuance of the bond of wedlocke vntill death, but of the diſſolution thereof after death: which onely ſerueth for his preſent purpoſe. And thus alſo is that other place to be expounded, 1. Cor. 7. 39. where the Apoſtle ſheweth, that although marriage remaine firme and ſure vntill death, yet then it is diſſolued: To this effect alſo anſwereth *Caietanus* a learned Papiſt.

Argum. 4. 1. Cor. 7. 11. If ſhe depart, let her remaine vnmarried, or be reconciled: *Ergo*, the parties ſeparated for fornication may not marrie againe, *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of other ſeparations, which are cauſed by diſſentions in marriage, and not of diuorce for adulterie: for he ſaith, 1. *If ſhe depart*; not, *If ſhe be put away*: 2. neither was it vſuall a thing for reconciliation to be ſought after ſolemne diuorce. 3. Againe, hee ſaith, *Let not the woman depart*, as being in her choice, whether ſhe would depart or not: but in the caſe of fornication, ſhe was to depart, or rather be put away, whether ſhe would or not. Neither would Saint *Paul* haue ſaid in caſe of diuorce, *let her not depart*, ſeeing the Goſpell graunteth ſeparation to be made betweene the man and wife in ſuch caſes.

Bellarm. anſwereth, 1. That the Apoſtle in the firſt place, v. 10. *Let not the wife depart from her husband*, ſpeaketh of vnlawfull and vniuſt departure. In the next v. 11. *but if ſhee depart, let her remaine vnmarried*, or be reconciled, he ſpeaketh of lawfull departure for fornication. 2. If the Apoſtle had ſpoken of any vnlawfull or vniuſt departure, he would not haue put it to the womans choice, whether to be reconciled or not; but ſimply haue enioyned her to be reconciled: as before, *ad arg.* 4.

Contra. Firſt, the ſame kind of departure is vnderſtood in both places: 1. becauſe they make but one full ſentence, and theſe words, *ἐὰν δὲ καὶ, quod ſi*, but if, haue relation to the other, and ſhewe a coherence of the ſenſe: 2. and againe, the ſame word χωρισθῆναι is vſed in both verſes, ſhewing one and the ſame kind of ſeparation.

Secondly, 1. the Apoſtle doth not put it to the womans choiſe to be reconciled or not, but by the meanes denying libertie of marriage, doth driue her to ſeeke reconciliation; and ſaith thus with effect: that, if ſhe did not reconcile her ſelfe, ſhee ſhould remaine vnmarried: 2. For otherwiſe it was not in the caſe of diſmiſſion for adulterie in the offenders power to be reconciled, but in the innocent partie to receiue her to reconciliation: but here it is in the power of the guiltie partie to reconcile her ſelfe: therefore it was for other offences beſide fornication.

Argum. 5. If marriage ſhould be graunted after diuorce, theſe inconueniences would follow. Firſt, the children ſhould be euill prouided for, that are conſtrained to liue vnder a ſtepfather, or ſtepmother. Secondly, by this meanes, the married parties being diſcontented, would take occaſions and picke quarrels one to the other, that they may be diuorced and marry againe.

Thirdly, if the marriage be vtterly dissolued, then the guiltie partie is either to marrie againe, or not to marrie: if the first, they of purpose may commit adulterie, that they may marry where they list: if the second, what reason is there to restraine the weaker partie of the remedie? *Bellar. l. 1. c. 16.*

Contra. First, 1. The same daunger will be to the children, vpon second marriage after death, as well as after diuorce, to endure stepfathers or stepmothers; shall therefore all second marriage for this be restrained? 2. If the innocent partie hauing not the gift of continencie, should be forced to keepe an adultéresse still, there would ensue a greater inconuenience, the father being vncertaine of his children.

Secondly, 1. As it may be feared, least diuorces should be procured and sought, where a way is open to second mariage; so if the way were shut vp, a greater matter would be feared; least where by diuorce they cannot helpe themselues to new wiues, they should practise by other meanes one to take away another. 2. Againe, where diuorce is by pretence or consent, to please their owne lust, the magistrate in his discretion hath power to moderate and ouerrule such inordinate practises. 3. But where Christ hath graunted a libertie, the wisdome of man must not controull it, but leaue the successe to Gods prouidence.

Thirdly, 1. As the guiltie partie by *Moses* lawe was to die for adulterie, so now also; if some grieuous mulct be laid vpon the offender, according to the nature of the offence, they would haue small list to practise by adulterie. 2. The guiltie partie doth not sue for diuorce, but the partie grieued; and therefore if there be offence willingly committed, yet the innocent partie may expect amendment and reconciliation; without whose consent and liking, diuorce is not to be graunted. 3. Some haue thought, that the guiltie partie should not take benefite at all of second marriage, as *Luther*, *Erasmus*: some otherwise, as *Melanct. in annot. ad c. 5. Matth.* Howsoeuer, he is not so easily to be admitted to it; but with due punishment and rebuke before, and the mature aduise and discretion of the Magistrate.

The Protestants.

FOr no other cause in the world; but onely for fornication, may there be either a finall separation, or cleane dissolution of mariage, by way of diuorce: But for that cause our Sauiour hath graunted libertie, both to dissolue matrimonie, and to marry againe.

Argum. Matth. 5. 32. *Whosoeuer putteth away his wife (except it be for fornication) committeth adulterie: Ergo*, for fornication it is lawfull for a man to dismisse his wife. Likewise Matth. 19. 9. *Whosoeuer shall put away his wife, except it be for whoredome, and marrie another, committeth adulterie: Ergo*, for adulterie it is lawfull for the man both to put away and renounce his wife; and the wife likewise her husband (for there is the like reason for both) and for them to marrie againe. This libertie graunted by our Sauiour Christ, by no humane lawe can be restrained or cut off.

This place troubleth our aduersaries very sore, and therefore they haue found out many shifting holes, but all to small purpose.

1. *Durand* a cunning Papist thus answereth: That when Christ vttered these words, the lawe of the Iewes was, that the adulterous woman should be put to death, and so the husband might haue libertie to marrie againe.

Contra. Bellarmine ouerthroweth this answer, 1. Because Christ here giueth a rule not only to the Iewes, but to all Christians, not being ignorant, how that in euery nation, the lawe of putting the adultéresse to death, should not be in force. 2. Christ might as well haue exempted other crimes that were punished by death, as murder, and the like, that in those cases they might marry againe, because by the lawe their wiues were to die, as well as in the case of fornication. 3. Christ speaketh of dismission: but properly the wife is not said to be dismissed, when she is put to death: Christ therefore is not so to be vnderstood.

2. *Bellarmine* therefore approoueth this exposition: *Whosoeuer shall put away his wife (except it be for fornication) and marrie another*: hee would haue the exception restrained to the first clause, in this sense: hee that putteth away his wife, which it is not lawfull to doe but for fornication: so that the crime of fornication maketh it lawfull to dismisse, but not after dismission to marrie againe.

Contra 1. This exposition is contrarie to the Iesuite, for he alloweth a separation of matrimony in other cases, as of heresie, infidelitie, vow of continencie: but here he saith, that only separation and dismission is to be made in the case of fornication. 2. This answer of Christ had not been sufficient, if he had spoken only of diuorce, and not of liberty to marry againe: for the Pharisies mooued the question concerning the manner of diuorce permitted by *Moses* lawe, after the which it was lawfull for them to marry againe: And therefore it was expected that our Sauiour should answer to both these points; both in what cases they might dismisse their wiues, and marrie againe. 3. The sentence cannot stand in any good sense, vnlesse it be read wholy together; vnlesse you will say, that he which putteth away his wife only, committeth adulterie: he may cause her to commit adulterie, as the Euangelist hath in another place, Matth. 5. 32. but commit adultery he doth not,

vnlesse he marrie another; so that this must needs be the sense, he that putteth away his wife and marrieth another, vnlesse it be in the case of fornication, committeth adulterie.

3. *Bellarmine* further answereth with *Augustine*, that these words (*except it be for fornication*) are onely negatiuely to be taken in this sense: that hee which putteth away his wife, and marrieth, where there is no fornication, sinneth: but he determineth not of the affirmatiue part, where there is fornication, whether the partie in marrying againe sinne or not: so that it followeth not, he that marrieth againe, his wife being put away without fornication, sinneth: *Ergo*, he that marrieth, his wife being dismissed for fornication, sinneth not: it may be a lesse sinne, or not so grieuous a kind of adulterie, but it followeth not, that it is not at all: *Bellar. cap. 17. resp. ad obiect. 3.*

Cont. 1. This answere had been more sufficient than the other: for Christ in not determining this question should haue left them in suspence, and vncertaine what to do: whereas Christs answeres vse to be most full. 2. If as well he committeth adulterie, that marrieth vpon diuorce for fornication, as he that marrieth where there is no fornication, then our Sauiour Christs exception is needlesse: he might haue said in generall termes, that whosoeuer putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, excepting no cause, committeth adulterie. And so indeed S. *Marke* and S. *Luke* set downe this speech in generall words: who are to be expounded by *Matthew*, least they should seeme contrary one to the other. But farre be it from vs to thinke, that Christ vsed any needlesse or superfluous word. 3. This word of exception, *ei mē*, *nisi*, vnlesse, or except, in Scripture is vsed to signifie a contrary disposition in that, which is excepted to that which is set downe, so that if the one be affirmed, the other is denied: as 1. King. 3. 18. *None was in the house, except we twaine:* they two therefore were, other were not: Luk. 13. 3. *Except yee repent, yee shall perish: Ergo*, if you do repent, you shall not perish: Luk. 17. 18. *None are found to returne to praise God, ei mē, except this stranger:* therefore this stranger did returne. So where Christ saith, *Who so putteth away his wife, except it be for fornication, and marrieth another, committeth adulterie*; wee inferre negatiuely, that he doth not commit adulterie, who putteth away, and marrieth, where there is fornication. Thus for all their shifting euasions, the truth cannot be obscured.

Argum. 2. S. *Paul* saith, *Let euery man haue his wife, and euery woman her husband, for auoyding of fornication, and it is better to marrie, then to burne.* Wherefore it is lawfull, the first mariage according to the word of God being broken, both for men and women to vse the remedie against incontinencie, and to be married againe: for he speaketh generally of all. To this purpose *Hierome* thus excuseth the mariage of *Fabiola*, *Repudiato marito, &c.* Her first husband being refused: *Melius (inquit Apostolus) nubere, quàm vri*: The Apostle saith, It is better to marrie then burne: she was young, and could not keepe her widowhood, and therefore thought it better to confesse her infirmitie, and to enter into a shadow of mariage, then vnder the shew of single life to play the harlot: *ad Oceanum.*

Argum. 3. If after diuorce for adulterie no mariage should be lawfull, then the innocent partie should be punished without his fault: and beside, he not hauing the gift of continencie, and being denied the remedie, eyther shall liue in continuall burning, or else be tempted to fall into adulterie: so it had been better for no diuorce at all to be granted, then vpon diuorce no mariage: *dub. Kemnitij.*

Bellarm. 1. The guiltie partie may be reconciled againe, and so be retained still. 2. Or if that be not expedient, the remedie of continencie is readie for all those, that will sue for it, and aske it at Gods hands. 3 And in this case the innocent partie must endeuour to containe, as in the long absence, or sickenesse of the wife: *B. c. 17 respons. ad obiect. 2.*

Cont. 1. For the partie that offendeth, vpon his or her repentance to be receiued againe; we denie not, but to be a very charitable, and simply the best course: but all the matter is, when as there is no hope of amendment, shall a man retaine a serpent still in his bosome? 2. The gift of Continencie is not giuen to euery man: for 1. our Sauiour saith, Mat. 19. 11. *All can not receiue this thing saue they to whom it is giuen:* It is not then giuen to all, for then all might receiue it, which is here denied. 2. And the Apostle saith further, 1. Cor. 7. 7. *Euery man hath his proper gift of God, one after this maner, another after that.* But if euery man may haue the gift of cōtinencie, it is no proper but a common gift. 3. Where Gods hand is vpon either partie, as by long sicknes, or by necessitie of inuoluntarie absence, as in captiuitie, there being no other remedie left, God will not deny the necessary gift: but where there is an ordinary remedie by mariage, we must not flie to the extraordinarie gift, which were to tempt God: as *Peter* leaped out of the ship, to walke vpon the water, and began to sinke; so they which leaue the ordinarie meane, trusting to extraordinarie helpe, may be deceiued. 4. If continencie were such an easie and vsuall remedie vpon diuorce; why did Pope *Gregorie* 3. giue this libertie, *Caus. 32. qu. 7 c. 18.* that if a woman, by reason of her infirmitie, be not able to render her due, the man, *qui se continere non poterit, nubat*, which cannot containe himselfe, may marrie? And *ibid. c. 24.* If a man lie with his stepmother, *Vir eius potest aliam accipere, si se continere non potest*: Her husband may take another, if he cannot containe. It is eui-

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dent by these Canons, that euery man cannot containe, and that mariage after lawfull diuorce, is the next and best remedie against incontinencie.

Argum. 4. If vpon lawfull diuorce marriage were not lawfull, then the law of diuorce should be altogether superfluous and vnnecessarie; neither should Christ haue prouided as good a remedie in this case, as *Moses* did, by whose law the adultresse was to die, and so the innocent partie at libertie to marrie againe. But none of Christs precepts are vnnecessarie or superfluous: *Ergo.*

Bellarm. Yea, diuorce is to great purpose, though it be not free to marrie afterward: for otherwise the innocent partie should be constrained to the great daunger of his soule, sometime to liue with an heretike, &c. *Bellarm. c. 17 resp. ad obiect. 2.*

Contra. 1. Separation for heresie is not lawfull, but onely for adulterie, and therefore this instance is impertinent. 2. The innocent partie may sequester or separate himselfe of his owne accord from the guiltie partie, though there were no publike law of diuorce, as *Bellarm.* confesseth, *Diuortium quoad thorum propria authoritate fieri posse*: That diuorce from the bed may be done by a mans owne authoritie: *c. 14. obiectat. 2.* and by this priuate separation, all those pretended daungers may be auoided.

Argum. 5. This obiection was made in *Augustines* time, *lib. 2. de adulter. coniug. c. 17. Conatur mariti adulteras occidere, &c.* If marriage after diuorce be adulterie, then the husbands shall be vrged to conspire against their wiues, to take them out of the way, that they may marry again.

Augustine answereth: 1. The same inconuenience may follow, when as the wife is separated for any other cause than adulterie, that some may practise against the life of their husbands in this case also, to marrie their wiues. 2. Another inconuenience may be feared on the other side, that men will first dismisse their wiues to cause them to fall into adultery, that they may haue new. *Augustinus ibid.*

Contra. 1. No separation is to be graunted but for adulterie, and therefore in such vnlawfull separations, no such daunger can be feared, but when the separation is lawfull and mariage vnlawfull. 2. To practise against a womans chastitie, is not so great a sinne, as to practise against her life: This may follow vpon the denying of marriage, the other vpon graunting. *Augustine* saith, as he is alledged, *caus. 33. qu. 2. c. 9. Si facturus est, quod non licet, istum faciat adulterium, qui non faciat homicidium, &c.* If a man must needs doe that which is not lawfull, let him commit adulterie rather than murder; and marrie another while his wife liueth, rather than shed blood: the inconuenience then is worse than the other. 3. Where inconueniences are like to ensue on both sides, the lesse is to be taken, as rather that rule to be followed which is more consonant to the Gospell, as this is to marrie after lawfull diuorce.

De fide & oper. cap. 19.

Augustine saith, that he which putteth away his wife for adulterie, and marrieth another, *hic est aquandoui*, is not in the same case with him, which for any other cause putteth away and marrieth againe. But if it be as lawfull for other causes to be diuorced, as for heresie and infidelitie, as the Iesuite telleth vs, there should be no difference made betweene the second mariage of the one and the other. *Augustine* in the same place, though he be elsewhere resolute against mariage after diuorce, yet graunteth that it is not plaine out of Scripture, whether he be an adulterer, that marrieth againe after diuorce for adulterie: *Sed quantum existimo, venialiter ibi quisque fallitur*: But as I thinke, we are euery one of vs herein deceiued: And, *de fide & operib. c. 20.* he doubteth, whether he be an adulterer which marrieth another wife, the first being put away for adulterie.

I end this point, better allowing *Pollentius* iudgement for this matter, than *Augustines*, betweene whome there is much discoursed of both sides: *Si mulier à viro non fornicante discesserit, non ei licet alteri nubere propter praeceptum: si autem à fornicante, non ei expedire propter opprobrium*: If a woman depart from her husband being no adulterer, it is not lawfull to marrie another because of the commaundement: but if he be an adulterer, it is lawfull to marry, but not expedient alwaies, because of the shame and reproch, *Ad Pollent. lib. 1. c. 6.*

We haue also further euidence of antiquitie: *Venetic. Concil. can. 2. Eos qui relictis vxoribus suis, sicut in Euangelio dicitur, excepta causa fornicationis, seu adulterij probatione, alias duxerint, statuimus à communione arcendos*: They, which leauing their wiues, vnlesse it be for fornication, and adultery manifestly prooued, and marrie other, we decree, to be put from the Communion. It followeth then, that if adultery be prooued, they may relinquish their wiues, and marry other.

Concil. Vormatiens. can. 63. Si quis cum matre & filia in adulterio manſit, & postea ille vir mulierum acceperit, dimittat eam, & c. illa vero mulier, quam reliquerit, accipiat virum: If any hath continued in adultery with the mother and the daughter, and after hee taketh a wife, let him dismisse her, and haue no wife so long as hee liueth, but the woman so dismissed may take an husband: Likewise if the mother and daughter did commit this sinne ignorantly, they may keepe their husbands: if wittingly, one knowing of another, *dimittant maritos*, they shall dismisse their husbands, *illorum verò vtri accipiant nuberes*: but their husbands may take other women to their wiues. This Coun-

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eth giueth libertie to the innocent partie to marry after diuorce. But *Bellarmine* confesseth, *Libertatem dimittendi faciendi ob crimen, parem esse viro & vxori*: That the libertie to make diuorce for adulterie, is alike to the man and wife: *De matrimon. lib. 1. c. 14. Ergo*, they may both marrie after diuorce for adulterie.

Lateranens. part. 30. cap. 46. Mulieres licita aliqua causa à viris separatæ post annum expletum accipiant alios viros, similiter vir vxores: Women separate from their husbands lawfully, after a yeere may take other husbands, and their husbands other wiues.

Lateranens. part. 6. cap. 21. Vrbanus decreed thus: *Si quis pendente lite matrimoniali alium accepit, & post ea inter ipsum & primam diuortium fuerit celebratum, potest cum secunda remanere*: If any man, while the suite dependeth about marriage betweene him and his wife, doe marry another, and afterward sentence of diuorce be pronounced betweene him and the first, he may vpon sufficient penance remaine with the second. *Synod. Florentin. sess. 25. Græci matrimonia separant, in quo differunt à Latinis*: The Grecians doe vse to separate matrimonie, wherein they differ from the Latines: but the Latines separate marriage onely, *quoad thorum*, not *quoad vinculum*, they dissolue the vse of marriage, not the bond: *Ergo*, the Greeke Church dissenting from them, dissolueth the whole, both the vse of mariage and the knot. And thus farre of this question of marriage after diuorce: which we see hath been practised in times past of the Church, and approued of antiquitie.

Yet we haue further euidence, S. *Ambrose in 7. 1. ad Corinth.* thus writeth, the Apostle saying, *Let not the man put away his wife*, doth not adde as before of the woman, *let him so remaine*, *Quia vir licet vxorem, si dimiserit vxorem peccantem*: Because it is lawfull for the man to marrie a wife, hauing dismissed the first for her offence: here the man in *Ambrose* iudgement is permitted to marrie after diuorce: but there is the same reason and libertie both of the man and wife in this case: *Ergo*, it is lawfull for both.

Cod. lib. 5. tit. 17. leg. 8. Theodos. Vxorem si velit, statim ducere definimus: We do define, that he may lawfully marrie a wife, which putteth away the first, for causes there expressed.

Lib. 9. tit. 9. leg. 2. Crimen lenocinij incurrunt, &c. They incurre the crime of Bawdes, that retaine their wiues still in marriage deprehended in adulterie: and *leg. 3. Dissolutio matrimonij*: Vtter dissolution of marriage is granted vpon the detecting of that crime.

Likewise their owne Canons thus testifie: *cans. 31. qu. 1. c. 6. Licet vxorem insidiatorem dimittere, & fœderi, aliam ducere*: It is lawfull for a man to dismisse a wife, laying awaite for her husbands life, and if he will, to marrie another.

Cans. 29. qu. 2. c. 4. Qui ancillam duxerit vxorem, &c. Hee that hath married a bond-woman, *Si voluerit, aliam accipiat*: After he knoweth her to be a bond-woman, let him take another.

Cans. 32. qu. 7. c. 17. Viro licet ducere aliam: The man may marrie another: *ibid. c. 18. Gregor.* 3. alloweth a man to marrie againe: *Si mulier infirmitate correpta non valet debitum reddere*: If the woman taken with sickenesse cannot render her debt or due to her husband, *ibid. c. 19. Illi, cuius vxor stuprata cum viri fratre, licita coniugia non negantur*: lawfull mariage is not to be denied to him, whose wife committed adulterie with his brother.

Ibid. c. 24. Si quis cum nouerca; If any man hath lyen with his mother in law, *Vir eius potest aliam ducere*, the man may take another, if he cannot containe.

Cans. 33. qu. 1. c. 1. Licet mulieri alteri nubere, ob frigiditatem viri: The woman may marrie another for the weakenesse of her husband. *c. 2. Videtur mulierem secundas nuptias contrahere posse*: It seemeth that the woman may marrie againe, speaking of the same case. *c. 33. qu. 2. c. 9. Potius vxorem viuentem aliam ducat, quàm humanum sanguinem fundat*: Let a man rather marrie another wife, the first yet liuing, then shedde mans blood.

Thus it is euident, how by their owne law and Canons, mariage is lawfull after diuorce: yea, we see that some of their Popes haue granted second mariage vpon diuorce, for other causes then adulterie, wherein, as they presumed, exceeding the rule limited in the Gospel, so now they offend in abridging the libertie graunted.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE DEgrees in marriage prohibited.

Two, of the supputation of degrees. Secondly, whether the degrees forbidden, Leuit. 18. may be dispensed with. Thirdly, whether any other degrees may by humane law be prohibited beside those.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE SVPPVtation and account of degrees.

The degrees are either of consanguinitie, which is of diuers persons comming of the same stocke and bloud: or of affinitie, which ariseth of marriage, as when the kinsmen of either

partie that is married, are by marriage allied to the other, though not of his blood, as *Laban* the brother of *Rebecca* was allied by marriage, as also by blood vnto *Isaac*, though not so neerely.

In both these kindes of kinred there is a right line both vpward and ascending: as in consanguinitie, the Father or Mother, Grandfather, Grandmother, and so forth: in affinitie, the father in law, and mother in law, the stepfather, or stepmother: as also descending, as the sonne, the sonnes sonne, the sonne in law, or daughter in law, and their sonnes and daughters. There is also a collaterall line in consanguinitie, as brother and sister, brother and sisters children, vncle or aunt: in affinitie, the brothers wife, sisters husband, the vncles wife, or aunts husband. Now our aduersaries set downe these rules to know the degrees by.

The Papists.

83. Error. 1. IN the right line there are so many degrees as persons, except the first, from the which we begin the account: as in this example, *Iacob* is in the second degree from *Abraham*. The first is excepted, because it is no degree of distance, but the beginning of the distance of the rest: *Bellar. cap. 26.*

Abraham.
Isaac. 1.
Iacob. 2.

Answ. We see no reason, why the first should be left out: for, 1. looke how many generations, so many degrees: but euery person is a generation. 2. And this is the manner of account in Scripture: as Matth. 1. there are 14. generations reckoned from *Abraham*, whereof *Abraham* maketh one, Iude 14. *Enoch* the seuenth from *Adam*, *Adam* being the first himselfe in that number. Thus the Scripture numbreth *inclusiue*, not *exclusiue*, inclusiuely comprehending also the number from whom the account beginneth. And thus *Abraham* must be counted the first degree, and *Iacob*, not in the second, but the third from him. The vse of Scripture for this matter will perswade more, than any reason the Iesuite can bring. And we see that in Scripture not the space betweene the persons, but the persons themselues are counted the degrees.

Thus the Ciuill law accounteth: *Cod. lib. 6. tit. 16 leg. 2. Diocletian. Prater auia*: The grandmothers brother is in the fourth degree, from the grandchildren. *Filius fratris auia*: The sonne of the grandmothers brother, *est quinto gradu constitutus*, is set in the fift degree: as by this example may be made plaine: *Abraham* is grandfather to *Iacob*: *Iacob* then is in the fourth degree from *Haran Abrahams* brother, and in the fift from *Lot Harans* sonne: so by this account of the Ciuill law, euery person standeth for a degree: *Iacob* 1. *Isaac* 2. *Abraham* 3. *Haran* 4. *Lot* 5.

This manner of account is allowed also by the Canon law: *Cauſ. 35. qu. 3. c. 2. Calixtus: Eos consanguineos dicimus, quos diuina & imperatorum leges consanguineos dicunt, &c.* We call those kinsmen, or of one blood and consanguinitie, whom the diuine lawes, and the lawes of the Emperours doe so call.

Ibid. qu. 5. c. 2. Alexander. Quia hereditates nequeunt deferri, &c. Because inheritances cannot be conueied but from one person to another, the secular Emperour hath prouided, *in singulis personis singulos præsidere gradus*, that in euery person there should be a degree: but because marriage can not be without two persons, therefore the sacred Canons haue appointed two persons in euery degree: but it is manifest that both these kindes of computations, are of one sentence, and tend both to the same effect.

Ibid. c. 6. declarat. arbor. consanguinitat. In computatione ascendentium, & descendentium concordat vtraque ius, &c. In the computation of those that ascend and descend both lawes doe accord: for one person added to another maketh a degree. Thus we see that the computation of the Ciuill law is confirmed by their owne Canons.

The Papists.

86. Error. 2. IN the collaterall line, if the parties be equally distant from the roote or stocke of the generation, looke how many degrees distant they are from the stocke, so is the distance betweene themselues: *Iacob* and *Rachel* are in the second degree, because each of them is remoued from *Bathuel*, in the second degree: neither haue they any relation one to the other, but as they are ioyned in the stocke, *Bellarm. cap. 26.*

Bathuel.	
Rebecca 1.	*Laban* 1.
Iacob 2.	*Rachel* 2.

The Protestants.

Answ. NEither doe we allow this rule: but rather follow the account of the Ciuill law, which in the collaterall line maketh so many degrees as persons, excepting the stocke, which is not to be counted in collaterall degrees, because we begin not to number there. Wherefore according to the rule aforesaid, how many generations, so many degrees. According then to the account of the Ciuill law, which wee here follow, *Iacob* and *Rachel* are not in the second, but the fourth degree each from other: *Rachel*, 1. *Laban*, 2. *Rebecca*, 3. *Iacob*, 4. For in collaterall degrees, we count not the distance from the roote or stocke, but the mutuall distance from themselues.

2. And by this rule one brother should be as neere another, as they are both to their father: the which nature it selfe confuteth: seeing there is greater loue and affection, and so a neerer coniunction betweene the father and the sonne, than betweene brethren.

3. By

3. By this reaſon alſo, if Coſin germanes be but in the ſecond degree, there ſhould be no degree beyond the ſecond forbidden, Leuit. 18. for there is no degree forbidden beyond this: neither is this by name, and directly forbidden.

Bellarm. Firſt, *à fratre ad fratrem non tranſitur per patrem, &c.* Wee doe not paſſe from brother to brother by the father: for one brother proceedeth not from another, either mediatly or immediatly: One brother hath no coniunction with another, but conſidered in the father; and therefore from him we muſt ſeeke for the diſtance of brethren. Secondly, in the ſame equal diſtance, there may be notwithſtanding a greater coniunction, as betweene the father and the ſonne, the coniunction is greater, than betweene brethren, yet the diſtance is alike.

Contra. Firſt, in the 1. collaterall line, the computation doth not follow the carnall proceſſion or generation, as in the right line: and therefore, though one brother proceede not in generation from another, yet the computation may proceede from one to the other. 2. And he reaſoneth abſurdly; brethren are conioyned in the father, therefore from him the diſtance muſt be deriued: for coniunction and diſtance are two diuers things: and the contrary rather is inferred, that becauſe their coniunction is conſidered in the father, the diſtance alſo and diſiunction cannot be taken from thence. 3. And reaſon it ſelfe ſheweth, that from one brother wee cannot account to another, but paſſing by the father in computation.

Secondly, it cannot be that in an equall diſtance, there ſhould be an vnequall coniunction: for the neerenes and farneſſe of the blood, maketh the greater or leſſe coniunction: wherefore if brethren bee as neere each the other in blood as to the father, the coniunction and affection ſhould be as great: like as in a tree, the neerer the roote the more ſappe; ſo in conſanguinitie, the neerer the roote, the more affection.

The Ciuill law in the collaterall line maketh as many degrees as perſons, the ſtocke onely excepted: *Cod. lib. 5. tit. 57. leg. 3. Decius: Soror in ſecundo gradu &c.* The ſiſter in the ſecond degree, the brothers ſonne in the third. *Leg. 7. Patruus & materera:* The vncle and aunt in the third degree. *Tit. 58. leg. 5. Diocletian. Fratres vterini, &c.* Whole brothers are in the ſecond degree. *Leg. 6. Auunculus:* The vncle by marriage in the third degree: *Conſobrinus,* The coſin germane in the fourth. In all theſe examples, there are ſo many degrees as perſons, beſide the ſtocke. This kinde of computation hath alſo the approbation of the Canons: *Cauſ. 35. qu. 5. a. 1. Alexander. 2. Vtraque computatio vno fine concluditur, &c.* Both the computations haue the ſame end: for two degrees leſſe, make but one degree canonicall: as brothers that are by the ſecular lawes in the ſecond degree, are by the Canons in the firſt.

Ibid. a. 6. declarat. arbor. conſanguinitat. Theſe two rules of the Ciuill computation in the collaterall line are commended: firſt, *Quot o gradu quis diſtat à ſtipite, tot vices aqualis toto duplicato diſtat inter ſe, &c.* In what degree any are diſtant from the ſtocke, double ſo much are they diſtant from themſelues: as *Iacob* and *Rachel* are in the ſecond degree from the ſtock (which is not counted for a degree in the collaterall line) and therefore they are diſtant each from the other in the fourth degree. Secondly, another rule is this, in the equall line of collaterals, whether the line be, *pariumeri, vel diſparis:* Of euen number or odde, the degree is alwaies euen. As the firſt line is odde the ſecond euen, &c. yet *Rebecca* and *Laban* being in the firſt line from *Bathuel*, are in the ſecond degree, which is an euen number. It is otherwiſe in the Canonicall computation: for in an odde line, they haue an odde degree: as in the firſt line, where *Rebecca* and *Laban* ſtand, they haue the firſt degree: yet the firſt computation is commended in theſe words, *Bene dicitur ſecundum leges, &c.* It is well ſaid according to the lawes, &c.

I will here laſtly adde the teſtimonie of S. *Ambroſe*, that it may appeare how degrees were accounted in his time: *Ad paternum patruales fratres ſibi quarto gradu ſociantur, &c.* Brothers children are ioyned in the fourth degree: *hic autem gradus tertius eſt:* but this degree is the third, namely, betweene the vncle and his niece.

The Papiſts.

1. THeir third rule is this: In collaterall degrees vnequall, that is, when both are not alike diſtant from the ſtocke, they ſhall differ in that degree, in the which the further of them is remoued from the ſtock: as in this example, *Ioſeph* is diſtant foure degrees from the ſtocke, and as many from *Nachor*, likewiſe from *Bathuel* and *Laban*. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Thare.	
Abraham 1.	*Nachor* 1.
Iſaac 2.	*Bathuel* 2.
Iacob 3.	*Laban* 3.
Ioſeph 4.	

87. Error.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. NEither is this rule perfect: for by this reaſon, he that is indeede a degree farther off, ſhal be in the ſame degree: as *Ioſeph* ſhall be as neere to *Laban* as *Iacob* is to *Nachor*, who is three degrees from *Laban*: but this is againſt common ſenſe, that *Ioſeph* ſhould be as neere the furtheſt off, as to him that is neerer by three degrees.

Bellarmine anſwereth: The reaſon is, becauſe the perſons that are of the one ſide, *Non habent habitudinem*

habitudinem ad eos, qui sunt in altero, vtis ratione stipitis: Haue no relation or disposition to the persons on the other side, but in respect of the stocke wherein they are all ioyned. And therefore looke how farre *Ioseph* is distant from the stocke, so farre hee is from each of the other side.

Contra. If this rule hold in *Ioseph*, who is the fourth degree from the stocke, why shall it not hold in *Abraham* of the same side, who is in the first degree from the stocke, that as *Ioseph* is in the fourth degree from *Nachor, Bathuel, Laban*, because hee is in the fourth degree from *Thare*, so *Abraham* should be in the first degree from *Nachor, Bathuel, Laban*, because hee is so from *Thare*? But this is not so: for you say *Abraham* is but one degree from *Nachor*, two from *Bathuel*, three from *Laban*.

Bellarmine saith the reason is this; because that if *Abraham* should be no further distant from the collaterall persons, than he is from the stocke, as but one degree from *Laban*, because he is but one degree from *Thare*, it would followe, that *Laban* should be neerer to *Abraham*, than to the stocke, from the which he is remoued three degrees, which is impossible.

Contra. 1. Yet by the Iesuites reason alleaged before for *Iosephs* account, it must bee so for *Abraham*: because the collaterall persons haue no relation or disposition together, but as they meet and are vnited to the stocke: why should not then *Abrahams* account be directed by his distance from the stocke, as *Iosephs* is?

2. As this way there falleth out an impossibilitie for *Abraham*, that *Laban* should be neere him than the stocke: so on the other side for *Ioseph*, that *Laban* should bee as neere him, as *Nahor* is, who is three degrees from *Laban*, and must needs be so much neerer *Ioseph*. This account therefore and measuring of degrees according to their blind Canons, is found to be most doubtfull and vncertaine: as it may further appeare thus: The Canon law saith, *Persona addita personæ vsque ad lineam æqualitatis non crescit gradus:* That one person being added to another, till the line be equal, the degree is not encreased; as in the former example, *Laban* is added to *Bathuel*, yet both in the same degree from *Ioseph*: *caus.* 35. *qu.* 5. *c.* 6. *declarat. arbor. consanguinitat.*

Contra. 1. It is absurd and vnreasonable that they should be in the same degree of consanguinitie, and that the addition of a person or generation should not make a degree: for what else is a degree of consanguinitie, but a generation? so that so many generations as there are, so many degrees there should be.

2. In the degrees of affinitie the rule holdeth well: *Persona addita personæ per carnis copulam non mutat gradum sed genus:* One person comming or being added to another by carnall copulation, the degree is not changed but the kinde: *Ibid. declarat. arbor. affinitat.* As the brothers wife, marrying another husband, the second husband is in the same degree of affinitie with the brothers wife, though in another kinde: but it is otherwise in the line of consanguinitie.

3. If this were a good rule, that when two differ vnequally from the stocke, one two degrees, another foure, they shall differ one from another in that degree, which is farthest off, than the fourth: then it would follow very well, they being distant in the same degree one from another, that *if I cannot marrie thy daughter, then thou canst not marrie mine*, and so also affirmatiuely: but this is denied by their Canon: *For he that is in the third degree may contract with his daughter that is in the fourth: sed non è conuerso*, but not contrariwise: *declarat. arbor. affinit.* But if they were in the same degree of distance, according to their rule one from the other, why should it not follow both affirmatiuely, and negatiuely.

4. *Celestinus* 3. decreeth contrarie to this rule: *Decret. Gregor. lib. 4. tit. 14. c. 3.* That whereas there was a certaine indulgence or libertie to marrie in the sixt degree: and so consequently, he that was in the sixt degree on the one side, might marrie into the second or third degree on the other: *Quod videtur posse fieri secundum regulam, &c.* Which it seemeth (saith *Celestinus*) might bee done according to the rule: which is, that how many degrees one is distant from the stocke hee is distant from euery one descending from the stocke on the other line. And so one in the sixt degree, and another in the second or third in another line, differ from themselues in the sixt degree, and consequently by this indulgence might marrie: yet *Celestinus* determineth, that they must not be vnderstood to be in the sixt degree, vnlesse both of them were distant from the stocke in the sixt degree: and so hee apparantly crosseth the Canon, by the which they are said to differ in the sixt degree, if one of them onely bee remoued from the stocke in that degree.

Wherefore in collaterals we preferre the Ciuill account of degrees: that is, so many persons, the stocke of the kinred excepted, so many degrees. These then are the rules for the degrees of marriage.

The

The rules for the degrees of Conſanguinitie.

1. IN the right line aſcending and deſcending all degrees are forbidden; as aſcending, the *father, mother, Grandfather, Grandmother*, Leuitic. 18.7. Deſcending; the *ſonne or daughter, the ſonnes daughter, or daughters daughter*, Leuit. 18.10. and ſo of the reſt.

2. In the collaterall line of conſanguinitie the prohibition reacheth expreſly to the third degree: as it is not lawfull to marrie the Vncle or Aunte, Leuit. 18.12. and by way of conſequence to the fourth degree; as to the Vncle or Auntes ſonne or daughter.

3. The ſame degrees are forbidden by way of Analogie, both to the man and woman: as it is not lawfull for the Nephew to marrie the Aunte, Leuitic. 18.14. So by the ſame reaſon, not for the Niece to marrie her Vncle. And theſe are the rules for the limitation of the degrees of conſanguinitie: The directions alſo for the computation are theſe.

4. In the right line there are ſo many degrees as perſons: as the ciuill law ſaith: *Generata perſona ſemper adijcit gradum:* The generation of euery perſon maketh a degree: as before I haue ſhewed, *Err.* 85.

5. In the collaterall line equall, or vnequall, there are ſo many degrees as perſons, not counting the ſtocke: See before *Err.* 86. 87.

Of the degrees of Affinitie.

FIrſt of the Computation of the degrees; then of the limitation: the rules for the Computation are theſe.

1. The firſt rule of the Canon law is this: *Inter virum & mulierem non contrahitur affinitas, ſed ob ſuæ affinitatis cauſa:* Affinitie is not betweene the man and the woman, but they are the cauſe of affinitie: for affinitie is defined *Perſonarum proximitas ex coitu proueniens*: The neerenеſſe of perſons proceeding of carnall coniunction.

2. Hereupon it followeth, that the neereſt affinitie is in the ſecond or third degree: for if the man and wife be counted as one degree, the firſt affinitie is in the ſecond; if they be reckoned for two, the firſt affinitie is in the third, as the *wiues or husbands, father, brother, daughter, &c.*

3. *Quo gradu quis tibi conſanguineus, eodem vxor affinis:* In what degree thy kinſman is of conſanguinitie, in the ſame degree of affinitie is his wife. The law giueth this reaſon, *becauſe they are in the ſame:* *cauſ.* 35. *qu.* 5. *c.* 3. And this rule ſeemeth to be grounded vpon the Scripture: Leuit. 18.14. *Thou ſhalt not vncouer the ſhame of thy fathers brother, thou ſhalt not goe into his wife, for ſhe is thy aunt.* Here the vncles wife is called the aunt, as being in the ſame degree of kinred: hee of conſanguinitie, ſhe of affinitie. By this rule the brother being in the ſecond degree of conſanguinitie, his wife ſhall be in the ſecond degree of affinitie. I am not ignorant that ſome doe account alwaies the affinitie in a degree further than the conſanguinitie by the which it commeth in; as they place the vncles wife in the fourth degree of affinitie, the vncle being in the third of conſanguinitie, *Iun. Anim. in* 18. *Leuitic.* And this account I followed in the other edition: the matter is not great, whether way wee make our computation: but the firſt ſeemeth to me to be more probable, and according to the rule of the Ciuill law: *Generata perſona adijcit gradum, &c.* The generation of a perſon maketh a degree: where then there is no generation, but a copulation onely or coniunction, there is no new degree.

4. *Perſona addita perſonæ per carnis copulam mutat genus, non gradum:* One perſon comming to another by carnall copulation, chaungeth not the degree, but *the kinde of affinitie:* as the brothers wife is of affinitie in the ſecond degree and firſt kind: if ſhe marrie a ſecond husband, he is of affinitie in the ſame degree, but in the ſecond kinde: if he marrie another wife, ſhe is of affinitie in the ſecond degree ſtill, but in the third kind.

5. By this rule of the Canon law may another be collected: *Perſona addita perſonæ per generationem, mutat gradum, ſed non genus, &c.* A perſon added to a perſon by generation, doth chaunge the degree of affinitie, not the kind. As we haue an example, Leuit. 18.17. The wiues daughter is in the ſecond degree of affinitie to the husband and the firſt kinde: her daughters daughter is in the third degree and firſt kinde. And theſe are the rules of the computation of the degrees of affinitie.

The rules for the limitation of the degrees of Affinitie.

1. INter affines aſcendentes, deſcendentes, prohibitio extenditur in infinitum: In aſcending or deſcending, affinitie is prohibited infinitely, that is, without any limitation: as Leuitic. 18.17. It is not lawfull to marrie the wiues *daughter, nor daughters daughter*, and ſo downward: and likewiſe aſcending, not the wiues father, or fathers father, &c.

2. *Affinitatis*

2. *Affinitatis perpetuum est impedimentum, quòd durat, mortua persona, qua mediante contrahitur.* Affinitie is a perpetuall impediment, and it holdeth, though the person be dead, by whom it was contracted: *caus.35.qu.10.c.2.* As, though the wife be dead, yet her kinred is of affinitie still with her husband remaining aliue.

3. *Affinitas non habet prohibitionem nisi in primo genere:* Affinitie is not forbidden, but in the first kind: *declar. arbor. affinit.* Affinitie in the first kind continueth, till it be changed, by a new coniunction in marriage: as the brothers wife is of affinitie in the first kind, but if she marrie againe, her second husband is of affinitie in the second kind, and with him mariage is not prohibited.

4. In collaterall affinitie mariage is inhibited till the third degree, counting the man and wife for one, or to the fourth, making them two degrees, Leuitic. 18.14. the *Vncles wife is of affinitie* in the third degree, the vncle being in the same degree of consanguinitie.

5. *Inter consanguineos viri & consanguineos vxoris, nulla affinitas:* Betweene the kinred of blood on the mans side, and the kinred of blood on the womans side there is no affinitie? and therefore two brothers may marrie with two sisters; the father and the sonne, with the mother and the daughter.

6. In consanguinitie it followeth, the father is my kinsman, therefore his sonne, but not in affinitie: for the father marrying my sister, and hauing a sonne by her, he is of consanguinitie, but not of affinitie vnto me, if he haue a sonne by another wife: though the father be my kinsman in affinitie by his first mariage, yet the sonne is neyther of affinitie nor consanguinitie.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER ANY OF the Degrees prohibited in the law may be dispensed withall.

The Papists.

They say not that the Pope may dispense with all, but with some of them, *Concil. Trident. sess.24.can.3.* As they tooke vpon them to dispense with King *Henry* the 8. mariage with his brothers wife: their reason is, because some of those prohibitions were only iudiciall and positiue constitutions, not grounded vpon the law of nature. 83.7. c.

Argum.1. If it be the law of Nature not to marrie within those degrees, it should haue been in force before the law was made: but so was it not: for *Abraham* married his brothers daughter, and *Iacob* two sisters, *Bellarm. cap.27.*

Answ. 1. As *Augustine* saith of the mariage and copulation of *Adams* children, brothers and sisters together: *Factum est compellente necessitate:* It was for necessitie sake, because there were then no more women: so also may it be in some sort true of those Patriarkes, that hauing a necessitie to marrie amongst their owne kinred, and not with the Gentiles; there was no choise to be had of women of their owne kinred further off in degree.

2. Although this example of theirs, both in marrying many wiues and so neere of kinne, cannot be altogether excused or iustified in them: yet because the law of nature was not yet so clearely knowne, as afterward by the giuing of the law, which is nothing else but an exposition of the law of nature; the offence was not so great in them, but might better be tollerated: because as *Augustine* saith, it was neither *Contra morem illorum temporum, nec contra praeceptum:* Neither against the custome of those times, nor against any flat precept. And to conclude, although those holy men had their imperfections, yet we must not iudge them in these things according to the euill and corrupt disposition of men in these dayes, which might vse this great libertie in mariage, better then many vse lawfull mariage now: as *Augustine* sayth, *Castius habebant plures, quàm nunc multi vnam:* They vsed many wiues more chastely, then many now liue with one, *De bon. coniug. cap.10.*

Bellarmine replieth: First, hee denieth that *Iacobs* mariage and the rest, were *facta dispensante Deo*, were dispensed with of God: for it appeareth, Genes.28. 2. that it was the custome of the place, to giue two sisters to one man: neyther would *Iacob* haue so easily 3. yeelded to it, if it had been an vnwonted thing: 4. and beside there was no necessitie in it, that they should marrie their kinswomen.

Secondly, if they had sinned in these mariages, 1. then should they haue continued all their life in sinne, which the seruants of God do not: 2. and by this meanes their children should haue been bastards, being borne in vnlawfull Matrimonie: *Bellarm. c.27. respons. ad probat.2.*

Contra. First, *Bellar.* is 1. contrarie to himselfe in denying that the marriages of the Patriarkes were dispensed with: for he affirmed before, *c.11. propos.4. Dispensatio circa polygamiam est indicata patribus, &c.* The dispentation concerning polygamie, or multitude of wiues, was declared to the Fathers by God, &c. Their Canons affirme the same, *Decret. Gregor. lib.4. tit.19. c.4. Nulli licuit simul plures vxores habere, nisi cui fuit diuina reuelatione concessum, &c.* It was lawfull for none to haue

haue many wiues at once, but to whome it was graunted by diuine reuelation, &c. that as *Iacob* from lying, the Israelites from theft, *Samſon* from murder; ſo they are excuſed from adultery: and as in taking many wiues, ſo alſo in marrying in their neare kinred, it was by the ſame toleration permitted, though not by diſpenſation authorized or warranted.

2. Geneſ. 29. There 1. appeareth no ſuch cuſtome, to giue two ſiſters to one man, but the manner was not to marrie the younger before the elder, v. 26. 2. Though there had been ſuch a cuſtome, it was in an idolatrous countrey, and therefore could not make it lawfull.

3. *Iacob* 1. deſired but one, and had a purpoſe onely to marrie *Rachel*; but being deceiued, hee was driuen to this ſtraite, that he muſt either take both, or els be depriued of her whome he chiefly loued. 2. *Iacobs* affection herein is no excuſe of his infirmitie. 3. And the vnlawfulnes of ſuch marriage, there being yet no poſitiue law, was not ſo fully reuealed vnto them. 4. Wherfore that which *Iacob* might doe either of infirmitie, or ignorance, maketh not the thing lawfull.

4. Their neceſſitie was ſuch, that they muſt either marrie their kinſwomen, or elſe the daughters of Canaan, which was vnlawfull and forbidden, Geneſ. 28. 6.

Secondly, 1. Gods ſeruants doe not continue in any ſinne which they know, without repentance, but a ſinne of ignorance or infirmitie may remaine in them: for how ſhould they correct that which they knew not: it was a weakneſſe in *Abraham* to cauſe *Sara* to diſſemble, as though ſhee were not his wife; yet did not *Abraham* know it, but continued in it; for he committed the ſame error twice: and *Iſaac* his ſonne by his example did the like. 2. Neither can it be denyed, but that there was baſtardie in ſome of their ſeed: ſuch were the two ſonnes of *Thamar* which ſhe had by *Iudah* her father in law: But we deny, that though thoſe marriages in themſelues were vnlawfull, that therefore all their ſeed was illegitimate; both 1. becauſe the poſitiue law was not yet giuen, which iudgeth of baſtardie: 2. And beſide, they married not for luſt, but for procreation and propagation of the Church: 3. As alſo the vnlawfulnes of theſe marriages was tolerated in reſpect of the neceſſitie and condition of thoſe times. 4. And by lawfull marriage ſucceeding, in continuance of time, the firſt ſtaine and blot was extinct and worne out.

Argum. 2. Deuteron. 25. 5. The law giueth this libertie, that if a brother die without iſſue, his brother ſhould take his wife, and raiſe vp ſeed to his brother. This lawe commaundeth nothing againſt nature, becauſe God is the author of nature, who made this law, and doth nothing againſt nature: therefore that is no naturall lawe, Leuitic. 18. that a man ſhould not marry his brothers wife; neither is it ſimply euill ſo to doe, for then God would not haue commaunded the contrary: but it is onely a iudiciall law, afterward abrogate by Chriſt: *Bellar. cap.* 27.

Obiect. 1. That the law, Leuit. 18. was grounded vpon nature, and endured euen after Chriſts comming, it appeareth, in that *Iohn Baptiſt* (Chriſt being then come, and entred into his office) reproued *Herod* for marrying his brothers wife. 2. That libertie graunted, Deut. 25. is an exception from the other law, which ſerued onely for thoſe times, for the continuance of carnall ſeed, and maintenance of their tribes and families, which were to hold till the comming of the Meſſias: but now the cauſe of that exception ceaſing, the libertie alſo is taken away. 3. Neither doth it follow, that if the other law, Leuit. 18. 16. be grounded vpon nature, that this exception ſhould be againſt nature: for not ſimply the marrying of the brothers wife, but the vncleane affection in vncouering the brothers ſhame by ſo doing, maketh it vnnaturall, as it is in the lawe expreſſed: but in marrying the brothers wife in this caſe onely, to raiſe vp ſeed to him, and onely at that time during the ſtate of that people, was not to vncouer but to recouer his ſhame, and raiſe vp his name and honour in Iſrael, wherefore it was not vnnaturall. 4. God is aboue nature, and about the law: and who may better expound the law than the lawgiuer: and by the ſame right might the Lord in this caſe onely graunt libertie to marry the brothers wife, notwithſtanding the other generall law, as *Phinehes* did ſlay the adulterer and adultereſſe, and *Samuel* the King of Amalek, notwithſtanding the law, *Thou ſhalt not kill.* Neither doth it follow, that becauſe God did in that one caſe diſpenſe with his law: *Ergo*, man hath authoritie to doe the ſame. 5. Laſtly, if it be anſwered, that in this exception, Deut. 25. 5. the next kinſman who might marrie the widowe by law, not the brother, is to be vnderſtood: for neither doth the word in that place ſignifie a brother properly: and we ſee the practiſe accordingly, Ruth. 4. where not the brother but the kinſman performeth this duty. This anſwer might ſuffice to remoone the Ieſuites force: but we rather receiue the former.

Bellar. replyeth: Firſt, this exception ſheweth, that to marry the brothers wife, is not ſimply euill of itſelfe, for then it could not be made good and lawfull by any circumſtance. Secondly, he denieth it to be an exception; for not God, that knoweth all things, doth vſe to make exceptions after a law made, but men, when they ſee the law cannot otherwiſe be kept. Thirdly, neither is it a diſpenſation, for a diſpenſation is no lawe, but onely a qualifying of the law in ſome particular caſe. Fourthly, this kinde of marriage is againſt the lawe of nature, no otherwiſe than killing is, which by ſome circumſtance may be made lawfull, and ſo may the other. *Bellar. c.* 27.

Contra. Firſt, to marrie the brothers wife of a fleſhly mind, and carnall luſt, is ſimply euill, and cannot be made lawfull by any circumſtance: but to marry her according to the lawe, onely to raiſe vp ſeed to the brother, for the continuance of the tribes and families, which were then Gods people, was not euill, not proceeding of any ſuch carnall deſire to the brothers wife, but of obedience to the law: like as to kill a man in malice is ſimply euill, and is neuer made lawfull, yet *Phinehes* killing not in malice, but in the zeale of Gods glory, was commended.

Secondly, as man may make exceptions againſt mans lawe, ſo to God onely it belongeth to take exception againſt his owne law: for who dare preſume to adde any thing to Gods law, but himſelfe? neither doth God giue exceptions againſt his law for want of foreſight, but for the profite and vtilitie of men, as this exception was for the commoditie of the Iewes.

Thirdly, neither was this a perpetuall lawe, but onely for that nation and for that time, and therefore hath the right nature of a diſpenſation.

Fourthly, 1. As killing with a malitious mind and of priuate reuenge, is againſt nature, and cannot be made lawfull; ſo is the marrying of the brothers wife with an vncleane affection: but to kill to the glory of God, is diſpenſed with in the worde: ſo is this marriage done onely in obedience to the law, and vtilitie of the people of God. 2. Againe, as the lawfull kind of killing (as by publike authoritie) is allowed by the ſame lawgiuer; ſo alſo the caſes and exceptions that allow the marriage of the brothers wife, muſt be warranted by Gods word. 3. Wherefore *Bellarm.* graunting that this kind of mariage is as much againſt nature as killing is, doth confeſſe as much as we doe deſire: neither hath he gained any thing but loſt; ſeeing that as no man hath power to diſpenſe with killing but God, ſo neither is this marriage lawfull, but in caſes limited and appointed by God: ſo that neither the Pope nor any other mortall man hath power to diſpenſe in this caſe.

The Proteſtants.

WE affirme, that it is vtterly vnlawfull for any Chriſtian to marry within the degrees prohibited: neither can any humane power diſpenſe with ſuch marriages: but the equitie of that law being grounded vpon nature, is in force for euer. Wherefore the Pope of Rome therein himſelfe plainly to be Antichriſt, in diſpenſing againſt the law of God.

Argum. 1. Leuit. 18. 24. The reaſon of that law is giuen concerning the forbidden degrees: They ſhould not defile themſelues in any one of thoſe things, becauſe the Gentiles defiled themſelues thereby, and were caſt out before them for it. Wherefore it is a naturall and perpetuall law, otherwiſe the Gentiles had not been bound vnto it.

Bellar. anſwereth: Firſt, the Gentiles were puniſhed for other greater ſinnes, as idolatrie, adulterie, mentioned before; v. 21. 22. and not onely for theſe marriages. Secondly, the Gentiles did marry in their kinred without any reſpect, and no circumſtances conſidered, and therefore offended againſt the law of nature: for the Patriarkes married within the degrees prohibited, as *Abraham*, yet were not puniſhed, *Bell. c. 27. reſp. ad argum. 1, proteſtant.*

Contra. Firſt, the words are, *In all theſe the nations are defiled:* therefore theſe vnlawfull mariages are comprehended among the reſt: and although they had other ſinnes, for the which they were puniſhed; yet theſe alſo raigned among them, and conſequently were vnnaturall. Secondly, the marriages here forbidden are ſimply propounded without any circumſtance, and therefore no circumſtance of mans deuiſe, not allowed in the law, can diſpenſe with the vnlawfulneſſe of theſe marriages. Thirdly, the ſinnes of the Gentiles are noted, wherewith they did then pollute themſelues: the marriages of the Patriarkes were before the law, and in reſpect of the neceſſitie of thoſe times, their chaſtitie and fidelitie tolerated.

Argum. 2. Mark. 6. 18. *Iohn* ſaith to *Herode*, It is not lawfull for thee to haue thy brothers wife: *Ergo*, the law was not abrogate, being in force in our Sauiour Chriſts time. Neither are they to alledge, that *Herodes* brother was yet liuing, or that he had a child by *Herodias*, and therefore it was not lawfull for him to marrie her: for all this being graunted, which cannot be prooued, yet it is plaine out of the text, that *Iohn* reproueth him in no other name, but becauſe hee married his brothers wife.

Argum. 3. Saint *Paul* reproueth the inceſtuous young man that had his fathers wife, 1. Cor. 5. 1. and excommunicateth him for it: but this is not forbidden any where in the newe Teſtament, but onely by vertue of *Moſes* law: *Ergo*, that law concerning degrees of kinred continued in force ſtill. Neither is it a good anſwer to ſay, as *Bellarmine* doth, that in ſome degrees that lawe holdeth, and not in other; ſeeing that all the degrees there named, Leuitic. 18. are with the like ſtrictneſſe, and in the ſame forme of words prohibited: neither can the Ieſuite ſhewe, where any part of that law is reuerſed. The words are, v. 24. *Ye ſhall not defile your ſelues in any of theſe things*: ſo then all the degrees there expreſſed are forbidden. Neither doth it helpe him to ſay, that this inceſtuous perſon did keepe his fathers wife while his father liued: which is vncertaine, for as it is by ſome affirmed, ſo it is by other denyed, as *Theodoret*: howſoeuer it were, the Apoſtle deſcribeth

both his ſinne to be this, *that he had his fathers wife*: ſo that we ſee, that the Leuiticall prohibition was perpetuall, and in force vnder the Goſpell.

Auguſtine is againſt them, who ſpeaking of the marriage of Conſobrines or Coſin germanes, which had been ſometime in vſe, *Quia id nec diuina prohibuit, & nondum prohibuerat lex humana*: It was as yet thought lawfull, becauſe neither the diuine law forbad it, neither was it yet prohibited by mans lawe. If that then be thought lawfull, which Gods law manifeſtly forbiddeth not, that muſt vnlawfull which it plainely forbiddeth. Wherefore to marrie within any of the degrees diuinely forbidden, Leuit. 18. is vtterly vnlawfull. De ciuitat. Dei lib. 15. cap. 16.

We haue the full conſent of antiquitie, *Concil. Agathenſ. 61. Hos inceſtus cenſemus eſſe, ſi quis relictam fratris, aut germanam vxorem duxerit, &c.* Theſe we count inceſts, if a man marrie his brothers wife, or his owne ſiſter, his mother in law, his Aunt, &c. as it followeth in *Moſes* law.

Aurel. Epaonenſ. can. 30. Aurelianenſ. 3. cap. 10. Arelatenſ. ſub Carolo can. 11. Gregor. 3. decret. 5. Matiſcon. can. 2. In all theſe Councels it is in flat termes decreed, that it ſhall not be lawfull for a man to marrie his brothers wife.

Concil. Parriſienſ. can. 4. Nullus illicita coniugia contra præceptum Domini ſortiri præſumat, vt fratris relictam, nouercam, &c. Let no man preſume to make any vnlawfull mariage contrary to the commandement of God, as to marrie his brothers widow, his mother in law, &c.

And that it is not lawfull for the Pope to diſpenſe in this caſe with the mariage of the brothers wife; heare the determination of the Pope himſelfe: *Zacharie* of that name thus writing to *Bonifacius*, who required his aduiſe concerning one that had married his vncles wife, who affirmed that he was diſpenſed with by *Gregorie* the 3. his Predeceſſor; Pope *Zacharie* maketh this anſwere: *Abſit hoc, vt prædeceſſor noſter id præciperet; nec enim ab Apoſtolica ſede illa denegantur, quæ contraria canonum ſtatutis eſſe perhibentur*: Farre be it from my predeceſſor to make any ſuch law, for the Apoſtolike ſea hath no authoritie to decree any thing contrary to the auncient Canons, *Epiſtol. ad Bonifacium*. But for a man to marrie his brothers wife, is contrarie to the Canons, as we haue ſeene: *Ergo*, in this caſe the Pope cannot diſpenſe.

We haue the approbation of the Imperiall lawes, *Cod. lib. 5. tit. 5. leg. 4. 5. Valent. Theodoſ. Fratris vxorem ducendi, vel duabus ſororibus coniungendi penitus licentiam ſubmouemus, &c.* We do denie licence to marrie the brothers wife, or to be ioyned to two ſiſters: *ibid. leg. 9. Anaſtaſius: Reſcripta omnia prorſus carere decreuimus, &c.* We decree, that all diſpenſations, licences of the Prince, &c. ſhall be voide, which do giue leaue to marrie the brothers wife. Wherefore ſeeing the lawes of Princes do concurre with the law of God, in the prohibition of ſuch mariages, it followeth that they are meere morall precepts, and agreeable to the law of nature.

Their owne Canons alſo are euident, *Cauſ. 27. qu. 2. c. 17. & decret. Gregor. lib. 4. tit. 1. c. 4. Spenſam ſuam frater habere non poteſt*: The brother cannot haue to wife his brothers ſpouſe: how much more cannot he haue his brothers wife, that was not eſpouſed onely, but married to him.

Cauſ. 35. qu. 3. c. 8. Non relictam fratris: It is not lawful to marrie the brothers widow, *c. 12. Nec relictam fratris vxoris*: Nor the wiues brothers widow.

Qu. 5. c. 3. Vxorem propinqui mei ita me oportet attendere, &c. I muſt ſo regard my kinſmans wife, of what degree ſoeuer, as though ſhe were in the ſame degree of mine owne kinred. By this rule is no more lawfull for a man to marrie his brothers wife, then his owne ſiſter. And the Canon goeth further, *Qui aliter ſentiunt Antichriſti ſunt*, they that thinke otherwiſe, are Antichriſts: ſo conſequently the Pope is by their owne Canons an Antichriſt, for allowing ſuch inceſtuous mariages.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER ANY OTHER DEgrees may be by humane law prohibited, beſide thoſe directly forbidden in the law.

The Papiſts.

1. THey affirme, that by the law of *Moſes*, thoſe degrees only are vnlawful to marrie in, which are directly and by name ſet downe: and therefore it is not vnlawfull, by *Moſes* law, for the Vncle or Aunts husband to marrie his niece, becauſe it is not by name prohibited: as *Abraham* married his brother *Arams* daughter: for *Sara* was his niece. The mariage alſo of Coſin germanes was lawfull by *Moſes* law, and practiſed, Numb. 36. The daughters of *Zelophehad* married their Vncles ſonnes. Therefore by *Moſes* law no degrees are forbidden, which are not directly named, *Below cap. 27.* 89. Error.

The Proteſtants:

1. COncerning *Abrahams* mariage what is to be thought, we haue ſhewed before, *reſponſ. ad argum.* 1. that although this mariage of *Abraham* is neyther commended, nor ſimply allowed in Scripture: yet it was tollerated both in reſpect of the neceſſitie 1. of thoſe times, when

as they could not marrie in further degrees of kinred, vnlesse they would haue taken them wiues from the idolatrous heathen. 2. Likewise the libertie then was greater, there being then no lawe to the contrarie. 3. And their chastitie and sobrietie did somewhat beare them out, who as *Augustine* saith, *Non lasciuiendi, sed gignendi causa illis fœminis vtebantur*: They did not vse those women for lust, but for generation sake: *de bon. coniug. c. 25.* but this example of *Abraham* notwithstanding, now after the law giuen, it is a plaine case, that the vncle is no more to marry his neece, than the nephew his Aunt: and this being by name prohibited, Leuit. 18.14. 20.2. the other also is necessarily included: for the same rules for degrees of kinred, doe proportionably hold both in men and women: wherefore such marriage is vnlawfull, neither to be contracted; and if it be, to be dissolued.

The like iudgement is to be giuen, of the marriage of two sisters; that as the brother is forbidden to marrie his brothers wife, so the sister not to ioyne her selfe to the sisters husband. And whereas *Bellarmine* vrgeth that place, Leuiticus 18.18. *Thou shalt not take a wife with her sister, to vexe her during her life*: thereby prouing, that the lawe onely forbiddeth to marrie two sisters together, not successiuely one after another. I answere, that the text is rather to be read thus, Thou shalt not take a *woman* to her *sister*, that is, one woman to another: First, the worde אשה signifieth a woman, as well as a wife: as in the next verse following 19. and in many other places. Secondly, the true reading is, *to a sister*, not, *with a sister*; so the preposition אל signifieth: Then thus to reade, Thou shalt not take *a wife to her sister*, hath no sense: to take *the sister to thy wife*, by inuerting the wordes, were to better sense. Thirdly, the phrase is so taken in Scripture, Genes. 26.31. *They did sweare, vir fratri, a man to his brother*, that is, one to another: for otherwise, *Isaak* and *Abimelech* were not brethren. Likewise Ezech. 1.10. Their wings were ioyned, *fœmina ad sororem, the woman to her sister*, that is, one to another: where the verie same wordes in the verie same construction are vsed: so then in this Text, not the marriage of two sisters together, but Polygamie or Bigamie, the hauing of two wiues or women together, is forbidden.

Now then, that by the same analogie, the prohibition giuen to one sexe, doth bind the other, it may thus appeare: First, because all the rules of prohibited degrees are prescribed namely to the male; so that if the other sexe were not included also, none of the prohibitions should concerne them. Secondly, to giue an instance, Leuiticus 18.11. *Thou shalt not discouer the shame of thy fathers wiues daughter*: If the analogie did not hold in the other sexe, then it might be lawfull to marrie the fathers wiues sonne. Thirdly, concerning these degrees which are in question; first, to marrie with the vncle, is forbidden in direct wordes, *Thou shalt not vncouer the shame of thy fathers brother*, vers. 14. Secondly, for the marrying of sisters, seeing degrees further off in affinitie are forbidden, as to marrie the wiues daughters daughter, the nearer cannot be lawfull: now the wiues sister is nearer than the wiues daughters daughter.

Further, concerning marriage betweene the vncle and his neece, I will adioyne the most excellent testimonie of *Ambrose*, who writeth hereof at large to one *Paternus*, *Epistol. 66.* *Tu populare paras filium, &c.* You would ioyne together your sonne, and his sisters daughter. 1. *Non ipse te reuocat sonus nominum, &c.* Doth not the very sound of the names call you backe? for thus you shall be both a grandfather, and a father in lawe. 2. The diuine lawe doth forbid brothers children to marrie which are in the fourth degree, &c. but these are in the third. 3. But you will pretend, that it is permitted by the diuine lawe, because it is not forbidden: *Ego aperta & prohibitum affero*, but I say it is forbidden, because lighter matters are forbidden, *de patruelibus fratribus*, of brothers children, &c. Neither doe you finde it forbidden, that a man should marrie his daughter, *quia interdictum est lege naturæ*, because it is forbidden by the law of nature. 4. What is so common, as for the vncle to kisse his neece? *Hoc inoffensa pietatis osculum suspectum facies*: You will make such kisses of loue to be suspicious, if such be admitted to marriage. 5. But if you regarde not the diuine lawe, yet the Emperours law might moue you. *Theodosius* forbiddeth, that cousin germanes should come together in marriage. Thus much Saint *Ambrose*.

2. Concerning the marriage of brothers and sisters children, there is a greater question. First, it cannot be proued that *Zelophehads* fiue daughters married their vncles sonnes, that is, their Cosin germanes: for the Hebrues call the nephewes, sonnes: as *Iethros* daughters are called the daughters of *Raguel* their Grandfather, Exod. 2.17. So it is very like that their husbands were their vncles sonnes sonnes, as in the 12. verse it may be gathered, where the text saith, They were married into the families of the sonnes of *Manasses*: therefore not into one familie. But as touching the question in hand, the marriage of Cosin germanes seemeth also by some analogie to be forbidden by *Moses* law: for if the degrees of affinitie be limited to the third or fourth degree; as it is not lawfull for a man to marrie his wiues daughters daughter, Leuitic. 18.17. why should not the line of consanguinitie hold to the fourth degree likewise? And so neither the sonne to marrie his

his fathers brothers daughter, or the daughter the ſonne: for here are alſo foure degrees: the ſonne, one: the father, two: the fathers brother, three: the brothers ſonne, foure. Againe, the vncles ſonne is as neere as the vncles wife, the one being of affinitie, the other of conſanguinitie: and therefore the firſt being forbidden, Leuit. 18. 14. why not the other alſo? Yet this we graunt, that this analogie or proportion is not ſo ſtrong, nor doth conclude ſo neceſſarilie as the other. Wherefore we thus determine of this matter, that it is well that the marriages of Coſin germanes be reſtrained by humane law, and ſo they ought to be: which kinde of marriages may lawfully be hindered, and the contract looſed: but the marriage being conſummate and finiſhed, it is not for this cauſe to be diſſolued.

So was it decreed, *Concil. Lateranenſ. part. 6. cap. 30. Matrimonium in quarto gradu conſanguinitatis iam conſummatum non debet diſſolui:* Marriage in the fourth degree of conſanguinitie (ſuch as the marriage of Coſin germanes is) being conſummate and finiſhed, muſt not be diſſolued.

Auguſtine alſo writeth very well of this matter: *Quis dubitet, honeſtius hoc tempore conſobrinarum nuptias eſſe coniugia, etiamſi id diuina lex non prohibeat: cuius enim debet cauſa propinquitatis verecundior eſſe, ab ea contineat quamuis generatricem libidinem?* Who doubteth, but that the marriage of Coſin germanes is honeſtly forbidden, though the diuine law doe not prohibite it? for to whom a man oweth a ſhamefaſt reuerence for kinred ſake, he ought to refraine his luſt. De ciuitate Dei. lib. 15. cap. 16.

Let vs ſee the conſent of antiquitie: *Gregor. 3. decr. 6. Si quis neptim, nurum, nouercam duxerit, &c. anathema:* If any man marrie his niece, his daughter in law, or mother in law, accurſed be he. As then it is vnlawfull for the Nephew to marrie his Aunt, ſo is it for the vncle to marrie his niece.

As for the marriage of Coſin germanes, the Canons euery where forbid it: *Agathenſ. can. 61. Epaonenſ. can. 30. Aurelianenſ. 3. cap. 10.* it is decreed, that no man ſhall marrie *conſobrinam*, his Coſin germane.

Antiſiodorenſ. can. 31. Non licet conſobrinam, hoc eſt, quæ de duabus ſororibus, aut duobus fratribus procreatur, ſibi coniugium accipere: It is not lawfull to marrie a coſin germane, which commeth of two brothers, or two ſiſters.

Arelatenſ. can. 11. Ne quis conſobrinam, vel filiam auunculi ducat: That no man marrie his coſin germane, or vncles daughter. Thus we ſee how that our aduerſaries, that make ſhew of antiquitie, are the onely enemies to antiquitie.

Now further I will ſhew the conſent both of the Ciuill and Canon law for the vnlawfulnes of marriage: firſt, with the vncle: ſecondly, the wiues ſiſter: thirdly, the vncles daughter.

Cod. lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 17. Diocletian. Nemini matrimonium contrahere licet cum ſororis filia: No man muſt contract Matrimonie with his ſiſters daughter, that is, his niece.

Cod. lib. 6. tit. 20. leg. 19. Iuſtinian. Whereas in the conferring of dowries and other gifts, ſome ſeemed to make a difference betweene vncles and aunts: *Aſſerebant, in perſonis auunculorum, non etiam patruum, materterarum, vel amitarum locum habere:* They affirmed that it tooke place in the perſons of the vncles by the mothers ſide, not of the vncles by the fathers ſide, or of the aunts: the law proceedeth, *Talem ſubtilem dubitationem amputantes:* Wee cutting off this ſubtiltie and doubt: and ſo maketh the condition of vncles and aunts to be alike: As then in this caſe, there was no difference betweene vncles and aunts, ſo why not alſo in marriage?

Decret par. 2. cauſ. 27. qu. 2. c. 12. Gregorie decreeth againſt one, *qui deſponſatam nepotis virginem duxit*, which married one eſpouſed to his nephew: how much more doe the Canons forbid the marriage of the niece by blood?

Cauſ. 35. qu. 3. c. 8. Si quis relictæ, vel filiæ auunculi: It is not lawfull to marrie the vncles wife or daughter: how much more vnlawfull is it to marrie the vncle himſelfe?

Secondly, the marriage of two ſiſters is contrarie to the Imperiall lawes: *Cod. lib. 5. leg. 5. Valent. Theodoſ. Duabus ſororib. cõiungẽdi, &c.* We giue no licẽce to marrie the brothers wife, or two ſiſters.

Thirdly, concerning the vnlawfull marriage of Coſin germanes, that is brothers or ſiſters children, I finde not the like ſtrict prohibition in the Imperiall lawes: for by the law of *Antoninus: Cod. lib. 6. tit. 25. leg. 2.* and the conſtitution of *Arcadius, lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 19.* the marriage of conſobrines, and coſin germanes is made lawfull: Yet degrees as farre off are inhibited; as *lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 17. Nemini liceat:* No man is to contract Matrimonie with the brothers daughter, *vel ex ea nepti* or his daughters daughter. *Theodoſius* alſo made a law againſt the marriage of coſin germanes, as before out of *Ambroſe:* yea and the Canon law is very ſtrict againſt ſuch mariages: *Cauſ. 35. qu. 3. c. 20.* and *Cauſ. 32. qu. 7. c. 20.* Brothers and ſiſters children are inhibited to marrie.

Dem. Greg. lib. 4. tit. 2. c. 12. Non debet cum conſobrina propter publica honeſtatis iuſtitiam permanere: He muſt not remaine or dwell with his Coſin germane for publike honeſtie ſake, whether he hath knowne her, or not.

Thus we ſee: firſt, that the two firſt degrees are euen by the law of the Gentiles inhibited, as being vnnaturall, that is the marriage with the vncle, or with the wiues ſiſter. Secondly, a difference we finde betweene theſe, and the marriage of coſin germanes, which though it be not conuenient,

yet is not so vnnaturall, nor prohibited by the Imperiall lawes. Thirdly, the Canon law separateth Cosin germanes after carnall knowledge: but that is too hard a sentence: it is sufficient to hinder marriage contracted, but not consummate by carnall coniunction, as I haue shewed before.

The Papists.

90. Error. 2. IT is lawfull for the Church to restraine other degrees of affinitie and consanguinitie, besides those prescribed by *Moses*, and that the decrees of the Church in such cases do binde in conscience, *Concil. Trident sess. 24. can.* 3. As to prohibite marriage vnto the seuenth degree in natu-
91. Error. rall kinred, and afterward to the fourth. 2. Also their Canons do make a spirituall kinred, that commeth in by Baptisme and Confirmation: and suffer not the godfather to marry the godchild,
92. Error. or the godfather the godmother. 3. Likewise they haue found out an affinitie that commeth in by espousals onely of Matrimonie, which bindeth (say they) in the first degree by the Canon law, which is the first and second by the Ciuill law: as that it is not lawfull for the brother to marrie her which was espoused to his brother. 4. Also another kinred and affinitie, by fornication and vnlawfull fleshly knowledge, which bindeth in the second degree Canonicall, which is the third and fourth Ciuill: as it is not lawfull for the sonne to marrie his fathers baitard, *Bellarm. cap.* 14. *cap.* 30.

Bellarmine thus reasoneth for the restraint of consanguinitie and affinitie: first, to the seuenth degree, and afterward to the fourth.

Argum. 1. There is a peculiar shamefastnes and reuerence of nature due to kinsmen, which is violated in marriage. 2. If kinsmen might marrie together, they could not vse cohabitation, or any familiaritie together without suspition: but whereas marriage is interdicted betweene kinsmen, there is no daunger. 3. For the propagation of loue and charitie vnto others, marriage is forbidden in these degrees, wherein their affinitie or consanguinitie is a sufficient bond of loue, without marriage. 4. If kinsmen should marrie together, their loue would be too inordinate, the loue of marriage being ioyned to the naturall loue of kinred, *Bellarm. cap.* 29.

Contra. First, the wisedome of man is not to controule the ordinance of God: if the Lord hath not thought good to make a restraint of marriage so farre, it is presumption in man to doe it: shall it be thought, that God had not respect to the reuerence of nature, propagation of loue, familiaritie of kinred, sobrietie in marriage, in setting downe the marriage law?

Secondly, none of these inconueniences neede to be feared in degrees so farre off: for whereas the fourth degree in the Canons, is the eight Ciuill degree: and by the Canons, brethren are in the first degree, brethrens children in the second, their childrens children in the third, and their children in the fourth: what kinred can there be now betweene Cosin germanes twice remoued? and there being little or no kinred, there is neither 1. reuerence of nature due as to the kinred of the flesh: 2. nor familiaritie to be admitted without suspition, otherwise than betweene straungers: 3. nor yet shall the propagation of loue be hindred, there being no such sure bond already out of marriage: 4. and consequently inordinate loue in the marriage of such is not to be feared, the naturall affection by such long descent being extinguished.

The Protestants.

1. TO forbid more degrees in marriage, than are either directly or by necessarie consequence prohibited in the lawe, is a meere Antichristian yoke laid vpon the people of God: for the Lord (the author of that law) best did know, both what persons were fit for mariage, and how farre the line of mariage was to extend.

Bellarmine answereth, that the law of the degrees of marriage was peculiar to the people of the Iewes, vnto whom the marriage of their kinred was not so much restrained: first, because they were but few. Secondly, for the preseruation of the Tribes and families. Thirdly, that being suffered to marrie in their kinred, they should not so easily put away their wiues. Fourthly, as they were permitted to put away their wiues, and to haue many at once; so in like manner to marrie within certaine degrees of kinred, *Bellarm. c.* 29. *resp. ad argum.* 2.

Contra. First, these reasons are not sufficient to proue the law of degrees in mariage peculiar to the Iewes: 1. They were a great and populous nation: in *Dauids* time there were 13. hundred thousand fighting men in Israel and Iuda, 2. Sam. 24. In the raigne of *Iehoshaphat*, Iudah onely was able to make 11. hundred thousand men of warre, 2. Chron. 17. 14. to 19. therefore in respect of their small number, there was no reason to allow them to marrie with their kinred. 2. For the preseruation of their families there was a speciall prouiso in the law, that the brother might take the brothers wife to raise seede to his brother, Deuter. 25. 3. *Moses* permitted them (notwithstanding this law of degrees) to giue vnto their wiues bils of diuorcement: and it is seene by experience, that the neerer in degree the married couples are, for the most part greater contention falleth out. 4. To put away their wiues was but a toleration: but the law concerning degrees was a commandement, and the transgression thereof punished with death, Leuit. 20. The hauing of many wiues was directly contrary to the law, Leuit. 18, 18. Deuter. 17. 17.

Secondly,

Secondly, that this was not a law peculiar to the Iewes, but generall, to bind the people of God vnder the Gospell: it appeareth both by *Iohn Baptists* reprehension of *Herode* for marrying his brothers wife; and Saint *Paules* censuring of the incestuous person that tooke his fathers wife: which are the very degrees forbidden in Leuiticus. 2. Neither can they shew any dispensation or remission in the new testament contrarie to that law.

This prohibition of marriage to the fourth degree Canonicall, that is, the eight Ciuill, is contrary both to the Imperiall and Canonicall lawes.

Cod. lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 17. Dioclet. In collaterals both of affinitie and consanguinitie, the prohibition goeth not beyond the fourth degree: *Nemini licet*, a man must not contract matrimonie with his Aunt, sisters daughter, or Neece, that is her daughters daughter; with his brothers daughter or Neece: and in affinitie, with his wiues daughter, wiues mother, sonnes wife; fathers wife, &c. none of these exceed the fourth degree Ciuill. The Canon law thus testifieth, *Caus. 35. q. 2. 3. Fabianus: In quarta generatione si contracti fuerint, non separentur:* They which are maried in the fourth generation, let them not be separated: *ibid. c. 12. Iulius, Vsque in tertiam progeniem*, &c. No man must marry a wife to the third degree: These Canons inhibite not marriage in the third and fourth degree Canonicall, much lesse to the seuenth.

Lanfrens. part. 50. 29. Cognati non sunt separandi nisi in primo vel secundo gradu consanguinitatis seu cognitionis: Cosins must not be diuorced, vnlesse they marry in the first or second degree of consanguinitie: the second degree by the Canon law, is the fourth degree by the Ciuill law, and after our account: after the fourth degree then marriage is lawfull: it is not then restrained till the seuenth.

Secondly, the inuention of spirituall kinred is but a popish tricke, to get the more money for their dispensations: for by this reason no Christians ought to marrie together, because they are all of one spirituall kinred in Christ.

Their owne Canons are against them, *Caus. 30. qu. 3. c. 4. Vrban. Post compaternitatem geniti, &c.* Godfathers children may marrie: *Qu. 4. c. 5. Paschal. Vxorem compatris ducere licet:* A man may marrie his Godfathers wife: *Decr. Greg. lib. 4. tit. 11. c. 1. Alexander. Filij duorum compatrum licite matrimonia:* Godfathers children may contract matrimonie.

Thirdly, the new affinitie that commeth by espousals, is also but an humane inuention: for the law speaketh onely of the kinred of the flesh, which ariseth of carnall knowledge and copulation, not an intent or purpose onely of marriage, Leuit. 18. 6.

We haue the consent of a generall Councell, *Lateranens. part. 6. can. 27.* Pope *Benedictus* decreeth thus: *Qui vnam sororem desponsauerit, si eam non cognouerit, potest aliam sororem sibi matrimonio copulare: aparet enim virum & mulierem non posse fieri vnam carnem, nisi carnali copula sibi adhæsum:* He that espouseth one sister, not hauing knowne her, may marrie her sister: for man and wife are not made one flesh, but by carnall copulation. Therefore by the espousall words they are not made one flesh: *Propinquitas sanguinis verbis dicitur, non verbis efficitur:* Propinquitie of blood by words is said, by words it is not made. *Cur ergo prohibeamus, quod prohibitum nunquam scriptura docuit?* Why therefore should wee forbid that, which is no where in scripture forbidden? To this agreeth also the decree of Pope *Alexander, Lateranens. part. 45. can. 5. Non sunt vna caro vir & mulier, nisi carnali, copula cohæserint:* Man and wife are not one flesh but by carnall copulation.

Thus also the Ciuile law testifieth: *Cod. lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 24. Iustinian. Conditio nuptiarum impletur re ipsa, non habitum, aut potentiam:* The condition of marriage is accomplished by the acte, not by the habite or possibilitie.

Their Canons also are euident, *Caus. 27. qu. 2. c. 17. Iulius: Mulier præter commixtionem sexuum non pertinet ad matrimonium:* A woman without the copulation of the sexe, belongeth not to matrimonie. *C. 18. Benedict. Per nuda sponsionis verba non possunt vna caro fieri:* They cannot be made one flesh onely by the words of espousall. The rest of this Canon is recited before.

The Master of Sentences maketh this answere, That those Canons are vnderstood of espousals which are made, *per verba de futuro*, by wordes not of the present, but of the time to come; when there is not, *consensus de præsenti, sed sponsio futuri:* not a consent for the present, but a promise for afterward.

Contra. First, that distinction of the Canon law is but an humane deuice, that there is *fides pactionis, fides consensus:* That faith of marriage is made by couenant and promise, or by consent: the first holdeth not, the second is firme euen after carnall societie with another: *Caus. 27. qu. 2. c. 51.* For wesee the Scripture maketh no difference betweene the couenant of marriage, and consent: Genes. 24. 57, 58. *We will call the maid and aske her consent, &c. Wilt thou goe with this man? and she said, I will goe.* Her promise by these words of the future, *I will goe*, are called her consent. So *Dauid* sent to *Abigail, vt accipiat in vxorem*, to take her to his wife: he said not, I do take thee to my wife: 1. Sam. 25. 40. Wherefore that simple and well meaning age, knewe no such difference in contractes.

Secondly, the Canons exclude all espousals whatsoeuer from the computation of the degrees of marriage: *Propinquitas sanguinis verbis dicitur, non verbis efficitur:* Propinquitie of blood is sayd by words, not made. He speaketh generally of all words of espousall or contract whatsoeuer: *Benedict. caus. 27. qu. 2. c. 18.* And the question is of a maide that *simplicibus verbis desponsata, &c.* espoused by simple, that is, plaine and direct words, to a young man: the maide espoused dieth, he is licensed and to marrie her sister, and by warrant of Scripture; because man and woman are not made one flesh, *nisi carnali copula*, but by carnall copulation: as the Scripture saith, *They two shall be one flesh.*

Fourthly, the last we admit, for the sonne of the father begotten out of marriage, is of his fleshly kinred, though not lawfully: and therefore in marriage matters there is respect also to be had euen of this kinred of the flesh: as *Ruben* is curssed of his father because he lay with his concubine, Gene. 49. 4. which notwithstanding was not his fathers wife. So also the Ciuill law, *Cod. lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 4. Alexander. Concubina patris non debet esse uxor filij:* The fathers concubine cannot be the sonnes wife.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, OF OTHER impediments of marriage.

THere are some impediments which may hinder and dissolue the contract of marriage, before it be consummate, but not after: some, which both may hinder the contract, and dissolue the matrimonie euen after carnall knowledge.

The Papists.

93. Error. 1. *Bellarmine* reckoneth vp diuers impediments of both kinds, which may disanull the contract of marriage, and dissolue the Matrimonie it selfe: but hee maketh no mention of the consent of the parents. And indeede it is their opinion, that it is not a necessarie thing to be respected in marriage: nor of the essence thereof, neither can such marriage, as hath the consent of the children only, either by the parents, or Magistrate be dissolued, *Bellarm. c. 19.*

Argum. Esau married without his fathers consent, yet was not his marriage dissolued: *Iacob* also had not his fathers consent to the marriage of *Lea*, and of his two handmaides: *Ergo*, the parents consent is not necessarie, *Bellarm. cap. 19.*

Answ. First, concerning *Esau* his marriage, we say he did very euill in marrying without his fathers consent, and it was a great griefe to his parents: yet the marriage being once consummate, wee say not, that then it ought to be dissolued, for want of the parents consent, but the contract and espousals onely. Secondly, for *Iacob*, his maides were not his wiues, and *Lea* was thrust vpon him against his will: no marueile if he had not his fathers consent, when his owne was wanting: but to marrie one of his fathers kinred, as he made choyce of *Rachel*, he had his fathers full consent.

Argum. 2. In the marriage of children without consent of the parents, the consent of the parties is present, which is sufficient: for *consensus facit matrimonium*, consent maketh Matrimonie. And if the marriage of seruants against the will of their masters be notwithstanding firme and sure, much more the marriage of children, &c. *Bellarm. cap. 19.*

Answ. First, one of your owne writers shall make you an answere: *Consensus facit nuptias, sed eorum, qui sui iuris sunt, &c.* Consent maketh marriage, but of such, as are in their owne power: so are not children, and therefore their consent is not sufficient: *Espenc. de clandest. matrim. cap. 11.* Secondly, where the masters are in stead of parents, there they haue the same right and power to approue or dissolue the contracts of their seruants, which fathers haue: but where seruants haue fathers beside, they are to depend vpon their fathers consent, and not the masters: and in this case the argument followeth not, for fathers haue greater power in the marriage of their children, than masters ouer their seruants.

The Protestants.

FIrst, wee doe not say, that the want of the parents consent may dissolue marriage consummate after mutuall coniunction: but that it may breake off the contract and espousals. Secondly, neither haue the parents power to bestow their children in marriage without their consent, Genesis 24. 57. And this is agreeable to the law of nature: according to the constitution of the Heathen Romane Emperours: *Cod. lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 12. Diocletian. Nec filium familias inuitum ad uxorem ducendam cogi, &c.* The discipline of the lawes doe not permit, that the sonne should be compelled against his will to take a wife. Thirdly, neither must the parents exercise a tyrannicall power ouer their children in forbidding them marriage, but must alway haue respect vnto their neede. And thus doing their consent is necessarie, and without it the contract hath no validitie, 1. Corinth. 7. 37. 38. The parent hath power to giue in marriage or not to giue.

Argum. Exod. 22. 16. The law is this, *That if a man lie with a maide not betrothed, and her father refuse*

refuſe to giue her vnto him to wife, he ſhall pay money. Here the full authoritie of giuing or not giuing the daughter in marriage, is committed to the father.

Bellarmine anſwereth: That this is in ſuch caſes where there is no contract: but the law ſayth not, that the father may refuſe after the contract made.

Contra. 1. As though their mutuall carnall knowledge be not as forcible to ioyne them, as a bare contract, this being but in word, the other in deede. Secondly, Numb. 30. 4. The father may breake his daughters vow made vnto God: *Ergo*, much more her promiſe and contract made to man.

Bellarm. It is to be vnderſtood of ſuch an one, as is in *ætate puellari*, yet vnder age, a young maiden, which is not yet fit for marriage.

Contra. 1. In this chapter there be three eſtates or degrees of women ſet downe: a maide, a wife, a widow: of theſe three only the widow hath power to make a vow: ſhe that is not a widow, is either vnder her husband, if ſhe be married, or vnder her father, if ſhe be not: So then the law meaneth all maides vnmarried, vnleſſe you can finde out a fourth kinde, that is neither of maides, wiues, nor widowes. 2. Againe, here are to be vnderſtood rather maides of yeeres and diſcretion, to make a vow, than of tender and young yeeres, who knew not what a vow meaneth. 3. And beſides, the worde here vſed, verſ. 4. נערה ſignifieth a woman, not a girle or young maide. 4. Laſtly, a writer of their owne thus concludeth vpon this place: *Ergo vota à filiabus Deo nuncupata poterant parentes diſſoluere, ſponſalia, &c.* Therefore might the parents diſſolue vowes made by their daughters vnto God, and could they not retract eſpouſals made to men? *Eſpenſ. c. 1. de clandeſtin. matrimon.*

Argum. 2. Deuter. 7. 3. *Ye ſhall not make marriages with the Heathen, thou ſhalt not giue thy daughter to his ſonne, &c.* Hence the ſame author concludeth thus: *Eam legem fruſtra latuiſſet, &c.* This law had been made in vaine, if marriages had been free for the children without the fathers conſent. Againe, whereas the Iſraelites had ſworne, that they would not giue their daughters to the Beniamites to wife, Iudg. 21. 1. and therefore were very much perlexed & grieued for that tribe, ſaying, verſ. 7. *How ſhall wee doe for wiues to them that remaine?* The daughters might haue helped their parents in this perplexitie, if notwithſtanding their parents oth, they might haue married of themſelues. Thus much *Eſpenſ.* and much more, *libr. de clandeſtin. matrimon. c. 1. 2.*

We haue alſo the conſent of antiquitie: to omit thoſe ancient Canons, which are very many, which doe inioyne that children ſhould not be married without their parents conſent: vnto the which *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that ſo much hee graunteth, yet it followeth not, that the contract ſhould for that defect and want be diſſolued: we will therefore bring forth ſuch Canons, as annihilate and diſanull the contract, where the parents conſent is not.

Euariſtus epiſtol. 1. Non ſit coniugium niſi ab his, &c. There is no marriage made, but by them that haue power ouer the woman: let the wife be demaunded of her keepers and tutors, and eſpouſed by her parents, and the neereſt of her kinred: as it is adulterie rather and whoredome, than lawfull marriage.

Celeſtin. decret. 4. Quod parentes, fratres, &c. ita vt ſi non interſint, & conſenſum non adhibuerint, ſecundum leges nullum ſiat matrimonium: That the parents, brethren, kinſfolkes of both ſexes be admitted to teſtifie their conſent for their ſonne or daughter, and ſo to eſtabliſh or breake off their marriage: who if they be not preſent, neither giue conſent, according to the law, let it be counted no marriage. What plainer euidence can we haue for this matter?

Cod. lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 7. Gordian. Minus legitima connunctio, ceſſante patris voluntate, &c. It is no lawfull coniunction, the fathers will being wanting, *leg. 12. Diocletian. Sociare, &c.* Thou art not hindred to ſociate thy ſelfe to what marriage thou wilt, *vt contrahendis nuptijs patris conſenſus accedat*, ſo that thy fathers conſent be to the contracting of mariage: *leg. 18. Valent. Theodoſ. Vidua intra vigeſimum quintum, &c.* Widowes vnder 25. yeeres, *in ſecundas nuptias ſine patris ſententia non conueniat*, muſt not enter into ſecond mariage without the ſentence of their father: *tit. 6. leg. 6.* If a man marrie an orphane or pupill, whoſe father is dead, being vnder 25. yeeres of age, *nec matrimonium habuiſſe*, it is to be counted no matrimonie, nor they children, that are borne in ſuch mariage, vnleſſe the father dying willed it.

Likewiſe the Canons: *Canſ. 32. qu. 2. c. 13. Conſulitur puella non de ſponſalibus, &c.* The maiden is not aſked concerning the eſpouſals; for therein ſhe expected the iudgement of her parents, but ſhe is conſulted with about the day and time of her iourney: This is ſpoken of *Rebecca*: The ſame Canon alleageth *Euripides*, thus ſpeaking in the perſon of the woman, μνηστῆρα, *Sponſalium meorum pater meus curam ſubibit, &c.* For my eſpouſals my father ſhal take care, it appertaineth not to me. Thus we ſee that it is agreeable to the law of nature, that the mariage of children ſhould not be attempted without the conſent of the parents.

Canſ. 36. qu. 2. c. 11. gloſſ. This law is alleaged out of the Digeſts, *tit. de nuptiar. ritu, leg. 2. Conſiſtere non poſſunt nuptiæ, &c.* Mariages cannot ſtand, vnleſſe they conſent, in whoſe power they are.

Diuers

Diuers of the learned Papists condemne such marriages, as are enterprised without the consent of the parents: *Gropperus, in institut. Colonien. Gentianus*, in his booke set forth of this matter, alleageth a certaine Greeke canon to this effect: *Quæ sine his, qui habent potestatem matrimonia fieri, fornicationes sunt*: They are fornications, no mariages, which are done without them that haue the power, &c. Likewise *Catharinus, Irrita esse velim, nec vera esse matrimonia, &c.* I iudge them to be no true, but void mariages: *Espenc. lib. de clandestin. matrim. c.* 15.

There are notwithstanding certaine cases excepted by the law, wherein the sonne or daughter haue free libertie to marrie without consent.

1. *Si vtrq; orba parente*: If both the parents be dead. *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 4. *leg.* 26. *Honor.*

2. *Cod. lib.* 3. *tit.* 28. *leg.* 19. *Post viginti quinq; &c.* After 25. yeeres children might marrie without the parents consent.

3. *Ibid. leg.* 20. *Post matris pœnitentiam, &c.* If the mother shall giue consent, the father being dead, and afterward repent her, yet the marriage shall be good.

4. *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 4. *leg.* 25. *Filij furios. &c.* The sonnes of madde men may marrie without consent.

Other cases there are beside, as when the sonne is *manumitted*, that is, set free by his father, or hath borne any publike office of Magistracie or gouernement, *Espenc. c.* 16. *de clandestin. matrim.* But these irregular and extraordinarie cases excepted, the power of parents is not to be infringed, but their consent to be expected in the espousals of their children.

This trueth also is sealed: Master *Tindall* holy Martyr; Let parents prouide mariages for their children in season, teaching them also to know, that she is not his wife whom the sonne taketh, nor her husband whom the daughter taketh, without the consent or good will of their Elders, or them that haue authoritie ouer them: if their friends will not marrie them, then are they not to blame if they marrie themselues: let not the fathers and mothers alwayes take the vttermost of their authoritie of their children, but beare their weakenesse, &c. *pag.* 1249. *col.* 2. *artic.* 2.

There are also other causes which may dissolue contracts and espousals made: as if the honest and lawfull condition propounded in the contract be not kept: or if there be an error in the person, hee heareth afterward of her dishonestie, whom hee tooke for an honest woman: both these may make void the contract, but not the mariage, if they be once ioyned together.

The Papists.

2. THey set downe many impediments, which may make a nullitie of mariage it selfe, after it be consummate: some of them we acknowledge, as afterward it shall appeare: but these following we do renounce.

94. Error. First, the vow of chastitie and entring into Orders do loose the bond of mariage. *Bellarmine* to this purpose vrgeth that place, 1. Timoth. 5. 12. *Hauing damnation, because they haue forsaken their first faith*: the first faith, is the vow of continencie, which was a sufficient impediment of matrimonie. *Bellarm. c.* 21. *propos.* 1

Contra. By the first faith, is vnderstood their faith, which they professed in Baptisme, to renounce the workes of the flesh, which these wanton widowes now follow in forsaking their calling: 1. So the *interlinearie glosse*, and *Bruno* expound this place: *ex Espenc. in hunc locum.* 2. The Apostle doth interprete himselfe, vers. 8. *He that prouideth not for his owne, denyeth the faith, &c.* that is, by his workes he denieth the religion of Christ: now to denie the faith, vers. 8. and to violate the faith, vers. 12. doe signifie the same. 3. The Apostle afterward giueth these widowes licence to marrie, vers. 14. which he would not haue done, if it had beene damnation, & a breach of the faith to marry after their professed widowhood: this place both *Chrysostome* & *Theophilact* expound of widowes professed. *vide Espenc. in hunc locum.* This text then nothing maketh for them.

95. Error. Secondly, mariages of the faithfull with Infidels are not onely vnlawfull, but void, *Bellarmine c.* 23. Yet he confesseth that such marriages are not void either by diuine or naturall law, or by any law of the Church, but onely by the custome of the people of God, hauing the force of a law. *propos.* 2. 3.

Argum. Infidelitie in the old law, and disparitie of religion did make matrimonie void: *Ergo*, much more now; for there is greater difference betweene Christians and Infidels, then was betweene the Iewes and Gentiles, *Bellarm. argum.* 1.

Answ. First, if this argument conclude any thing, it sheweth, that euen by the diuine Law such mariages are void: which notwithstanding he before denied.

Secondly, the argument followeth not, for this law belonged to the policie of that nation, that they should not marrie with the Gentiles: who were accounted as an vncircumcised, and vnholy people: but now this wall of partition is taken away; and in Christ there is neither Iew nor Grecian, Galath. 4. 3. 28. Thirdly, the mariage of the Gentiles, was for no other cause inhibited the Iewes, but least it should be a meane to withdraw them from the worship of God, Deut. 7. 4. This proueth not, that an Infidell willing to dwell together, and of whom there may be some hope,

should

ſhould be put away, contrary to S. *Pauls* rule, 1. Cor. 7. 13. Fourthly, the Iewes were permitted vpon diuers occaſions to put away their wiues, for the hardnes of their heart, Matth. 19. 8. wherefore the impediments and diſſolutions of mariage among them do not bind vs.

Thirdly, the mariage of thoſe which committed adulterie, and did compact together before to marrie after the firſt husbands or wiues death, is actually void. *Bellarm. c. 22.* 96. Error.

The Proteſtants.

1. CONcerning the inualiditie of vowes to diſanull mariage, wee haue declared the trueth before, *Contro. 6. de Monachis.* For mariage lawfully contracted and conſummate, is onely made void by way of diuorce in the caſe of adulterie, as we haue before proued.

Argum. Matth. 19. 9. Our Sauiour giueth this perpetuall rule, that no man ſhould diſmiſſe his wife but for fornication: but Orders is no fornication: *Ergo*, not for entring into Orders is ſhe to be diſmiſſed: and verſ. 6. *No man muſt put aſunder that, which God hath coupled*: but they which are but contracted, are coupled before God: *Ergo*, no humane ordinance, ſuch as is the ſingle life annexed to Orders, can ſeparate them.

Decret. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 32. c. 7. Alexander, giueth libertie to a woman profeſſed, *vt ad religionem reuerſa &c.* to profeſſe religion, or returne to her husband: *Ergo*, it was lawfull after profeſſion made to returne.

Sext decretal. lib. 3. tit. 15. c. 1. Bonif. 8. Simplex votum non reſcindit, &c. A ſimple vow doth not cut off mariage afterward contracted: and againe he ſaith, *Voti ſolennitas ex ſola conſtitutione eſt orta*: A ſolemne vow is onely by the conſtitution of the Church: and *Alexander* ſaith, that *Votum ſimplex non minus obligat coram Deo*, a ſimple vow doth not leſſe binde before God, then a ſolemne and publike vow: it followeth, that a ſolemne vow then, doth not hinder mariage afterward contracted.

Extrau. Ioan. tit. 6. c. 2. Votum ſolemnizatum per ſacri ſuſceptionem ordinis, &c. A vow ſolemnized by entring into holy orders, is not of force to diſſolue matrimonie before going, though not conſummate with carnall knowledge: wherefore mariage contracted is not hindered or interrupted by the profeſſion of Orders.

2. Neither doth the infidelitie of the one partie make a nullitie of mariage: for S. *Paul* ſaith, that the woman in that caſe is not to forſake her husband if he will dwell with her. 1. Corinth. 7. verſ. 13. Of this matter ſee more, *quæſt. 2. part. 2.* of this Controuerſie.

Cod. lib. 1. tit. 7. leg. 16. Leo & Anthem. Si ſponſa coniugium ſponſi propter religionis diuerſitatem renuerit: If the ſpouſe refuſe to marrie with him, to whom ſhe is eſpouſed, &c. the law alloweth onely a diſſoluing of the contract and eſpouſals for religion ſake, and not otherwiſe.

Decret. 10. c. 1. Nicolaus, Si religionis cauſa coniugia debere diſſolui dicuntur, ſciendum eſt, quia licet hæc lex humana conceſſit, lex tamen diuina prohibuit: If for religion ſake mariages are ſaid to be diſſolued, let it be knowne, that although humane law doth allow it, yet Gods law doth forbid it.

Cauſ. 28. c. 1. Innocent. Quod Deus coniunxit, homo non ſeparet, &c. What God hath ioyned together, let not man put aſunder: and leaſt he ſhould be thought to ſpeake onely of thoſe, which marrie after Baptiſme, let them remember, that the queſtion was asked by the Iewes, and to the Iewes was the anſwere made, *c. 8. Auguſtine* thus writeth to *Polleutium: Tibi videtur infideles à fidelibus diuortium facere, &c.* You thinke that the infidels ought not to be diſmiſſed from beleeuers, becauſe the Apoſtle forbiddeth it, but I ſay it is lawfull, becauſe the Lord forbiddeth it not; yet not expedient, *Quia hoc ne fiat monet Apoſtolus*, becauſe the Apoſtle wiſheth or admoniſheth, that it ſhould not be: here be two opinions, one thinketh it is not lawfull for infidels to be diſmiſſed, the other that it is not expedient: ſo which opinion ſoeuer is followed, they are not at all to be diſmiſſed. *Ibid. c. 9. Affert impedimentum ſalutis, &c.* The departure of the beleeuer from the Infidell, bringeth an hindrance to his ſaluation.

Decret. Gregor. lib. 4. tit. 19. c. 8. Innocent. Fideles cum infidelibus matrimonialiter copulati, &c. The beleeuers ioyned in mariage with vnbeleeuers, may freely and lawfully remaine with them.

Decret. Eutychiani. In poteſtate fidelis eſt poſt baptiſmum recipere vxorem, quam infidelis infidelem ſui diuiſerat: It is in the power of a beleeuing man to receiue his wife after Baptiſme, which, when they were both infidels, he diſmiſſed. But if the very bond and mariage knot were diſſolued, as *Bellarmine* ſaith, how can they come together againe?

Thirdly, neither is the fault committed before the marriage, ſufficient to diſable the mariage once done: for then queſtion might haue beene made of the ſtrength of *Dauids* marriage with *Bathſheba*. And *Auguſtine* doubteth not thus to conclude, *Poſſe ſanè fieri nuptias ex malè coniunctis honeſtè poſtea placito conſequente*: That mariage may very well ſtand betweene thoſe, that once had vnlawfull carnall copulation, but afterward an honeſt purpoſe of mariage followed.

Con. Apoſtol. 66. Non licitum eſto aliam ducere, quam quis prius ſollicitauit, quamuis paupercula ſit: It ſhall not be lawfull for a man to marrie any other, but her whom hee entiſed to follie before, though ſhe be poore.

Concil.

Concil. Lateranenſ. part. 45. can. 2. Alexander. Contrahere quis poteſt cum ea matrimonium, quam, viro viuente, adulterio polluerat: A man may contract marriage with her, whom, while her husband liued, he defiled with adulterie. Theſe Canons are directly oppoſite to the Ieſuites opinion.

Now whereas *Bellarmine* excludeth not all adulterie before going from future marriage, but where the parties were compact and confederate together to marrie afterward: their owne lawe ſimply maketh it lawfull for a man to marrie his concubine, though he had promiſed her mariage before: *Canſ. 22. qu. 4. c. 22. Quam prius concubinam habuerat, non eſt peccatum in coniugem ſuſcipere:* It is no ſinne to make her his wife, that was before his concubine: *cui iuramento firmauit, &c.* to whom he confirmed by an oth, to take her to wife. *Canſ. 31. qu. 1. c. 2. Fieri poteſt coniugium cum qua præceſſit adulterium:* Marriage may be made with whom adulterie was before committed. *Decret. Gregor. lib. 4. tit. 7. c. 8. Siquis vxore viuente fide data, &c.* If a man, his wife yet liuing, did giue his faith to marrie another, or did contract himſelfe to her, and did not carnally know her, the marriage is not to be diſſolued. So then neither adulterie precedent, nor yet the giuing of faith, or contracting marriage, the firſt husband or wife yet liuing, though theſe are grieuous offences, yet are not ſufficient to diſſolue or breake off Matrimonie.

But there are certaine caſes, wherein Matrimonie vnlawfully contracted, yea conſummate, may be diſſolued: as firſt, if the conſent of either partie be wanting, as when by tyrannicall coaction and compulſion they come together, and the conſent is ſtill withholden.

Hormiſda. decret. 4. Filiam inuitam & renitentem, nemo viri alicuius coniugio cogat ſociari: quorum enim vnum eſt corpus, vnpt eſſe debet animus: Let no man match in marriage vnto any his daughter againſt her will: for they that haue one bodie, ought alſo to haue one minde. *Nicholaus de matrimon. can. 1. Si ſolus conſenſus defuerit, cætera cum ipſo coitu celebrata fruſtrantur:* If the conſent only be wanting, the very carnall copulation, and whatſoeuer elſe beſide, are all fruſtrate and void.

Secondly, if the conſent of both be wanting, as in the marriage of children, that are not able to giue conſent.

Nichola. 1. de matrimon. can. 3 Vbi non eſt conſenſus vtriuſq;, ibi non eſt coniugium: &c. Where each partie conſenteth not, there is no marriage: Therfore they which giue girles to boyes in marriage in the cradle, doe no act at all, vnleſſe both of them when they come to yeeres of diſcretion, conſent.

Thirdly, if there be an error of the perſon, as if one be thruſt vpon a man in ſtead of another, as *Lea* was vpon *Iacob:* or an error in the condition of the partie, as if he or ſhe be an Hermaphrodite, an Eunuch, or ſuch like.

Lateranenſ. part. 50. cap. 28. Alexander. Sicut puer, qui non poteſt reddere debitum non eſt aptus coniugio, ſic quoque qui impotentes ſunt, minimè apti ad contrahenda matrimonia reputantur: As a childe, which cannot render the debt or dutie of marriage, is not fit for marriage; ſo neither are they fit to contract marriage, that haue any naturall weakenes or imbecillitie. In this place it is ſaid further, that although it be not the cuſtome of the Romane Church, yet the French Church doth diſſolue marriage for frigiditie, and impotencie of nature.

Fourthly, if they marrie within the degrees forbidden by *Moſes* law. In all theſe caſes, Matrimonie thus vnlawfully begun and ratified, may be diſſolued. But lawfull Matrimonie cannot be abrogate, but either by naturall death, or lawfull diuorce for fornication. In the caſe of deſertion alſo and long abſence of either partie, after the expecting of his returne ſome terme of yeeres, with probable intelligence of the parties death; or if he be wilfully abſent, of his lewde and diſhoneſt life, the innocent partie, by the wiſe and deliberate ſentence of the Magiſtrate, may be pronounced free.

For other matters which are commonly obiected, marriage is not to be diſſolued: As for long abſence, when the husband is detained in captiuitie, or ſuch like: *Leo epiſtol. 77. cap. 1. Quod fœmina debeant, quæ captis viris nupſerant alijs, regreſſis de captiuitate viris, prioribus copulari:* Women marrying to others while their husbands are captiues, muſt be reſtored vnto them at their returne.

Barrennes is no cauſe of diſſolution: *Lateranenſ. part. 6. cap. 25. Ob coëundi poſſibilitatem ſuerint debet diuortium:* Diuorce muſt not be made, for poſſibilitie of generation.

The leproſie is no cauſe: *Lateranenſ. 37 part. cap. 3. Alexander. Vxores propter lepram non ſunt dimittendæ; ſed illis petentibus debet debitum reddi:* Women for leproſie muſt not be put away: but their husbands muſt performe the dutie of mariage if they require it.

So likewiſe in other caſes: *Quicquid mulier contra te cogitauerit, vel ſi te accuſauerit, non eſt excepta cauſa fornicationis ejicienda:* Though thy wife ſhould conſpire againſt thee, and accuſe thee, yet ſhe muſt not be caſt off except for fornication, *Nichol. 1. decret. de matrim. 6.*

Ibid. can. 7. Hi qui matrimonium ſani contraxerunt & vni ex duobus dementia, aut furor, aut aliqua infirmitas acceſſerit, non debent coniugia talium diſſolui: They which were ſound when they married, if either of them afterward fall into frenzie, madnes, or ſicknes, they muſt not for that be diuorced.

Ibid.

Ibid. Similiter sciendum est de his, qui ab aduersariis excæcantur, aut membris truncantur, aut à barbaris castrati sunt: The like is to be said of those that haue their eyes pulled out, are maimed, or gelded of their enemies. None of these are sufficient causes to breake off marriage. And thus much of this question.

THE FIFT QVESTION, OF THE COMPARISON betweene Virginitie and Mariage.

The Papists.

VIrginitie is preferred before Marriage, not onely for that it is a more quiet state of life, and freer from troubles in this world, but that it is more conuenient for the seruice of God, and that hath a gratefull puritie and sanctitie, both of bodie and soule, which marriage hath not, Papists.

Argum. 1. Corinth. 7. 32. *The vnmarried careth for the things of the Lord, how she may please God*: Ergo, virginitie is a fitter state of life to serue and please God in, *Rhemist. ibid.*

The Protestants.

THis we grant, according to the Apostles saying in this place, that virginitie is also a fitter state of life for the seruice of God, yet not simply, but for those onely that haue the gift of continencie: for they which cannot abstaine, may and doe serue God with a more quiet minde being married, than many popish virgins which burne in ỹ lust of concupiscence. Secondly, yet it followeth not, that virginitie is a more holie and cleane thing in it selfe, and more meritorious before God, than marriage is: for this were to make marriage vnholy and vncleane; whereas it is not the act of marriage, but the abusing thereof, that bringeth vncleannes with it: before God in themselues, neither is more holy than other. 97. Error.

Argum. It is faith which maketh vs accepted of God, not the merite of any worke: and therefore all faithfull beleeuers it is sayd, Apocal. 14. 4. *These are they which were not defiled with women: for they are virgines.* And he vnderstandeth all *that are redeemed by Christ, from amongst men, and are the first fruits of the Lambe*, vers. 4. and not onely those, which properly in common vse of speech we call Virgines. And thus Saint *Ambrose* expoundeth: *Si ideo putes virgines dictos, quia corpora sua intacta seruarunt, &c.* If you only vnderstand virgines, because they haue kept their bodies vnpolluted, then the Saints shalbe excluded from this glorie: for al the Apostles, except *Iohn* and Paul had wiues, *Ambr. in 2. Corinth. 11.* True godlines therefore and a sincere faith, whereby wee are diuorced from the world, and ioyned to God, is the true virginitie.

Augustine: Sicut non est impar meritum patientiæ in Petro, qui passus est, & in Iohanne, qui passus non est: ita non est impar meritum continentiæ in Iohanne, qui nullas est expertus nuptias, & in Abrahamo, qui filios genuerunt: As there was no greater merite of patience in *Peter* that suffered, than in *Iohn*, who suffered not; so there was no greater merite of continencie in *Iohn* that was neuer married, than in *Abraham* that begat children. See then, by his iudgement, there is the same merite of married and vnmarried persons. De bono coniugal.

Synod. Gangrens. cap. 9. Si quis virginitatem professus tanquam abominabiles nuptias indicat, anathema sit: If any man professing virginitie doe condemne marriage, as an abominable thing, let him be accursed. But thus doe our aduersaries, who are carried away with such an extraordinarie liking of their Monkish fained chastitie, that they despise marriage, calling it a prophaning and pollution of orders, as we haue seene before.

Cod. lib. 6. tit. 58. leg. 1. Constant. Whereas there was a lawe, that, *celebs*, a single man was not capable of any bequest or legacie: the Emperour correcteth that ordinance, and thus enacteth: *Sit omnibus æqua conditio capessendi, quod quisque meretur*: Let the same condition be to all, married and vnmarried to receiue, whatsoeuer they are meete or worthie of. This is the equitie of mans law, to make no difference in reward between the single and married: shall Gods law be thought to be more vnequall?

Distinct. 30. c. 4. Si quis virginitatem, &c. If any man professing virginitie for Gods cause, doe arrogantly dispraise those that are married, let him be accursed. But the extraordinarie extolling and aduancing of single life, tendeth to the dispraise of marriage.

Caus. 32. q. 4. c. 6. Quis ignorat omnes retrò sanctos eiusdē fuisse meriti, &c. Who is ignorant, that all the Saints in time passed, were of the same merit, that Christians are? If then the Saints and Patriarchs, that were married, be equall vnto Christian virgines; then is not virginitie simplie to be preferred before marriage.

THE SIXT QVESTION, OF THE TIMES of marriage prohibited.

The Papiſts.

91. Error. THere are certaine ſeaſons in the yeere, wherein for the holines of the feſtiuall times, they hold it vnlawfull to haue marriage ſolemnized: as from the Aduent to the Epiphanie; from Septuageſima Sunday (as it is called) to the octaues of Eaſter: from three dayes afore the Aſcenſion, to the octaues of Pentecoſt, *Ruard. Tapper. artic. 20 p. 526.* But the Councel of Trent hath ſomewhat moderated this time, & cut it ſhorter, thinking it vnreaſonable that matiage ſhould be prohibited the third part of the yeere (for ſo much the time interdicted ariſeth to, if account be taken of the weekes:) The time of Pentecoſt therefore they haue diſpenſed with: and the time prohibited at Eaſter they would haue begun not from Septuageſima, but from Aſhwedneſday, *Seſſ. 24. cap. 10.* Vpon theſe times they hold it vnlawfull publikely to haue marriage ſolemnized, both for the holines of ſo great feaſts, and becauſe of receiuing the Sacraments, *Bellar. de matrim. cap. 31.*

Argum. God commaunded the people to abſtaine from their wiues, when hee was to appeare vnto them in Mount Sinai, Exod. 19. 15. And Sam. 21. 4. Before the high Prieſt would deliuer the ſhewbread to *Dauid* and his companie, he asked if the young men had kept themſelues from women: *Ergo*, marriage is not lawfull at all times, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, theſe places alleaged doe rather proue, that men in thoſe interdicted times ought not at all to come at their wiues, then that the ſolemnization of marriage ſhould be reſtrained: but I thinke they would be aſhamed to forbid men their wiues companie ſo long together, as fiue or ſixe weekes at the Natiuitie, and eight or nine weekes at Eaſter: why then ſhould not the one be as lawfull as the other? Secondly, the abſtinence from their wiues was commaunded them, as a legall and ceremoniall kind of ſanctification, as was alſo the waſhing of their clothes, Exod. 19. verſ. 10. And the companie of women was at ſome times counted as a legall pollution, not as a ſinfull or vncleane act of it ſelfe: as the women after childbirth were commaunded to purifie themſelues, Leuit. 12. from a legall pollution onely, not from any ſinfull or vncleane act: for then it had been a manifeſt iniurie to that holy birth, that *Mary* purified her ſelfe according to the law, Luk. 2. 22. Wherefore ſeeing it was a legall kinde of ſanctification, it is not to be intruded and impoſed vpon Chriſtians now. Thirdly, neither can they proue that this kinde of abſtinence is neceſſarie alwaies before the receiuing of the Sacrament, though ſometimes wee denie not but it is conuenient: for it was not alwaies required, no not of the Prieſts in the lawe, when they went to offer incenſe or ſacrifice. For whereas the high Prieſt, which was alwaies but one, was bound morning and euening to offer incenſe vnto the Lord, Exod. 30. 8. he could not obſerue this rule vnleſſe he had been inioyned perpetuall abſtinence, which we ſee by the law was not impoſed vpon them. This doubt ſomewhat troubled *Auguſtine*: for firſt he ſaith, That it muſt needes follow, ſeeing the high Prieſt was married, and did ſometime go in vnto his wife, that the offering of incenſe ſhould ſome dayes be intermitted: but in his Retractations he miſliketh his former ſolution, and thus determineth; That the high Prieſt firſt offered the morning incenſe, and afterward went in to his wife, and ſo was vncleane, *vſque ad veſperam*, but vntill the euening, not after the ordinarie tide, & then he offered the euening incenſe. To take this anſwere for this time, though it be inſufficient: for the Hebrue word, which is tranſlated the euen, or euentide נשף, ſignifieth the twilight, when the Sunne is ſet, when light and darknes are mixed together: but the incenſe was offered before the Sunne ſet: yet I ſay, admitting *Auguſtines* ſolution, the high Prieſt did not abſtaine one whole day before he offered: much leſſe many dayes, much leſſe many weekes, much leſſe ſome moneths: as the Popiſh Church preſcribeth by interdicting ſo many dayes.

Quæſt. ſup. Leuit. 15.

Retract. lib. 2. cap. 85.

The Proteſtants.

THat not onely the publike ſolemnitie of marriage at ſome times may haue intermiſſion, but all Matrimoniall acts ought to ceaſe: as when men either priuately doe giue themſelues to faſting and prayer, 1. Cor. 7. 5. or when publique or generall faſts are by the ſpirituall gouernours thought meete, and by the Chriſtian Magiſtrate proclaimed: we doe not denie, but in our iudgement allow it, and by our practiſe approue it: but that Matrimonie at ſuch ſet times as an vnholy and vncleane thing is to be forbidden and reſtrained, we take it to be popiſh ſuperſtition, and an Antichriſtian yoke.

Argum. 1. It diſgraceth the holy inſtitution of marriage, which the Apoſtle calleth honourable, Hebr. 13. 4. and Saint *Paul* counteth the fruites of marriage, which are the children of the faithfull, holie, 1. Corinth. 7. 14. How is it then, that there can be any time ſo holie, the which holie Matrimonie is not beſeeming? Againe, in thus doing they make difference of dayes, eſteeming ſome in themſelues more holie than others, contrarie to the Apoſtles rule, Galat. 4. 10. Coloſſians 2. 16.

Argum. 2.

*Argum.*2. The Apostle willeth, *that they should not defraud one another, but by consent for a time &c.* 1.Cor.7.5. which though it be especially vnderstood of married persons, yet it may be extended to those which are contracted together: how can they obserue this rule, when their marriage is suspended tenne weekes together, from *Septuagesima* till the octaues of *Easter*? may not Sathan tempt them all this while for their incontinencie? Againe, what is this else, but *a forbidding to marrie*, though not in whole, yet in part: contrarie to the Apostle, 1.Timoth.4.3.

*Argum.*3. The Tridentine Chapter maketh but two holie times in the yeere, the Natiuitie, and Easter: during which times, they would not haue Matrimonie solemnized: and I pray you, why is Pentecost left out, is it not as festiuall a time as the other? And if they haue powr to dispense with the festiuall of Pentecost, why not with the rest also? wherefore it appeareth to be but an humane deuice. And as the Popish Church hath abrogated one of the interdicted times for mariage; so it were to be wished, that those reformed Churches, which haue abandoned other superstitious obseruations, and yet doe retaine this vse for the restraint of marriage at certaine seasons, would proceede a degree further, and graunt a generall libertie to marrie in those inhibited times: first, because it is an offence to other reformed Churches, that where the Gospell is professed, any such yoke should be imposed. Secondly, if Papists haue enlarged this restraint, thinking it not reasonable to enioyne so many times of inhibition, much more ought Protestants to doe that which is most agreeable to the libertie of the Gospell. Thirdly, while by dispensation it is made lawfull to marrie in these times, for euery one that will be at the charge thereof, and not otherwise, it will be taken onely to be an engine to draw aduantage. Fourthly, seeing that the Martyrs were persecuted for marrying in these inhibited times, as *Iohn Crimes* mentioned afterward: it is very vnfit, and vnbeseeming, that the people should vnder the Gospell be encumbred with such things. Fiftly, because the lawes of the Realme doe seeme to giue libertie for marriage at all times, in these words: *That no reseruation, or prohibition, Gods law except, shall trouble or impeach any marriage, without the lineall degrees: ann.*32. *Henrie.*8.*c.*38. If no prohibition, then not the prohibition or restraint of time. Lastly, because this restraint of marriage is not grounded vpon the word of God, for then it could not be altered; but is onely an humane constitution, and seemeth rather to abridge the libertie of marriage, and to be against the Apostles rule, 1.Cor.7.5. as I haue shewed before: in mine opinion it were much better for these reasons alleadged, for this Canon of restraint to be discontinued, than vrged: and I hope, that the discreete officers of our Church, will be more sparing and moderate therein.

But to returne, let vs see a little I pray you, how well they agree together about the times prohibited for mariage: some of them beside the three times of the Natiuitie, Easter, Pentecost, make also a fourth time vnseasonable for mariage, and that is at the feast of Saint *Iohn Baptist*: Neither doe they here agree about the time, some prescribing three weekes before of abstinence from mariage: *Synod. Herdens. decret. 1 ex Gratian.* Some 14. dayes onely, *Synod. Salegunstadiens. can.*3. Some beside also other times of prohibition, as in the foure Ember fasts, and in the holy dayes eeues: also they hold it vnlawfull to marrie, *Salegunstadiens. ibid.* Others doe abridge the three vsuall times of restraint, either in part, as *reformat. Ratispon. articul.*21. the last weeke only of Aduent is restrained for mariage: or in whole, as the restraint of Pentecost is abridged and cut off in the late Tridentine Chapter. Thus it appeareth to be onely an humane tradition, which hath so much doubtfulnes and vncertaintie: as though any time can be too holy for marriage.

Could there be a more holy place then Paradise? or a more holy time, than while man was in his innocencie? yet euen then and there Matrimonie was instituted.

Lastly, is not the Sabboth or Lords day an holy festiuall time? and as holy as any is? what if I said more holy, for this onely immediatly was instituted of God: but marriage may notwithstanding be fitly solemnized vpon that day, the abuses and disorders, which commonly fall out in such assemblies, being cut off: for *Augustine* is of opinion, that the marriage in Cana of Galile, was *die Dominico*, vpon the Lordes day. And it is most fit that Matrimonie should bee solemnized in the face of the congregation, which is vsually assembled vpon that day: *Ergo*, it may as fitly and conuenietly at any time be kept and solemnized, excepting the respects aforesaid. De tempor. serm.159.

The Ciuill law for decencie and comlines sake interdicteth some times of marriage to particular persons: as a woman marrying within a yeere after her husbands death, was counted infamous: *Cod.lib.*2.*tit.*12.*leg.*15.*Gordian.* but generally to all and for religion the law enioyneth not times of restraint.

We haue here the testimonie of the Martyrs: *Iohn Lambert* holy Martyr: In that they will not suffer mariage to be solemnized at all times in the yeere: I think it standeth not with Christs rule, but is against the same; and that they will not suffer the banes vpon all holy daies to be proclaimed, vnlesse a dispensation for money be purchased: All this God forbiddeth, *Fox* p.1105.col.1.

Henrie Crimes troubled and persecuted for marrying his wife on Palme Sunday eeuen, *Fox* pag.1917.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, TO WHOM MATRIMONIALL causes properly doe belong.

The Papists.

99. Error. MAtrimonial causes, as to determine of the degrees of kinred, of diuorces, of the impediments of marriage, of contracts: doe only belong vnto the Church, and the Magistrate may make lawes hereof (*approbante principe ecclesiastico*) by the approbation of the ecclesiasticall prince (hee meaneth the Pope:) otherwise the lawes of Princes are in this behalfe voide, *Bellarm. de matrim. cap. 32.*

Argum. 1. Our Sauiour Christ giueth a law concerning diuorces, Matth. 19. he sendeth them not to the ciuill Magistrate: and Saint *Paul* prescribeth, what is to be done in the marriage of beleeuers and Infidels, 1. Cor. 7. 13. *Ergo*, the officers of the Church are onely iudges of these causes. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, the argument followeth not: for Christ as King of his Church, the Apostles as his chiefe Ministers, by warrant and commission from him prescribed, and gaue lawes to the Church: no mortall man now is to challenge that authoritie to himselfe. Secondly, by this reason ecclesiasticall persons shall haue the rule of all causes: for Saint *Paul* describeth the office also of Princes, and giueth direction for ciuill causes, as for tribute, vsing of the sword, and such like, Rom. 13. doth it follow then that these things doe belong to the Apostles successors? Thirdly, as the Apostles did giue rules and directions for Matrimoniall and other causes: so it is the Ministers part also, by the word of God to minister counsell, and giue direction to the ciuill Magistrate in these cases, but not without authoritie from the same power to meddle with the execution thereof.

Argum. 2. Matrimonie 1. is a Sacrament, and therefore belongeth to the knowledge of ecclesiasticall persons: 2. and many cases of conscience may fall out, wherein recourse is to be had to the pastors of mens soules: 3. otherwise, when there are no Christian Magistrates, their spirituall causes should be brought before Heathen Iudges, if the Church hath no power to discerne of them, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, we denie Matrimonie to be a Sacrament, neither shall they be euer able to proue it so. Secondly, in cases of conscience in Matrimonie the pastors of soules must be consulted with out of the word: but it followeth not, that they therefore should make lawes: and are your Canonists and Licentiates pastors of soules, to whom you referre the deciding of these causes? Thirdly, Heathen Iudges haue 1. made good lawes concerning Matrimoniall matters, as that no man should marrie his fathers concubine, *Alexander. Cod. lib. 5 tit. 4. leg. 4.* not without the parties consent: *Diocles. ibid. leg.* 12. Not the sister, sisters daughter, aunt, &c. *Leg.* 17. *Diocles.* Not two wiues at once: *ibid. tit. 5. leg. 2. Diocles.* 2. But where such lawes faile, they must take that course which S. *Paul* did against the incestuous person, to vse spirituall correction.

The Protestants.

MAtrimoniall causes, such as are before rehearsed, originally doe belong to the ciuill Magistrate, by whose munificence they haue been graunted to ecclesiasticall persons, and vnto them properly it doth belong to make Matrimoniall lawes.

Argum. 1. This is euident first out of the Scripture, for *Moses* and not *Aaron*, did publish the lawes concerning the degrees of marriage, Leuit. 18. and other Matrimoniall causes. *The Magistrate is Gods minister to take vengeance on them that doe euill*, Rom. 13. 4. therefore also to censure and punish all transgressions and offences in marriage; to him it appertaineth to see that men liue *in godlines and honestie*, 1. Tim. 2. 2. Therefore it is part of the Magistrates care, that honestie and godlines be kept in Matrimonie and Matrimoniall duties and causes.

Argum. 2. Secondly, this is proued by the ancient practise of the Ciuill power: how the Emperours both Heathen and Christian haue made lawes as concerning the degrees, contracts, diuorce of marriages; see *Cod. lib. 5 tit. 4. de Nuptijs, tit 5. de incestis, &c.* Beside their practise, the matrimonie of the law is euident: *Cod. lib. 5 tit. 4. leg. 3. Seuerus, Illicitas matrimonium coram seculari iudice:* Vnlawfull marriage must be complained of before a secular Iudge: whom the lawe calleth, *competentem iudicem*, a competent Iudge. If the Secular be competent, the Ecclesiasticall is incompetent. *Ibid. leg.* 11. *Diocles.* If a mans father detaine his wife, *rector prouincie*, the rector of the prouince shall helpe. *Leg.* 20. *Theodos.* If there be many competitors of a woman, that is an orphane, *Iudici deliberare permissum est:* The Iudge shall determine whom she shall haue.

Argum. 3. It appeareth by the reason of the law: first, *Cod. lib. 3 tit. 8. leg. 1. Alexander. Potest enim eam incidentem quæstionem examinare, &c.* Hee before whom any principall cause is brought, may examine euery question incident: But so cannot an Ecclesiasticall person, examine euery matter that falleth in question in the case of Matrimonie. Secondly, *Ibid. leg. 3. Valerianus: Ciuilis quæstio & incidens criminalis eadem sententia terminantur, &c.* A ciuill question and criminall falling

into

with it, are ended with the same sentence: But Ecclesiastic all persons haue nothing to doe with Ciuill causes, as with matters of inheritance, debts, dowries, which are incident into Matrimoniall causes: *Ergo*, neither the iudgement of the crimes belongeth to them: Thirdly, *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 26. leg. 7. Autem. Cui denegatur executio, denegatur pronuntiatio*: To whom the execution is denied, the pronouncing also or giuing of the sentence is denied: But Ecclesiastic all persons cannot execute iudgement in Matrimoniall offences, as in punishing of their bodie, or goods: *Ergo*, neither doth the sentence originally and properly appertaine vnto them. They being incompetent persons of themselues, are made competent by the constitution of Princes: as the law saith, *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 13. leg. 5. Arcad. Principis oraculum incompetentem iudicem facit competentem*: The oracle of the Prince maketh an incompetent Iudge competent.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF THE CEREmonies and rites of Matrimonie.

The Papists.

THe Iesuite reckoneth vp seuen. First, they which are to be ioyned in Matrimonie, are blessed of the Priest. Secondly, oblation is made for them in the sacrifice of the Masse. Thirdly, they are couered with a vaile. Fourthly, they are coupled together *vitta purpurea & candida*, with a lace or riband, partly white, partly purple. Fifthly, the Bride giueth to the Bridegroome a ring, first hallowed and blessed of the Priest. Sixtly, he commendeth them to God in his prayers. Seuenthly, hee exhorteth and admonisheth them of their mutuall dutie, *Bellarm. cap. 33. de Matrim.* 100. Error.

The Protestants.

SOme of those rites we altogether allow and vse them our selues, as the 6. and 7. for both prayers are made vnto God for them, and they are by the Minister put in minde of their dutie: and all is done with vs in the vulgar tongue, much more to the edifying of the people, and comfort of the parties themselues: whereas their idolatrous Priest chattereth all in an vnknowne tongue: A goodly exhortation sure, when the parties exhorted vnderstand not one word thereof. 101. Error.

Some other of these rites we vtterly reiect, as the 2. 3. 4. for oblation or sacrifice, in their meaning, we acknowledge none: for the married parties to receiue the Communion, if there be a sufficient number, we neither hold it necessarie as being of the essence of marriage, nor yet thinke it conuenient.

But as for that coloured and painted attire of blew and white, we take it fitter for a May-game, then to be shewed in a solemne assemblie of Christians.

Nebol. 1. de Matrimonio q. 4. Vt ligaturam auream, vel argenteam, vel ex qualibet metallo compositam, quibus nuptialia fœdera contrahunt, in capitibus non deferant: That they weare no billament or plate of gold or siluer in their heads, when they celebrate the Matrimoniall contract. Yet such ornaments were more seemely, than such gue-gawes, and toyes of blew and white.

Edmund. part. 7. cap. 47. Ludicra illa, quæ in templis post benedictionem sacerdotalem fieri consuerunt, vbi in pulsando sponso, atque alia eiusdem generis penitus tollantur: nam res seria, quam Deus ipse instituit: Those light toyes which are accustomed to be done in the Church, after the blessing of the Priest vpon the married couple, as in smiting of the Bridegroome, and such like, must be left: for serious matter of Gods owne institution is in hand.

Cod. lib. 5. tit. 4. tit. 21. Theodos. Milites sine antiqua solennitate, &c. Souldiours haue licence to contract Matrimonie without the ancient solemnitie. *Ibid. leg. 22. Si pompa absque nuptiarum celebritate, &c.* If the pompe and celebritie of marriage be omitted, nothing is wanting to the firmnes or furenes of marriage: *Ergo*, by the Ciuill law such toyes and vaine pompe are not required, nor necessarie.

The rest we in part allow, as the Ring, so it be vsed onely as a ciuill ornament, and token of mutuall loue: but that popish blessing either of the Ring, or of the married couple with the fingers ouer, and muttering of some few inchaunting words, as though by the very act of popish blessing there were a secret vertue and qualitie of holines infused into the things so blessed or inchanted, we condemnne it as a superstitious toy. So we conclude, all such rites in Matrimonie, as haue a comely and profitable vse, tending to edifying, we refuse not: the rest we reiect, and send them backe to Rome, from whence they came.

THE SIXTEENTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, OF CONFIRMATION, ORDERS, EXTREAME VNCTION.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF Confirmation.

THe parts of this question are these. First, whether it be a Sacrament. Secondly, of the pares thereof. Thirdly, of the Minister. Fourthly, of the effect of this ceremonie. Fifthly, of the rites, and whole order thereof.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER it be a Sacrament.

The Papists.

101. Error. THat Confirmation is properly and truly a Sacrament, it was decreed in the *Tridentine Counc. sess. 7. can. 1.* and it is their generall opinion.

Argum. Act. 8. 17. They did lay their hands vpon them, and they receiued the holie Ghost: This imposition of hands, together with the prayers here specified, was no doubt, the Sacrament of Confirmation: for here is an outward signe, and a spirituall grace; *Ergo*, a Sacrament, *Rhemi. ibid. Bellarm. de Confirmat. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

Answ. First, these were miraculous gifts of the holie Ghost, as the gifts of tongues, of prophesying, healing, which were bestowed vpon the Disciples, whereof the imposition of hands was signe at that time: but it is impossible to ground an ordinarie and perpetuall Sacrament vpon an extraordinarie example: and that they were such visible graces of the spirit, it appeareth, because *Simon Magus* saw that the holie Ghost was giuen them by laying on of hands.

Secondly, the holie Ghost was obtained by their prayers, vers. 15. and not by the very laying on of hands.

Thirdly, to make a Sacrament, it is not enough to haue a visible signe, and to shew some spirituall grace therewith to be bestowed: for then the spittle and clay that Christ vsed, the napkins also and partlets, which were carried to the sicke from the Apostles, and they were healed presently; all these should be sacraments; for here are outward signes, and some effect followed: yet because there was no institution of a sacrament by Christ, nor any commaundement to vse them, neither these, nor the imposition of hands can be a sacrament.

Fourthly, the Apostles had an especiall commaundement to impose hands, and a special promise by laying on of hands to giue the holy Ghost, which we now haue not.

Fiftly, seeing the extraordinarie giftes, which the Apostles bestowed by imposition of hands, are now ceased, the ceremonie in that behalfe also is expired.

Bellarm. answereth, 1. The Apostles gaue not only the miraculous giftes of the Spirit, but the holy ghost; for all did not speake with tongues, 1. Corin. 12. 30. but these gifts all the beleeuers had. 2. It cannot be shewed, that the Apostles had any such speciall commaundement or promise, but the promise is generally made to the Church: *I will be with you vnto the end of the world.* 3. Though the visible signes are ceased, yet the inuisible grace, which was giuen by the imposition of hands, remaineth still: *Bellar. l. c.*

Contra. First, we 1. graunt, that by imposition of hands, the Apostles gaue both inuisible graces and visible signes together, not the one without the other: this notwithstanding it was an extraordinarie worke of the Apostles, and no good ground for an ordinarie sacrament. 2. Though all beleeuers spake not with tongues, yet they had all in those dayes some especiall or extraordinarie gifte for the confirmation of their faith, Mark. 16. 17. *These tokens shall follow them that beleeue, &c.* 3. Yet it is cleare, that all these at Samaria receiued extraordinarie gifts, for they had beene baptized before and beleeued, and were partakers of the common grace: and they were such graces as *Simon* saw to be giuen: therefore extraordinarie and visible.

Secondly,

Secondly, it is great boldneſſe to denie, that the Apoſtles had a ſpeciall promiſe to giue the graces of the ſpirit, and a commaundement ſo to doe: for he himſelfe graunteth, *Nunquam ordinarie impoſitum manus*, They would neuer ſo ordinarily haue impoſed their hands, if Chriſt had not ſo commanded. 2. *Ananias* by the commaundement of Chriſt laid his hands vpon *Paul*, not to take away his blindneſſe onely (as *Bellarmine* boldly affirmeth) but that he might *be filled with the holy ghoſt*, Act. 10.17. Here is both an expreſſe commaundement and promiſe. 3. Some generall promiſes were made not onely to the Apoſtles, but to the whole Church, as of Chriſts perpetuall preſence and protection: but it is very abſurd, to ſay, that the Apoſtles had no more power to giue the holy ghoſt, than others ſucceeding them haue; for this were to make all Apoſtles, which *Paul* denieth, 1. Cor. 12.29.

Thirdly, if the viſible ſignes are ceaſed, which come by impoſition of hands, then haue you loſt your ſacrament, the ſacramentall effect being extinct: the inuiſible graces of the Spirite remaine, but not conferred by impoſition of hands, but by the preaching of the word, and prayers of the Church. Hitherto therefore you haue prooued no ſacrament.

The Proteſtants.

WE graunt a ceremonie of impoſition of hands vſed in the Apoſtles time, and after, ſo long as the miraculous giftes of the holy ghoſt continued in the Church: there is alſo another kind of impoſition of handes, ſuch as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, Hebr. 6.2. which may haue perpetuall vſe in the Church, which is nothing elſe but a kind of prayer to be ſtrengthened by the holy ghoſt, and for the increaſe of grace. But neither this nor the other doe we hold to be a Sacrament.

Argum. 1. Euery ſacrament muſt haue his appointment from Chriſt, conſiſting both of an outward element, and the worde of inſtitution: but the Popiſh ſacrament of confirmation hath none of theſe: the element they vſe, is oyle, the word of conſecration, *I ſigne thee with the ſigne of the Croſſe, and annoint thee with the Chriſme of health, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghoſt*: but none of theſe haue their inſtitution by Chriſt or his Apoſtles any where in the new Teſtament, Act. 8.19. and in other places we reade that the Apoſtles vſed impoſition of hands, but there is no where mention made of Chriſme or oyle: neither this ſuperſtitious deuiſe in vſe then, whatſoeuer the Ieſuite ſaith, being brought in long after by *Sylueſter*, who is reported by *Damaſcene* the deuiſer of Chriſme: *Ergo*, it hauing no inſtitution in the Goſpell, it is no ſacrament.

Argum. 2. The Scriptures beſide that extraordinarie impoſition of hands vſed by the Apoſtles, make mention of another impoſition of hands, not as of a ſacrament by it ſelfe, but as appertaining to the ſacrament of Baptiſme, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Heb. 6.2. *The doctrine of baptiſmes and laying of hands*: this externall rite depended vpon baptiſme, it was not a ſeuerall Sacrament by it ſelfe.

To this effect alſo their owne Canon, *p.3. diſtin. 4. c. 124. Nullus miniſtrorum, &c.* None of the miniſters that hath power to baptize ſhould goe without Chriſme: *Quia inter nos placuit ſemel in baptiſmate Chriſmari, &c.* Becauſe the vſe is with vs once in baptiſme to be Chriſmed. *Chriſquatis non eſt ſua benedictio*: Chriſme is but once bleſſed or hallowed. Here we ſee, that Chriſme, which they now vſe in confirmation, went together then with baptiſme.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Manus impoſitio quid aliud eſt, quàm oratio ſuper hominem?* The impoſition of the hands, what elſe is it but prayer ouer a man? He ſaith not, it is a ſacrament. De Baptiſm. lib. 3. c. 16.

Dionyſius Papa decret. Scitis quia quemodo ſunt 7. dona ſpiritus ſancti, ita ſunt ſeptem dona baptiſmi, primus pabulo ſacrati ſalis, & ingreſſus ſancta Eccleſia, uſque ad confirmationem ſpiritus ſancti per Chriſma: Yee know, that as there are ſeuen gifts of the holy Ghoſt, ſo there are ſeuen gifts of baptiſme, from the firſt ſpirituall nouriſhment of hallowed ſalte, and the entrance to the Church, vnto the confirmation of the holy Ghoſt by oyle. Here confirmation is but a part of Baptiſme, and therefore not a ſacrament of it ſelfe.

Concil. Arelatenſ. ſub Carolo. can. 18. Vt preſbyteri ſub ſigillo chryſma cuſtodiant, genus enim ſacramenti eſt: That the Prieſts keepe the chriſme vnder ſeale, for it is a kind of ſacrament: Confirmation miniſtred with chriſme is a kind of ſacrament, that is, after a ſort, properly it is not.

In this cauſe ſuffered Maſter *Beybridge* holy martyr, for denying Confirmation to be a Sacrament, or that the Biſhop doth giue grace thereby, pag. 2046. col. 2. artic. 3.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE MATTER and forme of Confirmation.

The Papiſts.

THE matter of this popiſh Sacrament, they ſay, is oyle mixed and tempered with balme, *Rhemiſt. Act. 8. Sect. 6.* First hallowed and conſecrated by the Miniſter thereof, and ſtriked in manner of a croſſe vpon the forehead of him that is to be confirmed, *Bellar. c. 8.* 102. Error.

Argum. 2. Corinth. 1. 21. *It is God which establisheth vs, or confirmeth vs with you in Christ, and hath annointed vs.* Here the Apostle speaketh of confirmation, and of the materiall part thereof, which is holy vnction, or annointing: and this holy chrisme was prefigured by that precious ointment, Exod. 30. wherewith the tabernacle and the priests were annointed: *Beller. ibid.*

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, the Apostle saith not, *Which hath confirmed*, but, *Which doth confirme*: which if it were meant of that externall ceremonie of confirmation, see what iniurie you offer to the Apostle, that being a confirmer of others, hee had neede now to be catechized and confirmed himselfe: Againe, he speaketh not of confirmation wrought by the ministerie of men: but God (saith he) confirmeth vs, that is, establisheth vs by his spirit.

2. It is too grosse to vnderstand by this annointing, your greazie besmeering mens faces with your Chrisme, seeing the Apostle expoundeth himselfe in the next verse, *Hee hath sealed vs, and given the earnest of his Spirit in our hearts*, vers. 22. Of this holy annointing of our hearts by the spirit, Saint *Iohn* also maketh mention, saying, *This annointing teacheth you all things*, 1. Epist. 2. 27. But doth the annointing of the face I pray you, giue men instruction?

3. S. *Ambrose* thus expoundeth S. *Paul* of the spirituall annointing: *Christus confirmat nos in fide promissa. &c.* Christ confirmeth the Gentiles in the faith promised to the Iewes, &c. he hath annointed vs, giuing vs *regiam honorificentiam*, a kingly honour: as *Peter* saith, we are *gens regalis*, of a royall kind: *per vnctionem spiritualem*, by the spirituall annointing: who hath also signed vs, *dando Spiritum suum nobis pignus*, giuing his spirit as a pledge, that we should not doubt of his promises: *Ambros.* in 1. Cor. 2.

Tractat in Epist. Ioh. 4. Let vs heare *Augustines* exposition, *Christus sit in corde, vnctio ipsius sit in corde: inspiratio ipsius docet, vnctio eius docet*: Let Christ be in your hearts, let his annointing be in your hearts: his inspiration is his annointing: you may be ashamed therefore, so grossely to abuse the Scripture.

And concerning the ointment of the tabernacle: first, it is no way answerable or like to the popish Chrisme: 1. There is no mention made of balme in that confection, Exod. 30. 35. for the word which *Beller.* vrgeth, *בשמים besbem*, is a generall name for sweet spices; by the Septuagint translation, ἀρώματα; by the vulgare Latine, *aromata*, spices: and so is it taken in scripture, Cant. 4. 16. 5. 1. But 2. admit that there was balme there, as some thinke, being the chiefe of the rest, yet had they other sweet spices, *cynamon, calamus, cassia*: you must mingle these also with your Chrisme, if you will finde a type here. 3. This ointment serued for the priests; you must proue that Christ the high Priest of the newe Testament was thus annointed: for if it belonged not to him, neither are we to challenge it: but Christ was no otherwise annointed then by the spirit, Luc. 4. 18. Act. 4. They were not to annoint any mans flesh with that ointment, Exod. 30. 32. how then dare you presume to lay your Chrisme vpon euery mans forehead that is confirmed.

Secondly, say that your Chrisme, and that ointment were in all points agreeable; who taught you to borrow ceremonies of the Iewes, seeing they were but types and shadowes, but the body is in Christ? Coloss. 2. 17.

Argum. 1. As for your oyle therefore mixed with balme: First, the true balme you know is not to be had, and therefore you abuse the people: As it may appeare, *Epist.* 2. *Fabiani ad Orontium*: in the which Epistle he reproueth them for not renewing the Chrisme euery yeare: *Dicunt enim nec balsamum per singulos annos nouum posse reperiri*: For they alledged, that they could not get the right balme euery yeare: If they of the East countrey could not get it where it groweth, how should it come into the West parts? *Plinie* also saith, that the balme, which grew but in two places of Iudæa, is perished: yet *Bellarmine* controuleth him, and saith, that there is a kind of balme brought from India, beside that which vsed to grow in Iudæa: yet by *Bellarmines* leaue it cannot be that balme, which grew in Iudæa, which he saith the Apostles vsed. And *Plinie* may be omitted for this matter, being a curious searcher out of the secrets of nature. Secondly, make the best of it you can, it is but a Iewish ceremonie. Thirdly, your benediction of it, is but a kind of magicall inchantment, seeing you haue no word of God to consecrate creatures in that sort: for all things are sanctified by the word of God and prayer: *Ergo*, without the warrant of God, there is no such sanctifying of creatures.

Lib. 12. c. 25.

Argum. 2. Act. 10. 44. the holy Ghost is giuen without any Chrisme, Act. 8. 17. 19. 5. the Apostles layde on their handes, but vsed no chrisme: *Ergo*, your chrisme hath no ground out of Scripture. *Kemnitij argum.*

Bellarm. 1. In the first place alleaged, the holy Ghost was giuen by the singular priuiledge of God without a Sacrament. 2. Where mention is made of imposition of handes, chrisme also is vnderstood: as where the Apostles are said to baptize in the name of the Lord Iesus, Act. 19. 5. both the father and the sonne are vnderstood; and where the Apostle saith, We are saued by the *lauacre of regeneration*, he vnderstandeth also the word; though he make no mention of it: *Beller. 6. 9. respons. ad argum. 1.*

Contra.

Contra. Firſt, though 1. the holy Ghoſt came vpon them while *Peter* preached, Act. 10. 44. yet this is no ſingular or extraordinarie priuiledge, but the vſuall effect of the preaching of the word: as we may ſee in *Lydia*, Act. 16. & faith ordinarily cõmeth by hearing, Rom. 10. 17. 2. And though the ſpirite was giuen without and before the Sacrament, yet preſently for their further confirmation, they were baptized, but not confirmed with chriſme: ſo here is a Sacrament miniſtred vnto them, to their further aſſurance and confirmation, but none other, then the Sacrament of Baptiſme.

Secondly, 1. we do not doubt, but that the Apoſtles baptized in the name of the whole Trinitie, though compendiouſly the name of Ieſus be expreſſed, becauſe they were commanded ſo to do: that although mention be not made there of the Father, Sonne and holy Ghoſt, yet in other places there is, Matth. 28. 19. 2. And S. *Paul* alſo elſewhere ioyned the word with *the waſhing of water*, Ephe. 5. 25. and in the very ſame place it followeth, by the *waſhing of water and renewing of the holy Ghoſt*; whereby the operation of the word is ſignified: ſo then if in any other place of Scripture, you could finde your chriſme to haue beene vſed by the Apoſtles with impoſition of hands, though they be not euery where ioyned together, it might ſeeme probable, that you ſay: but this you are not able to do, therefore theſe examples are friuolouſly alleaged.

Thirdly, whereas *Bellarmine* doubteth not to ſay that the Apoſtles vſed Chriſme: other Papiſtes more boldly denie it, being conuinced with euidence of Scripture: as *ſynod. Moguntin. c. 18. Sacramentum confirmationis ab initio ſola manuum impoſitione exhibitum*: The Sacrament of Confirmation in the beginning was onely exhibited with impoſition of handes.

Durat. Gregor. lib. 1. tit 16. c. 1. Innocent. 3. Confirmationis ſacramentum non debet in eo iterari, qui per errorem fuit non chriſmate, ſed oleo, delinitus: The Sacrament of confirmation muſt not be iterated in him, which by error was annointed with oyle, and not with chriſme: *Ergo*, chriſme is not neceſſarie to confirmation.

Some of the popiſh writers affirme, that balme, whereof their chriſme is made, is not neceſſarie *ad eſſentiam Sacramenti*, to the eſſence of the Sacrament: *Caietan. 3. par. qu 72. artic. 2. Dominic. a Soto lib. 4. ſentent. diſt. 7. qu. 1. art. 2. ſynod. Arauſican. cap. 1. Quum baptiſmate Chriſmatus fuerit; in confirmatione ſacerdos commonebitur: nam inter nos Chriſmatis ipſius, non niſi vna benedictio eſt*: Hee that was chriſmed, or annoynted in Baptiſme, muſt admoniſh the Prieſt thereof in confirmation (that is he not annoynted againe) for with vs chriſme is but once bleſſed and vſed. He then that was baptized with chriſme, was confirmed without chriſme: This Chriſme then and conſecrate oyle, was not the matter of confirmation.

The Papiſts.

1. THe forme of Confirmation is in the words which are pronounced, I ſigne thee *with the ſigne of the Croſſe*, and confirme thee *with the Chriſme of ſaluation or health*, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghoſt, *Bellarm. cap. 10.* 103. Error.

The Proteſtants.

1. THey muſt ſhew the inſtitution of Chriſt, out of the word, for the forme of euery Sacrament: which they cannot do for this, vnleſſe they runne to their beggerly traditions, which they blaſphemouſly call the word of God vnwritten.

2. Where haue they learned, that men are confirmed and eſtabliſhed with the external annointing of oyle? ſo ſaid ſome amongſt the Coloſſians, Touch not, taſte not, handle not: to whom the Apoſtle anſwereth, Which things periſh with the vſing, and are after the commandements of men, Coloſſ. 2. 21. 22. So is this annointing with oyle, a meere inuention of men, and hath no longer vertue or force, then in the naturall vſe thereof.

Bellarmine anſwereth: Firſt, we haue the warrant of the word for the forme of confirmation; for the Apoſtles prayed, when they layed on hands, Act. 8. 15. and the forme of the Sacraments conſiſteth in prayers. Secondly, the oyle is called the oyle of health or ſaluation, as Baptiſme the waſhing of the new birth, becauſe it is an inſtrument thereof, *Bellarm. cap. 10.*

Contra. Firſt, prayer 1. is made to God, this forme is pronounced to him that is confirmed, therefore it is not a prayer: 2. Beſide in the forme there is mention made of the ſigne of the croſſe, and of *chriſme*: can you fetch theſe alſo out of the Apoſtles prayer? 3. And if you make confirmation nothing els, but prayer ouer a man, we will not much ſtand with you.

Secondly, 1. we make not Baptiſme a cauſe of regeneration, as you do the oyle; but a ſeale only thereof. 2. Neyther can yee ſhew the like inſtitution and ordinance of Chriſt for confirmation, as we can for Baptiſme.

Innocent. lig. cap. 16. Sacramentum confirmationis initio impoſitione manuum tantũ celebratum fuit, &c. The Sacrament of confirmation in the beginning was onely celebrated with the impoſition of hands: It was then no part of the forme of conſecration in thoſe dayes, to ſay, I confirme thee with the Chriſme of health, &c. for at the firſt no oyle or Chriſme was vſed, but onely the impoſition of hands.

THE

THE THIRD PART, OF THE MINISTER of Confirmation.

The Papists.

104. Error. THe Papists are here diuided: Some thinke that the Bishop is so necessarily the Minister of confirmation, that it can in no wise be committed to Presbyters: *Sic Bonauentur. Durand. Adrian. in 4. distinct. 7.* Other of them are of opinion that it may extraordinarily be ministred by Presbyters, as *Thomas, Marsilius, Ruhardus, Paludanus*: But the Bishop is the ordinarie Minister thereof by the word of God: of this sentence is *Bellarmine cap. 12.*

Argum. Act. 8. *Peter* and *Iohn* are sent to Samaria to lay on their handes, *Philip* onely baptized, if *Philip* could haue giuen the spirite, what need the Apostles haue beene sent? the Apostles then onely confirmed: Bishops succeed Apostles: *Ergo.*

Answ. First, the Apostles by laying on the hands, gaue the extraordinary grace of the spirite, therefore this place maketh not for confirmation. Secondly, none can succeede the Apostles, in their Apostolike and extraordinarie power in giuing the spirite. Thirdly, *Philip* gaue the holy Ghost also, though not those visible signes, which belong not to confirmation; for by his preaching they beleeued, and were baptized: and S. *Hierome* saith, *Nisi forte Eunuchus à Philippo Diacono baptizatus sine spiritu sancto fuisse credendus est*: vnlesse it is to be thought, that the Eunuch was baptized of *Philip* the Deacon without the holy Ghost: *aduers. Luciferian.* Fourthly, *Philip* was an Euangelist, Act. 21. 8. which was an office before Pastors: Ephes. 4. 11. Bishops are the Pastors of the Church: will they denie that to an Euangelist, which they yeeld to Pastors? Lastly, other beside the Apostles were sent to second the first preachers, and to confirme them in their faith, as *Barnabas* to Antioch, Act. 11. 22. 23.

The Protestants.

WE say with *Hierome, Si hoc loco quaras, quare in ecclesia baptizatus, &c.* If you aske in this place, why he that is baptized in the Church doth not but by the hands of the Bishop receiue the holy Ghost? Know, that this obseruation, *Ad honorem potius esse sacerdotij, quam ad legis necessitatem*: Is rather for the honour of the Priesthood, then any necessitie of law: otherwise, if the holy Ghost onely be giuen at the prayer of the Bishop, they are to be bewailed, which in remote places are baptized by Presbyters, and die before they are visited of the Bishop; *Hieron. aduers. Luciferian.* He thinketh this difference to be rather an ordinance of the Church, then any diuine institution.

Argum. Ananias a disciple of Antioch, layd his hands vpon *Paul*, Act. 10. and at Antioch certaine Prophets and teachers layd on their hands vpon *Paul* and *Barnabas*, Act. 13. and none of these were Apostles.

Bellarmine answereth: that *Ananias* laid on his hands, to heale him of his blindnes, and not to giue him the holy Ghost. *Contr.* The text it selfe is contrarie, Act. 9. 17. *He put his hands vpon him, and said*, brother *Saul, the Lord hath sent me*, that thou *mightest receiue thy sight, and be filled with the holy Ghost.*

Distinct. 95. c. 1. Gregor. Vbi Episcopi desunt, vt Presbyteri, &c. Where Bishops are wanting, wee grant, that Presbyters may touch those that are baptized with Chrisme in the forehead: *par. 3. distinct. 4. c. 119. Presbyteris, &c.* It is lawfull for Presbyters to annoint those that are baptized with Chrisme, whether they baptize in the presence of the Bishop, or without: *c. 125.* he that doth receiue the office to baptize, must not go without Chrisme, *decret. Gregor. lib. 1. tit. 4. c. 4. Simplices sacerdotes apud Constantinop. &c.* Simple Priests at Constantinople do confirme: *Concil. Florentin. sess. 25. Apud Graecos, &c.* Among the Greekes, Priests not Bishops do vse Chrisme: it is not therefore of any diuine institution.

Bellarmine himselfe graunteth, that the chiefe Bishop may giue authoritie to a simple Priest to confirme, *lib. 1. de matrim. c. 5. resp. ad argum. 13.*

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE EFFICACIE and vertue of Confirmation.

The Papists.

105. Error. THe holy Ghost is giuen in confirmation, for force, strength, and corroboration, against all our spirituall enemies, and to stand constantly in the confession of our faith, euen to death, with great increase of grace, *Rhemist. Act. 8. sect. 7.* And in this respect it giueth more abundant grace, in strengthening of vs against the diuell, then Baptisme doth, *Bellarm. cap. 11.*

The

The Proteſtants.

Firſt, they do offer great iniurie to the ſpirite of God, tying him as it were, to their beggerly elements, which haue power, as they ſay, to conferre grace. The Scripture ſayth, The ſpirite bloweth where it liſteth, John 3. The ſpirite of God is free, and is giuen without Sacraments, as well with them: but this tradition of yours is no Sacrament: if it were, yet could it not conferre grace, as we haue proued before.

Their owne Maſter of ſentences *lib. 1. diſtinct. 14. d.* proueth that the Apoſtles themſelues gaue not the ſpirite: *Orabant quippe vt veniret:* They prayed that the ſpirite might come vpon them, on whom they laid their hands, they themſelues gaue it not. And againe, *ibid. d. Nos accipere hoc poſſumus:* We according to our meaſure may receiue this gift, *effundere ſuper alios vtiq; non poſſumus:* but we cannot powre it out vpon others: *Ergo,* Confirmation doth not conferre the holy Ghoſt.

Secondly, they do greatly deface the Sacrament of Baptiſme, making it imperfect without confirmation, ſaying, that he which is baptized, ſhall neuer be a perfect Chriſtian, vnleſſe hee be confirmed with Chriſme, *Gerſon.* And that it is to be reuerenced with greater reuerence then Baptiſme: ſee *Falke Act. 8. ſect. 7.* Yea, they deprine Baptiſme of the proper effect and vſe thereof, which is ſigne vnto vs of the aſſiſtance of Gods ſpirite, to fight manfully againſt the Diuell: for by Baptiſme we are buried into the death of Chriſt, Rom. 6. 3. But Chriſt by his death triumphed ouer the Diuell, Coloſſ. 2. 15. *Ergo,* Baptiſme is a ſigne of our victorie gainſt the diuell: yet they rob Baptiſme of this honor, and giue it to confirmation. And thus they preferre their owne inuentions before the ordinance of God; no ſacrament before a Sacrament. Tileman Heſhuſ. loc. 22. error. 22.

Chryſoſtome ſheweth, what the Sacrament of Vnction is, *Vnctionis ſacramentum eſt virtus ipſa inuiſibilis; vnctio inuiſibilis, ſpiritus ſanctus:* The ſacrament of Vnction, is the inuiſible vertue: the inuiſible annointing, the holy ſpirite. What is become now of your Sacrament of Vnction? Tract. in Epiſt. Iohan. 4.

And that confirmation maketh no ſupplie, or addeth any complement to Baptiſme, their owne Maſters teſtifie: *decret. par. 3. diſtinct. 5. c. 2. Melchiades; Spiritus ſanctus in ſola tribuit plenitudinem innocentiæ:* The holy ſpirite in Baptiſme giueth fulneſſe tending to innocencie: *Continuò tranſeuntes ſufficiunt regenerationis beneficia:* The benefite of regeneration is ſufficient to thoſe that preſently paſſe out of the world: *ibid. c. 5.* In the vnction in Baptiſme is ſignified *deſcenſio ſpiritus ad habitandum,* the deſcending of the ſpirite to dwell with vs: If then by Baptiſme we haue innocencie, and the ſpirit dwelling in vs, how is it not perfect and abſolute without confirmation?

THE FIFT PART, OF THE RITES and ceremonies of Confirmation.

The Papiſts.

The ceremonies which they commonly vſe in Confirmation, are theſe. Firſt, the Biſhop muſt breathe vpon the pot or cruze of Chriſme. Secondly, hee ſaluteth it in theſe wordes, *Aue ſanctum Chriſma:* Haile holy Chriſme. Thirdly, he giueth a kiſſe. Fourthly, he ſtriketh him that is confirmed with his hand, to teach him patience. Fiftly, his forehead is bound about, leaſt the Chriſme ſhould runne downe, which teacheth him not to loſe the grace of God. Sixtly, ſeuen dayes together he muſt neither waſh his head nor face. And theſe with ſuch like ridiculous toyes, are practiſed amongſt them, *Bellarm. cap. 13. lib. de confirmat.* 106. Error.

The Proteſtants.

1. Some of theſe ceremonies wee condemne as ridiculous: as the breathing vpon the oyle, the ſtriking of the partie confirmed, which light geſtures become not the grauitie of the Miniſters of the Goſpell: all things ſhould be done in the Church in decent and comely order, 1. Corinth. 14. 40. Concerning this light geſture of ſtriking, the like whereof was vſed in the celebration of Matrimonie, we heard before the iudgement of the Councell of Cullin: how it is counted, *nugæ ludicræ,* among ridiculous and wanton toyes. *Concil. Colonienſ. part. 7. cap. 47. vid. ſupra, cauſa. 15. quæſt. 7.* In the like caſe, in the emancipation, or ſetting of men free, they did vſe to ſtrike them: which fooliſh vſe was corrected by the imperiall lawe, *Cod. lib. 8. tit. 49. leg. 6.* hee forbiddeth, *Iniurioſa raphiſmata,* ſuch iniurious ſtrokes to be left, *quorum nullus rationabilis inuenitur exitus,* of the which there can be no reaſonable end: *Iubemus circuitu huiuſmodi in poſterum quieſcente:* we will ſuch toyes and circumſtances to ceaſe. If in a ciuile acte ſuch ridiculous toyes were inhibited, how much more vncomely are they in an act of religion? Secondly, one of them is meerely idolatrous, to ſalute the oyle, as the Angell ſaluted *Mary,* to ſay, *Aue,* All haile vnto it, making an idoll of it, being a thing without ſenſe or life. Thirdly, all of them are ſuperſtitious, hauing myſticall and typicall ſignifications and ſhadowes, which agreeth not with the nature of the Goſpell: for all ſhadowes are now paſt, the body being come, Col. 2. 17. Laſtly, they are ſuperfluous, cumberſome, and burdenous, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Ipſam religionem, quam Deus pauciſſimis*

ſimis

simis sacramentis liberam esse voluit, oneribus premunt. They oppresse religion with the burden of ceremonies, which God hath left free in fewe sacraments. Againe, who seeth not how thus by their owne traditions they doe euacuate the ordinance of God? for in stead of catechizing and instructing of the youth in the principles and foundation of religion, as of repentance from dead workes, faith toward God, of the resurrection and eternall iudgement, Hebr. 6. 2, 3. they haue brought in nothing else, but oyling, greazing, annointing of them, breathing vpon them, crossing, and such like: And whereas S. *Paul* giueth parents a charge to bring vp their children in the instruction of God, Ephes. 6. 4. they bid them bring their children to be annointed, crossed, and chrismated, as they call it, and they haue done enough.

Against these ridiculous ceremonies we haue the iudgement and determination of the Councell of Mentz, cap. 18. *Sacramentum confirmationis ab initio sola manuum impositione exhibitum: quum cum initio spiritus sanctus, ad euidentiorem recentis adhuc fidei confirmationem signo visibili influeret confirmatis, externa unctione tum opus non erat:* The sacrament of confirmation in the beginning was exhibited onely with laying on of hands: for whereas the holy spirit then for the more euident confirmation of faith, did appeare by euident signes in those, that were confirmed, there was no need then of outward anointing. At the first, the Apostles vsed nothing, but imposition of hands: all the rest of the ceremonies came in since by men. And this decree maketh directly against the Iesuite, who will needs beare vs in hand, that the Apostles vsed oyle and Chrisme together, with imposition of hands: which is but his braine-sicke coniecture, without any ground.

This truth hath that holy martyr of God *Iohn Hasse*, sealed with his blood: *Lenis & brevis confirmatio episcoporum cum ritibus solemnizata, est à diabolo introducta:* The light and briefe confirmation of Bishops solemnized, with the superstitious rites thereof, seemeth to haue been brought in by the deuill. *Quantum ad oleum, quo episcopi vngunt pueros, & peplum lineum, quod complicant capiti, videtur, quod sit ritus lenis:* And as for the oyle, wherewith the Bishops annoint boyes, and the linnen vaile bound to their head, it seemeth to be a ridiculous fashion: For thus saying, and boldly vttering his conscience, this good man was condemned in the Councell of Constance, sess. 15.

THE SECOND QVESTION, of Orders.

THe seuerall parts of this question, are these: First, whether it be a Sacrament. Secondly, of the materiall part thereof. Thirdly, of the efficacie and vertue thereof. Fourthly, of the ceremonies.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE RECEIuing of Orders be a Sacrament.

The Papists.

107. Error. THat holy Orders are a sacrament rightly and properly so called, it was decreed in the Tridentine Councell, *Sess. 23. canon. 3.* And that not onely the three higher degrees, of Priesthood, Deaconshiip, Subdeaconshiip, but the foure inferiour orders, of *Exorcista, Acoluthi, Lectors, Ostiary*, do belong vnto the same sacrament of orders, and are sacraments as well as the other, *Bellar. cap. 8. lib. de sacram. ordinis.*

Argum. 1 Timoth. 4. 14. Despise not that gift which was giuen thee through Prophesie, with the laying on of hands. Holy orders giue grace by an externall ceremonie and worke: *Ergo*, it is a Sacrament, *Rhemist. in hunc locum.*

Ans. 1. It cannot be prooued out of this place, that imposition of hands giueth grace: for this was an extraordinarie gift which S. *Paul* speaketh of, and doth not alwaies follow imposition of hands. Secondly, this gift was not giuen by the very ceremonie of imposition of hands, but through prophesie and reuelation of the holy Ghost: for it was reuealed vnto the Church by the spirit of Prophesie, that *Timothie* was a chosen vessell of God: therefore Saint *Paul* saith, *That worthie thing which is committed vnto thee, keepe through the holy Ghost*, 2. Tim. 1. 14. The holy Ghost was both the conferrer of that grace, and the preseruer of it. Imposition then of hands was but an outward signe of the presence of Gods spirit vpon those that were lawfully ordained: for all vpon whome hands were laide, receiued not the holy Ghost, but such onely as were appointed of God: And therefore the Apostle chargeth *Timothie* to lay hands sodainly on no man, 1. Tim. 5. 22. which caueat was not needfull, if vpon whomsoeuer he had laid his hands, they should immediatly receiue the holy Ghost. Thirdly, euery promise of grace annexed to the outward signe maketh not a Sacrament, but it must be the grace of iustification, such as is not in orders.

Bellar. denyeth, that euery Sacrament seruеth to iustification or remission of sinnes; and hee giueth

ſuch an inſtance in the Euchariſt, which was not inſtituted to take away ſinne, but to conſerue and increaſe the ſpirituall life, *Bellar. c. 2. de ſacram. ordinis.*

Contra. First, that the Euchariſt was inſtituted to aſſure vs of remiſſion of ſinne, it is euident by the Scriptures; for it is a ſhewing forth of the Lords death, 1. Cor. 11. 26. but to what end elſe did Chriſt, but for remiſſion of ſinnes? Againe, it repreſenteth vnto vs the blood of Chriſt, which (ſaith Chriſt in the inſtitution of this Sacrament) *is ſhedde for many for remiſſion of ſinnes*, Mark. 26. 28. Secondly, it ſerueth alſo to conſerue our ſpirituall life, which cannot be without aſſurance of forgiueneſſe of ſinnes: for 1. the life of the ſoule is faith, *The iuſt ſhall liue by faith*, Rom. 1. 17. and our faith, *is in the blood of Chriſt*, Rom. 3. 25. And 2. what elſe is the life of the ſoule but the happineſſe thereof? But our happineſſe is this, to haue our ſinnes forgiuen, Pſalm. 32. 1. *Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen.*

Anſw. 1. Deaconſhip is a Sacrament, becauſe it is giuen by impoſition of hands: *Bell. cap. 6.* 2. Deaconſhip likewiſe is a Sacrament, becauſe it is not reiterable; and ſo of the reſt of the inferiour orders, *cap. 7. 8.*

Obiect. 1. The Ieſuites reaſon ſtandeth thus: whatſoeuer is miniſtred by laying on of hands is a Sacrament, but Deaconſhip is ſo miniſtred: *Ergo*, it followeth then that the little children, vpon whome Chriſt laid his hands and bleſſed them, receiued a ſacrament, Mark. 10. 16. What ſacrament was it I pray you? not confirmation, for they were not yet baptized: and others, I hope, they will not ſay, they receiued: *Ananias* laid his hands vpon *Paul*, and he receiued his ſight: Act. 9. 17. By the Ieſuites reaſon then, the giuing of ſighe, becauſe it is miniſtred with laying on of hands, ſhall be a ſacrament: for Saint *Paul* neither receiueth orders from *Ananias*, ſeeing hee was immediatly called from Chriſt; not yet was confirmed, not being yet baptized.

Secondly, hee hath reaſoned as well for the reſt of the orders: Whatſoeuer is not reiterable (ſaith) is a ſacrament: but the creation of the world, the drowning of the ſame by water, are vnreiterable, or to be done againe: *Ergo*, they ſhould be ſacraments, by the Ieſuits reaſon. 3. Orders may be iterated: *Toletan. 4. 27. Clericus iniuſtè depoſitus, ſi in Synodo innocens reperiatur, ea quæ ſibi abſtulerat, niſi gradus amiſſos recipiat de manu Epiſcopi.* A Clerke depoſed, if hee be found in the Synode, cannot be reſtored to his former ſtate, vnleſſe hee doe receiue the degree he loſt, at the hands of the Biſhop.

The Proteſtants.

VOur ſeuen Popiſh orders we doe not at all receiue into the Church, much leſſe can we abide, that they ſhould be Sacraments: The lawfull ordeining of Paſtors, Teachers, and Deacons, we acknowledge; but no ſacrificing Prieſthood, nor no miniſtring Deaconſhip at the Altar: ſuch orders as we haue notwithſtanding wee doe not take to bee Sacraments, properly ſo called, much leſſe yours, that are vtterly to be abuliſhed.

Argum. 1. Sacraments muſt haue their inſtitution from Chriſt; ſo haue not your orders: for Chriſt inſtituted onely Apoſtles and Diſciples: Presbyters and Deacons were founded by the Apoſtles who notwithſtanding had no commiſſion to conſtitute new Sacraments. As for the other inuention, of Subdeacons, Readers, Acoluthi, Exorciſtes, doore-keepers, they are neither read in Scripture, nor ordained of the Apoſtles, nor heard of for many yeeres after.

Our Sauiour, when he ordained Apoſtles, vſed no impoſition of hands, or did annoint them: therefore Orders giuen by impoſition of hands, is no Sacrament, becauſe it hath no inſtitution from Chriſt. We denie not, but that the miniſterie of the word is Chriſts ordinance, but that it is no Sacrament, becauſe they can ſhewe no inſtitution of the outward ſigne from Chriſt: *Reſp.*

Reſp. 1. Chriſt might make Apoſtles without impoſition of hands, becauſe he was not tyed to the Sacraments: 2. and there is nothing to the contrarie, but that he might alſo vſe impoſition of hands? 3. Further, ſeeing that in orders grace is tyed to the outward ſigne of impoſition of hands, it muſt needs be of God, for no man hath power to annexe grace to the ſigne but God: and that grace is tyed to impoſition of hands, S. *Paul* teſtifieth, 2. Timoth. 1. 6. *Stirre vp the grace of God which is in thee by the putting on of my hands*, *Bellar. cap. 2.*

Contra. First, we doe not ſpeake of Chriſts power, that he can worke without ſacraments, but of his will in ordaining of a ſacrament: for there is no ſacrament of the new Teſtament, which is not grounded vpon his precept and example: but neither can be ſhewed for orders by impoſition. Secondly, the inſtitution of a Sacrament muſt be expreſſed in Scripture, not implyed or conſequentially collected. Thirdly, in none of the ſacraments grace is annexed to the ſigne, much leſſe in orders, which is no ſacrament: neither hath S. *Paul* any ſuch meaning, as I haue ſhewed before: *Reſponſ. ad argum.* 1. Fourthly, an ordinance of the miniſterie by commaundement from Chriſt, we graunt, but no inſtitution of a ſacrament.

Argum. 2. Secondly, your ſacrament hath neither outward element, nor word of inſtitution: if you ſay, laying on of hands is the externall ſigne: we anſwer, that the viſible ſigne in a ſacra-

ment must not onely be an externall action, but a materiall element, as water in Baptisme, and bread and wine in the Lords Supper. The forme (you say) is in these words pronounced by the Bishop, *Accipite potestatem offerendi sacrificium*, Receiue ye power to offer sacrifice: *Bellar. cap. 9.* We answere againe, that this sacrificing office hath no foundation in Scripture: The Ministers of the Gospell are called dispensers of Gods mysteries; namely, of the word and Sacraments, 1. Corinth. 4. 1. Ministers for Christ, not sacrificers of Christ: wherefore neither haue yee any word of institution; and consequently no sacrament.

And I pray you tell me, if you will make euery one of your orders a sacrament; then must you needs haue as many sacraments as there are orders: and so shall you haue seuen sacraments more than you thought; and so fourteene in all: for you doe distinguish all the orders in office and forme of consecration one from another: and therefore they cannot all make one sacrament.

Bellarmine answereth: that all these make but *vnum sacramentum generis*, one Sacrament in generall, though they be diuers in speciall, cap. 8. Answere: by this reason, Baptisme, Orders, Confirmation, shall make but one Sacrament, seeing they are all of one kind or gender, that is, Sacraments irreiterable. But seeing all these seuerall orders doe differ both in matter and forme, it cannot be auoided, but there must be diuers Sacraments.

Epist. 118. cap. 1. *Augustine* saith, *Christus sacramentis numero paucissimis societatem populi colligauit*: Christ hath ioyned togither his people with most fewe sacraments: and then he nameth Baptisme, and the Communion: *Et si quid aliud in Scripturis canonicis commendatur*: And if any other be commended in Scripture: *Ergo*, there is no sacrament of orders, because it is not found in Scripture, as we haue said.

Their owne writers are against them: the Master of Sentences speaking of Presbyter, saith, *Hic ordo à filijs Aaron sumpsit initium*, This order tooke beginning from the sonnes of *Aaron*. *Lib. 4. distinct. 24. I.* And of Exorcists, *ibid. E. Hic ordo à Salomone videtur descendisse*, This order seemeth to haue descended from *Salomon*: *Ibid. I. Ecclesia sibi Subdiaconos & Acolythos constituit*, The Church hath ordained Subdeacons and Acolythes: *De his solis praeceptum Apostoli habemus*, Of these onely we haue the precept of the Apostles; speaking of Deacons and Presbyters. If some of these were instituted before Christ, some of them since Christ and the Apostles, by the Church, how can they be sacraments of the Gospell, which must be instituted onely by Christ? *Durandus, Cajetanus*, two learned Papists, denie the inferiour orders of Subdeacons and vnder, to be sacraments.

This doctrine is sealed: *Laurence Maxwell* persecuted, because hee denyed that the order of Priesthood is a sacrament. *Fox. p. 1041. col. 2.*

OF THE MATERIALL PART, OF ORDERS, which is the imposition of hands.

The Papists.

108. Error. THis matter is chiefly controuerted among the Papists themselues: Some of them hold, that the imposition of hands is not an essentiall part of orders, but onely accidentall; as *Dominicus à Soto. distin. 24. qu. 1. artic. 4.* Others affirme it to be essentiall: *Petrus à Soto. loll. 5. docum. Hosius. confess. Polonic. c. 50.* whereunto *Bellarm.* subscribeth, *c. 9.*

Argum. In the Scripture euery where, when any are ordained, mention is made of the imposition of hands, Act. 6. 6. 13. 3. 1. Tim. 4. 14. and in other places: *Ergo*, it is an essentiall part of this sacrament, *Bellar. ibid.*

Anſ. First, in the election of *Matthias* to be one of the twelue, there was no imposition of hands vsed, Act. 1. therefore not euery where: Neither can it be answered, that this ceremonie was omitted, because *Matthias* was extraordinarily called by the direction of the Spirit, for Act. 13. 2. *Paul* and *Barnabas* were called of the Spirit, yet they impose hands vpon them. Secondly, these places alledged, onely proone it to be requisite as a decent ceremonie, not necessarie, as an essentiall part, without the which there could be no ordination.

The Protestants.

THat imposition of hands is a comely and decent ceremonie to be vsed of the Church in ordaining of Ministers, we willingly graunt, and our Church doth retaine it: but we take it not to be of the essence of orders, as that without it, vpon no occasion, there could be any ordination.

Argum. Christ, when he instituted his Apostles, breathed vpon them, he laid not on his hands: the Apostles cast lottes for *Matthias*, no imposition of hands is mentioned: *Ergo*, it is not an essentiall part of orders, for then it could not be omitted.

Decret. Greg. lib. 1. tit. 16. c. 1. & c. 3. Greg. 9. They determine, that orders ministred *sine impositione manuum*, without imposition of hands, should not be iterated: *Ergo*, orders may be ministred without it.

THE

THE THIRD PART, OF THE EFFICACIE which they ascribe to this Sacrament.

The Papists.

THis sacrament of orders, as they call it, giueth a double grace. First, it giueth those that are ordained, abilitie and power to execute their office: which is to consecrate and offer vp the bodie and blood of Christ; wherein chiefly the priesthood consisteth, and not in preaching the word: for they may be priests, though they preach not, *Concil. Trident. sess. 23. can. 1.* By holy orders then the holy Ghost is actually bestowed, when those words are pronounced, *Accipe spiritum sanctum*, Receiue yee the holy Ghost, *Canon. 4.* 109. Error.

The Protestants.

FIrst, the Gospell alloweth no externall sacrificing Priesthood, but a spirituall onely, whereby euery Christian is made a King and Priest to offer spirituall sacrifices of praise and thanksgiuing vnto God. Apocal. 1. 6. And the onely essentiall part of the office of Ministers vnder the Gospell, is, to be able dispensers of the mysteries of the worde and Sacraments, 1. Corinth. 4. 1. 2. Corinth. 3. 6.

So *Augustine* also saith: *Quicunque aut Episcopus aut Presbyter frequenter de Deo loquitur, & quomodo ad vitam aeternam perueniatur annunciat, meritò Angelus Dei dicitur.* Whosoeuer, Bishoppe or Priest, doth speake freely of God, and preacheth the way to eternall life, is an angell of God. This then is the only principall office of true Pastors, to teach the way to the kingdome of God. In Apocal. hom. 2.

Secondly, it is also a great vntruth, that the holy Ghost is straightway giuen to all those, vpon whomsoeuer hands are laid, and they admitted to Orders: For what need then that triall and examination, which ought to be had of those, which are to be ordained, whereof S. *Paul* speaketh, 1 Timoth. 5. 22. if the only laying on of hands can make able Ministers?

Nostri sacerdotes, saith one, *super multos quotidie nomen Domini & verba benedictionis imponunt, sed inanis effectus est*: Our Priests doe lay the word of blessing vpon many, calling vpon the name of God, but in few followeth any effect of that blessing. And hee giueth the reason in another place. *Dei est, effectum tribuere benedictionis*: It belongeth vnto God, to giue effect to priestly blessing: *Ergo*, it is not by onely act and vsing of the ceremonie bestowed. Ex veter. test. qu. 109. inter opera August.

Aquisgranense cap. 13. Praconis officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit: He taketh vpon him the office of a preacher, that commeth to the priesthood.

Synod. Gabionens. part. 4. cap. 1. Officium Parochorum in duobus potissimum situm est, dissemination verbi & administratione sacramentorum: The office of parish priests, consisteth especially in two things: in sowing of the word, and administration of the Sacraments.

Ibid. part. 6. Verbi ministerium sanctissim. Apostolus cæteris omnibus præfert, &c. The most holy Apostle preferreth the word before all other things, saying to the Corinthians, that Christ sent him to preach, not to baptize. The office then of Ministers of the Gospell chiefly standeth in preaching.

Per their owne decrees: *Distinct. 38. c. 6. Substantia sacerdotij verâ scripturarum diuinarum disciplina*: The substance of the priesthood is the true knowledge or discipline of the diuine Scriptures. *Iuvenis commun. lib. 1. tit. 9. c. 4. Sextus 4.* calleth them *buccinatores spiritus sancti*, the trumpetters of the holy Ghost and preachers of the word. *Ibid. lib. 5. tit. 7. c. 1. Benedict. 11. Post baptismum inter cætera magis ad salutem necessaria est propositio verbi, &c.* After Baptisme among other things more necessarie to saluation, is the propounding of the word of God, whereby the hearers are instructed in the faith. What orders then call you those, wherein the more necessarie things to saluation, such as is the preaching of the word, are omitted?

And that orders doe not conferre grace vpon him, that is ordained, their decrees also testifie: *Can. 1. qu. 7. c. 29. Non omnes Episcopi, Episcopi*: All Bishops, are not Bishops. *Ibid. c. 32. Qui regimini se ipse rationem non habet, &c.* He that hath no gouernment of himselfe, *impudens canis dicendus potius quam Episcopus*, is to be counted rather an vnshamefast dogge, than a Bishop.

Extra. Ioann. tit. 14. c. 5. Scientia ordinato non confertur: Knowledge is not conferred vpon him, that is ordained.

The Master of Sentences, *lib. 4. distinct. 19. a. Multi sacerdotes, nec ante consecrationem, nec post, scientiam habent discernendi*: Many Priests neither before their consecration, nor after, haue the knowledge of discerning. How doe orders then conferre grace?

Lastly, see the testimonie of *Iohn Tewkesburie* holy Martyr, who affirmed, that a Priest by taking orders, receiueth not more grace, vnlesse his faith be increased, *Fox* pag. 1026. col. 1.

The Papists.

ANother effect of their Sacrament of Orders, they say, is to imprint a certaine indeleble marke and character in him that is ordained, which can neither by sinne, Apostasie, or heresie, 110. Error.

resie be blotted out, *Rhemist.2.Corinth.1.sect.7.* And therefore a priest once ordained can neuer lose his orders, or become a lay man againe, *Concil.Trident.sess.24.can.4 Bellarm.cap.10.*

The Protestants.

FIrst, the practise of the popish Church is contrarie to their owne rules: for I would haue them tell me, whether they tooke not the Priesthood and annoynting from *Iohn Husse*, when with a payre of sheares they clipped off the skin of his head most cruelly, as they were busie in degrading
Fox.pag.613. of him, in the Councell of Constance: Or when they had grosly abused that reuerend Father Bishop *Cranmer*, and vnmanerly behaued themselues in his degradation, and clapt him in a poore beggerly, thread-bare, Lay-mans gowne; did they not think, that they had dispoyled him of his priesthood? What is now become, masters, of your indeleble character? Or is it your meaning, that it may be clipped or scraped off onely, but not washt off, or lightly rubbed away? Your owne cruell deedes doe ouerthrow your popish principles.

Epistol.50. *Augustine* is against you: *Constitutum est in ecclesia, ne quisquam post criminis alicuius poenitentiam clericatum accipiat, ad clericatum redeat, aut in clericatu maneat:* It is a constitution of the Church, that no man after publike penance done for some notorious crime, should be either made a Clerke, or returne to his Clerkship or priesthood, or be suffered to continue therein. If his priesthood were neither restored to him, nor he suffered to remaine therein, then surely hee had lost his priesthood.

We haue here euident testimonie of both lawes: *Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.12. Arcad. Curialis clericus:* A Courtier taking Clergie vpon him, is brought backe to his former estate. *Ibid.leg.33. authent.* A seruant without his masters knowledge taking orders, within a yeere may be chalenged, and must returne to serue his master.

Decret.distinct.54.c.7. A seruant promoted to the Clergie without his masters consent, *amittat gradum*, let him lose his degree. *Dist.50.c.12. Martin. Lapsus post ordinationem nullum gradum sacerdotij adipisci potest:* He that is fallen after his ordination, can haue no degree of the priesthood. *Caus.1.qu.1.c.60. Ordinatus & non baptizatus &c.* Hee that is ordained and not baptized, must be ordained againe. *Caus.11.qu.3.c.10. Nitholaus: Episcopi depositi communicent vt laici:* Bishops deposed must communicate as lay men. What now is become of the indeleble character, if Clergie may be lost, and Clerkes become lay men againe?

Concil.Lateranens.part.50.cap.56. Si seruus fraude aliqua ad sacros ordines peruenerit, si dominus illum libertate non donauerit, deponendus est, & gradum amittat: If a seruant or bondslaue by craft attaine to orders, if his master will not make him free, let him be deposed, and lose his degree of orders. Where is now your indeleble character? Concerning the indeleble character imprinted, as they say by orders, see more, *Contron.11.quest.2.part.11.*

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE Minister of Orders.

The Papists.

110. Error. THey hold, that they are neither Priests nor Deacons, which are not ordained of Bishops, *Bellarm.de sacram.Ordinis cap.11.* he meaneth popish Bishops, such as receiue their consecration and other Episcopals from Rome: and such Bishops hee saith onely are Ministers and conferrers of Orders. Arguments he vseth none, neither alleageth any testimonies at large, but referreth vs to the Controuersie of the Sacraments in generall: but hee forgetteth himselfe; for in that place there is no such thing handled: but he onely proueth this proposition, that *verus Minister sacramentorum, &c.* that the true Minister of the Sacraments is not euery man, but he only that is lawfully ordained in the Church, *lib.1.de Sacram.c.24.* which proposition we willingly graunt.

The Protestants.

IN this assertion of the Papists, I note three errors, as it now followeth to be shewed. First, whereas *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that they are no Ministers or Presbyters which are not ordained by popish Bishops: we doubt not to auouch the contrarie, that they are no true Presbyters that receiue ordination from such: for their Bishops are vndoubtedly the Ministers and officers of Antichrist: which was the very position maintained by *Iohn Husse: Sunt procuratores & discipuli Antichristi: Papa, Cardinales, Patriarchæ. Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, &c.* The Pope, Cardinals, Patriarches, Archbishops, Bishops, are the proctors and disciples of Antichrist. One of their owne writers, speaking of their Bishops, saith, they are not *Episcopi*, but *apostopi*: not ouerseers, but by-seers: *Estius prafat. in 2.ad Timoth.* Being then the officers of Antichrist, they cannot create or ordaine Ministers for Christ.

Secondly, neither is it true, that there are no Ministers but by the ordination of Bishops: for this were to condemne all those reformed Churches, of Heluetia, Belgia, Geneua, with others, that haue not receiued this forme of ecclesiasticall gouernment. Vndoubtedly where godly Bishops are,

are, there no ordination is to be had without them, as in the Church of England: but euery Church hauing not the same office, but others equiualent or correspondent thereunto, hath full authoritie in it selfe, to ordaine Ministers in such order and manner, as the Church hath receiued, agreeable to the word of God: so that we doubt not but that all the reformed Churches professing the Gospell, haue true and lawfull Ministers, though they obserue not all the same manner in the election and ordaining of them. And this is the generall consent of the Churches themselues:

Helu. sect. 11. Heluetic. confess. latter. Let the Ministers of the Church be called and chosen, by a lawfull ecclesiasticall vocation or election: that is to say, let them bee religiously chosen of the Church, or of those which thereunto are appointed of the Church, and that in due order.

Helueticus confess. prior artic. 16. They must be chosen either by the diuine sentence of God, or by the certaine and aduised suffrage of the Church, or by their sentence, to whom the Church hath assigned this charge.

Confess. Bohem. c. 9. They must be proued and tried by examination, and so afterward prayer and fasting being made, they may be confirmed or approued by the Elders, by laying on of hands.

Confess. Gallic. artic. 31. Euery one ought to be admitted thereunto by a lawfull election, so neere as may be had, as the Lord giueth leaue, &c. Neuertheless, howsoeuer it be, we beleeue, that this rule is alwaies to be followed, that all Pastors and Elders should haue a testimonie of their calling.

Confess. Anglican. We say, that the Minister ought lawfully, duely, and orderly to be preferred to that office in the Church of God.

Confess. Belgic. We beleeue, that the Ministers, Seniors, Deacons, ought to be called to those their functions, by the lawfull election of the Church: to be aduaunced to those rowmes, earnest prayer being made vnto God, and after the order and manner, which is set downe vnto vs in the word of God.

Confess. Scotic. p. 22. We affirme lawfull Ministers to be onely they, that are appointed to the preaching of the Word, they being men lawfully chosen thereto by some Church.

This then is the iudgement of the reformed Churches, that euery Church is not tied to the same manner of ordination of Ministers, so that it be agreeable to the word of God: but according to this rule euery Church may make choise of that forme and order which is most agreeable to their state: so that, where the calling of Bishops is receiued, by them Ministers must enter; where there are none, the calling of the Church must bee followed. Our arguments and reasons are these.

First, out of the Scripture, Act. 13. 3. certaine prophets and teachers at Antioch lay hands vpon and sent *Barnabas*; the Rhemists gather hereupon, *that they were ordered, admitted and consecrated by them: Amisit at ius huius loci*: (which we say not, but they were onely sent out to the execution of their office, being before chosen of the spirit) but hence it followeth: that as at Antioch, there being no other Apostles, but onely prophets and teachers, to lay hands vpon *Paul*, the rest did it: so in those Churches where there are no Bishops, the right of ordaining Ministers may be executed by others lawfully appointed of the Church.

Argum. If it were not so, these inconueniences would ensue: first, that all those reformed Churches should haue no true Ministers, being without Episcopall ordination. Secondly, that they must either be denied to be Churches, or else a true Church may be without the right power of ordination, which in no wise is to be graunted. Thirdly, that those excellent men, *Luther, Melancthon, Caluin*, with others, extraordinarily raised vp of God, for the propagation of the Gospell, should not haue been true Ministers, because they entred not by that ordination.

Argum. 4. That euery Church is left to it owne libertie herein, their owne Canons testifie: *Dist. 12. Mihi placet, vt sine in Romana ecclesia, &c.* It liketh me well, that whether in the Romane or French, or in any other Church, you finde any thing, which may better please almightie God, you make choise of it. *Ibid. c. 13. August. in Nec est vlla disciplina melior*: Neither is there any better discipline, than for a man so to doe, *vt viderit agere ecclesiam*, as he seeth the Church to doe, to the which he commeth.

Thirdly, whereas *Bellarmine* seemeth to ascribe ordination wholy to the Bishop, hee therein is contrarie to his fellow Papists: as the Rhemists giue this note, vpon that place 1. Timoth. 4. 14. *by the imposition of the hands of the priesthood*, as they translate it, *the practise of the Church giueth the sense of this place, which the ancient Councell of Carthage doth thus set down: When a Priest taketh ordine, the Bishop blessing him, and holding his hand vpon his head, let all the Priests present lay also their hands on his head by the Bishops hands, &c. Concil. Carthag. 4. c. 3.* This interpretation is receiued by *Ioan. Gropperus in Isagoge*, and allowed by *Estius* vpon this place.

The decrees doe further thus testifie: *Distinct. 25. c. 6. Episcopus sine concilio cleri & ciuium Clericum non ordinet*: The Bishop must not ordaine a Clerke or Minister without a Councell or assemblie of Clerkes. *Distinct. 77. Alij sacerdotes assensum præbeant*: Let other Priests beside the Bishop giue their consent. *Caus. 12. qu. 2. c. 38. Vrbani. Ordinationes factæ sine communi consensu Clericorum irritæ*: Ordinations made without the common consent of the Clerkes, are voide, &c. This also is agree-

able to the practise of the Church of England, which requireth all the Presbyters present to lay on their hands together with the Bishop vpon his head, that is to be ordained.

Againe, *Decret. Greg. lib. 1. tit. 13. c. 1. Alexand. 3. Ordines minores à non Episcopis conferuntur.* The lesse orders (that is, till the Subdeaconship) are conferred by them that are no Bishops. *Ibid. tit. 14. c. 11. Innocent. 3. Abbas si est presbyter conferre potest ordines clericales:* An Abbot in his Monastrie, if he be a Presbyter may giue orders. Thus we see, that by their owne law, there are other Ministers of orders beside Bishops.

Now because I haue entred to make mention of the calling of Bishops (and there being two chiefe aduersaries to this dignitie in our Church; the Papists that refuse it as hereticall; the Schismatikes that condemne it as Antichristian) before I leaue this place, I will briefly deliuer this honorable calling, from both their slaunders and accusations.

THAT THE CALLING OF BISHOPS AS IT IS receiued in the Church of England, is not Antichristian.

IN the office and calling of Bishops, somewhat is diuine; some things are humane; and in popish Bishops there is somewhat Antichristian: these three points, I purpose by Gods grace, briefly to declare in order. First then, that it is a diuine ordinance, that among the Ministers of the Church, there should be a superioritie, and that one should be appointed among the rest, to whom chiefly, though not soly, the imposition of hands, and administration of discipline did appertaine: thus I trust to make it euident. First, the Scripture euidently sheweth, that euen among the Apostles themselues there was a certaine order obserued: as Galath. 2. 10. *Iames, Peter, Iohn,* were counted as the chiefe, and as the pillars among the rest: as Act. 15. the assemblie of Apostles and Elders was moderated by *Iames* and *Peter*. And to this purpose speaketh *Cyprian. de simplic. Cler. The same doubtlesse were the rest of the Disciples, that Peter was, hauing an equall fellowship with him, both in honor, and power: but the beginning thereof proceedeth from vnitie, to signifie to vs, that there is but one Church.* Againe, who doubteth but that the twelue Apostles were in office and calling superiours to the 70. Disciples, which were also sent forth to preach, Luk. 10. 1. for else what needed another to be chosen in *Iudas* roome, and namely *Mathias*, supposed by the ancient writers to haue been one of the seuentie, if the Apostles office had not been greater? If there had been an equalitie, a supplie had not been necessarie: neither had it been requisite or fit to remoue *Mathias* from his Discipleship to an office of the same equalitie.

Beside, the seuen Epistles written to the seuen Churches of Asia, Reuel. 2. 3. are directed to the Angels, which are the chiefe pastors of the Churches, who are in the name of the whole Church blamed and commended, as in whose hands the Ecclesiasticall discipline chiefly consisted. Saint *Paul* also writeth to *Timothie*, as the chiefe pastor in Ephesus, to whom chiefly the imposition of hands appertained, 1. Tim. 5. 22. *Lay hands suddenly on no man:* vpon the which place, *Theophylact* noteth, *notandum est*, it is to be noted out of this place, that *Timothie* was in the Ephesian presbyterie or Ministerie, πρώτον, the President, or chiefe Pastor: And to omit here the testimonie of the fathers, who all with one consent affirme *Timothie* to haue beene Bishop of Ephesus, the same is affirmed by the reformed Church of Bohemia, in their confession, *Harm. confess. 11. Is like for Paul writeth to Timothie a Ruler and a Bishop.*

2. Secondly, concerning the difference and superioritie of Bishops, wee haue plentifull euidence from the ancient Concerning: *Can. Apostol. 13. Episcopus &c.* The Bishop must not leaue *propriâ Parochiam*, his proper Church or parish; so then was his *diocesse* called: *Carthag. 4. can. 35. Episcopus &c.* The Bishop must sitte highest in the assemblie of the Presbyters: *Cyprian. lib. 4. epistol. 9. Christus dicit ad Apostolos, &c.* Christ saith to his Apostles, and consequently to all gouernors, *præpositos*, which succeede the Apostles *vicaria ordinatione*, as their Vicars or deputies by ordination: *Hieron. ad Rusticum: Singuli ecclesiarum Episcopi, &c.* In euery Church but one or a single Bishop, one archpresbyter, one archdeacon, &c. as in a ship but one gouernour, in an house one master; in an armie, one Captaine. *Ambrose in 1. Timoth. 5.* after a Bishop he setteth the ordination of a Deacon, and why? because there is but one ordination of a Bishop and a Presbyter, for each of them is a Priest: *Episcopus tamen inter Presbyteros primus:* But a Bishop is the first or chiefe among the Presbyters. But the testimonies of the fathers concerning the antiquitie of Bishops is infinite: who listeth to see further, I referre him to the learned treatise of a reuerend writer of our Church, written of the perpetuall gouernement of Christs Church.

B. Bilson. c. 13. p. 263. & deinceps.

3. Thirdly, let vs see the consent of the reformed Churches, and the writers thereof. *M. Calvin epistol. 87.* written to the Lord Protector of England, *Episcopi & parochi &c.* Let the Bishops and the parish Ministers be especially intent, that the Supper of the Lord be not polluted: *epistol. 190. To the King of Polonia: Essent deinde vel prouinciales, &c.* If there were prouincial or cittie Bishops, which should especially be intent to conserue order, as nature teacheth, that one should be chosen

the cast of euery college, to whom the chiefe care should belong: and *epist.* 199. *Fratres vestri Ebor. &c.* Our brethren the Bishops of England are detayned in prison: So farre was this godly learned man from counting our Bishops Antichristian, that he giueth them the name of brethren. Likewise M. *Beza*: *This was essentiall in the matter we haue in hand, that by Gods perpetuall ordinance it should alwaies be, is, & shall be necessarie, that some in the presbyterie, first in place and dignitie should moderate and rule euery action, without what right which by Gods law is giuen vnto him: in respons. ad tract. de Ministror. Anglic. c. 23. fol. 153.* So also the reformed Church of *Suevelande* confesseth: *Such as haue an earnest care of the flocke of Christ, and do labour faithfully in the word and doctrine, &c. are acknowledged of vs for true Bishops; such as the Scripture euery where speaketh of.* Thus it appeareth, that to haue superioritie among the Ministers of the Gospel, that one should be chiefe and aboue the rest, is Scripture, consent of the ancient and new reformed Churches found to be diuine and Apostolicall.

Secondly, I affirmed somewhat in the calling of Bishops, to arise rather of humane constitution, than of diuine prescription: as it appeareth by these particulars following.

1. First, that Bishops were subiected to their Primates and Metropolitanes, was an ordinance of the Church: as *Hierom* testifieth *lib. de 7. ordinibus*; or who els is the author: *Propter hoc & nunc*. For this cause the Episcopall election of late was referred to the Metropolitane, &c. and the chiefe Priests begin not of right, but of necessitie to suffer another Priest ouer them.

2. *Concil. Aquisgranens. c. 8.* It is thus alleadged out of *Isidore*, *Solam propter authoritatem, &c.* Only for authorities sake to the chiefe Priest is reserued the ordination of Clearkes, &c.

3. In the same place, *Consecratio virginum*, the consecration of virgines is for the same cause reserued also: but this is now out of vse in our Church.

4. Of the same sort is confirmation, as *Hierome* witnesseth, *aduers. Luciferian. Si hoc loco quæras.* If thou aske in this place, wherefore he that is baptized receiueth onely the holy Ghost by the hands of a Bishop, know, that this obseruation is rather for the honour of the Priesthood, than necessitie of any law.

5. *Hierome* againe in the same place, *Inde venit, &c.* From thence it commeth, that is to auoid schisme, that without the Bishop bid, neyther a presbyter or deacon may baptize: but this vse, as very iniurious to the office of Ministers, is discontinued in our Church.

6. The titles of honor giuen to Bishops haue the same beginning as *Augustine* witnesseth *epist. ad Hieronym. Secundum honorum vocabula*, according to the names of honor, which ecclesiasticall vse hath obtained, a Bishops office is greater than a Priests.

7. Of the same kind are the possessions and reuenues of Bishops, as *Augustine* saith; *Vix vicesimas particulas &c.* That portion which I had from my parents, is hardly the 20. part in comparison of the mannors of the Church, which I am held now as Lord to enioy, *epist. 5.*

8. The distinction also and diuision of Dioceses is grounded vpon the ancient custome of the Church: *decret. part. 2. caus. 9. qu. 3. c. 2. Vnumquemque; Episcopum, &c.* It behoueth euery Bishop to haue power ouer his owne Diocesse, and of the region which is vnder his citie: *ex Concil. Antioch.*

9. Certaine causes as matrimoniall and testamentarie haue by the fauour of Christian Emperours beene reserued to Bishops, as *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. leg. 28. Authentica* thus decreed: *That where there is no executor appointed, the Bishop shall distribute the goods.*

10. *Hierome* saith, *in 1. cap. epist. ad Titum. That whereas at the first Presbyters with common aduice, after the Apostles departure guided the Church vnder the Apostles, Paulatim ad vnum, &c.* the whole care thereof was by little and little deriued to one. To this it is further thus added by a reuerent learned man, a Father of our Church: *So as length by custome Presbyters were vtterly excluded from all aduice and gouernment thereof. Ambrose complayneth, and Bishops onely intermedled with the regiment of the Church. The ground of subiection in Presbyters, and prelation in Bishops grew onely in continuance of time, and not by ordinance of Christ or his Apostles:* See more of this matter, *Contr. 5. qu. 3. part. 2.* of the difference of Ministers. B. Bilson. c. 12. p. 237.

These and other such like additions, priuiledges and increasing of the dignitie of Bishops, grounded rather vpon custome then any commandement, do not yet make that function vnlawfull or Antichristian: To this wee haue the consent of other reformed Churches: *Harm. fol. 11.* Confession of *Suevelande*; *Our Preachers haue great iniurie offered them, in that they are blamed, as though they sought to bring the authoritie of ecclesiasticall Prelates to nothing, whereas they neuer forbad them, that worldly gouernement, and authoritie, which they haue; but they haue often wished, that they would come nearer the ecclesiasticall commandements, &c. fol. 16. confess. Ausburg. We do not goe about to weaken the authoritie of ecclesiasticall power, we detract nothing from the dignitie of Bishops; nee do we disturbe the good order of the Church:* Againe, *fol. 17.* in the confession of Ausburg. *The Churches do not desire of the Bishops, that they would repayre peace and concord with the losse of their honour, which yet good Pastors ought to do, onely they desire, that they would remit vniust burdens, &c.* If the cal-

ling then of Bishops were Antichristian, all these Churches should be no lesse, that allow them.

3. Thirdly, I will now in the third place shewe the difference betweene Protestant Bishops, and Popish Bishops, that it may appeare wherein indeed these are worthily counted Antichristian.

1. Popish Bishops receiue their power from the Beast, and doe fight vnder Antichrists banner: so doe not our Bishops, who expect not any forraine ordination, but are made ouerseers by the spirit of God, directing & gouerning euery true Church, according to the Scriptures, Act. 20. 28.

2. Popish Bishops are maintainers of corrupt doctrine, and enemies to the faith, contrarie to the Scriptures, Tit. 1. 9. Saint *Paules* bishop *must hold fast the faithfull word according to doctrine*: So are our Bishops defenders and preachers of the truth.

3. Popish Bishops for the most part are vnlearned and vnpreaching Prelates, and iustified herein by their owne writers, *Rhemist. annot. in 1. Tim. v. 17.* contrarie to the Scriptures: *A Bishop must be apt to teach*, 1. Timoth. 3. 2. But our Bishops are preachers; there is not one at this day in the Church of England, but is both able, and doth preach: which is the most weightie parte, and giueth greatest grace to their pastorall office: for whome we doe pray, that God would giue them grace both in their life and doctrine *to set forth his holy word*: as Saint *Paul* warneth *Timothie*, *Preach the worde, be instant, in season, out of season*: according also to the Canons, *Carthag. 4. can. 1. Episcopus, &c.* A Bishop must onely attend vpon reading, prayer, and preaching of the worde.

4. Popish bishops must ascend by seuen steppes or degrees: first, hee must be a Doorekeeper, then a Reader, then an Exorcist, an Acolythist, a Subdeacon, Deacon, Priest, and last of all a Bishop, *ex decr. Gaij*. But our bishops ascend but by two degrees, of Presbyters and Deacons, according to the Scriptures, which describe the office only of Bishops, vnder them also comprehending Presbyters and Deacons, as degrees of the ministerie, 1. Tim. 3. 2. 12.

5. Popish Bishops are superstitiously consecrated, with the annointing of oile, they haue their mitre, pall, crosse, crozier staffe, with other superstitious ornaments contrarie to the Scripture, 1. Tim. 1. 6. *Timothie* was ordained onely by imposition of handes: so are our Bishops consecrated, with imposition of hands and prayer.

6. The popish Prelates doe reserue vnto themselues for their aduantage, many superstitious rites and customes, as to baptize belles, to dedicate Churches, to annoint with Chrisme and such like: which things Saint *Paules* Bishop hath no charge of, 1. Tim. 3. neither haue our Bishops any thing to doe with such things.

7. Popish Prelates are as Lordes ouer their flocke, ouerruling their faith; and the Clergie and people are as their subiects, nay which is more, their slaues: contrarie to the Apostle, 2. Cor. 1. 24. *Not that we haue dominion ouer your faith*: and 1. Pet. 5. 3. *Not as though ye were Lords ouer Gods inheritance*. But so are not our Bishops, who disdaine not in the ordaining of ministers, to call them *brethren*: as *Hierome* saith, *Pontifices Christi, &c.* We reuerence Bishops, preaching the true faith, not with the feare of Masters, but with the honour of Fathers; that wee may yeeld reuerence to Bishops as Bishops, and not vnder one name to serue another: *Hieron. ad Theophyl.*

8. Saint *Paules* Bishop must be φιλάγαθον, *a louer of good men*, Tit. 1. 8. So are not popish Prelates, who hate to death the professours of the Gospell of Christ: So doe not our Bishops; I doubt not but many among them are patrons and louers of the truth.

9. Popish Prelates take vpon them to dispense Indulgences, to forgiue sinnes for dayes, moneths, yeares; by their owne power to acquire and discharge sinners. But our Bishops take not vpon them to be conferrers or bestowers of Gods graces or mercies, but according to the Scriptures, to be as Ministers by whome the people beleeue, 1. Cor. 3. 5. *as disposers of the secrets of God*, 1. Cor. 4. 1. *as helpers of our ioy*, 2. Cor. 1. 24.

10. Saint *Paules* Bishops must be readie to *suffer aduersitie for the truth*, 2. Timoth. 4. 5. so doe not popish Prelates, who haue made many martyrs, but themselues neuer were martyrs of or for the truth: but many of our Bishops haue been faithfull martyrs, and suffered for the truth, as B. *Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Ferrar*, of blessed memorie.

11. Saint *Pauls* Bishop beleeueth and is perswaded, that the Scriptures sufficiently contain all doctrine necessarie to saluation, 2. Tim. 3. 15, 17. So also doe our Bishops professe in their consecration, as is euident in the booke of Orders: but so doe not the popish Prelates beleeue, neither are they so perswaded, holding many vnwritten traditions necessarie beside Scripture.

12. Our Bishops doe professe, when they are consecrated, *To teach nothing as required of necessitie to eternall saluation, but that they are perswaded may be concluded, and proued by the Scriptures*: according as S. *Paul* saith to *Timothie*, 2. Timoth. 3. 14. *Continue thou in all things which thou hast learned, and art perswaded of, knowing of whome thou hast learned them*: But popish Prelates doe binde mens consciences to obserue their own traditions, as the Church of Saxonie complaineth in their confession: *The Bishops take to themselues authoritie to ordaine new kindes of worship, and to binde consciences, Harmon. fol. 17.*

13. Saint *Paules* Bishop is required to be *sober, watching, modest*; so is it demanded of our Bishops in

in their consecration: *Will you denie vngodlinesse and worldly lustes, and liue soberly?* Such are not popish Prelates, who forcing themselues to keepe the violent vowe of single life, are many of them detected of incontinent and adulterous life: as Pope *Iohn* 13. was wounded and slaine in adultery, *Luitprand. lib. 6.* Two adulterous Bishops of the Tridentine Councell, were slaine in adultery: *ut prælat. concion. German.*

14. Popish Prelates take to themselues authoritie to giue power vnto Priests, *to make the bodie of Christ, and to offer sacrifice for the quicke and the dead:* for this is the very forme of the order of popish priesthood inuented by man, and not grounded vpon the word of God: but our Bishops do ordaine ministers to be *faithfull dispensers of the word of God, and of his holy sacraments:* agreeable to the Scriptures, 1. Tim. 4. 13. *Giue attendance to reading, to exhortation, doctrine:* 2. Tim. 4. 2. *Preach the word, &c.*

15. Popish Prelates neglecting their Episcopall office, take vpon them the vse of both swords: to be captaines and leaders of armies, muster masters: Such an one was *Henry Spencer, anno* 1380. or thereabout, that was Pope *Vrbanes* captaine Generall, and in his owne person fought the Popes battailes: *Fox. p. 446.* Such an one was *Theodorike* Bishop of Colen, that waged many battailes. Cardinall *Balua* vnder *Lodouic.* 11. King of Fraunce, tooke generall muster of the souldiers at Paris: whereupon one *Chabannes* a Courtier merrily said to the King: *Send me, I pray you, to this Bishoppricke to consecrate Priests, for I may as well doe that, as be master souldiers: Espenc. digress. in* 1. *ad Tim. lib. 3. c. 6.* And it is not long since a Cardinall was Lieutenant of the king of Spaines forces in the Low countreys. But Saint *Pauls* bishop must *be no fighter*, 1. Tim. 3. 3. neither are the Protestants bishops such.

16. Popish Prelates doe most tyrannically compell their Clergie to liue vnmarried, and to forbid their wiues to whome they were coupled, as is euident in the stories of *Lanfranke* and *Anselme* Bishops of Canterburie; contrarie to the Apostle, Heb. 13. 4. *Marriage is honorable among all:* but our Bishops enforce no such thing.

17. Popish Prelates are most grosse idolatours, falling downe before stockes and stones, commanding the people to doe the like: contrarie to the Apostle, 1. Ioh. 5. 21. *Keepe your selues from idols:* But our Bishops are free from all idolatrie.

18. Popish Prelates doe take themselues and their Clergie to be exempted from the ciuill power: contrary to the Apostle, Rom. 13. 1. *Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers:* so are not our Bishops, who doe most willingly submit themselues to the lawes of the Prince, and at their consecration bind themselues by oath thereunto.

19. Popish Prelates are capable to be Lord Cardinals, and so to insult aboue their brethren and fellow Bishops, and to be the Popes agents and factors; contrarie to the Apostle, who reproueth Diotrephes for louing to haue the preheminence; Iohn Epist. 3. 9. And *Hierome* saith, *Wheresoeuer a Bishop is, whether at Rome, Eugubium, Constantinople, they are of the same merite or worthinesse of the Priesthood: Hieron. Euagr.* But our Bishops are capable of no such proud or ambitious title.

20. Popish Bishops and Cardinals are capable of the papacie, the seate and throne of Antichrist and Satan; for they are not true Bishops: as *Antipas* was slaine, euen where Satans throne was, because he kept the name of Christ, and did not sit in Satans throne: Reuel. 2. 13. And our Bishops at their consecration do renounce and disdaine the power and iurisdiction of all forraine Prelates, Potentates, and so doe not communicate at all with that throne of Satan.

In these and many other materiall points, doe our Bishops differ from the popish Prelates: And yet if they agreed with them in all other matters, and dissented only in doctrine and faith, it were sufficient to cleare and discharge them from their slaunderous accusation of Antichristianisme: for where Satans throne is not, there cannot Antichrist sit: and where Christes name is kept, his faith not denyed, but sincerely taught, there Satans throne is not, Reuelat. 2. 13. Therefore the Church of England, professing the true doctrine and faith of Christ, is not vnder the kingdome of Antichrist: and so I conclude with that saying, *Niceu. concil. 2. act. 2. Nostra Hierarchia subsistit, &c.* The substance of our Hierarchie are the heauenly words, that is, the true knowledge of the diuine Scriptures: the Church and Ministerie then of England hauing the substance of the true ministerie, cannot be iudged Antichristian: neither are our Bishops the ministers of Antichrist, being preachers and professours of the true faith. Now I will proceed.

THE FIFT PART, OF THE Ceremonies.

The Papists.

THey doe annoynt the hands of such as are ordained, with oyle, and do inioyne them to shaue their crownes. And the higher degree of priesthood they haue, so much broader must their shauen crowne be, *Tileman Hesh. suc. 14. Err. 5. Bellarm. cap. 12.* III. Error.

The

The Protestants.

WE haue the same opinion of these ceremonies, as we haue of the popish orders themselues, counting them worthie of no place in the Church of God. As for the superstitious custome of annoynting, it is a Iewish rite, better beseeming *Aarons* order, than the Ministers of Iesus Christ. Looke how he was annoynted, so are we: of him it is said, *The Spirit of the Lord is vpon me, because he hath annoynted me*, Luk. 4. 18. So the inward working of the spirit is our annoynting, 1. Iohn 2. 27. Againe, in diuers places of the Scripture wee reade of ordaining by imposition of hands, Act. 13. 3. 1. Tim. 4. 14. and 5. 22. 2. Tim. 1. 6. But there is no mention at all made of annoynting with oyle.

And as for the shauing of the crowne, it is worse than a Iewish ceremonie: for it seemeth to haue taken beginning from the Heathen: and the Iewes were forbidden to cut or make bald their heads, Deuter. 14. 1. Leuit. 19. 28. In so much, as it was a signe of more holines amongst them not to suffer the rasor to come vpon their heads, as it is to be seene in the law of the Nazarites, Numbers 6. The rest of the questions that concerne the calling of Ministers, we haue entreated of more at large, Controuers. 5. of Ecclesiasticall persons.

Concil. Eliberin. can. 55. Sacerdotes, qui tantum sacrificantium coronam portant, nec sacrificant idolis, placuit post biennium communionem accipere: Priests, that haue only a shauen crowne like idolatrous sacrificers, and yet doe not sacrifice to Idols, after two yeeres may receiue the Communion. Wee see that by this Canon they are censured, that had shorne crownes.

Decret. Gregor. lib. 1. tit. 15. c. 1. Innocent. 3. Among the Greekes, *Non consueuerunt pontifices eum consecrantur inungi:* Bishops, when they are consecrated, are not annoynted. If it were an Apostolike institution, it would haue been generally obserued in all Churches.

Can. 12. qu. 1. c. 7. Hanc coronam habent ab institutione Romanæ ecclesiæ: They haue their shauen crowne from the institution of the Romane Church. Then not from the institution of the Apostles.

Magister sententiar. lib. 4. dist. 24. b. Tonsura ecclesiastica vsus à Nazaræis exortus videtur: The vse of Ecclesiasticall tonsure or shauing seemeth to haue taken beginning from the Nazarits. How then can it be a ceremonie of the Gospell, being altogether a Iudaicall rite? Nay the Iewes neuer so abounded in superstitious obseruations and foolish significations. The Priests shauing *first* (they say) betokeneth that they are as it were Kings of the Church, which is signified by the crowne, to rule themselues and others: And so indeede popish prelates haue taken vpon them to be Kings indeede, exalting themselues aboue Kings and Princes: *Can. 12. qu. 1. c. 7.* Secondly, *Rasio capitis est temporalium omnium depositio:* The shauing of the head signifieth the laying aside of all temporall things: *ibid.* This did well appeare in their cloistered shauelings, that had scraped together the riches of the land. Thirdly, *Denudatio capitis est reuelatio mentis:* The baring of the head signifieth the reuealing of the minde, that they should not be ignorant of Gods secrets: *Magister sententiar. ibid.* And no marueile, their shaueling Priests were such great Clerkes. Fourthly, their shauing betokened the mortifying of the flesh, and the subduing of vice: *Magist. ibid.* The vncleane stories of Monkish liues do well make proofe of their mortification. Thus wee see how vnlike they are in their workes, to the meaning of their shauen crownes vpon their heads. The superstitious Iewes themselues may well laugh at such toyes.

To this agreeth the iudgement of the holy Martyrs: *Robert Smith* holy Martyr: *As for your hauing, annoynting, greasing, palling, rounding: there are no such things appointed in Gods booke: and therefore I haue nothing to doe, to beleeue your orders. And as for you my Lord, if you had grace or iudgement, you would not so disfigure your selfe, as you doe.* Foxe p. 1693.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF EXTREAME VNCtion. First, whether it be a sacrament. Secondly, of the efficacie. Thirdly, of the ceremonies.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER EXtreame Vnction be a Sacrament.

The Papists.

111. Error. THat extreame Vnction is rightly and properly a Sacrament, which is (say they) the annointing of those that are extreame sicke, to assure them of remission of their sinnes: it was concluded in the Chapter of *Trent. sess. 14. can. 1.* and is generally maintained by the Church of Rome, *Bellarm. cap. 2.*

Argum. Iam. 5. 14. The Sacrament of extreame Vnction in this place is plainly prouided by the Apostle, being instituted before by our Sauiour Christ, Mark 6. 13. For here is remission of sinnes

ſignes promiſed to the outward element, that is, the annoynting of the ſicke with oyle: *Ergo*, a Sacrament, *Rhemiſt.*

Anſ. 1. This annoynting of oyle, was a ſigne onely of the miraculous gift of healing, that was then in the Church, and therefore was no longer to continue, than the gift it ſelfe. But it is not ſo, will they ſay, that euery one of the Elders had this miraculous gift of healing. *Anſ.* Though euery particular Elder perhaps had it not, yet the whole companie of the Elderſhip might haue it, as S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of the gift of propheſie giuen to the Elderſhip, 1. Tim. 4. 14. And it is not like that the Apoſtle would haue promiſed health by calling for the Elders, if the gift had not been ordinarie in euery congregation.

Anſ. 2. Neither is remiſſion of ſinnes annexed to the element, but to the exerciſe of prayer made in faith. The prayer of faith, ſaith the Apoſtle, ſhall heale the ſicke.

Obiection. On the contrarie ſide laboureth to proue, that this place of Iames cannot be vnderſtood of the miraculous gift of healing. Firſt, if it had been a miraculous gift, it ſhould haue been ſome generall, not onely to cure ſicke folke, but the blind alſo and lame.

Contra. 1. As though there were not diuers miraculous gifts, which were not all in euery one, neither was it requiſite ſo to be. Saint *Paul* diſtinguiſheth the gifts of the ſpirit, as one hath the gift of healing, another the operation of great workes, 1. Corinth. 12. 9, 10 as to caſt out diuels, to heale thoſe which were borne blinde, and ſuch like: doth it follow now, that hee which had the one muſt needes alſo haue the other? 2. The Ieſuite controuleth the wiſedome of our Sauiour Chriſt, who although he endued his Apoſtles with a generall power to worke miracles, yet gaue them this gift, that by this ſpeciall meane the annoynting the ſicke with oyle, they ſhould heale them. Mark. 6. 13.

Obiect. 2. If the Apoſtle had ſpoken of a miraculous gift, he would not haue preſcribed them the matter to worke by, namely oyle.

Contra. By this reaſon, that gift of healing, which the Apoſtles vſed, Mark. 6. 13. ſhould not be miraculous, becauſe there alſo, they are preſcribed oyle: nor that, which is promiſed, Mark. 16. 18. becauſe there is a preſcription alſo, how they ſhall lay their hands vpon the ſicke, and ſo heale them.

Obiect. 3. If it had bin a miraculous gift, it ſhould haue neuer failed, but they alwaies ſhould haue recouered bodily health, and ſo none ſhould haue dyed in the Apoſtles time.

Contra. 1. As though the miraculous gifts, which were then giuen vnto men, were infinite, and not rather meaſured, and directed according to Gods will: The Apoſtles had power giuen them to caſt out diuels, Mark. 3. 15. yet could they not caſt out a dumbe ſpirit, Mark. 9. 18. So that their miraculous giftes, then, and ſo often, and for the moſt part tooke place, when it pleaſed God, and hee ſaw it to be to his glorie, and needfull for his Church. 2. Neither doth it followe, that they which were thus once healed, ſhould alwaies be healed, and ſo neuer dye: no more then *Lazarus*, who was once raiſed out of the graue, was preſerued from death, who afterward notwithſtanding dyed.

Obiect. 4. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh in direct termes of forgiuing of ſinnes: therefore ſpirituall health is here vnderſtood, rather than corporall.

Contra. We graunt, that remiſſion of ſinnes did concurre with the outward miraculous gift, at the fruent prayers of the faithfull. For how could the diſeaſe be cured, if the cauſe thereof, which was ſin, were not firſt remoued? but it followeth not, that the gift of bodily health was not therefore miraculous: For Chriſt, whom he healed bodily, to many of them alſo he forgaue their ſinnes, yet did hee heale by miracle, as Mark. 2. 5. Chriſt ſaith to the ſicke of the palſey, *thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee*: he healed him both bodily and ghoſtly: ſhall wee ſay therefore, that he was not cured miraculouſly? Wherefore it remaineth, as wee anſwered before, that this gift of healing, which Saint *Iames* ſpeaketh of, was miraculous, and ſo proueth no Sacrament: for it is all one with that gift, which the Apoſtles exerciſed, Mark. 6. which cannot be denied but to haue bin miraculous.

Thus much alſo is confeſſed: *Interelig. Caſarea. cap. 19. Inter initia fidei externa quaque corporis ſanitas ſpecies interna ſanationis ſignum conſequebatur &c.* In the beginning, and ſpringing vp of faith, the outward health of the bodie did followe as a ſigne of the inward healing: *Quemadmodum in aliis ſacramentis ad confirmationem rudis fidei interna virtus, externis ſignis & miraculis demonſtrabatur:* As in other Sacraments, for the confirmation of their weake faith, the inward vertue was ſhewed forth by outward ſignes and miracles: which are not needfull now. The gift of healing then was a miracle.

The Proteſtants.

EXtreame Vnction is no conuenient ceremonie at all to be vſed in the Church, as tending to ſuperſtition, and breeding a vaine confidence in terrene elements: much leſſe is it to be holden for a Sacrament.

Argum. 1. It hath no inſtitution from Chriſt: for they themſelues confeſſe, that Mark. 6. 13. there

is

is but a preparatiue to the Sacrament of extreame Vnction, *Rhemist.* the promulgation and publishing thereof is set forth by the Apostle, Iam. 5. But this is not to be admitted, that Christ was a preparer of Sacraments onely, and that they were perfited and finished by his Apostles: nay they were not to adde any thing to the institution of Sacraments, but to take them as Christ deliuered them, 1. Cor. 11. 23.

The Master of the Sentences saith: *Sacramentum vnctionis infirmorum, &c.* The Sacrament of annoynting the sicke, is read to haue been instituted of the Apostles. Then is it no Sacrament, for Christ onely is the author of the Sacraments: as *Bellarmine* proueth at large, *lib. 1. de Sacramentis in genere c. 24.* And it was thus decreed, *Concil. Trident. sess. 7. c. 1. Si quis dixerit Sacramenta noui legis non esse omnia à Iesu Christo instituta, anathema sit:* If any man say that the Sacraments of the new Testament were not at all instituted of Christ, let him be accursed. How then doth *Bellarmine* and the rest auoide this curse, that doe hold this Sacrament to haue been instituted by the Apostles? There are two opinions among them: some thinke that the annoynting, spoken of Mark. 6. 13. and the other mentioned Iam. 5. to be all one: *sic Thomas Waldens. Alphonsus de castro lib. de Hæres.* Others of them doe thinke, that that, which *Marke* speaketh of, was not *Vnctio sacramentalis*, a sacramentall Vnction, but onely a figure and shadow of it: *de Ruard. in explicat. artic. 12. Iansenius in Mark. 6. Dominicus à Soto. de Iustit. 23. qu. 1. artic. 1.* the Rhemists also and *Bellarmine.* Thus we see how well they agree among themselues.

Againe, the place in *Iames* maketh nothing for their popish aneeling: for the Apostle would haue all the Elders called: but one priest is sufficient to bring your oyntment boxe. Secondly, if any man be sicke, saith Saint *Iames*, though it be not deadly or mortall sicknes, but whensoeuer he is sicke: But your Vnction is neuer ministred before the poynt of death. Thirdly, here health is certainly promised: But not one amongst ten recouereth after your popish aneeling.

Argum. 2. Christ vsed sometime clay, and spittle, sometime other elements in healing the diseased, as the Apostles vsed oyle: why, I pray you then, may not they bee Sacraments as well as this? for they were signes of healing but for a time: no more was the annoynting with oyle.

Bellarmine answereth, there is not the like reason: first, those other ceremonies are not commanded to be frequented as this of oyle is, Iam. 5. Secondly, there is no promise of spirituall grace annexed to them, as vnto this. Thirdly, neither is the certaine Minister of those ceremonies described, as the Elders, that is the Priests, are of this, Iam. 5.

Contra. First, you cannot proue an institution of a Sacrament out of that place of *Iames*, seeing Christ, and not the Apostles, is the author of Sacraments: There is no Sacrament of the Gospel which is not grounded both vpon the example and precept of Christ: but so is not your anoyling.

Secondly, the other elements, which Christ vsed, haue those three things required: 1st, our Sauiour vsed spittle diuers times: as Mark. 7. 33. in healing the dumbe man, Mark. 8. 23. in curing the blinde man. Here is an iteration of the same element. Secondly, it hath also an inuisible effect: for it healeth both dumbnes and blindnes. Thirdly, the Minister thereof is certaine, Christ himselfe.

Thirdly: first, the spirituall grace promised, is not annexed to oyle, but to the prayer of faith, Iam. 1. 15. Neither can it be proued, that all those Elders were Ministers, or, as they call them *Priests*: for diuers of the faithfull, which were not Ministers, had the gift of healing: as it appeareth, Mark. 16. 18. *These signes shall follow them that beleeue, &c. they shall lay their hands vpon the sicke, and they shall recouer.* But all beleeuers were not Ministers.

August. in Psal. 40. *Augustine* saith, *De latere Christi in cruce sacramenta ecclesiæ profluxerunt:* The Sacraments of the Church issued out of Christs side vpon the Crosse: There gushed out of his side, water and blood: but we reade not that any oyle was shed from him: therefore by *Augustines* argument, Vnction is no Sacrament.

Innocent. 1. Epistol. 1. can. 8. saith, that this custome in annoynting with oyle, *genus est sacramenti*, is a kind of Sacrament. It is not then properly a Sacrament, but after a certaine kind and manner. This is rehearsed, *distinct. 95. c. 3.*

Wee haue also the seale of the holy Martyrs: *Iames Bainham* Martyr, being asked what hee thought concerning the Sacrament of aneeling: he answered: *It was but a ceremonie, neither did he wot what a man should be the better for such an oyling and annoynting: Fox* pag. 1028.

Iohn Denley, Iohn Newman, Patricke Pachingham, holie Martyrs, condemned to death, for affirming, that the annoynting, and aneeling of the sicke, was not allowable by the word of God: *Fox* pag. 1684. col. 2.

THE

THE SECOND PART, OF THE MATTER and forme of extreame Vnction.

The Papists.

The matter is oyle olive consecrated by the Bishop, not simple, or vnhallowed, as is water in baptisme: the forme is in these words: *By this holy vnction, and by his most godly mercy, God forgiue you, &c. Bellarm. c. 7.* 112. Error.

The Protestants.

First as touching the forme: 1. It is not warranted, nor found in Scripture, as the words of consecration in the other Sacraments are, and therefore we refuse it. 2. It is blasphemous, matching the beggerly annointing, and Gods mercy together, and so ioyne the creature and Creator in commistion together.

Secondly, for the matter: 1. The element is not consecrated, but in the vse of the Sacrament: 1. Cor. 10. 16. bread is *blessed in the breaking*: therefore that forerunning hallowing of oyle is superstitious and superfluous. 2. If simple water serue for Baptisme being so excellent a Sacrament, much more may simple oyle suffice for your vnction. 3. Your canons also allow the sprinkling of water as well as oyle vpon the sicke. *decr. p. 3. d. 4. c. 127. Aspergs &c. the sicke are bid to be sprinkled &c.*

THE THID PART, OF THE EFFECT and vertue of extreame Vnction.

The Papists.

First, it giueth health of bodie. Secondly, it wipeth away the reliques of sinne: And therefore the priest thus saith: *Per istam sanctam Vnctionem, & suam pissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Deus quicquid deliquisti per visum &c.* By the vertue of this holy oyntment, and the most mercifull fauour of God, the Lord forgiue thee, what thou hast offended by the sight, hearing, &c. *Bellarm. cap 7. 8.* 113. Error.

The Protestants.

1. Our popish aneeling is not able to heale the bodie, as we see by daily experience: for more die then liue after your annointing: and they that doe recouer should doe as well without your aneeling. Wherefore this annointing of oyle is not like to that vsed by the Apostles: for their health certainely followed. Iam. 5. 14.

Here also the papists themselues are deuided: some thinke, that the health of the bodie is the proper ende of this their Sacrament: *Dominicus à Soto distinct. 23. qu. 1. art. 2. Bellarmine* an other thinketh, that the health of the soule is the peculiar ende: and the health of the bodie conditionally, so farre forth as it is expedient for the soule.

Soto replieth, many times he that is aneeled, is more wicked then before; how then is it to the health of his soule? *Bellarmine*, when this falleth out, he obtaineth not health by the Sacrament, but by some other naturall meanes. *Contra.* Then it would follow, that other naturall meanes applied, are more effectuall for the health of the bodie, then your Sacrament is; seeing they may giue health, when the Sacrament doth not: so then seeing your extreame aneeling doth not alwaies giue health, by your owne confession, it is no effect of a Sacrament; for the Sacrament alwaies worketh Sacramentally, where it is not otherwise hindred for want of faith: but many a faithfull man may be aneeled, and yet die, in whom there is no such let: and many a wicked man may recouer his health, in whom the impediment is found, namely, the lacke of faith.

2. It is also a great blasphemie, to ascribe remission of sinnes to a terrene and beggerly element: The Apostle saith, not the oyle, *but the praier of faith shall saue the sicke.* The Scripture also testifyeth, that the iust shall liue by faith, Rom. 1. 17. And we walke by faith, not by sight, 2. Cor. 5. 7. But he that ascribeth remission of sinnes to oyle or any other externall element, walketh by sight, not by faith.

Heere againe the popish diuines are put to their trumpes; and much scanning there is among them, what manner of sinnes are remitted by extreame vnction: some say veniall sinnes; other the aptnes to sinne that remaineth. *Bellarmine* thinketh they be reliques of any sinne veniall, or mortall, and the terror or anxietie of soule, which remaineth and perplexeth the soule in the point of death. *Bellarm. c. 8.*

Contra. 1. The Apostle saith verse. 6. If he haue committed sinne, or as the vulgar translation readeth, *if he be in sinne*: whereby the Apostle vnderstandeth neither the lesser sinnes only, which they call veniall, nor the reliques of sinne only: but sinne it selfe whatsoeuer that is pardonable.

2. This remitting of sinnes is not ascribed to the annoynting with oyle, but to the prayer of faith,

faith, vers. 16. *Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed:* here repentance with confession of sinnes is required in the behalfe of the sicke; prayer to be performed by the other: by these two meanes health is obtained.

3. The sinne being once pardoned and remitted, there remaineth no more terror of conscience, Rom. 5. 1. *Being iustified by faith, we are at peace with God.* Rom. 8. 1. *There is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Iesus:* and consequently no feare of condemnation.

4. The annointing was a signe onely of their bodily healing: Matth. 6. 13. *They annointed many that were sicke with oyle, and healed them:* but in this place they say, the same gift of healing is shadowed forth, which is described in Saint *Iames*:

5. Whereas the Apostle requireth confession of sinnes in the sicke, whereupon followeth remission of sinnes: they vse to aneele the sicke when they are past sense, and so can shew no repentance: as *Sext decret. lib. 5 tit. 2. c. 5. Alexander* 4. reproueth the vse of certaine, *Qui nullam confessionem audiunt, qui non sit sana mentis, &c.* Which vse not to comfort any that are not of a right minde and sounde memorie: how then can there be forgiuenes of sinnes, where no confession goeth before?

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE MINISTER of extreame Vnction, and the ceremonies.

The Papists.

114. Error. FIrst, they giue power onely vnto their annointed Masse priestes, to aneele the sicke with oyle. Lay men haue no authoritie to do it, nor whosoeuer are no priests, *Concil. Trident. sess. 14. c. 4.*

115. Error. Secondly, for the rite and ceremonie, the priest comming to the sicke must annoynt in fiue senses; his eyes, eares, nostrels, mouth, and hands: also the reines, which is the seat of concupiscence, and his feete, which are the instruments of execution, *Bellarm. cap. 10.*

The Protestants.

1. THis annointing which Saint *Iames* speaketh of, was done by the whole company of Elders in euery congregation, which were not all the Pastors of the Church: and although the Pastors and Ministers of the Church, are both more especially bound in respect of their dutie to visite the sicke, and are the fittest persons in regard of their calling to pray for them & comfort them; yet Saint *Iames* much commendeth the prayer not only of faithful Pastors, but of any righteous man, which is auaileable to procure health vnto the sicke. vers. 16. Yea, and it appeareth by their owne Canons, *Innocent. 1. Epist. 1. c. 8.* that it was lawfull for lay men and all Christians to vse this annoynting.

Bellarmine answereth with *Iansenius*, that *Innocentius* speaketh not of the ministring, but receiuing of this oynment, that it is lawfull for euery lay man to receiue it at the Priests hands, and so vse it, cap. 9.

Contra. 1. This place alleaged out of *Innocentius* troubleth them sore, and maketh them almost at their wits end: *Thomas Waldens.* answereth, that lay men may aneele, where there are no Priests to be had: but this answere misliketh *Bellarmine*, because the Priest must necessarily be the Minister of euery Sacrament, vnlesse it be in Baptisme. *Dominicus à Soto* saith, that *Innocentius* speaketh of a kind of consecrate oyle, which it was lawfull for lay men to vse, beside this sacramentall oyle: this answere also displeaseth the Iesuite, for *Innocentius* speaketh of oyle consecrated by the Bishop, which was the matter of this Sacrament. Secondly, therfore *Bellarmine* hath found out an other answer, but as vnsufficient as the other: the words of the decree are these: *Sanctis oleo chrismatis ab Episcopo confecto, non solum sacerdotibus, sed & omnibus vti Christianis licet in sua aut suorum necessitate inungendo:* The holy oyle of Chrisme made by the Bishop, it is lawfull not onely for Priests, but for all Christians to vse by annoynting, in their, or their friends necessitie. This cannot be vnderstood as the Iesuite supposeth: First, it is lawfull for other Christians to vse oyle, as the Priests did vse it, which was by ministring, not receiuing. Secondly, they may vse it to annoynt their friends, as well as themselues, therefore they ministred to their friends.

2. What need the bodie be annointed in so many places? It is meere superstition: of the like minde was *Peter* sometime, when he said to Christ, who would wash his feet; Lord, not my feete onely, but my hands and my head. To whom Christ answered: He that is washed, need not saue to wash his feet, but is cleane all, Iohn. 13. 9. Where, although the words of Christ haue a spirituall meaning: yet we see the euident and plaine practise of them in Baptisme: In the which Sacrament, wee doubt not, but that infants are thoroughly baptized though euery part be not touched with water. And euen so, if your aneeling were a Sacrament: why might it not suffice, in some one part of the bodie to bee annoynted, and not in so many? This wee are sure of, that nowe you speake without booke: For the Apostle maketh no mention of annoynting, eyes, hands, or mouth, but onely generally of annoynting the sicke. And thus it appeareth

with that your extreame Vnction is no ſacrament, nor any of the other foure, which you haue inuented.

THE CONCLVSION OF THIS TREATISE concerning the Sacraments.

Thus, I truſt, wee haue made it plaine by Scripture, and euidence of argument, that there are but two Sacraments onely, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord, left and inioyned to the people of God by our Sauiour Chriſt: for foure things are required to make a ſacrament: Firſt, the authoritie of Chriſt in commaunding it. Secondly, the element or externall ſigne, as the matter. Thirdly, the word of inſtitution, as the forme. Fourthly, the end and vſe, to bee a ſeale of our faith for remiſſion of ſinnes.

1. Concerning the efficient cauſe, we finde that two Sacraments onely in the new Teſtament, are commaunded by Chriſt to be vſed for euer in the Church, Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper: which both by his owne example and preſence, as alſo his precept and commaundement, were eſtabliſhed.

2. There muſt be an outward viſible elementall ſigne, as is water in Baptiſme, bread and wine in the Lords Supper. But ſo is there not in the fiue popiſh ſacraments: For in ſome there is no ſigne at all, as in Matrimonie, where they are driuen to ſay, that the parties that are married are the ſignes. In ſome there is a ſigne, but not viſible, as in abſolution, the audible voyce of the Prieſt pronouncing the words of abſolution is, they ſay, the outward ſigne: But in all the Sacraments of Chriſts inſtitution, we finde a viſible ſigne. In ſome there is an outward ſigne, but it is an action or geſture only, no materiall element, which is not ſufficient: ſo is the impoſition of hands in giuing of Orders. In ſome there is a materiall ſigne, as Chriſme in Confirmation, oyle in extreame Vnction: but they are not of Chriſts inſtitution.

3. They alſo want a word of inſtitution: In Penance the Prieſt ſaith, *I doe abſolue thee*, after particular confeſſion made of his ſinnes. In confirmation the words are, *I ſigne thee with the ſigne of the Croſſe, and confirme thee with the Chriſme of ſaluation, in the name of the Father, Sonne, &c.* In Matrimonie, *I take thee to my wife*. In giuing of Orders, *Receiue thou power to offer vp the bodie of Chriſt*. In extreame Vnction, *God by the vertue of this oyle forgiue thee thy ſinne*. Theſe, they ſay, are the words of the inſtitution: But they can ſhew no word of God for them: for it is not euery worde that ſanctifieth, but onely the word of God, 1. Timoth. 4. Wherefore, ſeeing they haue no word of inſtitution, they are no ſacraments.

Laſtly, they want the true vſe and end of a ſacrament, which is, to ſtrengthen our faith for the remiſſion of ſinnes: for in ſome of theſe there is no relation at all had to the forgiuenes of ſinnes: As Matrimonie doth but perfonne, ſay they, the graces of marriage, as fidelitie, mutuall loue, and ſuch like. Orders doe conferre the power of Prieſthood. Here is no ſigne or aſſurance of the grace of iuſtification. In the reſt, remiſſion of ſins is aſcribed to other inſtrumentall meanes, than to faith only; as to ſatisfactorie workes in Abſolution, to Chriſme in Confirmation, to oyle in extreame Vnction: wherefore we conclude, becauſe they are no ſeales of the righteouſnes of faith, as S. *Paul* defineth a ſacrament, Rom. 4. verſ. 11. that they are no ſacraments of Chriſts inſtitution, but ſuperſtitious ceremonies deuiſed by men.

Here endeth the third Centurie.

Soli Deo immortali, patri, Filio cum Spiritu ſancto, ſit omnis honor & gloria.

THE CONCLUSION OF THIS TREA-
the concerning the Sacraments.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OR CENTVRIE, CONTAINING A FOVRTH HVNDRED OF POPISH ERRORS AND HERESIES:

CONSISTING OF SVCH CONTROVERSIES, AS ARE MOVED CONCERNING THE BENEFITS OF our Redemption, as alſo touching the perſon of Chriſt.

WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED THE GREAT QVESTIONS OF PREDESTINATION, FREE WILL, IVSTIFICATION BY FAITH, OF MERITES; WITH A TREATISE OF THE *vniuerſalitie of Grace, which queſtion hath much occupied of late the learned beyond the Seas, and beginneth alſo to ſet foote in the Church of* England.

AT LONDON
Imprinted by FELIX KYNGSTON, for THOMAS MAN, dwelling in Pater noſter rowe at the ſigne of the Talbot. 1600.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND REVEREND IVDGES SIR IOHN POPHAM KNIGHT, LORD CHIEFE IVSTICE OF ENGLAND, AND of her Maieſties moſt honorable priuie Councell; and Sir WILLIAM PIRIAM Knight, Lord chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, grace and peace in the Lord Ieſus.

AMong other notable perſonages, whom I thought worthy of theſe my labours, though the ſame not worthie their honourable acceptation, I could not in any honeſt ſhew with ſilence ouerpaſſe your Honors (right reuerend, and honourable Iudges) to whom I haue preſumed to preſent this fourth part of this laborious worke, and for theſe reaſons me thereunto eſpecially mouing: firſt, that as her Maieſtie is right intituled and intereſſed in this whole worke, which ſetteth forth the ſumme of our religion againſt the Papiſts, as vnder whoſe defence and protection we in peace profeſſe the ſame: ſo vnto your Honors, as vnder her Maieſtie, noble inſtruments of our peace, executers of iuſtice, preſeruers of religion, part of this treatiſe doth properly appertaine: That as principally to her gracious highneſſe in the whole, ſome ſigne of thankefulnes I truſt, for the peace of our ſtate is extant, ſo vnto you in a part thereof, as her worthie miniſters for the ſame vnto whom meete ſome dutie ſhould be acknowledged. Againe, what is better beſeeming, or beſitting the perſon of a Iudge, than to heare of queſtions of religion, and to be occupied in diſcerning of truth from error, religion from ſuperſtition, faith from falſehood, which this booke performeth in ſome meaſure? This authoritie God hath put into your hands, and indued you with this diſcerning ſpirit. A Iudge muſt not be a ſtranger from religion, neither receiue the iudgement of faith at the ſecond hand. To whom belonged the iudgement of the falſe Prophets, Deuteron. 13. 5. and the puniſhment of Idolaters, Deut. 17. 5. but to the Ciuill Magiſtrate, which did ſit in the gate? Hereof it is, that the Iudge and the Prieſt are ioyned together, as fellowes in commiſſion for matters of iudgement: ſo preſcribed by Moſes, Deut. 17. 9. ſo practiſed by Iehoſaphat, 2. Chron. 19. 11. Neither yet doe I preſume in this worke to giue vnto your Honors any direction for knowledge in theſe matters, who are I truſt daily conuerſant therein: but, as Auguſtine *ſaith, writing to a noble man:* Scio non deeſſe vobis homines, qui ſecundum viam huius mundi conſilia dent: ſecundum autem Deum, non facile quiſquam tibi conſulit, non quia deſunt, qui hoc faciant, ſed quia difficile

est inuenire, quando tecum hoc possint: *So I write vnto you, not that you need in your selues these aduertisements, or haue not about you to conferre withall, but because your leisure serueth not to peruse the huge volumes, and tedious and long treatises written of these matters. And as the same father saith againe:* Si aliquid hic legas, quod minus ad personam tuam pertineat, ne putes superfluum: istæ enim literæ, quamuis ad te, non tamen tibi solum scribendæ erant, sed vt alij per te prodesset negligendum non fuit: *In like manner I say, if there be ought in this treatise, that properly concerneth not your Honors, it is not therefore (I trust) superfluous, for my intendment is to helpe the simple and vnlearned sort, who haue not much trauailed in these things.*

Thirdly, whereas the Scripture saith, When the righteous are in authoritie the people reioyce, Pro. 28. 2. *in this common ioy, who should forbid me to reioyce? What honest man ioyeth not to see vpright and iust men exalted to the throne of iudgement? such as the Apostle speaketh of,* They are the ministers of God for thy wealth, Rom. 13. 4. *not for their owne wealth, as* Bernard *saith:* Præes nunquid vt de subditis crescas? nequaquam, sed vt ipse te Iudicem te constituerunt, sed sibi, non tibi. *Goe on therefore in this your happie course: you, who by calling are as Gods vpon earth,* Psal. 82. 6. *let your iudgement be vpright, as God is, to hate couetousnes, not to regard the person of man, to loue equitie and iustice, to fauour and embrace religion, not to be blinded with gifts: wherein, as I trust, you haue hitherto walked well: so, God graunt, you may hold out your race to the end.* Nuper (*as* Bernard *saith*) è vestris partibus flare cœpit aura secundior, Epistol. 42. *Some experience we haue had in your places of your disposition to doe iustice, and more we trust to haue: therefore we say againe saith:* Ego quorum viuo meritis volo vigere studijs & salute, *all good men liue and are cherished by the righteous iudgement of vpright gouernours, for whose health and welfare, my studie and prayer shall at all times be noted.*

Bernard de considerat. lib. 3.

Hitherto I haue onely shewed the reasons that moued me to write to your Honors: now briefly what I haue written. In this fourth part, beside the augmenting and enlarging of that, which is contained in the former edition, I haue added an hundred more of new errors, and heresies of Poperie, as they are collected out of Bellarmines 1. 3. 4. *volume, which was not then extant, when the first edition of this booke came forth. I haue also of purpose interserted in this last part, a short treatise of that great and weightie question, which begetteth to haue many fauourers in these dayes, and euen of our owne countrie men, concerning the vniuersalitie of grace: who are not contented to say, as the Scripture saith, that Christ was giuen onely for those that are giuen him, to whom hee giueth eternall life,* Ioh. 17. 2. *that is the elect: for to them onely is life euerlasting giuen: but that he died vniuersally for all men, euen for the wicked and reprobate: which while they affirme, they fall into a dangerous gulfe, either to grant that seeing all are not saued, whom God, as they say, would haue saued by Christ, that either he is weake and impotent, not able to effect and accomplish his owne will, or that he is mu-*

table and variable, in altering and chaunging his purpose. But this matter wee haue followed at large in the 19. Controuersie of this booke, quest. 2.

Our chiefe scope in this busines is to discouer the nakednes of Poperie, and to lay open the filthines of superstition. These euen these are the chiefe enemies to our peace: sometime the Church indured outward grieuous persecution: then the diuell raged as a lyon, Hostis ille noster (*as* Augustine *saith*) tum leo fuit, cum apertè sæuiebat. *Afterward the diuell played the subtile serpent, pestering the Church with heresies:* tum vt draco erat, cum occultè insidiabatur. *But in the popish profession, both by his outragious crueltie the diuell sheweth to be a lyon, and by his secret poysoning of religion a dragon: So that these two great battell rammes, which before at times did assayle the Church, doe now at once lay siege vnto vs. As against their violent furie, the holy Martyrs vsed the defensatiue of patience:* Sic nobis nunc opus est vigilantia: *So to preuent their subtile sleights, we must vse vigilancie and care, the Minister to descrie the enemie, the Magistrate to repell him.*

And thus may an enemie to our peace and religion be knowne: first, they are such of whom our Sauiour speaketh, They hate the light, neither come to the light, lest their deedes should be reproued, Ioh. 3. 20. *They seeke priuate assemblies and conuenticles, as being ashamed of their doings. For although sometime the trueth was driuen into corners, yet is it now preached in pulpits, and therefore in these dayes such conuenticles are suspicious: and they are against the expresse decree of Councels.* Concil. Gangrens. cap. 6. Si quis extra ecclesiam priuatim populos congregat, anathema. Concil. Laodicen. can. 35. Non oportet Christianos Ecclesiam Dei relinquere, & in angulis congregationes facere: *It is not lawfull to leaue the Church of God, and assemble together in corners.*

Another marke whereby to know them Saint Iude *teacheth vs, where he saith,* They despise gouernment, and speake euill of them that are in authoritie, Iude 8. *Such are some of the Romish sectaries, who spare not to reuile the Lords anoynted, and to conspire to lay hands vpon the Lords holy one. All such stand accursed before God, who both curseth their wicked counsels, neither will haue the authors vnpunished, as saith the Toletane Councel. 12. cap. 1.* Non erit ab anathematis sententia alienus, aut diuinæ animaduersionis vltione securus, quisquis contra salutem principis aut erexerit vocem, aut quamcunque quæsierit lædendi occasionem.

Thirdly, if we marke how such corner-creepers doe sow dissension, and seeke to disturbe our peace, hence we shall iudge them to be no right teachers, nor true members of Christs Church: for we haue no such custome, (*saith the Apostle*) nor the Churches of God to be contentious, 1. Cor. 11. 16. *Of such* Augustine *saith well:* Venit persecutor, & non fregit crura Christi, venit Donatus & diripuit Ecclesiam Christi: Integrum corpus Christi in cruce inter manus persecutorum est, & inter manus Christianorum non est integrum corpus Ecclesiæ, in Psal. 33. cap. 2.

Lastly,

Lastly, they are obstinate, and wilfully setled in their ignorance, and frozen in the dregges of their superstition, that although Scripture, reason, antiquitie doe all make against them, yet are they resolued to wallow like dirtie swine still in the myre of their superstitious ignorance. And as they stopped their eares against Stephen, Act. 7. so doe these refuse all holesome meanes of conference, publike prayer, reading, and hearing of Scripture. Such wilfulnes was in the old Heretikes, as

August. lib. 1. contr. Maxim. Maximinus *the Arrian said:* Si ad eculeum suspendar, non sum aliter dicturus: *Though they hang me, I will not chaunge my minde.*

The cause of this their obstinacie is in those which seduce them: as the Prophet Esay *saith,* Qui ducunt, seducunt vos: *They which guide you, beguile you. Such Saint* Paul *speaketh of: They creepe into houses, and leade captiue simple women laden with sinne,* 2. Tim. 4. 6. *But that which followeth,* they shall prevaile no longer, vers. 9. *as God hath decreed it: so it belongeth to you, right Honorable, as Gods faithfull ministers, to see the same executed, as ye doe. Yet wee wish not*

August. in Psal. 37. *their destruction, but desire their conuersion:* Non oramus, vt moriantur inimici, sed vt corrigantur, sic mortui erunt inimici, iam enim correcti non erunt inimici: *We pray not for the death of our enemies, but for their correction and amendement, so our enemies shall be dead: for being amended, they shall be no more our enemies. I pray God giue them grace, as they belong vnto him, that their harts may relent to the truth, and that their mindes may be lightened to acknowledge the same, that wee may goe vp to the house of God together in peace: And the Lord blesse your Honors in your iust and righteous proceedings, that the crie of oppression be not heard in the land, nor the arme of pride strengthened: but that truth and equitie may flourish, vertue and godlinesse encrease, to Gods glorie, the Churches good, and your owne comfort in the day of the Lord. Amen.*

Your Honors to be commanded in the Lord,

Andrew Willet.

HERE ENSVE SVCH CONTROVERSIES AND QVESTIONS, AS ARE MOVED CONCERNING THE BENEFITS OF our redemption, purchased vnto vs by the death of Christ.

HAuing now sufficiently entreated of all those matters, wherein wee and our aduersaries dissent, as touching the propheticall, regall, and priestly office of our Sauiour Christ: the next place according to our purposed order and methode, doth offer vnto vs such questions to be considered of, as are handled betweene our aduersaries and vs, concerning the benefits ensuing by these heauenly offices of Christ. And this treatise containeth three controuersies, which now follow in order: The first is of the state of man in his first creation, before his fall. The second, of the fall of man, the condition and qualitie thereof. The third, of the reparation of our decayed nature, and our restitution by Christ.

THE FIRST CONTROVERSIE BEING THE 17. in the whole, of the state of man in Paradise.

This controuersie contayneth three questions. First, of the state of mans soule by creation. Secondly, of the qualitie and condition of his bodie. Thirdly, of the place, namely, of Paradise.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE perfection of the soule of man.

The Papists.

IT is agreed betweene vs, that man was created in his soule according to the image of God, both in holines and righteousnes in his will and affections, as Saint *Paul* sheweth, Ephes. 4. 24, and also with the light and perfection of knowledge, and iudgement in the vnderstanding part, Coloss. 3. 10. for in these two consisted the image of God, being thus agreed of the thing it selfe, we dissent about the manner: for the Papists opinion is, that the originall iustice and perfection, wherein *Adam* was created, was not in him a naturall gift, eyther that it was a part of his nature, or did arise or spring out of any naturall beginning; as we say the soule in the body, and the vnderstanding in the soule, are naturall: but that it was meerely a supernaturall gift, hauing no naturall beginning: euen as *Helias* taking vp into heauen in a firie chariot, was a thing simply & absolutely supernaturall. They say also further, that man now hath all the pure naturals that *Adam* had, and that the humane nature is the very same that *Adams* was: And that *Adam* if it had not been for that supernaturall gift, should haue been subiect to the like ignorance, & infirmity, and rebellion of flesh that we are; sauing that, then in *Adam, Ex natura & conditione materiæ profluxissent*: Those infirmities should haue sprung out of the very nature of man, and the quality of the mould that he was made: but now in vs, they doe proceed *ex originali culpa*, of originall sinne. This then is their sentence, that *Adams* nature by creation, and ours now by birth, is all one: *Bellarm. de grat. primi hom. cap. 5.* And he further declareth his minde thus: *The state of man after the fall of Adam differeth no more from the state of Adam in his pure naturals, than a man that is spoiled differeth frō a naked man, that is, nothing at all: Neither is mans nature now more subiect to ignorance and infirmitie, if you take away originall sinne, then it should haue beene, being created in the pure naturals: and therefore the corruption of nature is not by want of any naturall gift, or by the accession of any euill qualitie, but only by the losse of that supernaturall gift, by reason of Adams sinne. Bellar. ibid.* So then 1. his opinion appeareth plainely to be this, that as a man spoyled differeth not from a naked man in the substance of the thing, but in the cause or manner; for the one is spoyled by force, the other is naked without force, yet both without clothing: so man in his creation without that supernaturall gift or grace, was as naked, but now by sinne is as one robbed and spoyled: 2. Againe, where he saith: *If you take away originall* 1 Error.

originall sinne: If he meane, that our nature is the same with *Adams* but for sinne, he fighteth with his owne shadow, for no man denieth, but that sinne caused this alteration in the nature of man. 3. And he speaketh against himselfe: for if original sinne be the cause of our corruption, *it commeth by the accession of an euill quality*, which he before denied; vnlesse he will denie that sinne is an euill qualitie. 4. But if he make exception of originall sinne, not in regarde of the fruites and effectes thereof, but as of the cause; that *Adams* ignorance and infirmitie should haue proceeded of another cause, then originall sinne, that is, out of the condition of his owne nature; it is a great error, as afterwards shall appeare: let vs see some of his arguments.

Argum. 1. God said to *Adam*, Gen. 3. *Dust thou art, and to dust shalt thou returne*: that is, by nature and creation, had it not been for that supernaturall gift which I gaue, which nowe thou hast lost, thou art mortall. Also Psal. 8. the Psalmist saith, *What is man, &c. thou hast made him a little lower then the Angels, and crowned him with glory and honour*: but *Adam* being created with a bodily substance, could not by nature, but by a supernaturall gift onely be made like the Angels: And so much is implied by these words, *glory, and honour*, which are things not naturally inbreed, but outwardly added: *Argum. Bellarm. cap.* 6.

Answ. 1. To the first place we answere thus: that it was spoken to *Adam* after his fall: and the Lord in saying, *thou art dust, &c.* did not there shew the state, wherein hee was created, but whereinto he was fallen by sinne, for by nature he was no more to returne to dust, then to eate his bread in the sweat of his browes: for they are both ioyned together. If they answere, that he was also a supernaturall gift to be void of labour and trouble, in seeking his foode; then was it a supernaturall gift also in the earth not to bring forth thornes and thistles: for these are the cause that man must eate his bread with sweat, that is, with labour in tilling the ground. But it were absurd to say, that God created the earth in the beginning with an apteness and inclination to bring forth weedes and vnprofitable herbes, seeing all he made, was excellent good.

2. To the other place also we doe thus make answere: first, why might not God naturally create the soule of man like vnto Angels, though it were inclosed in the body, as naturally he hath created the bodies of beasts in strength, sense, agilitie, swiftnes, and the like qualities, not euery equall, but farre superiour to the bodies of men, which are ioyned with a reasonable soule: the bodies of beasts to an vnreasonable? Secondly, this place, Heb. 2. 15. properly is applied to Christ, vers. 9. *But we see Iesus crowned with honour and glory*: but the glorie of Christ is not accidentall, externall, or supernaturall; but altogether in him naturall, which he had with God his father before the world was, Iohn. 17. 5. Therefore *Bellarmine* faileth in his collection here.

Argum. 2. If *Adams* integritie and innocencie were naturall, then they should haue remained after his sinne: as the same naturals in diuels doe still remaine: but so doe they not, *Ergo*.

Answ. First, the argument followeth not in naturall qualities: for *Adam* had knowledge without ignorance, memorie without obliuion before his fall, which were natural in him, but so hath he not now: so then naturall qualities are corrupted and decayed by sinne, but the naturall substance and subiect as of the soule and bodie remaineth still, though much depraued and corrupted by sinne.

Secondly, yet this naturall integritie of *Adam* is not vtterly by sinne extinct, for there is in man a law of nature, which is a remainder of that law of perfection, whereby a mans thoughts doe eyther accuse him or excuse him. Rom. 2. 14.

Thirdly, neither doe the same naturall qualities remaine in the reprobate spirits, which they had before their fall: for they haue also lost the integritie and innocencie of nature; yea and in other qualities of the spirituall nature are inferiour to the elect Angels.

Fourthly, the reason is not like betweene man and spirits: for the decay of perfection in spirits is helped by their spirituall nature, and long continuance, and therefore it is no maruell, that euill spirits, are in vnderstanding, memorie, knowledge, agilitie of nature farre beyond the tables of men, which are both clogged with terrene bodies, and by the mortalitie thereof abridged of the course of experience.

The Protestants.

THat the gifts of integritie and innocency were in our first parents by nature of their creation; yet nne without Gods gift (for euen naturall things are of Gods grace; that is, the generall grace and gift of the creation, which is not properly called grace, *Lombard. dist. 25. lib. 2.*) and that their naturals were not the same, but much more pure and perfect then ours are; neither that they were the same in them before and after their fall, thus we proue it.

Argum. 1. If *Adams* naturals were the same that ours are, then it would follow that the concupiscence of the flesh, which is in vs by nature was also naturall in *Adam*, and that *Adam* should haue beene as prone by nature vnto all kind of vice, as we are: which if it be granted, this were to make God the author of sinne, and his workmanship imperfect, if he had not made man such an one by creation, as could not sinne.

Bellarmine

answereth: graunting, that the concupiscence of the flesh was by nature in *Adam*, before he had been created in his pure naturals only, he should have been as prone to sinne as we are: But God (saith he) did take away, *supplendo gratia supernaturali*, this concupiscence, and added a supernaturall gift. Secondly, it followeth not, that God should have been the author of sinne, for concupiscence is not properly sinne: neither if God had created man in his pure naturals, should it follow, that he made concupiscence: *Quæ pariter inhærentia ex conditione materiæ consequuta fuisset*: Which should have proceeded from the condition or qualitie of the mould or matter, whereof man was made, beside the purpose or intention of the creator: *Bellar. lib. 7. resp. ad 19. & 20. obiection.*

Ans. First, it is false that *Adam* should have been as prone to sinne, continuing in his pure naturals, as we are: seeing that neither we should have been made sinners, if *Adam* had remained in his naturals, and not added the actuall sinne of disobedience, which sinne, and not his pure naturals, made both him, and vs sinners, as Saint *Paul* sheweth, Rom. 5. 19. *By one mans disobedience many were made sinners*: he saith not, by his naturals. Secondly, he saith, that God tooke away *Adams* naturall concupiscence: then God did correct his owne workmanship, and so it should be imperfect. And againe, the Iesuite here forgetteth his owne rule, that, *Nullum naturale principium aut donum corrumpitur*: That no naturall part or gift can be corrupted or chaunged in man: yet here he saith, that God tooke away or suppressed *Adams* naturall concupiscence at the first generation or infusing of a supernaturall gift, was the corruption and destruction of the naturall. Thirdly, neither can it be auoided, that God should not be the author of sin: for concupiscence is properly sinne, as the Apostle saith, *he knew not sinne but by the Law*: and then it followeth, *I had not known lust, vnlesse the law had said, thou shalt not lust*: so that lust is sinne. Neither is it like, that any thing can fall out besides the intention and purpose of the Creator: for God cannot be deceiued, *who worketh all things according to the counsell of his owne will*, Ephes. 1. 11. All things are wrought according to the counsell, purpose, and intention of God: *Ergo*, nothing shall fall out beside, or contrarie vnto it.

Ans. 2. Euery gift and grace beside the generall grace of creation, is giuen by the merits of Christ, and the merite of his passion, Ephes. 4. 8. *He led captiuitie captiue*, that is, by his death *he gaue gifts to men*: but as *Augustine* saith, *Adam in illo bonitatis quo non erat capax, Christi non indigebat: Adam* in those gifts wherein he was created, had no need of Christes death: *De corrept. & grat. c. 11. Ergo*, the graces which *Adam* had in the state of his innocencie, did belong to the nature.

Ans. 3. Whatsoeuer *Adam* had by creation, he had by nature: for as sin is by nature vnto vs, so had *Adam* creation to him: and as well that was naturall to him, which was giuen by creation, as that naturall to vs which we haue in our birth: But *Adam* by his creation was made righteous, Eccles. 7. vers. 31. *Ergo*, his perfection and originall iustice was in him in his creation, through the gift of the creator, naturall.

Solut. First, it is true that God made man righteous, but it was by a supernaturall gift beside the worke of the creation. Secondly, if man had been created onely in his pure naturals, he might be said to be made right or perfect, because as yet there was no euill in him, but only a possibilitie and subiection thereunto; like as an iron sword is subiect to rust, *Bellarm. lib. 7. resp. ad obiect. 19.* &c.

Ans. First, that man by the very worke of his creation, was made perfect and righteous, it is euident by the Scripture; for hee was created according to Gods image, Genes. 1. 26. and the image of God is expounded by the Apostle, to be *true righteousnesse and holinesse*, Ephes. 4. 24. Gods gracious gift and grace bestowed vpon man in his creation, we graunt, but of any such grace beside conteined in the worke of the creation, we reade not.

Secondly, as yron, because it is but a base mettall, is subiect to rust; but the more perfect and precious mettals, as of siluer and gold are not; so if man by creation had an inclination to sinne, he could not be perfect. This then is the difference betweene vs: they say, that man was created like to gold, that is made bright, and kept from rusting with oyle, so man in his creation was vpheld from falling and sinning by a supernaturall gift: wee rather say, that man was created as gold, without any aptnesse or inclination by nature to corruption; if hee had not fallen and sinned from his state of innocencie.

Lastly, we reason thus: Whatsoeuer was in Christ as touching his humanitie, was of the nature of man: for in all things he was made like vnto vs, sinne only excepted: but the soule of *Adam* was in his perfection, so was the last: for the first *Adam* was a figure of him that was to come, Rom. 5. 14. But Christ as hee was man had a perfect soule: *Ergo*, perfection was of the nature of man, in his state vncorrupted. So *Augustine* saith: *Mentem habemus perfectæ gratiæ*: We haue by the gift of God a perfect humane soule, such as was in Christ. He calleth a perfect and righteous soule, a humane soule: and whatsoeuer is humane, is of or belonging to the nature of man. Cont. Maxim. Arrian. lib. 3. cap. 23.

Interrog. Cathech. cap. 1. Deus creauit hominem ad imaginem suam & sicut per originalem iustitiam, vt esset sanctus sapiens, suæ animi viribus præditus: God created man according to his image, and made him by his originall iustice, perfect, or right in bodie and soule.

Synod. Magunt. cap. 3. Deus ab initio creauit hominem ad imaginem suam, intus in cognitione veritatis vacuum, &c. God in the beginning created man after his image, in his soule void of euil motions, &c. *Ergo*, man by nature in his creation, was endued with a perfect and righteous soule.

Conf. 33. dist. vlt. c. 2. c. 31. Haec imaginem in spiritu mentis impressam perdidit Adam per peccatum. This image of God imprinted in the soule of man, *Adam* lost by his sinne. From hence I reason thus: *Adams* soule receiued the print or image in the creation; (vnlesse they wil say, that *Adams* soule was created bare and naked:) but the righteousnes and holinesse of *Adam* was this print or image: *Ergo*, he receiued it in the creation.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE QVALITIE and condition of the bodie of man by creation.

The Papists.

2. Error. *Bellarmine* his opinion is, that the immortalitie of *Adams* bodie was a supernaturall gift: and that by nature his bodie was created mortall, but that this naturall mortalitie was taken away, by the supernaturall gift of immortalitie, *Bellar. de grat. primi hominis cap. 9.*

Argum. 1. His best reason is drawne from that place of Scripture, which he alleadged before: *Duſt thou art, &c.* which the Iesuits would haue vnderstood of *Adams* creation: because the reason is rendred, Thou shalt returne to dust, because thou wast taken out of dust.

Answ. This was spoken to *Adam*, after that by his transgression hee had deserued death. And whereas the Lord saith, For out of the dust thou wast taken, it sheweth not that he was created mortall: but that he had a possibilitie onely of mortalitie, into the which he might fall by sinne, and so lose the immortalitie of nature, wherein he was created: for this is the difference betweene the immortalitie of man by creation, and the immortalitie which we shall haue by grace through Christ; that man in his creation had power, *posse non mori*, not to die, if he would: that is, if he keept himselfe in obedience: but in the kingdome of heauen we shall haue a gift, *non posse mori*, not to haue power or possibilitie to die. And *Augustine* saith, *Bona ista quid inter se differunt, disputet intendens oft, &c.* We must diligently consider, what difference is betweene these two: *posse non peccare, & non posse peccare*, To be able not to sinne, and not to be able to sinne: To haue power not to dye, and not to haue power to dye: The first man was able not to sinne, not to dye, but we cannot say, *non potuit mori*, he had no power to dye, or to sinne: *De corrept. & grat. c. 11. Adam* before his fall had power not to die, then had he power to be immortall; then consequently he was not created mortall.

Argum. 2. *Adam* in his creation was made apt to generation, for God said vnto him, *encrease and multiply*: he had meat also both of meate and drinke: *Ergo*, he was created mortall, *Iohan. c. 9.*

Answ. First, aptnesse to generation prooueth not mortalitie, but such generation only as is by concupiscence and sinne procured: 2. as the tree of life in Paradise should also encrease and multiply, but it should not haue beene corruptible: 2. *Eue* by a kinde of generation was produced out of *Adam*, she should notwithstanding haue beene immortall. 3. Some affirme, that the soule commeth into the bodie by a kinde of generation, *ex tradoce*, yet they hold notwithstanding, the immortalitie of the soule. 4. Christ had a generation, as God, will ye conclude him therefore to be mortall? He also had a generation according to the flesh, yet was he not subiect all to corruption, nor to death of necessitie, but of his owne will.

Secondly, the Angels did eat and drinke, yet were not their bodies mortall, wherein they appeared: therefore not euery eating and drinking prooueth mortalitie, but to eate and drinke with hunger, thirst, and of necessitie: but *Adam* in Paradise should neither haue felt hunger nor thirst, heat or cold, as *Augustine* saith, *In Paradiso absit vt credamus aliquid fuisse, vnde fames aut dolor pateretur, &c.* Farre be it from vs to thinke, that there was any thing in Paradise, whereby either griefe should offend the sense, or labour wearie the bodie: *Cont. Iulian. lib. 3. c.*

The Protestants.

THat *Adam* was by nature created immortall, if hee had not sinned, we by these reasons doe make to good:

Argum. 1. The soule of *Adam* was immortall, and therefore it was meet and requisite, that a bodie also immortall should be ioyned vnto it.

Obiect. Yea, an immortall bodie is most meet for an immortall soule: but the functions of the body, which are now exercised, and should haue beene in the state of innocencie, doe require a bodie

consisted perated together of diuers humors and qualities, which must needes make it mortall, *Bellarm. c. 9.*

Contra. First, if an immortall bodie had been a fittest companion for the soule, and yet was not vnto it: then by their sentence, God did not that which was most meete and conuenient. Secondly, what maner of qualitied bodie humane actions require now it skilleth not; certein it is, that if man had not sinned, he should haue done no other things then were beseeming an immortall bodie, such as he had by creation.

Argum. 2. Augustine saith, *Constat inter Christianos veraciter Catholicam tenentes fidem, etiam impios debitis corporis mortem non lege naturæ, sed merito iniustam esse peccati:* It is euident among Christians rightly holding the Christian faith, that euen the death of body is laid vpon vs, not by the law of nature, but by desert of sinne. Saint *Paul* also sheweth, that death came in by sinne, Rom. 5.12. *Ergo*, before man had sinned, he was not subiect to death. Lib. 13. de ciuitate Dei cap. 15.

Bellarm. answereth, that death came in by sinne, because by sinne that supernaturall gift was lost, whereby man was preserued from mortalitie.

Contra. Yet hath he not sufficiently answered: for if man remaining in his pure naturals was subiect to death; then should there haue beene death in the worlde without sinne, which S. *Paul* denyeth, *for death is the wages of sinne*, Rom. 6.23.

Argum. 3. Christs body had no possibilitie of corruption, Act. 2.24. *It was impossible he should be holden of death:* the reason is giuen, v. 27. *Thou wilt not suffer thy holy one to see corruption*: Christs holinesse and freedome from sinne preserued him from corruption: *Ergo, Adam* in the state of innocencie was freed from the possibilitie of mortalitie and corruption.

Concil. Milevitan. cap. 1. as it is alleadged, *part. 3. dist. 4. c. 152. Quicunque dicit Adam primum hominem mortalem factum ita, vt siue peccaret, siue non peccaret, moreretur in corpore: hoc est de corpore exiret, non peccati merito, sed necessitate naturæ, anathema sit:* Whosoeuer saith, that *Adam* was created mortall, so that, whether hee sinned or not, he should die in the body; not by the merite of sinne, but the necessitie of nature, let him be accursed: *Ergo, Adam* was created immortall, if he had not sinned.

Augustine also saith, *Si parentes non peccassent, nos, &c.* If our parents had not sinned, when they had performed their dutie of obedience: *angelica nos immortalitas, &c.* the angelicall immortalitie had followed them, *sine interuentu mortis*, without death comming betweene, *de ciuit. Dei. lib. 13. c. 1.* But how could angelicall immortalitie haue succeeded mortalitie without any change by death? and angelicall immortalitie hath no possibilitie at all of mortalitie: *Adam* should haue had an angelicall immortalitie: *Ergo.*

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE PLACE WHERE Adam was created: namely, Paradise.

The Iesuite affirmeth, that Paradise, where *Adam* was placed, was a terrestriall place: which we graunt: and such a place, as was not knowne to any: and therefore hee misliketh their opinions, that would define where Paradise should be: Some thinke, that Paradise is taken for the whole world, as *Iosephus*: some, that it is a place deuided from the world beyond the Ocean sea: others imagine it to be a high scituated region, reaching euen vnto the globe of the Moone: others thinke it was in Mesopotamia: But *Bellarmine* approoueth none of these opinions, but saith still that Paradise was a place vnknowne, yet that it remaineth still vnto this day, *Bellarmin. cap. 12. & 14.* This question then hath two parts: first, whether Paradise were a place alwayes vnknowne to men: Secondly, whether that Paradise doth remaine to this day.

The Papists.

That Paradise was a secret place kept from the knowledge of men, the Iesuite would seeme to proue it thus. 1. Error.

Argum. 1. If Paradise were scituate in a knowne place, it is most like by the description to haue been in Mesopotamia; but there it was not: for the text saith, that out of Eden went a riuer, which afterward was deuided into foure heads: but there is no such riuer, that hath his beginning in Mesopotamia: *Ergo, Bellarmine cap. 12.*

Answ. The text saith not, that this riuer had his beginning in Eden, but went out from Eden, that is, it might haue the beginning before, and so runne through Eden; neither are we to vnderstand the place so, as though this riuer, as soone as it was runne through Eden did deuide it selfe into foure heads: but these foure heads or branches do come from two riuers, Tigris, and Euphrates, which running asunder till they come to Eden, make two heads, which in the text are called *Hiddekel* and *Perath*, and so ioyning together, as they passe through Eden, do againe deuide themselues, and so make two heads more, *Pison* and *Gihon*, and so runne into the Persian gulfe.

*Argum.*2. How could Paradise be a knowne place being kept of the Cherubims by a fierie sword?

Answ. First, the keeping of it with the firie sword, doth shew that it was a place inaccessible, and not inhabited before the flood: for so long was it so kept: but it might be knowne where it was scituate, though the passage thereunto were stopped. Secondly, after that the beautie of Paradise was destroyed by the flood, it needed not any more the custodie or watch of Angels: but the place where Paradise was planted then lay open to man and beast, being both knowne and inhabited.

The Protestants.

THat Paradise, otherwise called Eden, was planted in a knowne place of the world, which was most like to be Mesopotamia; thus we make it plaine.

*Argum.*1. The two riuers mentioned in the description of Eden, namely, *Hiddekel*, which is Tigris; and *Perath*, which is Euphrates, are found to runne through Mesopotamia: *Ergo*, there also was Paradise.

Bellarmine answereth, that the two other heads of the riuer, namely *Phison* and *Gihon*, are the two riuers Ganges and Nilus, which come not neere Mesopotamia, and therefore it is not like, that the two other riuers make the other two heads, *cap.*12.

Contra. First, *Phison* and *Gihon* cannot be the knowne riuers Ganges, whose beginning is in the mountaines of Scythia; and Nilus, which springeth from the mountaines in Æthiopia: for *Phison* and *Gihon* are two heads of one Fountaine and Riuer: but Ganges and Nilus haue two seuerall heads or fountaines, many thousande miles asunder; Ganges in Asia, and Nilus in Africa.

Secondly, if Ganges and Nilus be these two heads, which are knowne Riuers, and their fountaines also knowne, then must Eden also be knowne, where the Iesuite saith the riuer hath his beginning.

Bellarmine replieth, that *Phison* and *Gihon* cannot be two heads springing from Tigris and Euphrates. 1. Because those two heads are said to compasse diuers nations; but the branches of those two riuers do runne by a straight course into the Persian Sea. 2. The mappes do shew, that Tigris and Euphrates after their coniunction are not deuided againe, but runne together into the sea. 3. Ierem.2.18. the Septuagint reade thus, *What hast thou to do in the way of Ægypt, to drinke the water of Geon?* Geon then is Nilus the riuer of Ægypt: Againe, Ecclesiastic.24.31. *Gihon is said to ouerflow in the time of vintage, and so doth Nilus.* 4. *Hierome, Ambrose*, with others, do take *Phison* and *Gihon*, for Ganges and Nilus, *Bellarmine c.*12.

Contra. First, it is euident, that *Phison* and *Gihon* the two neather streames of Tigris and Euphrates, do passe through and compasse in a manner the lands Hauilah, where gold is; and Cush, which is Arabia deserta, before they fall into the sea.

Secondly, if he view the Mappe better, or follow the best description, he shall finde that the riuers Tigris and Euphrates part againe, before they runne into the sea.

Thirdly, 1. in Ierem.2.18. the hebrue hath not *Geon*, but *Sichor*, which some do take for Nilus, others vpon better ground, for a riuer, that passing by Arabia Petrea, falleth into the lake Sirbon, and deuideth the Land of promise from Ægypt, Iosu.13.3. neyther doth the vulgar Latine reade *Geon*, but *aquam turbidam*, troubled water.

2. It is 1. no good argument, that *Geon* should be Nilus, because it ouerfloweth in the time of Vintage: as though it is not vsuall for riuers to rise twice in the yeere, in the spring, and in autumne: 2. and yet Nilus greatest ouerflowing is in seede time, which is in the spring, Deut.11.10. 3. I vrge not beside, that this booke is not canonicall; for the other answeres are sufficient beside.

Fourthly, *Hierome* and *Ambrose* do follow the opinion of the Greekes, who were herein deceiued by the translation of the Septuagint: as *Ambrose de Paradis.c.*3. *Phison Ganges est secundum Graecos: Phison* is the riuer *Ganges* according to the Greekes, &c. And *Epiphanius* saith, *Ego vidi aquas Geon, &c.* I haue seene with mine eyes the waters of *Geon*, meaning Nilus, and then he alleageth Ierem.2.18. where the Septuagint so reade: *epist ad Ioann. Hierosolym.* So that this conceit of the Greekes was grounded vpon the erroneous translation of the Septuagint.

Fiftly, this opinion is contrary to Scripture, 1. *Phison* and *Gihon* come out of one riuer, and haue the same beginning: Genes.2.10. But Ganges and Nilus are many hundred miles distant. 2. *Gihon compasseth the whole land of Cush.* Genes.2.13. Which they take to be Æthiopia: but Nilus compasseth Ægypt, not Æthiopia, taking his beginning onely from thence: so that Cush here is not taken for Æthiopia, but for Arabia deserta, for it is a general name to them both. 3. Whereas *Epiphanius* saith, he had seene *Geon*, and that *he had drunke of the great riuer Euphrates:* the riuers of Paradise being so well knowne, how could Paradise be a place vnknowne?

*Argum.*2. Againe, Eden is described by the countries next adioyning, as Assyria, Genes.2.14.

So

So Charran and Eden are ioyned together, Isai. 37. vers. 12. *Cain* also is said to haue dwelled on the East side of Eden: But these countries were well knowne: *Ergo*, so was Eden.

Bellarmine answereth, that this Eden in these places mentioned, was another Eden, beside that, out of the which *Adam* was throwne: vnlesse you will say, that *Cain* was sent and banished into Paradise. *Bellarm. cap. 13.*

Contra. First, the Iesuite cannot shew vnto vs any other Eden out of the storie of the Bible: Genes. 2. 14. that Eden is spoken of, which is neere to Asshur: Isai. 37. that Eden, which is ioyning to Charran: But Asshur and Charran were not farre asunder, Ezech. 27. 23. therefore it was one and the selfesame Eden. Secondly, the text saith not, that *Cain* was exiled into Paradise, or that he dwelt in Paradise, but by the East side of Paradise.

Saint *Ambrose* saith, *Epist. 42. Iosephus historiographus &c. Iosephus* the historiographer saith, that Paradise is a place full of trees and plants, and is watered with a riuer, which is diuided into foure streames. How could *Iosephus* describe Paradise, if it had been an vnknowne place? And if they will haue Paradise so secret a place, let them say with their Master, that Paradise was situate in a region, that reached vp to the circle of the Moone: *lib. 2. d. 17. lit. e. Iansenius* a learned Papist confesseth with vs, that Paradise was situate in Mesopotamia, but afterward defaced and destroyed by the flood, *in cap. 143. concord. Euangelic.*

THE SECOND PART OF THIS QVESTION, whether the terrestriall place of Paradise doe yet remaine.

The Papists.

Their best argument is this: *Henoch* and *Helias* doe yet remaine aliue in Paradise in their bodies: *Ergo*, there is a Paradise, *cap. 12.* 4. Error.

Answ. First, that *Henoch* and *Elias* doe liue with God we denie not, but whether in their bodies or no the Scripture saith not. Secondly, but that they liue in an earthly and terrestriall place, such as we imagineth Paradise to be, it is contrarie to Scripture, which saith, that *Elias* went vp in a whirle-winde to heauen, 2. King. 2. 11. *Ergo*, he is not in earth. Thirdly, Paradise is now no terrestriall but a celestiall place in heauen: for Saint *Paul* taketh Paradise and heauen for all one, 2. Corinth. 12. vers. 2. 4.

The Protestants.

That the terrestriall Paradise is not now extant vpon the earth, but long agoe, as it is most like, destroyed by the flood: we thus shew it.

Argum. 1. The waters in the flood couered the whole earth, and preuailed ouer all the mountaines that are vnder the heauen, fifteene cubites, Genes. 7. 20. wherefore it is most like, that Paradise was then destroyed.

Obiect. First, he saith, that all those mountaines were couered with waters, where sinners and wicked men dwelt, whom the Lord purposed to destroy; so that the mountaines and regions of Paradise are excepted.

Contra. First, but the text saith all the mountaines were couered vnder the whole heauens: how then dare he make the holie Ghost a lyer, and say, as it were correcting the text, no, all were not couered. Secondly, thus to vphold his fancies, he runneth to forged myracles: for the waters being fifteene cubites aboue other mountaines, and yet not ouerflowing Paradise, must needes compasse it about as a wall, and stand as a collar of a coate round about it: But what authoritie hath he thus to coyne myracles beside Scripture?

Bellarmine answereth, that it had bin a greater myracle to see *Henoch* and *Elias* hanging in the ayre to be kept from the waters, for they could not haue liued in Paradise, being ouerflowen, as it is certaine they doe.

Contra. Why *Bellarmine? Elias* was taken vp into heauen, as wee prooued out of Scripture, and therefore hee needed not to haue feared the flood vpon the earth. Thirdly, if Paradise were not ouerflowen, God might haue spared the making of the Ark, for *Noah* with his familie and all the cattell might haue been more safely kept in Paradise.

Bellarmine saith, it was no place for sinners.

Obiect. Why *Noah* was a faithfull man, and no more a sinner now, then *Henoch* was, when he was taken vp: might not *Noah* therefore as well haue been kept there as *Henoch*? especially seeing hee was not to continue there, but to remaine onely for a time, till the deluge were ouerpast?

Secondly, *Bellarmine* denieth the argument: it followeth not, that Paradise should be vtterly destroyed, though it were ouerflowen: for the deluge did not chaunge the situation of the place, nor the disposition of the ayre, &c. *Bellarm. cap. 14.*

Answ. First, the ouerflowing of water, which many times casteth downe hils, and filleth vp valleyes, which maketh standing pooles where it was drie land, must of necessitie bring great alteration, both for the pleasant situation, and the temperate ayre. Secondly, we say not, that by the flood Paradise was vtterly made desolate: for it remained a pleasant and fertile soile euen afterward, Genes. 10.10. The land of Sodome and Gomorrha, before it was destroyed, is said to haue been like the Lords garden, which was Eden: But yet the beautie and excellencie of Paradise was by the flood decayed.

Argum. 2. That Paradise is now onely remaining, which is the receptacle of the blessed soules of the Saints after this life: *This day* (saith Christ) *shalt thou be with me in Paradise*, Luk. 23.43. the Gospell speaketh not of any other Paradise. But this can be no terrestriall place: for the soules of the righteous goe to heauen: and Paradise in the Iesuites iudgement is a receptacle of bodies, not of soules: *Ergo*, there is no such terrestriall Paradise.

Saint *Ambrose* witnesseth with vs: *Tum saluus ero, &c.* Then I shall be safe, when I shall be in Paradise, where I shall liue *inter electos Angelos*, among the elect Angels: *serm.* 15. *in Psal.* 119. Againe, *in* 2. *Corint.* 12. *Vltra omnia mundi spatia raptus intelligitur, &c. Paul* is said to be rapt or taken vp beyond all the starres, &c. and into that Paradise, of the which the Lord spake to the theefe, euen where the citie Ierusalem is, the mother of vs all. Paradise then is no other where now but in heauen.

AN APPENDIX OR THIRD PART OF THIS question, concerning the tree of life in Paradise.

The Papists.

5. Error. BEllarmine rehearseth two opinions of this matter: some thinke that it was called the tree of life, because by eating thereof *Adam* might be preserued from death, and his substance, which might decay, in time be restored: *sic Augustine.* Others are of opinion that it was appointed to be a meane to bring *Adam* to perfect immortalitie, such as wee shall haue after the resurrection: Of this minde is *Bellarmine.*

He groundeth his opinion vpon that text, Genes. 3.22. *Least he put forth his hand, and take of the tree of life, and liue for euer: Ergo*, the tree of life had power to giue eternall life to the eater thereof.

Ironia, is a figure, when one meaneth contrary to the signification of the word or sentence.

Answ. 1. This speech here vttered by the Lord, is ironically to be vnderstood, that is, God in so saying, meaneth not, that indeede, by eating of this fruit, *Adam* should liue eternally: but as in the former part of the verse the Lorde derideth the follie and simplicitie of man, who thought by eating the forbidden fruit to haue been as God, and was deceiued: *Behold*, (saith God) *the man is become as one of vs, to know good and euill*: that is, hee thought in his owne opinion and conceit, &c. So the same speech is continued in this part of the verse: *least he liue for euer*, that is, hee may in his simplicitie be seduced to thinke hee may haue eternall life by eating of the tree of life, as hee was made to beleeue before, that he should by tasting of the forbidden fruit in knowledge be like vnto God.

2 Or if we take the wordes simply as they are spoken: the meaning is this, that seeing *Adam* was by his transgression depriued of life, he should also lose the signe thereof: it was therefore called the tree of life, not because it gaue life, but was a signe thereof.

The Protestants.

THat the tree of life was neither ordained to preserue *Adam* in that state wherein he was, nor yet to endue him with a new kinde of immortalitie, but that it was a signe onely or symbole of life receiued of God.

Argum. 1. This tree, which was in the middest of Paradise, was no otherwise the tree of life, then the other was of the knowledge of good and euill: but this was not so called, because it actually gaue knowledge, but was a seale and signe vnto them of that miserable knowledge and experience, which by transgressing of Gods commaundement in eating of that fruit, they should fall into. And this is confessed by their Master, that it was called the tree of good and euill, because man by transgressing in eating thereof, *experiundo disceret*, should learne by experience what difference there was, betweene good obedience and euill disobedience, *lib.* 2. *dist.* 17. *Ergo*, the other tree was a symbole or pledge of life. So in the Reuelation, chap. 22.2. mention is made of the tree of life, which is Christ Iesus: He is indeede the true tree of life, because hee verily giueth life, this was but a signe and symbole of life.

Argum. 2. Spirituall graces are not obtained by corporall and carnall meanes: for as wee can not vse carnall weapons against spirituall euils, 2. Cor. 10.4. so can wee not by externall and corporall meanes procure celestiall and spirituall blessings: but immortalitie was a spirituall gift, eating of the fruit was but an externall action: *Ergo*, it could not giue immortalitie.

Argum. 3.

Argum. 3. If the tree of life had been able to giue immortalitie, and God foreſeeing the fall of man would not haue him in that eſtate to be partaker of immortalitie: God would not haue permitted vnto man the vſe of that tree as hee did, but rather haue giuen him a prohibition to eate thereof: but this the Lord did not, giuing them onely a charge concerning the tree of knowledge: therefore is not like that tree had any ſuch force.

Bellarmine anſwereth: 1. that neither *Adam* nor Satan did know which was the tree of life: for if 1. would haue tempted him to haue eaten alſo thereof, that hee might haue been eternally liuable: but *Adam* 2. might haue eaten of it by chaunce, as the text is, *ne forte, leaſt perhaps he ſtretch his hand, &c.* Gen. 3. 22. 2. Though *Adam* had knowne it, he would not haue bin curious to eate thereof before the time appointed, *Bellarm. cap.* 29.

Contra. Firſt, 1. Sathan had no reaſon to tempt them to eate of the tree of life, becauſe it was not forbidden: *for they might haue eaten freely of euery tree in the garden*, chap. 2. 16. the tree of the knowledge of good and euill onely excepted: In eating then of any other tree they ſhould not haue tranſgreſſed: but Satans drift was to bring them into tranſgreſſion. 2. And the Hebrue particle *pen*, is not ſo to be tranſlated, *ne forte, leaſt perhaps*, but rather as the 70. reade *πότε, vnquando, leaſt at any time.* Likewiſe, Iſay. 27. 3. *I will keepe it, leaſt any aſſaile it:* but the enemies would aſſaile it by chaunce, but of purpoſe and pretended malice. The wordes alſo that follow exclude the collection of chaunce, *ne extenſa manu, leaſt he ſtretch out his hand:* But hee that ſtretcheth out his hand, doth it not at aduenture, but wittingly and of purpoſe. 3. *Adam* could not be ignorant which was the tree of life: 1. both in reſpect of his great knowledge, whereby he knew the nature of all creatures, and ſo of plants and trees. 2. And becauſe they had libertie to eate of all the trees in the garden: vnleſſe they will ſay, he eate he knew not what: 3. and for that the tree of life was ordained onely for *Adams* vſe, as they thinke to bring him to immortalitie, as we ſay to be a ſymbole vnto him of Chriſt: howſoeuer the vſe of this tree ſpecially concerning *Adams* ſtate, was not to be kept from his knowledge.

Secondly, if *Adam* had knowne this tree to be able to giue immortalitie, he would ſooner haue eaten thereof, being not prohibited, than to haue touched the forbidden fruit, ſeeing that the eating thereof alſo would haue brought him to greater happines, than the other tree: that giuing immortalitie; the other but the knowledge of good and euill. Wherefore the tree of life could not giue immortalitie to thoſe that eate thereof, but onely was a ſigne of true immortalitie in Chriſt.

THE SECOND CONTROVERSIE, OF THE FALL OF MAN.

THis Controuerſie is diuided into theſe queſtions: Firſt, of the difference of veniall and mortall ſinnes. Secondly, whether ſinne any way ſtandeth with the will of God. Thirdly, of the ſinne of *Adam*, whether it were pride or infidelitie, whether a veniall, or mortall ſinne. Fourthly, of originall ſinne: of the nature thereof, what it is, the beginning thereof, from whence it ſpringeth, the effects thereof, the puniſhment thereof, with other parts of this queſtion.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE DISTINCTION and difference of veniall and mortall ſinnes.

The Papiſts.

MOrtall ſinnes are thoſe which doe caſt men out of Gods fauour, and are worthie of eternall damnation: veniall ſinnes doe ſomewhat diſpleaſe God, yet deſerue not eternall death, but are pardonable of their owne nature, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de amiſſ. gratia, cap. 2. & cap. 9. in princip. Rhemiſt. annot. Roman. 1. 11.* They define alſo in particular which are veniall ſinnes. Firſt, all inuoluntarie and ſudden paſſions of the minde, as of anger, concupiſcence, and ſuch like, *Bellar. cap. 3. ad ſecund.*: for all ſinne, they ſay, is voluntarie, and therefore theſe paſſions hauing not conſent of will, are farre from ſinne, neither are imputed to any man, neither for them need he ſay vnto God, forgiue vs our ſinnes, *Rhemiſt. annot. Rom. 7. ſect. 8. 9.* 6. Error.

Secondly, those are veniall sinnes, which though they be done with consent of the minde, yet are but seene in small and light matters: as if a man steale a halfepennie, speake an idle word, laugh immoderatly, or such like. But the contrarie to these are mortall and deadly sinnes, as periurie, adulterie, murder, &c.

Now to proue that these veniall sinnes, as they call them, are in their owne nature pardonable, and deserue not eternall damnation; these arguments they bring out of Scripture.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* saith, that they which build hay or stubble, &c. though their work burne, yet they themselues shall be safe, yet through the fire: By hay and stubble the Apostle vnderstandeth veniall sinnes, which doe bring detriment or losse, but not destruction: for hee shall be safe, *Bellarm. cap. 9.*

Answ. Not to stand at this time to sift out the right meaning of this place, where the Apostle intreateth not in generall of the good or euill workes of Christians, but onely of the preaching of the Gospell, which when it is sincerely preached, both for the matter and manner, then doe they build vpon the foundation, which is Iesus Christ, gold and siluer, &c. but when Christ is taught for vaine glorie, or contentiously, or with any other sinister affection, such doe build vp hay and stubble. Now we answere: first, to preach Christ but impurely, and not sincerely, which is compared here to a straw-building, is no veniall or light offence, but a sin worthie of death: for Christ shall say vnto them in the day of iudgement, that preached and prophesied in his name, but not sincerely: *Verily I know you not, depart from me ye workers of iniquitie*, Matth. 7. 22, 23.

Againe, veniall sinnes, saith the Iesuite, *facili negotio expiantur*, are easily purged and done away, *cap.* 2. but so is not this sinne of impure preaching: he shall be safe, yet as *through the fire*, that is, with some hardnes and difficultie: and so the phrase is vsed, Epist. Iud. 23. *Others saue with feare, pulling them out of the fire; but haue compassion of others in putting difference.* These are such as sinne of infirmitie: the other are more notorious offenders, which are as it were in the fire, that is, in great daunger.

2 But admit these are veniall sinnes, such as are forgiuen at Gods hands: yet is it not hence prooued, that they are veniall of their owne nature, but are pardoned in Christ: for the Apostle speaketh of such which keepe the foundation, that is, Christ Iesus, though their building is not perfect and sound.

Argum. 2. Matth. 5. 22. Only he that saith to his brother, *foole, is worthie of hell fire*: he that saith *raca*, or is but angrie, is but *culpable of iudgement, or of a Councell, &c. Ergo*, euery sinne is not worthie of hell fire, *Bellarm. cap. 9.*

Answ. First, this place doth shew a difference and degree of euerlasting punishment, according to the qualitie and diuersitie of sinnes: but another kinde of punishment beside, it sheweth not: so then, *iudgement, a councell, hell fire*, doe but signifie three degrees of the same punishment: hell fire is due to the rest, but it is added onely for distinction, to shew both a difference of the sinne and punishment.

Secondly, this is euident by these reasons: first, because iudgement, κρίσις, κρίμα, is taken in Scripture for euerlasting punishment or condemnation, Rom. 2. 3. how shalt thou escape the iudgement of God? Secondly, euery sin is a transgression of the law, 1. Ioh. 3. 4. And *euery transgression is vnder the curse*, Galath. 3. 10. But these are transgressions of the law, *Thou shalt not kill*, as here our Sauiour expoundeth: *Ergo*, they are vnder the curse of the law, and so subiect to death. Thirdly, Saint *Paul* saith, *no railer can inherite the kingdome of God*, 1. Corinth. 6. 10. but he that saith, *raca*, is a railer: for the worde signifieth a lightheade, or cockbraine, being deriued of ריק, which signifieth to euacuate or emptie: wherefore hee that saith *raca*, shall not inherite the kingdome of heauen.

Argum. 3. Luk. 12. 59. *Thou shalt not depart thence, till thou hast paid the vtmost farthing.* These are veniall sinnes, which shall be purged in Purgatorie, and not bee punished in hell, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, our Sauiour in this place speaketh of offences among men, and giueth a rule in this place onely how to escape the iudgement of man and the troubles of this life. Secondly, if it be spiritually applied, by prison, hell is vnderstood: and so is it taken, 1. Pet. 3. 19. for the place of the wicked and disobedient. Thirdly, they shall not come out, till they haue paid the vtmost farthing, that is neuer, because it is impossible to pay or answere the debt vnto God, Mat. 18. 34. Fourthly, our Sauiour speaketh of vncharitable persons, such as deferre and refuse to be reconciled and to agree with their brethren, Matth. 5. 25. But want of charitie deserueth hell.

Argum. 4. Saint *Iames* saith, chap. 1. vers. 15. *When lust hath conceiued, it bringeth forth sinne, and sinne when it is finished bringeth forth death: Ergo*, sinne is not mortall, but when it is consummate and finished: *Rhemist. in hunc locum. Bellarm. cap. 9.*

Answ. Out of this place it is gathered, that there are degrees of sinne, and that the more heynous sinne is, it is worthie greater death, and is more hardly forgiuen: and therefore sinne consummate

Commune or finiſhed is ſaid to bring forth death, rather then ſinne but conceiued onely, namely, in compariſon and reſpect of ſmaller ſinnes, the greater are neereſt to death. Otherwiſe to ſpeake ſimply, death is the wages of all ſinne, Rom. 6. 23.

2. If by ſinne conſummate we vnderſtand continuance in ſinne without repentance, which is the right conſummation of ſinne: then the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of ſinne as it is in it ſelfe, but as it is accounted of before God, who in his mercie forgiueth ſins not conſummate or finiſhed, but broken off by repentance, and in his iuſtice iudgeth and condemneth ſinnes conſummate by hardnes of heart and impenitencie.

3. Otherwiſe luſt and concupiſcence it ſelfe is worthie of death: 1. Ioh. 2. 17. *The world paſſeth away and the luſt thereof:* (which verſ. 16. is ſaid to be the luſt of the fleſh, and the luſt of the eyes) *but he that fulfilleth the will of God, abideth for euer:* he that hath the luſt of the fleſh, which is the luſt of the world, fulfilleth not the will of God: *Ergo*, hee abideth not for euer, and conſequently is liable to death.

The Proteſtants.

WE confeſſe that there is a great difference of ſinnes, both in their nature and in the puniſhment due vnto them: that as ſinnes are greater or leſſe in themſelues, ſo they are worthie of greater or leſſe puniſhment. And therefore we deteſt their error, that thinke all ſinnes to be equall and alike: but yet wee cannot admit this popiſh diſtinction of veniall and mortall ſinnes, as though ſome ſinnes were veniall in their owne nature: for euen the leaſt ſinne deſerueth death, if God ſhould deale with vs according to the exact rule of his iuſtice: yet all ſinnes, euen onely the leaſt but the greateſt are veniall by grace and faith in Chriſt, vnto the faithfull and beleeuers, and not otherwiſe: We proue it thus.

Argum. 1. That all ſinnes in themſelues are worthie of death, the Scripture ſpeaketh plainly: Deuter. 27. 26. *Curſed is euery one that continueth not in all things written in this law:* Ezech. 20. *The ſoule that ſinneth ſhall dye:* Iam. 2. 10. *He that faileth in one point of the law is guiltie of all:* Euerie tranſgreſſion of the law therefore deſerueth death: but all ſinne is a tranſgreſſion of the law, 1. Ioh. 3. 4. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that all thoſe are vnderſtood of mortall and great offences, not of the ſmaller ſinnes which he calleth veniall: for in the firſt place, the words are (*written in this law*) and in that law are only forbidden the greater ſinnes, as adulterie, idolatrie, murther, and ſo likewiſe Exech. 18. the more hainous ſinnes are reckoned vp.

Contra. This poore clauſe (*this law*) cannot helpe the Ieſuite: for Saint *Paul* alleaging this place, ſaith, *Curſed is euery one that continueth not in all things written in the law*, not this law: ſhewing hereby that all tranſgreſſions generally of the whole law, or any part thereof, are ſubiect to the curſe of the law: ſo alſo is the Prophet to be vnderſtood.

To the place in Saint *Iames* hee anſwereth thus: *He that offendeth in one point*, that is, not in any one point, but ſuch an one, as whereby charitie or loue is broken; and then it is no veniall but a mortall ſinne.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, *Whoſoeuer ſhall keepe the whole law, and yet faile in one point:* hee ſpeaketh not of any great and apparant tranſgreſſion, for how ſhould the man that doth it, ſeeme to keepe the whole law: but of ſome ſecret and ſmaller offence rather, which notwithſtanding he reckon for a good keeper of the law. Secondly, the Apoſtle himſelfe putteth an example, If thou committeſt not adulterie, and yet killeſt, thou art a tranſgreſſor: but hee onely killeth not that ſpeaketh but he alſo that is angrie vnaduiſedly, or calleth Racha, as our Sauiour Chriſt expoundeth the commaundement, Mat. 5. 22. therefore he that faileth in theſe points killeth, and ſo is a tranſgreſſor of the law. Thirdly, all veniall ſinnes doe faile alſo in charitie: for charitie is the fulfilling of the law Roman. 13. verſ. 10. hee therefore that breaketh not charitie doth keepe the lawe, and tranſgreſſeth it not: But he that committeth any veniall ſinne, tranſgreſſeth the law, otherwiſe it were no ſinne, and therefore faileth alſo in charitie: Saint *Iames* therefore by this one point vnderſtandeth veniall ſinnes, as well as other.

Argum. 2. Beſide, our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith to *Peter, If I waſh thee not, thou haſt no part in me*, Ioh. 13. 8. If all ſinnes exclude vs from hauing part in Chriſt, and conſequently from the kingdome of God; then conſequently all ſinnes are mortall, and in their owne nature worthie of death.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that veniall ſinnes doe not ſimplie exclude from the kingdome of God, but onely for a time, till they be purged and waſhed, *reſp. ad obiect.* 3.

Contra. Firſt, if then veniall ſinnes be neuer waſhed, they ſhall ſimplie exclude from the kingdome of heauen. Secondly, the force of the argument remaineth vnanſwered: for if all ſins muſt be waſhed away in Chriſt, or elſe we haue no part in him, and Chriſt died only to take away thoſe ſinnes which deſerued death, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr. 2. 14. *That he might deſtroy through death him that had power ouer death:* verſ. 15. And, *that he might deliuer them, which for feare of death were all*

their

their life time subiect to bondage. They then that were subiect to death by reason of their sinnes, were deliuered by Christs death: *Ergo*, all sinnes for the which Christ died, were worthie of death.

Argum. 3. If all sinnes are not mortall, then Christ died not for all sinnes: for he by his death did satisfie onely for sinnes that deserued death: but Christ died for all sinnes, Ioh. 1. 19.

Againe, originall sinne, which is lesse then any actuall sinne, such as their veniall sinnes are, is worthie of death, and thereby death raigneth euen ouer children, which sinne not actually as *Adam* did, Rom. 5. 14. *Ergo*, veniall sinnes which proceede from originall sinne, doe much more deserue death. Saint *Paul* also further thus saith: *If I doe that I would not, then is it not I any longer that doe it, but sinne that raigneth in me*, Rom. 7. 20. He calleth it sinne, though he consent not to it, which is against the Rhemists, that will haue no motion or passion in the minde sinne, vnlesse it be voluntarie: and say further, that we neede not aske forgiuenes for such sinnes.

In Psal. 105. Let *Augustine* speake in the last place: *Peccata ignorantiæ vel negligentiæ melius accusantur vt parcant, quam excusantur vt maneant, melius; purgantur inuocato Deo, quam firmantur irritato Deo*: The sinnes of ignorance and negligence are better accused, then excused; better by praying to God to purge them, then by prouoking God to confirme them: *Ergo*, forgiuenes must be sought for Gods hand for voluntarie sinnes, sinnes of ignorance.

Also he saith, *Propter omnia peccata baptismus inuentus est. propter leuiora oratio dominica*: For all sins Baptisme is a remedie, and the Lords prayer for the lesse, *de symbol. lib.* 1. 6. *Ergo*, these lesser sins are in their owne nature guiltie of death, and not of themselues pardonable: for otherwise we need not say the Lords prayer for them, nor aske God forgiuenes, as the Rhemists themselues confesse, *annot. 11. Rom. 7. sect.* 8. 9.

We haue also the consent of antiquitie: *Gelasius, tom. anathemat. Est peccatum ad mortem in eis peccato manentibus; est peccatum non ad mortem ab eodem peccato recedentibus*: There is a sinne vnto death, to them that continue in it: there is a sinne not vnto death, to them that depart from it.

Nicen. 2. can. 5. *Peccatum ad mortem est, quoties aliqui peccantes se non emendant*: A sin vnto death is, when they that sinne doe not amend themselues. Repentance we see, maketh all sinnes veniall: want of repentance maketh all sinnes mortall. None therefore are veniall of their owne nature, but by repentance.

Decret. distinct. 25. *c.* 3. *gloss. ex Augustin. Nullum peccatum est veniale, quod non fiat criminale dum placeat*: No sin is so veniall, which is not made criminall, if it doe please: that is, if the sinner continue in it. *Caus.* 33 *distinct.* 1 *c.* 47. *Venialis culpa, quam sequitur confessio delictorum*: That fault is veniall, which the confession of sinnes followeth. This sentence is rehearsed and approued by the Master of Sentences, *lib.* 4 *distinct.* 17. *a.*

The Master hath many sentences to the like effect: *Lib.* 2. *distinct.* 24. *I. Totus homo damnabitur, &c.* Whole man shall be condemned, vnlesse those sinnes, which without any will or purpose of working, but with a delight onely of the minde, are committed in thought, are remitted by the fauour of the Mediatour: But these, by their owne definition, are onely veniall sinnes, which haue not the consent of the will. *Lib.* 3. *distinct.* 38. *a. A lye made to saue another, is a venial fault to the weake, but to the perfect it is damnable.* If the same sin be veniall to one, and damnable to another, then is it not in it owne nature venial. *Lib.* 4. *dist.* 20. *b. Quædam peccata mortalia in pœnitentis fiunt venialia*: Some mortall sinnes, are by repentance made veniall. Therefore they are not veniall or worthie of forgiuenes in themselues, but by repentance and mercie in Christ.

Some learned writers of the Papists doe differ from them in this erronious distinction of venial and mortall sinnes: *Ioann. Gerson.* 3. *part. theolog. tract. de vita anima. lect.* 1. *Ioann. Episcop. Rossn. in refutat. artic.* 32. *Luther. Iacobus Almain. tract.* 3. *c.* 20.

THE SECOND QVESTION, WHETHER SINNE any way may stand with the will of God.

The Papists.

7. Error. NO sinne standeth with the will or intention of God, but is directly against it, *Rhemist. annot. Rom.* 3. *sect.* 4. And therefore Christs death was Gods act no otherwise, then by permission, *Act.* 3. *sect.* 2. Neither is God the author of sinne, otherwise then by permission and withholding of his grace: *annot. Iam.* 1. 13. *Sic etiam Bellarm. de statu peccat. cap.* 3.

But our faith is this, grounded vpon Scripture, that whatsoeuer is done in the world, is not done by Gods permission onely, but standeth also with his knowledge: *Hell and destruction are before him, how much more the harts of men?* Prou. 15. 11. With his will and pleasure: *whatsoeuer pleased the Lord, that did he in heauen and in earth*, Psal. 35. 6. With his eternall ordinance and decree: So the Apostle saith, that Christ was deliuered vp according to ỹ determinate counsell of God, Act. 2. 23. And not onely so, but all things in the world are done by the power of God: *Shall there be euill in a citie*

the Lord hath not done it? Amos. 3. 6. yea, at the bidding and commaundement of God: the Lord hath bidden him to curse *Dauid*, 2. Sam. 16. 10. Therefore euill actions are not done onely by the permission of God. And yet for all this God shall not be the author of sinne.

For first, God is not the author of any euill action, as it is euill, either by willing, decreeing, bidding it, or imbuing thereunto, but onely as hee giueth power, as our creater, to his creatures, to moue or worke this or that: Therefore a sinfull worke: *Quatenus Dei est imbecill, opus est, crimen* Zuinglius ferm. de prouid. cap. 3.
autem, quatenus autem hominis est, crimen est, scelus est: As it commeth of God the author, it is a worke onely, and no sinne: as it is of man, it is sinne and wickednes. Againe, God is no otherwise to be respected in a sinfull worke and action, but as a iust iudge, which punisheth sin by sin: for it is a iust thing before God to recompence one sinne by another: and so it is to be considered, not so much, *tanquam peccatum, quàm pœna peccati*, as it is a sinne, as a punishment of sinne. Beza Aphor. 31.
Thirdly, in the same action, God propoundeth one end, as the exercising of his children, and manifestation of his mercie, as in the tentation of *Iob*: the instrument whereby hee worketh, respecteth some euill end, as Satan laboured the subuersion of *Iob*, and the euill affection and purpose Caluin aduers. Libertin. cap. 14.
of the instrument maketh the action euill; but God is free, and vnspotted: God therefore is not any wayes the author of sinne. Let vs now see what arguments our aduersaries bring: first, against our opinion, and then for the confirmation of their owne.

Argum. 1. *Bellarmine* setteth downe foure great absurdities, that (he saith) must needes follow of our opinion. First, if God be the author of euery action good or bad, and if wicked men are his instruments to accomplish his will: God must of necessitie be the author of sinne, seeing he willeth and commaundeth it, *cap.* 4. Secondly, God is not in thus doing the author only of sinne, but he himselfe also should properly and truly commit sinne, being consenting, and setting his helping hand to sinfull actions, *cap.* 5. Thirdly, God by this meanes should not onely be guiltie of sinne, but the onely person in the world that properly sinneth: for if that neither *Adam*, nor any of his posteritie could chuse but sinne, seeing it was so ordained of God: and no man is said to sin, in that which he cannot shunne and auoyde: therefore no man properly is guiltie of sinne; and the world light wholy vpon God, *cap.* 6. Lastly, seeing then that man sinneth not, because what he doth, is by the power, will, and commaundement of God: and yet God himselfe is no wayes the author of sinne, as the Protestants affirme: then it would follow, that sinne is nothing at all, as the Libertines hold, but onely an imagined and deuised thing, being no where to be found: and if sinne be nothing, then hell is nothing, and Christs death in vaine, *Bellarm. cap.* 7.

Answ. First, these obiections are easily remoued by that which we answered before: that God is not otherwise the author of euill actions, or the willer and commaunder of them, then as the Actiones inquis. 16.
power of working is of God: but the euill qualitie and condition of the action, is to be imputed only to the instrument: so that men committing euill, as they receiue a generall and absolute power of God, to moue, to liue, &c. are onely, *passiua instrumenta*, passiue instruments: as they are authors of euill, they are onely, *actiua instrumenta*, actiue and working instruments. We will make this plaine by some example: as when the Sunne beames beare vpon some carrion, by the heate whereof there is raised a stinch, yet the Sunne beames stinke not, but the euill sauour ariseth only of the corrupt matter: And as when we see a lame man walking, and halting as he goeth; the soule and life that is in man giueth motion to the lame part, yet she lamenesse thereof commeth of the infirmitie of the member it selfe: Euen so the Lorde may be the cause of euill actions, and yet no partie of the euill.

Bellarmine obiecteth that these examples are vnlike: for the Sunne, and the soule of man are onely generall causes, not particular of these actions: but God (as you say) is not onely an vniuersall, but a speciall cause of euery action, *Bellarm. cap.* 3.

Answ. The soule in the bodie is both an vniuersall and particular cause of the power of moouing in euery part: for as the saying in Philosophie is, *anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*: The soule is both vniuersally whole in the whole bodie, and specially whole in euery part. But of defaines and defect in mouing it is no cause at all, vnlesse it be the generall and furthest remoued cause: so we doe say also of the working of God in euill actions.

4 In one and the same action God doth respect a good and profitable end, where as the instrument may haue a mischieuous purpose and intent, which maketh the action euill: and so the sinne is proper onely to the instrument.

Obiect. This is against Saint *Pauls* rule, who saith, wee must not doe euill, that good may come thereof: therefore the good intent, which God propoundeth to himselfe, cannot iustifie the euill action, wherein he is a partie, *Bellarm. cap.* 4.

Answ. God is not a partie in the euilnes of the action at all, as wee haue shewed: therefore it is false, that he doth euill to a good end. Nay, both the action it selfe is good as it commeth of God, and the end also good: which the Lord respecteth. Actiones inquis. 12. 1. Ioh. 3. 4.

3 The iudgements of God are alwaies iust: and therefore sinnes, as they are punishments of former

former sinne are iust: and so may be of God. *Answ.* Yea, but *Adams* sinne was not a punishment of a former, for he was created without sinne, therefore his sin must be imputed to God, *Bellar.c.4.*

Contra. Yea, but *Adam* had free will by creation, to chuse good or euill, and therefore seeing it was his voluntarie choise to sinne, he onely is to be blamed for it.

Obiect. *Adams* fall is foreseene of God, and he could not otherwise chuse: how then can he be guiltie of that sinne, which was not in his power to auoyde?

Answ. Indeede *Adam* in respect of Gods appointment and foreknowledge, did sinne necessarily, but not *coacte*, he was not constrained: but in respect of his owne free will, he did neither, *necessario vel coacte, sed voluntarie peccauit*: he did neither sinne of necessitie or by constraint, but voluntarily.

Saint *Augustine* doth answere this obiection to the full: It will be said that *Pharaoh* could doe no other, because it was so foreseene of him: It is answered, saith he, *Dei praescientiam non cogere hominem vt talis sit, qualem praesciuit Deus, sed praescire talem futurum, qualis futurus erat, quamuis se eum non fecerit Deus: qui si hoc praesciuerat esse, quod non est, praescientia iam non est*: The prescience of God doth not make a man to be that, which he is foreseene to be, but doth onely foreknow him to be such, as he should haue been, though God had not made him such: for if God should haue foreseene that which is not, it were no foreknowledge at all, *De praedestinat.lib.1.15.*

Thus we see how sinfull actions may stand with the will, decree and power of God: and yet God shall neither be the author of sinne, nor himselfe thereby be made either properly, or onely to sinne, not yet sinne to become nothing. Now let vs examine the reasons which our aduersaries bring of their part.

Argum.1. The Scripture saith, that God loueth not, or willeth not iniquitie, Psal.5.4. He will not the death of a sinner, Ezech.18.32. And many such places there are to the like purpose, ergo, God giueth no consent vnto sinne, much lesse commendeth it, *Bellarm.cap.8.*

Answ. 1. First, these places also make as strong against popish permission: for if God hate iniquitie, he will not permit it: for he that permitteth any thing which he hateth, either sheweth his impotencie, in that he is not able to hinder it, but is constrained to permit it: or else declareth his mutabilitie in louing that which before he hated.

2. We also graunt, that God neither willeth nor worketh iniquitie: hee willeth the worke, but the iniquitie of the worke is of man: And he willeth not the death of a sinner; that is, he procureth not, nor worketh the death of any, which is wrought by sinne, with the which the Lord hath no fellowship: As *Augustine* saith: *Cupiditates peccantium Dei praedestinatio non excitauit, suasit, aut impulit, sed praedestinauit iudicium suum, quo vnicuiq; prout gessit, retributurus est*: Gods predestination doth not stirre vp, perswade, or inforce the desires of sinners: but God hath only predestinate his iust iudgements, whereby he will render to euery man, as he hath done, and as the sinner, which he hath committed, doe deserue.

3. Lastly, these places in Scripture, *God will not the death of a sinner*, and *he will all men to be saued*, 1.Timoth.2. and such like, are to be vnderstood of the reuealed will of God: who notwithstanding in his secret will hath cast his lots ouer euery man, either to life or death: yet the outward meanes of saluation are offered to all.

Obiect.1. You confesse then that there is a reuealed will of God in the Scripture, from whence then doe ye know his secret will? surely, saith the Iesuite, *satis ostendunt se eam non ex Scripturis, sed ex proprio capite deduxisse*: By this you declare, that this secret will you learne not out of Scripture, but gather it out of your owne head, *Bellar.ibid.cap.8.*

Answ. 1. We graunt the Iesuites consequent, you learne it not out of Scripture: *Ergo*, it is an inuention of your own head: for hereby he condemneth all inuentions and traditions, beside Scripture, which elsewhere he most stifly maintaineth. 2. We denie the antecedent; for this distinction of the secret and reuealed will of God, we learne euen out of Scripture: for where we reade, *Ego Deus creans malum*, Isai.45.7. I am the God that create euill: And againe, *Non Deus volens iniquitatem tu es*: Thou art not a God which louest iniquitie: how shall these places be reconciled, to speake one truth, vnlesse we make a difference betweene the secret and reuealed will of God?

Obiect.2. If God haue a secret will, whereby he willeth one thing, and a reuealed will, whereby he nilleth the same: then hath God two contrarie wils, which cannot be both true, and thus you make God a lyer, *Bellar.ibid.*

Answ. First, we doe not say that God hath two wils, but one and the selfesame will, that hath diuers respects: and if in respect of vs God seeme to will one thing which in respect of his secret counsell hee nilleth, hee is no more contrarie to himselfe, than our Sauiour Christ was, who made shew to his two Disciples as though he would go further, and yet had a purpose to stay with them. Luk.24.

But concerning this distinction, S. *August.* putteth vs out of doubt: *Remota hac discretione, quam diuina scientia intra secretum iustitiae suae continet, syncerissime credendum est Deum omnes saluari velle*: Setting apart that difference of men, which the diuine knowledge hath locked vp in the closet of iustice, it

Articul.fals. imposit.16.

Articul.fal. imposit.art.2.

ſolutely to be beleeued, that God would haue all men ſaued. There is then another diſſe-
rence of men in the ſecret counſell of God, then is outwardly and apparantly knowne. This di-
ſtinction of Gods ſecret and reuealed will, the Maſter of ſentences very well approueth out of
Auguſtine lib. 1 diſt. 47 b. Multa non fieri præter voluntatem Dei, quæ fiunt contra voluntatem: That
many things are done contrary to the will of God, which are not done beſide his will: that is, ma-
ny things may be committed againſt Gods precepts, which are his will, and yet not againſt his
ſecret and euerlaſting will: *Contra eam quippe nihil fit*, for nothing is done againſt that will:
the one is called *voluntas ſigni*, the ſigned will of God, which is teſtified by outward ſignes, as pre-
cepts and prohibitions in Scripture: the other is *voluntas beneplaciti*, the will of Gods Counſell, or
purpoſe. And ſo *Auguſtine* concludeth, *Quantum ad ipſos attinet, quod Deus noluit, fecerunt, quan-
tum ad omnipotentiam Dei, nullo modo facere voluerunt:* In reſpect of themſelues, ſinners do that
which God would not; but in regard of Gods omnipotent will, they could not.

Argum. 3. S. *Iames* ſaith, *Let no man ſay, when he is tempted; I am tempted of the Lord*, Iam. 1. 13.
and S. *Paul*; *God will not ſuffer you to be tempted aboue that you are able*: *Ergo*, much more doth not
God tempt any man, or compell him to ſinne, ſeeing he doth not ſuffer his children to be temp-
ted, &c. *Bellarm. c. 8. loc. 4.*

Anſw. Firſt, this profeſſed diſputer forgetteth the point in queſtion, and fighteth with his own
ſhadow, forcing a concluſion, which no man denieth, and ſo traueileth with wind: For we con-
feſſe, that God neyther tempteth, prouoketh or compelleth any man to ſinne. Secondly, there is
a temptation, which is of God, which is nothing but the triall of a mans faith: as the Lord is ſaid
to haue tempted *Abraham*, Geneſ. 22. 2. that is, to haue made triall and proofe of his faith: any o-
ther way God tempteth not. Thirdly, theſe three wayes we acknowledge Gods power in the ſin-
full actions of men. 1. In forſaking them, and giuing men ouer to themſelues to follow their
owne luſts: as he tooke his good ſpirite from *Saul*; by the abſence of which ſpirite he fell into moſt
grieuous ſinnes. 2. God as a Creator giueth life and power to euery thing to moue, to liue, to
worke, Act. 17. *In him we liue, we moue and haue our being.* 3. He as a iuſt iudge doth puniſh ſin-
ners by their owne ſinne, Rom. 1. 26. *For this cauſe God gaue them ouer to vile affections:* So that ſin,
which is a conſequent of deſertion, a worke of the creature, a iudgement and puniſhment; is not
without the will of God: yet the Lord is no way acceſſarie to the euilneſſe of ſinne, nor the au-
thor thereof. In this ſenſe we miſlike not that diſtinction of *Origen*: *Multa ſine voluntate Dei ge-
runtur, nihil ſine prouidentia; prouidentia eſt, qua diſpenſat, & prouidet; voluntas, qua vult, aut non vult
deus:* Many things are done without the will of God, nothing without his prouidence; that is
his prouidence, wherewith he doth diſpenſe, diſpoſe, and prouide or foreſee; that is his will, where-
by he willeth or nilleth any thing: wherefore though ſinne be not agreeable to the will of God,
yet ſtandeth with his prouidence.

The Proteſtants.

WE affirme, that ſinne neither ſtandeth abſolutely with the will of God, for he made not
ſinne, nor yet created man to ſinne, neither properly or directly doth God ſuffer or per-
mit ſinne, as it is ſinne, to be done in the world: but he ſuffereth the creature, without coaction
or conſtraint to vſe their natural faculties, which are of themſelues prone to ſinne: ſo that in ſin-
full actions God worketh otherwiſe then by permiſſion onely, or withholding of his grace: for he
is to be conſidered both as a Creator, that giueth power to euery thing, to moue, to liue, to do this
or that, and as a iuſt iudge, puniſhing and iudging men in and by their owne ſinnes.

Argum. 1. S. *Peter* ſaith, that Chriſt was deliuered vp according to the determinate counſell of
God, Act. 2. 23. Gods determinate counſell is more then his ſufferance or permiſſion.

Anſw. The meaning of the Apoſtle is this: that God had decreed and determined, that Chriſt
ſhould die to redeeme the world: but that *Iudas* ſhould betray him, or *Pilate* condemne him, or
the ſouldiers crucifie him, God decreed not it ſhould be done, but to ſuffer it to be done, *Bellarm.
ep. 11. ſic etiam Rhemiſt.*

Contra. 1. God did not onely permit the Iewes to worke their malice vpon Chriſt, but moſt iuſt-
ly and moſt holily he vſed their malice to bring his purpoſe to paſſe. 2. For if God ſuffered and
permitted that to be done, which he might haue hindered, hee thereby ſhould be made acceſſary
with the Iewes of his ſonnes death. And 3. I again, where the Apoſtle ſaith, *de finito conſilio*, he was de-
liuered vp by the determinate counſell of God: it ſheweth an actiue, not a permiſſiue power of
God, and a reſolute decree of God for the deliuering vp of his Sonne, not a foreknowledge one-
ly. 4. Neither is it the Lords manner to decree to ſuffer, but to do: for *Whatſoeuer the Lord will,* Pſal. 35. 6.
in heauen and in earth. 5. But if he ſhould ſuffer that to be done which he willeth not, then
not whatſoeuer the Lord willeth, is done; but he ſhould be conſtrayned to yeeld to the will of o-
thers.

Argum. 2. The Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, that God bid *Semei* curſe, 2. Sam. 16. And the Lord ſaith
to the euill ſpirite, that offered himſelfe to go and deceiue *Ahab*: *Vade & fac, & prævalebis*: Go

and do so, and thou shalt preuaile: But bidding and commanding is more then suffering: Ergo.

Answ. First, God may be said to bid or command to doe euill, in suffering the instruments which he vseth to doe euill. Secondly, because he not onely suffereth the wicked so to doe, but letteth and forsaketh them, and withholdeth his grace. Thirdly, and beside these two wayes, *Profitemur etiam Deum ipsis voluntatibus malis, easque regit & gubernat, ac flectit in eis inuisibiliter operando, vt licet vitio proprio mala sint, tamen à diuina prouidentia ad vnum potius malum, quàm ad aliud, non positiuè, sed permissiuè ordinentur:* God sitteth euen in the wicked purposes of men, gouerning and ruling them, and so by his inuisible power working in them, doth turne them, that although they be euill of themselues, yet they are by the diuine prouidence of God ordained to doe one euill rather then another, not positiuely, that is absolutely, appointing them thereto, but by way of permission: As God is said to haue commanded *Shemei* to curse, because he inclined his will, being euill, to curse *Dauid*: And he inclined him, not by compelling, but by opening him a way to this sinne, and stopping the way to other sinnes, *sic Bellarm. de amiss. grat. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

Contra. Concerning the two first wayes of permitting and withholding of grace, they haue not any place here: for to bid and command, is more then either of these. Concerning the third sort, the Iesuite is contrarie to himselfe, he saith that God doth gouerne, turne, and rule, and incline the minds of wicked men, and yet concludeth, that all this is done by permission: *inclinauit, id est, permisit*, he inclined, that is, suffered: which are cleane contrarie: for to incline is an action, to permit is a thing passiue. Secondly, what differeth now this third way from the first? for here he runneth to permission. Thirdly, in saying that God inclineth to euill by opening a way to euill, and stopping the passage to other sinnes; he runneth into that inconuenience, which he most of all shunneth, to make God the author of sinne: for how can it be auoyded, seeing God openeth a way to sinne, poynteth to it, and sheweth the meane: and might as well hinder the way to this sinne, as he doth to others? Therefore how much better and more safe is our assertion, that God in bidding *Shemei* to curse, was himselfe an agent in this action, so farre as it tended to good: namely, vsing this wicked instrument in respect of himselfe after a most holy and iust maner, for the triall of *Dauid*, and the manifestation of his iust iudgement vpon this wicked man. And thus speaketh *Augustine, Deus voluntatem eius proprio suo vitio malam in hoc peccatum iudicio suo iusto & occulto inclinauit:* God by his iust and secret iudgement, did incline his will, being corrupt of it selfe, vnto this mischiefe. Loe, he saith, *inclinauit*, he did incline his will, which is more, then *permisit*, he did suffer him.

De liber. arbit. cap. 20.

Argum. 3. God is said in Scripture to harden mens hearts, and to blind their eyes: as Exod. 7. vers. 3. *I will harden Pharaohs heart.* Iosua 11. 20. *It came of the Lord to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel*, 1. Sam. 2. 25. *They obeyed not the voyce of their father, because the Lord would kill them.* Isay 63. 17. *Why hast thou made vs to erre from thy wayes?* Iohn 12. 39. *They could not beleeue, because Esaias saith, he hath blinded their eies and hardened their heart:* Rom. 1. 28. *God gaue them vp to a reprobate minde.*

Bellarmine answereth, First, God is not the author of induration or excæcation positiuely, but onely negatiuely: that is, *permittendo, deserendo*, by suffering them to be hardened, and by forsaking them. Secondly, in Scripture those things are said to harden, or to blind, which are but the occasions onely, *as gifts are said to blind the eyes of the wise*: so God is said to harden, *occasionaliter*, by ministring the occasion, by abusing whereof men are hardened: as Psal. 105. *God turned the hearts of the Ægyptians, so that they did hate his people:* God did not peruert the hearts of the Egyptians, but by shewing mercie to his people, they tooke occasion thereby to hate them. *Bellarm. c. 13. & 14. obseruat. 5.*

Contra. First, *Thomas Aquinas*, whom *Bellarmine* alleageth, graunteth, that God doth *inclinare malas voluntates, non solum permittendo, sed positiuè*, incline the euill willes of men, not onely by permission, but positiuely: *in comment. c. 9. ad Roman.* that is, not by suffering onely, but by doing and working.

Secondly, neither can it safely be affirmed, that God ministreth occasion to men to be hardened or to sinne: seeing 1. that *Balaam* is reproued for teaching *Balaak* to put *a stumbling block before the children of Israel*, Reuel. 2. 14. Shall we thinke then, that God putteth stumbling blocks before men to fall at? 2. And this were to make God the worker of tentation, as Sathan is, who tempteth *occasionaliter*, by setting the occasion or motiue before mens eyes; as hee shewed Christ the whole world. 3. But if they say, that the occasion which God ministreth, is good, but men abuse it, and are thereby hardened: as when through Gods patience men are made worse. Here God doth minister no occasion at all, but they take occasion to be hardened, where there is none offered: and thus God cannot any way be said to harden mens hearts.

Thirdly, *Augustine* hath foure opinions of this matter. 1. God is said to harden *Pharaos* heart, *qui causas ministrat*, because he ministred the cause, whereby *Pharaos* his heart was hardened, *qu. 30. in Exod.* but this as I shewed is not sufficient. 2. *Indurare Deus dicitur, quem minus solum vult*

re: God is said to harden, whom he will not mollifie, *de prædestinat. lib. 1. c. 4.* Thus God should be said to harden the hearts of all wicked men. 3. That God is said to harden *Pharaos* heart, *Non ad operationem Dei, sed præscientiæ pertinere monstratur*: It must be vnderstood of Gods prescience only and foreknowledge, not of his woorking, *de prædestination. lib. 1. c. 6.* this were to confound Gods knowledge and workes. 4. Wherefore in the fourth place he saith, *Deus indurauit per iustum iudicium, Pharao per liberum arbitrium:* God did indurate *Pharaos* heart, by his iust iudgement, *Pharao* by the freenesse of his corrupt will: *de liber. arbit. c. 23.* To this sentence of *Augustine* wee assent, that God doth not harden mens heartes onely, by permission, desertion, occasion, presence; but, as a iust iudge, he punisheth sinne by sinne, and giueth them ouer to the hardnesse of their heart: and *Bellarmine* vnawares confesseth as much, that when God in Scripture is said to indurate, *id facit vt iustus index*, he doth it as a iust Iudge, *c. 14. obserue. 5.* This is more then to do it by permission onely or desertion. Lastly, *Origen* doth very well expresse this matter, by this similitude: *Sol duplicis videtur esse virtutis, &c.* The Sunne seemeth to be of a double vertue, one to illuminate, another to burne or harden, but according to the matter and subiect: so God hardened *Pharaos* heart, *because it was by his corrupt thoughts of an earthly nature, as the Sunne hardneth the clay. 2 in Cantic.* So then as the Sunne, not by withdrawing his light, or by suffring, but effectually hardneth the clay; so God likewise: but the cause of all is in the corruption of mans heart. So then to conclude this whole matter, I say with *Augustine*; first, *Non cuiusquam peccati author est Deus, sed natura Creator, quæ cùm potestatem habuit non delinquendi, sponte delinquit:* God is not the author of sinne, but the Creator of nature, which when it had power not to sinne, sinned wilfully *articul. 6. falsi impos. Augustin.* Secondly, *aliud fecit Deus & ordinauit; aliud non fecit, sed ordinauit*, some things God both made and ordered or disposed: some things he made not, but disposed or ordered, as the darkenesse in the creation, *in Psal. 7.* So God in the worke of sinne is to be considered as a Creator, from whom the creature hath power to do this or that; and as a iust Iudge, that ordereth and disposeth of sinne, directing it to the iust punishment of the wicked.

Conf. 23. qu. 4. c. 23. Cùm aliquos à Deo traditos desideras, aut obdurates legimus, &c. When wee read of any giuen vp to their lusts, and obdurate, &c. We confesse that they had so deserued by their great sins: Where then there is an euil desert preceding, and hardnes of heart followeth as a punishment, there God is not to be considered only as a beholder, or sufferer, but as a iust Iudge.

Conf. 24. qu. 3. c. 39. The Colluthians are numbred among heretikes, *Qui dicunt Deum non facere malum:* Who say that God doth not euill, contrary to the Scripture, *I the Lord create euill*: the words excluding the power of God from euill, but onely by the way of permission; are not farre from this heresie.

The Master of the Sentences is a plentifull witnesse with vs; shewing diuers wayes out of *Augustine* how sinne standeth with the will of God. 1. Because *mala fieri bonum est*, it is a good thing, that euill should be done: for by this meanes Gods power and goodnesse is seene, in turning euill to good, *lib. 1. dist. 46. g.* 2. *Voluntas Dei de nobis impletur, sed tamen non implemus eam cum peccamus*: The will of God is fulfilled of vs, though we fulfill not the will of God, when we sinne. *lib. 1. dist. 47. i.* that is, Gods will euen in sinners is fulfilled to their punishment 3. *Actus mali, inquantum actus sunt, bona sunt & à Deo authore*: Euill actions, as they are actions, are good, and of God: *lib. 2. dist. 35. d.* 4. *Ea quæ peccata sunt & pœna peccati, &c.* That which is both a sinne and a punishment of sinne, is of God as it a punishment, for all punishments of sinne are iust, *lib. dist. 36. b.* So likewise *lib. 2. d. 32. Concupiscentia in quantum pœna peccati deum habet authorem*: Concupiscence, as it is a punishment hath God the author, but as it is a sinne or fault, it hath the deuil for the author. 5. *Lib. 2. distinct. 44. b. Potestas mali est a Deo:* The power of euill, or whereby euill is done, is of God: *Potentiam Deus tribuit, elationem potentia malitia nostra mentis inuenit:* God giueth power to worke, but the abuse of the power is of the malice of our owne mind. Thus farre the Master of the sentences agreeth with vs: whereby it is euident, in what sense God in sinfull actes is to be considered, not as a sufferer onely, but as a worker and disposer.

THE THIRD QVESTION, CONCERNING the sinne of Adam.

This question hath three parts. First, whether *Adams* fall were any other way, then by Gods permission onely. Secondly, what *Adams* sinne was, whether pride or infidelitie. Thirdly, what kinde of sinne, whether veniall or mortall.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER ADAMS FALL was any other way, then by Gods permission.

The Papists.

BEllarmine affirmeth, that God onely suffered *Adam* to be tempted and so to fall, and that God 9. Error.
noway willed or decreed it: *De stat. peccat. lib. 3. c. 2.*

Argum. 2. Pet. 3. 9. *God would haue none periſh, but to come to repentance:* Therefore God no way willed, or decreed the fall of man. Againe, the Apoſtle ſaith, we muſt not doe euill, that good may come of it, Rom. 3. 8. *Ergo*, God would not *Adams* fall, that he might afterward be ſaued by Chriſt.

Anſw. Firſt, the fall of man tended not to his deſtruction, but to his further ſtrengthning and raiſing vp in Chriſt: as *Ambroſe* well ſaith, *Iuſta eſſet hæc accuſatio, ſi vulnera noſtra immedicabilia eſſent:* This accuſation were iuſt, if our wounds were remedileſſe, *de paradiſ. cap.* 8. Neither was *Adams* fall euill, as it was foreſeene and foreordained of God, the cauſe thereof was euill, namely *Adams* rebellion and diſobedience: but God in his moſt holy counſell, knew how to turne *Adams* ruine and fall to his benefite.

The Proteſtants.

NEither doe we affirme that *Adams* ſinne was appointed in the will and decree of God, but it proceeded from the libertie of *Adams* will: but the fall of *Adam* was both forſeene of God, and decreed to be, not permitted onely.

Argum. 1. As Chriſts death was decreed and determined, Act. 2. 23. So was the fall of *Adam*, for the end of Chriſts death, was to reſtore *Adams* fall: and if the end be decreed, then thoſe things alſo, which are neceſſarilie referred to that end. Againe, Epheſ. 1. 4. *The Saints were choſen in Chriſt before the foundation of the world, who hath predeſtinate vs to be adopted thorough Ieſus Chriſt:* From whence I reaſon thus, the adoption of Gods children in Chriſt was predeſtinate & foreordained before the world: there could be no adoption, if *Adam* had not falleh: for what needed a reſtitution, if there had been no tranſgreſſion or preuarication? *Ergo, Adams* fall was decreed.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Tenenda eſt inconcuſſe hæc regula,* This rule muſt ſurely be held, that ſinners, *in peccatis præſcitos non predeſtinatos, pœnam autem ipſi predeſtinatam,* were foreſeene in their ſinnes, not predeſtinate; but their puniſhment was predeſtinate. Wherefore *Adams* fall being a puniſhment of his ſinne, was predeſtinate, and before ordained. Concerning *Adams* ſinne, how it may ſtand with the will of God, I haue ſhewed at large before, queſt. 2. part. 2.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER PRIDE, OR infidelitie were the firſt ſinne of Adam.

The Papiſts.

30. Error. THe Ieſuites opinion is, that neither intemperancie, luſt of the fleſh, infidelity, or any other, but pride onely was the firſt offence into the which *Adam* fell: who being tickled with ſelfe-loue, and an ambitious deſire to better their eſtate, when the diuell had ſaid vnto them (*eritis, ſicut Dij*) ye ſhall be as Gods: afterwards alſo fell into infidelitie, in giuing eare to Sathan, and not beleeuing the words of God, *Bellarm. de ſtat. peccat. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.

Argum. 1. We reade in Eccleſiaſticus, chap. 10. verſ. 14. that pride is the originall of ſinne: *Ergo* it was the firſt offence, from the which other flowed, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, the authoritie of this booke doth not binde vs, becauſe we doe not acknowledge nor receiue it for Scripture. Secondly, it is apparant by the text it ſelfe, that pride hath alſo his beginning, and therefore is not the originall of all tranſgreſſion: as verſe 13. *The beginning of mans pride is to fall away from God:* therefore by this ſentence, diſobedience is ſet before pride, as the beginning and begetter thereof. Thirdly, the Canonicall Scripture ſpeaketh contrarie: for S. *Paul* ſaith, that not pride, but couetouſnes or the loue of money, is the roote, that is, the beginning and cauſe of all euill, 1. Tim. 6. 20.

Argum. 2. S. *Paul* ſaith, Rom. 5. 19. *By one mans diſobedience many were made ſinners:* but diſobedience, that is, not to be ſubiect to the commandement of another, is the firſt act of pride: *Ergo*, the firſt ſinne of *Adam* was pride.

Anſw. Firſt, *Bellarmine* himſelfe confeſſeth, that the diſobedience of our firſt parents was *tertius actus*, the third act of their tranſgreſſion, infidelitie the ſecond, pride the firſt, *cap.* 9. but now he turneth his ſpeech, and ſaith, that diſobedience was the firſt act, which he maketh a part of pride. Secondly, by diſobedience in this place, the Apoſtle meaneth not any one particular offence committed by our firſt parents, but the whole lump or maſſe of ſinne rather, which did concur in their tranſgreſſion: And this appeareth, by ſetting againſt *Adams* diſobedience, the obedience of Chriſt: whereby is vnderſtoode, not any one vertue but the whole righteouſnes, and perfection of Chriſts obedience: whereby many (ſaith the Apoſtle) are made righteous: but we are made righteous, not by the partiall, but whole and entire obedience of Chriſt. As Chriſts obedience then is taken for his whole and perfect obedience; ſo is *Adams* diſobedience likewiſe.

The Proteſtants.

THough it be not a point greatly materiall, whether pride or infidelitie in *Adams* tranſgreſſion was the firſt, ſeeing it is on each ſide confeſſed, that both of them were preſent; yet becauſe it is good, ſo far as is poſſible, to ſearch out euery truth: we will alſo declare, which of theſe opinions

opinions commeth neereſt the truth: firſt, it is to be conſidered, that many ſinnes conſpired as it were, and were heaped together in the tranſgreſſion of *Adam*: *Auguſtine* reckeneth vp theſe fiue: 1. *Sacrilegium*, there was Sacrilege, that is, they robbed God of his honor, in that they beleeued not his word. 2. *Homicidium*, Homicide, in being guiltie of their owne death. 3. *Fornicatio ſpiritualis*, ſpirituall fornication, in giuing credit to the diuell. 4. *Furtum*, Theft, in eating fruite which was prohibited, and ſo none of theirs. 5. *Auaritia*, Couetouſnes, *plus quam ſufficit expetendo*, in deſiring more then was ſufficient: *Auguſt. Enchirid. cap. 45.* And in another place he ſetteth downe three more: *Gulam, cupiditatem, ſuperbiam*: Gluttonie, for they ſaw that the fruite was pleaſant to the eye, and therefore deſired to eate of it: Concupiſcence, or carnall deſire, they perceiued themſelues to be naked, &c. Pride, in ambitiouſly ſeeking to be like vnto God: *Ad fratres in Eremo. ſer. 68.* Vnto theſe we may adde the excuſing of their ſinne, and in *Adam*, his credulitie, in giuing too light eare to *Eua* her ſuggeſtion: The firſt of all theſe, which are ten in number, was their infidelitie, which *Auguſtine* calleth ſacrilege, not their pride: and we ſhew it thus.

Argum. 1. Infidelitie, and forgetting of God is the beginning of all ſinne, as the Pſalme ſaith: *The foole hath ſaid in his heart, there is no God*: and then it followeth: *They haue corrupted, and done an abominable worke*: The forgetfulnes of God therefore, which commeth of infidelitie, begetteth and bringeth forth other vngodly workes. And our Sauiour ſaith, that from within, out of the heart, (which is the ſeate of infidelitie) proceede fornications, murders, &c. Mark. 7. 21. Therefore pride followeth infidelitie, for the foole will neuer lift vp himſelfe againſt God, if he had not firſt forgotten the Maieſtie, eternitie, and power of God. Pſal 14. 1.

Argum. 2. We doe thus alſo demonſtrate it: *Eua* ſinned before *Adam*: *Eua* her ſinne was by ſeduction: ſhe could not be ſeduced, but by giuing eare to the ſeducer: the ſeducer lyed vnto her, and made the word of God falſe: promiſing they ſhould become as Gods, by eating the forbidden fruite, whereas the Lord had ſayd, they ſhould dye the death if they did eate: Sathan therefore could neuer haue ſeduced them, vnleſſe they had giuen credite to him, which was their infidelity. Our argument then is this: That, wherby they were ſeduced, was before that whereto they were ſeduced: for the cauſe is alway before the effect, the meane and inſtrument before the end: but infidelitie is that whereby they were ſeduced, in giuing credite to Sathan: pride and diſobedience, that, whereunto, namely, to eate the forbidden fruit, and ſo to be like vnto God: the firſt was the obiect of their diſobeience, the other of their pride: *Ergo*, their infidelitie was firſt.

Argum. 3. Faith is the beginning of righteouſnes, *Ergo*, infidelitie is the roote of ſinne: *ergo Caluin.*

Determine. It followeth not, for the foundation of the houſe is firſt laid, but it is laſt deſtroyed: the heart is the firſt that liueth, and the laſt that dieth, *cap. 5. obiect. 2.*

Contra. 1. The firſt decay in a building is at the foundation, and where an houſe is at once deſtroyed, and brought to vtter ruine, it is firſt vndermined at the foundation: ſueh was that vniuerſall ouerthrow of mankinde, which began at the very foundation, namely the decay of faith, in not beleeuing Gods word: ſo likewiſe for the other ſimilitude, in the naturall end of man, the heart is the laſt that dieth, but where the death is violent, and haſtened, the wound is firſt made in the heart, to procure a more ſpeedie diſpatch: and ſo Sathan gaue firſt our parents a deadly wound in the heart and life of their ſoules, namely their faith: thus his owne examples are turned againſt him.

2. He is very bolde thus to contradict their owne Canons: *Clement in lib. 3. tit. 16. Clemen. 5.* Thus decreeth in the generall Councell of Vienna: *Vnde vulnus eſt ortum, prodijt & medela; vnde mors ſubijt, inde vita euenit*: Where the wound began, the cure was made, where death entred, there life proceeded: But our life and cure beginneth from faith in Chriſt: *Ergo*, in his faith man was firſt wounded and wounded.

Let ſaith Auguſtine ſpeake: *Ego cum Apoſtolo dico mentem mulieris fuiſſe à ſerpente corruptam, & ex illa corruptione peruenit libido in mentem mulieris & viri*: I ſay with the Apoſtle, that the minde of the woman was corrupted by the ſerpent, and ſo by this corruption luſt came into the minde both of the man and woman: *Cont. Iulian. lib. 6. cap. 12.* The corruption of their mindes then bred luſt: which was two-fold, luſt to eate the fruite, which was a ſpice of gluttonie; luſt and deſire thereby to be made like God, which was their pride: theſe two did ariſe of the corruption of their minde. Their minde then was corrupted firſt: and that was by infidelitie.

Hereof alſo we haue further euidence: *Tertullian. lib. 2. in Marcion.* He doubteth not, *Ada deliſtus hereſin, &c.* To cal *Adams* ſinne hereſie, which he committed by preferring his owne ſentence before Gods: What was this elſe but a kinde of infidelitie, not to giue credence vnto the ſentence of God?

Likewiſe in their owne lawe: *Clement in lib. 3. tit. 16. Gultus ſaucianit, gultus ſanauit*: The taſte woundeth, the taſte healeth, that is, the taſte of Chriſts fleſh giueth health, as the taſte of the forbidden fruite gaue the firſt wound: diſobedience then, which was the fruite of infidelitie, was the

first transgression, for they would neuer haue eaten of the tree, if they had beleeued the word of God, that they should haue died.

The Master of the Sentences, saith: *In quo verbo locum dedit tentandi, cùm dixit, ne forte moriamini.* In which word the woman gaue way to the tempter, when she said, *Least perhaps ye die: Attende ordinem & progressum humanæ perditionis:* Consider the order and progresse of mans perdition: First, God saith, *In what day ye eate thereof ye shall die:* then the woman said, *Least yee die,* last of all the Serpent, *Ye shall not die:* God affirmed, the woman doubted, the diuell denied: *Ergo,* the womans doubting, which proceeded of infidelitie, was the beginning of the transgression.

Certaine also of the Schoolemen, as *Bonauenture, Scotus. in* 2. *senten. distinct.* 21. 22. Denie that pride was the first sinne or offence of our first Parents.

Lastly, S. *Ambrose* thus testifieth, *Peccatum Adæ non longè est ab idololatria, prænaricans fœminem putans futurum Deum, secutus magis quod diabolus suasit, quam quod Deus iussit:* The sinne of *Adam* is not far from idolatrie: he sinned thinking that man might be God, following rather that which the diuell perswaded, then that which God commaunded: *in Luk.* 13. If *Adams* sinne were idolatrie, it proceeded from infidelitie.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER ADAMS sinne were veniall or mortall.

The Papists.

11. Error. THe Iesuite denieth that the sinne of *Adam* was veniall: his reason is this, because, *Culpa venialis non tollit gratiam aut amicitiam Dei:* Veniall faultes doe not depriue men of the fauour or friendship of God. But God was angrie with *Adam,* and thrust him out of Paradise: and by his transgression he lost his innocencie: *Ergo,* it was no veniall sinne: *cap.* 8.

The Protestants.

IF the Iesuite take veniall sinnes for those, which in their owne nature are pardonable, and deserue not death, as he doth else where; in this sense neither was this sinne of *Adam,* nor any other, no not the least sinne, which is committed in the world, veniall: for by nature euery sin deserueth death, Rom. 6. 23. But if by veniall sinnes we vnderstand those, which, howsoeuer they are in their owne nature, yet through Gods mercie are pardoned: so we affirme, that both this sinne of our first parentes, and all other, which the children of God fall into, are veniall: And though for this sinne God was offended with *Adam,* and temporally punished him; yet euen he againe, through Gods mercie, restored to fauour or grace. Thirdly, if by veniall sinnes we vnderstand the smaller and lighter offences, so we denie also, that *Adams* sinne was veniall: for it was an huge and grieuous trespasse; yet he was by grace thereof acquited. These two points then are briefly to be declared: first of the greatnesse of *Adams* sinne: secondly, of his recouerie by repentance, and his vndoubted saluation.

First it appeareth, that the sinne of our first parents was a grieuous and great offence, nay in the highest degree. 1. In respect of the partie offending: *Adam* receiued power if he would, not to sinne, therefore his sinne was the greater. 2. His ingratitude doth augment the sinne, in that so soone he had forgotten the vnspeakable benefites, bestowed vpon him in his creation. 3. In respect of the commandement it selfe, which was verie easie: for in such abundance of all kind of most pleasant fruites, hee was onely forbidden to eate of one: and therefore, as *Augustine* saith: *Tam leue præceptum ad obseruandum, tam breue ad memoriæ retinendum, tanto maiore iustitia violatum est, quanto facilieri posset obseruantia custodiri:* A commandement so easie to keepe, so short to be remembred, was with so much the greater vnrighteousnesse violated, as it might more easily haue bene obserued. 4. The fourth circumstance, is the issue of this sinne, whereby *Adam* did not onely hurt himselfe, but brought a miserable state vpon his posteritie, both in the propagation of sinne, and the punishment thereof. 5. Lastly, the great punishment laid vpon this transgression, sheweth the greatnesse thereof: for beside the spirituall wretchednesse of the soule, being not onely depriued of those excellent graces of holinesse and righteousnesse, wherein it was created, but also made subiect to euerlasting damnation; there was a threefold punishment laid vpon them in their bodies: vpon the woman, in bringing foorth with paine and trauell: vpon the man, in getting his liuing in the sweate of his browes, that is, with paine and sorrow: vpon them both, in returning to the dust, and yeelding to mortality and corruption. These circumstances then, being weighed together, do plainely set forth the state and qualitie of *Adams* transgression: that it was an high offence before God,

Now concerning the second point: we do, notwithstanding the greatnesse of their sinnes, vndoubtedly hold, against the heresie of the *Tatianes,* who blasphemously affirmed that *Adam* was cõdemned, that our first parents were the children of Gods election. The Iesuit also affirmeth the same: but vpon verie weeke ground: as that *Adam* & *Eue* did make them couerings of fig leaues,

in

sackcloth, in signe of repentance: also because that *Adam* by certaine ancient writers is supposed to haue beene buried in the same place, where Christ was crucified, and shed his blood: which is an vncertaine tradition beside scripture. But our arguments for the saluation of our first parents are these.

Argum. 1. The first promise of the Messiah was made to our parents immediatly after their transgression: *The seed of the woman shall breake the serpents head*, Gen. 3. 15. *Ergo* they had their interest and part of this promise: for which of all the Prophets or Patriarkes was there, to whom Christ was promised, to whom the promise of grace appertained not?

Argum. 2. The first *Adam* was a figure of the second: Rom. 5. 14. But it cannot be shewed that euer any reprobate was ordained, or appointed of God, to be a figure of his sonne Christ, the Messiah to come: *Ergo*, *Adam* was no reprobate.

Argum. 3. Saint *Luke* in setting downe the genealogie of our Sauiour Christ, saith, he was the sonne of *Adam*, who was the sonne of God, Luk. 3. 28. Thus then we reason: *Adam* was the sonne of God: *Ergo*, he was no reprobate, not a child of perdition, but an heire of saluation. Other arguments we haue for *Adams* election, but these at this time, and in this place may suffice.

That *Adams* sinne was veniall, *Hilarie* testifieth: *Adam confessum, venie reseruatum*: that *Adam* confessed, and was reserued to pardon, *in Psalm.* 119. *cap.* 8. and S. *Ambrose lib. de Paradis. cap.* 14. *Venialis Euæ culpa, quam secuta sit delicti confessio*: *Eua* her fault was veniall, which the confession of her sinne followed.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, OF THE greatnes of Adams sinne.

BEllarmine hath foure positions of this matter. First, that *Adam* was not properly seduced but *Eua*: *lib.* 3. *de stat. peccat. c.* 7. Secondly, that *Adams* sinne was greater than the womans, *cap.* 9. Thirdly, that in their transgression they lost their faith, *cap.* 6. Fourthly, that *Adams* sinne, was *aliquo modo*, in some respect the greatest of all sinnes: first, both because he might easilie haue kept himselfe from transgression, there being but one precept giuen him: secondly, in respect of his great ingratitude, hauing receiued so many benefites from God: thirdly, for that *Adams* sinne redounded to the hurt of all his posteritie, as no other sinne doth: *cap.* 10.

12. Error.

13. Error.

The Protestants.

First, that *Adam* was not properlie seduced, but *Eue*, we acknowledge, the Scripture so affirming, 1. Timoth. 2. 14. *Adam was not deceiued, but the woman was deceiued.*

Secondly, that *Adams* sinne in some respect was greater, as in regard of his person, then *Eua* her sinne was, we also graunt; but simplie it was not: so this poynt we parely affirme, and partly deny: for the appendix to the second part of the fourth question following.

Thirdly, that our first parents lost their faith in their transgression, we hold it an error: for be-sides that, the faith of the Saints cannot be vtterly extinct by their sinne, for the gifts and *calling of God are without repentance*: Rom. 11. 29. That *Adam* had not lost all faith, appeareth first, by the conscience and shame of sinne, in that they hid themselues, being afraide of Gods presence: secondly, because the promise of Christ was presently vpon their fall exhibited to them, which without faith, they were not capable of.

Fourthly, first, the three reasons alleaged, shew *Adams* sinne to haue been a very great and grieuous transgression, but not the greatest that euer was: secondly, the Master of the Sentences well answereth, that because all mankinde is hurt by *Adams* sinne, it was not for that his sinne was greater, then all other, but in respect of *Adams* person, in whom the whole humane nature then consisted. Thirdly, the sinne against the holy Ghost is greater, which shall neuer be forgiuen: the sins of the reprobate and damned are greater, being punished with euerlasting damnation.

Lib. 2. dist. 33.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, CONCERning originall sinne.

THere are diuers points of this question, which are on each side confessed: we will first set them downe briefly, and then come to the points of difference and disagreement betweene vs.

First we are agreed, that originall sinne is verily propagated by generation from our parents, and is a corruption ingraffed in vs by nature: not as the Pelagians did hold, that *Adams* transgression was onely hurtfull to his posteritie by imitation: for S. *Paul* saith directly: *In quo omnes peccauerunt*: That in *Adam* all haue sinned, Rom. 5. 12. Secondly, we confesse, that originall sinne hath not onely made the body subiect to death and mortalitie, which is the opinion of *Iacobus Faber*, and some others; but hath also polluted and defiled the soule of man: So the Apostle saith, that not onely death hath reigned ouer all, Rom. 5. 14. but all men by *Adams* disobedience are made

made sinners, vers. 19. and sinne is the death of the soule. Thirdly, for the originall of the soule, we thinke it a more probable opinion, and agreeable to scripture, that the soules of men should bee created as they are infused into the bodies, conceiued, and prepared in the wombe, then that the soules should be produced by generation from the parents, as the bodies are: for the scripture seemeth to make a diuers beginning of the soule and the body: as the Preacher saith, that dust, that is, *the bodie returneth to the earth, and the spirit to God, that gaue it*: Eccle. 12. 7. So by the Prophet *Zacharie* the Lord saith, *that he formeth the spirit in the midst of man*: Zachar. 12. 1. And the Author to the Hebrewes, seemeth to make a flat opposition betweene *the fathers of the bodies, and the father of the spirits*, Hebr. 12. 9. Yet because this question is not plainely determined in the scripture, we thinke it more safe, being not a point of faith, to wonder at it as a great mysterie, and not rashly to pronounce anie thing, as of a common & knowne matter: And the rather, because the Preacher saith, that no man knoweth the way of the spirit, Eccles. 11. 5. And thus *Augustine* contented himselfe, writing in these words of the woman in the Machabees, that said to her children, *I know not how you came into my wombe: Ego, inquit nescio, ille scit, qui formauit, vtrum simul animam formarit, an iam formatis dederit: ita ego dico de anima mea, me nescire, quomodo venerit in me vel in me*: I know not, saith she, as if she should say, I know not, but he knoweth that formed the spirit, whether he framed it together with the body, or gaue it to the body framed before: So I say of my soule, I cannot tell how it came into my body.

2. Machab. 7 22. August. de anim. origin. lib. 1. cap. 15.

Fourthly, this being concluded and determined, that the soule hath the beginning of God, and not of the parents: yet we are able to answere that obiection which is made concerning originall sinne: for this is the reason: Sinne is an adiunct of the soule, not of the body: it cannot then be in the bodie before the soule come; and in the soule it is not, because it is created of God pure and vnspotted: vnlesse therefore the soule should be deriued from the parents, we cannot know where to place originall sinne.

Ans. Originall sinne is neither proper to the body, nor to the soule, but it is *hominis peccatum*, a sinne of the whole man: who consisteth of body and soule: & it commeth not of the bodie alone, or of the soule alone, but of the coniunction of them both together: so that now neither the bodie must be respected alone, nor the soule alone, but as they do ioyntly make one man: and so enter into one condition, and are partakers each of others woe or welfare.

If it be further obiected, that it standeth not with Gods iustice, to thrust a pure soule into an vncleane bodie: We further answer: First, that the soule and body are not of God respected as single substances, but as they are ioyned together, to make one man: and therefore there is but one condition of both. Secondly, the soule in respect of Gods creation, is a pure creature, yet it contracteth not in that state one moment: for it is created in the midst of the bodie, in an vncleane and polluted place: and forthwith being coupled to the bodie, beginneth to be vncleane. S. *Augustine* also doth answere very well: *Quomodo iustum est vt anima recens creata, ab omni delicto immunis, passiones corporis, diuersosque cruciatus, etiam daemonum incursus in paruulis sustineat, sic et illud potest, qua iustitia, in carne quoque peccati subeat originale peccatum*: Looke how it may be iust, that the soule newly created, and void of all offence, yet should indure in infants the passions and vexations of the flesh, yea the inuasion of diuels (which were suffered to torment children) so it may be shewed how it standeth with the rule of iustice, that the soule in sinfull flesh should be touched also with originall sinne.

Lib. 3. cont. Pelagian. cap. 10.

Fiftly, it is of each side concluded, that original sin doth appertaine as wel by nature to the seed of the faithfull, as of Infidels: for *Dauid* confesseth, who no doubt was borne of faithfull parents, that *in sinne his mother conceiued him*, Psal. 51. 5.

Sixtly, that not all the sinnes of our parents and forefathers, but the offence onely of *Adam* is deriued and propagated to posteritie: so saith the Apostle, *the fault came of one offence, namely Adams, to condemnation, but the gift is of manie offences to iustification*, Rom. 5. 16.

Seuenthly, that originall sinne is no substance, nor hath anie naturall being of it selfe, but is onely a deprauation, defect and corruption of nature: for euery creature of God is good. 1. Timoth. 4. 4. *Ergo*, originall sinne is no substance created of God, being euill: Saint *Paul* also saith, I know that in me dwelleth no good thing, Rom. 7. 18. Originall sin then hath the seate & dwelling in man, but hath no being of it selfe.

Lastly, we do distinguish between originall and actuall sinne: for infants and young children cannot commit anie actuall sinne, but yet they are guiltie of originall: the first is euident; Rom. 9. 11. the Apostle speaking of *Esau* and *Iacob*, saith, that they yet had done neither euill nor good: the second is also proued, Rom. 5. 14. that children do sinne, though not after the transgression of *Adam*, that is, actually.

These then are the seuerall poynts, wherein we and our aduersaries are agreed: the difference betweene vs in this question of originall sinne, is in these particulars following: first, of the nature and qualitie of originall sinne. Secondly, of the beginning of originall sinne. Thirdly, whether it

it remaine after Baptiſme. Fourthly, whether it be hurtfull to the regenerate after Baptiſme. Fiftly, of the ſeate of concupiſcence. Sixtly, of the puniſhment of originall ſinne.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE NATVRE AND definition of originall ſinne.

The Papiſts.

THe Ieſuite defineth originall ſin, to be nothing elſe, but, *Priuatio ſeu carentia debiti iuſtitiæ originalis, vel habitualis auerſio à Deo:* A priuation or wanting of the gift of original iuſtice; or, an habituall auerſion or turning away of the mind from God: but he denieth, that *reatus culpæ*, or, *pœnæ*, that the guilt of the offence of our firſt parents, or of the puniſhment, is anie part of original ſinne. His reaſon is, becauſe, to be guiltie of the offence, or of the puniſhment, are the effect or ſequell of ſinne, rather then anie ſinne it ſelfe: and therefore it is no part of originall ſinne, which hath, *Veram & propriam peccati rationem*, the true and proper nature & condition of ſinne: *Bellarm. de amiſſ. grat. lib. 5. cap. 19.* 14. Error.

Anſwer. In the affirmatiue part of *Bellarmines* definition, there is a double fault: for he ſaith that originall ſinne is onely the defect or wanting of iuſtice, whereas there is in it beſide a ſupply of naturall corruption and prauitie: there is not only a grace wanting, but an euill preſent. Secondly, he calleth it an habituall or potentiall turning aſide of the mind from God, whereas there is an actuall rebellion of nature, and deprauation of the mind, as euen now ſhall be ſhewed.

Neither is the Ieſuites reaſon good, why *reatus culpæ*, the guiltineſſe of the offence, that is, the ſtaine or blot of *Adams* ſinne remaining in his poſteritie, ſhould be no part of originall ſinne, becauſe it is the effect of ſinne, not properly ſinne it ſelfe: for hee might ſo reaſon againſt originall ſinne: It is the effect of ſinne: *Ergo*, no ſinne: which were no good conſequent: For it is, *peccatum, & pœna peccati*, both ſinne, and the puniſhment of ſinne; as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Primo hominis, quod eſt pœna, natura nobis eſt:* That which was a puniſhment to our firſt parents, is a naturall euill in vs: *in Pſal.* 37. So this naturall ſtaine or blot of ſinne, in reſpect of *Adam*, it is a puniſhment of his tranſgreſſion laid vpon his poſteritie, in reſpect of vs it is ſinne.

The Proteſtants.

WE define originall ſinne generally to be that euil, which is ingraft in our nature, wherein we are conceiued and borne: which S. *Paul* calleth, *peccatum inhabitans*, the ſinne that dwelleth in vs. This originall euill or ſinne, hath two parts: for firſt thereby we are made guiltie of the ſinne and diſobedience of our firſt parents, which is made ours by propagation: as the Apoſtle ſaith, By one mans diſobedience many are made ſinners, Rom. 5. 19. And together with the fault or offence, the puniſhment is propagated: that is, death is gone ouer all, *in as much as all haue ſinned*, verſ. 12. This is the firſt part of this naturall euill, which is denied by our aduerſaries, but confirmed as we ſee, by euident teſtimonies of ſcripture. By this then, two popiſh aſſertions of our aduerſaries are ouerthrowne: one of *Albertus Pighius*, and *Catharinus*, that *Adams* ſinne is ours only by imputation: which opinion *Bellarmine* taketh paines to confute, *cap.* 16. the other is maintained by the Ieſuite himſelfe, that *Adams* ſin is ſaid to be ours, becauſe we were then in *Adams* loynes when he ſinned, *cap.* 18. But we affirme that we are guiltie of the ſin of *Adam*, not by bare imputation, nor yet potentially only in *Adams* loynes, but really, verily, & in ſome ſort actually: As by this reaſon may appeare: Looke how death, the puniſhment of *Adams* ſin, is deriued to his poſteritie, ſo is his ſinne: but death reigneth ouer vs verily and indeed, not by imputation, or potentially onely: The firſt part is proued by the Apoſtles wordes: *By one man ſinne entred into the world, and death by ſinne*: Rom. 5. 12. they entred therefore both after the ſame maner. The ſecond part experience maketh good: for we ſee that children are ſubiect to die, and are taken away by death: *Ergo, Adams* ſinne really and indeed is tranſfuſed to his poſteritie. This then is the firſt part of originall ſinne, *reatus culpæ, & obligatio ad pœnam*: whereby we are made guiltie of the ſinne of *Adam*, and the puniſhment.

The other part is, beſide this reall communicating vnto vs, the ſinne of our parents, a general deprauation and corruption of the whole nature of man, both in his ſoule, and in his bodie: in the ſoule there is the blindneſſe of the minde, the loſſe of freewill, the vnrulineſſe of the affection, the proneneſſe to vice: in the bodie, the concupiſcence and rebellion of the fleſh. 12. Error.

And here concerning this part of originall ſinne, we affirme and maintaine two points againſt the Ieſuite: firſt he ſaith that originall ſinne is no poſitiue qualitie, or any inherent euill diſpoſition of nature: but whatſoeuer is euill in vs, it doth ſpring onely, *Ex carentia iuſtitiæ originalis, non ex infixa aliqua qualitate*, from the loſſe or want of originall iuſtice, not from anie inherent qualitie. *Contra.* But the contrarie may be ſhewed out of S. *Paul*, who calleth this naturall euill, *peccatum inhabitans*, Rom. 7. 20. *& corpus mortis*, a bodie of death, or ſin, verſ. 24. but how could it Bellarm. cap. 15.

haue

haue a being or dwelling, and be as a bodie, a masse or lumpe of sinne, if it were not an inherent qualitie, but a priuation or defect onely? So *Augustine* saith: *Quod in membris corporis huius inobedienter mouetur, totumq; animum in se deiectum conatur attrahere, &c. hoc est malum peccati, in quo nascitur omnis homo:* That which is in the members of our bodie disorderly moued or stirred, and laboureth to captiuate the minde vnto it, this is that euill of sinne, in the which euery man is borne: *contr. Pelag. 2. 4.* This sinne which hee speaketh of, moueth, and is moued: wherefore it is somewhat that hath a being, and is capable of motion; and for this cause not a priuation onely, or a defect.

Secondly, the Iesuite defineth originall sinne: *Habitualem auersionem à Deo:* An habituall forsaking, or turning aside from God, *cap. 19.* as though it were onely in habite, nothing in act, and did but giue a promptnes or inclination to euill onely.

Contra. Although we doe admit the distinction of originall and actuall sinnes: for these are by vs done and committed, the other come into the world with vs: yet this originall and natiue sinne is neuer idle in vs but alwaies working, and sheweth it selfe euen in infants: This Saint *Paul* calleth, *the law of his members rebelling against the law of his minde,* Rom. 7. 23. Rebellion of nature is an actuall thing, but this is the fruite of originall sinne. *Augustine* also saith, *Concupiscentiæ lex peccati cum paruulis nascitur:* This concupiscence, which is the law of sinne, is euen borne with children: *cont. Pelag. 2. 4.* And this rebellion of nature doth bewray it selfe in children, by those vnreasonable motions, and stirrings which are seene in them: *Qui non rationi, sed dolore interdum obtemperant:* Which are not stayed by reason, but sometime with paine and griefe, as *Augustine* saith: and therefore he thinketh that Christ in his infancie, was voyd of them: *cont. Pelag. lib. 2. cap. 19.*

Concil. Arausican. 2. can. 1. Si quis per offensam prænaricationis Adami, non totum secundum corpus & animam dicit hominem in deterius commutatum, & c. anathema sit: If any man say, that by the offence of the transgression of *Adam,* man is not both in bodie and soule chaunged to the worse, let him be accursed. The nature of man therefore by sinne is actually corrupted, it is not potentially, or in habite onely: for there is, *actus primus, & secundus,* the first act, and the second: the first is inward: and so we say that man is inwardly by originall sinne actually corrupted, sinne being yet as in the roote, or seede. The second act is externall, when this bitter roote of sinne within bringeth forth euill fruite in the life.

Decret. par. 2. caus. 33. dist. 3. c. 25. This Canon sheweth, that originall sinne is not onely habituall but actuall: first it saith, *Iniquitas est habitudo mentis iniusta:* Iniquitie is the habite of an vnrighteous minde. Againe, *Peccatum est opus iniquitatis; iniquitas autem operatrix culpæ, aut delicti:* Sinne is the worke of iniquitie; iniquitie is the worker of the guilt or of the sinne. Thus then originall sinne, which is here called iniquitie, is not onely in habite but in act.

And that originall sinne is not onely a priuation of originall iustice, but a reall deprauation of our nature, not priuatiue onely but positiue, many of the learned popish writers doe affirme: as *Henricus quodlib. 2. qu. 11. Gregor. Arimin. in 2. dist. 3. qu. 1. Ioann. Driedo, 1. lib. de grat. & lib. arbitrio.*

Likewise, *Hyeronim. Hangest. c. 3. & 13. Ex Ada delicto, &c. secuta est plaga atque iustitiæ originalis ablatio, & originalis culpæ incursus:* The plague or wound that followed of *Adams* sinne, is the ablation of originall iustice, and the inuasion of originall sinne. Originall sinne then is somewhat else beside the priuation of originall iustice.

But among the rest the Master of the Sentences is most resolute in this point: *lib. 2. dist. 30. f. Originale peccatum culpa est:* Originall sinne is a fault. *g. Fomes peccati, lex membrorum, langour naturæ, sine tyrannus, &c.* The nourishment of sinne, the law of the members, the disease of nature, a very tyrant. All this sheweth more then a priuation onely. *Distinct. 35. l. Aliquid ponit, &c.* He sheweth that originall sinne is positiue, and not a priuation onely. Thus the truth wanteth not the testimonie of the aduersaries thereof.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE BEGINNING of originall sinne, whether it be deriued from Adam or Eue.

The Papists.

15. Error. THe Iesuite thinketh that originall sinne is onely deriued from *Adam:* his best and onely reason is grounded vpon S. *Pauls* words: *By one man sinne entred into the world,* Rom. 5. 12. And, *As in Adam all dye, so in Christ are all made aliue,* 1. Cor. 15. 22. *Ergo,* the propagation of sinne is only from *Adam: Bellar. cap. 13. lib. 4. de stat. peccat.*

Answ. First, the word, that the Apostle vseth, *ἄνθρωπος, homo,* both in the Latine and Greeke indifferently signifieth a man, or a woman. Secondly, sinne is said to haue entred by one man, that is, by *Adam,* because the man is the chiefest instrument of generation: as the Apostle saith, 1. Co-

rinth.

ninth 21.14. *The man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man.* And therefore in the lawe the males only were circumcised, because the beginning of the carnall generation, was from them. Thirdly, in respect of *Adams* person, who was the more worthie and excellent: and although in diuers respects the womans sinne was not inferiour to his, yet because the transgression was not perfected nor consummate but by the consent of *Adam*, it is chiefly imputed to him. Fourthly, if *Eue* alone brought in sin, the Scripture should be contrary, that saith, *the woman was in the transgression*, 1. Timoth. 2. 14. Fiftly, *Augustine* also giueth another answere: The sinne came by two, and the Apostle saith, it entred by one: because they two now made but one: *They two shall be one flesh*, Genes. 2. 24. Lastly, the Master of Sentences giueth these reasons why sinne is said to enter by one, and yet both sinned: *Quia per mulierem intrauerit de viro fallax*: Because it entred by the woman made of man: Or, because if man had not sinned, humane kinde had bin corrupted, *lib. 2. dist. 22. g.* Articul. 2. cont. Pelag.

The Protestants.

THough wee graunt that *Adam* was the chiefest in some respects, though not the first in the transgression, yet was he not alone: his sinne indeede was greater than the womans, for these causes: First, he was stronger than the woman, and more able to resist the tentation. Secondly, the woman encountred with a stronger enemie, for she was seduced by the Serpent, in whom the diuell spake, Gen. 3. 13. but *Adam* obeyed only the voyce of his wife, vers. 17. Thirdly, because the commandement was giuen by the Lord to the man, Gen. 2. 16. and by the man to his wife: wherefore the mans offence seemeth the greater in transgressing the commaundement: yet although the man were the chiefe transgressor, as by these and other circumstances may appeare; yet they were both authors and beginners of originall sinne.

Argum. 1. As sinne entred into Paradise, so is it entred into the world: for it is the same sinne which was in our first parents, and is in vs, in them actually, in vs originally: and the same sinne must haue the same beginning: but sinne entred into Paradise both by the man and woman: nay the woman was deceiued, and was first in the transgression, 1. Timot. 2. 14. *Ergo*, by them both sin came vpon vs.

Argum. 2. By whom death entred into the world, by them also sinne entred: but death entred both by the man and woman: for being guiltie of one sinne, they receiued one common punishment, *Dust thou art, and to dust shalt thou returne. Ecclesiasticus* also saith (which is good scripture against our aduersaries) *The beginning of the woman we all dye*, chap. 25. vers. 26. Yea, saith the Iesuite, *per illam*, through her, because she gaue occasion of the transgression, but not *in illa*, in her, as wee are said to dye in *Adam*. *Ans.* Saint *Paul* vseth both these phrases, to dye in *Adam*, or death came in by or through *Adam*, Rom. 5. vers. 12. 16. Therefore there is no such difference in the wordes: so whether we say, we dye in or by the woman, all is one matter.

Augustine lastly, answering an obiection of the Pelagians, whether sinne entred by one or two, teacheth not to say, *Ecce fallax est tibi sat it: per duos homines pertransisse peccatum*: Behold, this may satisfie you, that sinne entred by two, the man and the woman.

Apud. Magunt. in cap. 5. Primorum hominum peccatum propagatione in omnes homines transire, ac secum suam trahere, &c. That the sinne of the first men (not of the first man, as of one) is deriued by propagation vnto al men, and draweth the punishment with it, &c. *Ergo*, the sinne springeth from both our first parents.

Saint *Ambrose* saith, *Adam & Eua primi illi vt generis, ita errois parentes: Adam* and *Eue*, the first parents as of our generatiō, so of our error. This is agreeable to the law of nature: *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 32. leg. 7. Philipp. Partus sequitur matrem, &c.* The birth followeth the mother: as if a free man haue a childe by a bondwoman, the childe also shall be bound and not free. *Sext. decret. lib. 5. tit. 2. c. 15. Bonifac. Haereticorum filij puniuntur secundum tam matris quam patris lineam*: The sonnes of heretikes are punished as well after the line of generation by the mother, as by the father.

Lastly, the Master of Sentences thinketh, that *Eua* her sinne was the greater, *lib. 2. dist. 22.* and that *Adam* was not seduced: then it will follow, that the womans sinne being the greater cannot be excluded, and the mans sinne, which was the lesse, to be taken onely to giue beginning to originall sinne.

De vit. & tall. peccat. c. 14.

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER THE SINNE OF *Adam* or *Eue* were the greater in the transgression.

That *Adams* sinne was greater.

THis question is not so much controuerted betweene the Papists and Protestants, as between the ancient fathers of the Church, who haue written diuersly of this matter. Saint *Ambrose* doth amplifie *Adams* sinne; Saint *Chrysostome* and Saint *Augustine* doe seeme to exaggerate the transgression of the woman: I will propound the arguments on both sides, and then briefly determine

termine of the truth. First, Saint *Ambrose* thus reasoneth against *Adams* sin: *Institut. virg. c. 4.*

1 *Illam decepit superior creatura, &c.* A superiour creature deceiued the woman, that is, an euill Angell: but a woman deceiued *Adam*: he had a weaker tempter.

2 If *Adam* could not keepe the commaundement, which hee heard of God, how should the woman that heard it not?

3 The man is rebuked, the woman but asked the question.

4 The woman first confessed her fault, Genes. 3. vers. 13. *The Serpent beguiled me.*

5 The woman accuseth the Serpent, the man more vnkindly accuseth the woman.

6 The woman in her punishment findeth mercie: *Ex remuneratione poenam inuenit:* She findeth a reward in her punishment: though she was to bring forth in sorrow, yet by her fruite she shall be deliuered.

But these reasons may thus easily be answered: First, *Ambrose* himselfe confesseth, that *homo Serpentis persuasione deceptus:* That man was deceiued by the perswasion of the Serpent, *sum. 7. in Psal.* 119. So then the diuell tempted the woman, and the diuell by the woman tempted *Adam*: *Adams* then was the stronger tentation.

2 The woman knew as well as the man, that they were not to eate of the forbidden tree, ver. 3. God hath said, *Ye shall not eate of it, &c.*

3 The woman is both rebuked and first punished.

4 The woman confesseth her fault, no otherwise than *Adam* did, by posting it off to another.

5 The man spake but the truth, that the woman gaue him to eate, as the woman saith she was beguiled of the Serpent.

6 The benefit of the promise concerning the womans seede redoundeth to the man, as well as to the woman: and the promise is first pronounced before her punishment is inflicted.

THAT THE SINNE OF THE WOMAN WAS IN it selfe not inferiour to Adams transgression, but rather greater.

First, the Master of the Sentences thus reasoneth: *Plus videtur peccasse mulier, &c.* The woman seemeth to haue sinned more, because she presumptuously desired the diuine equalitie, and beleeued it would come to passe: but *Adam* did not so beleeue, being onely entised by his wife, &c. *distinct. 22. lib. 2.*

2 *Mulier plus peccauit, quia grauius punita:* The woman offended more, because she was punished more: vpon the man is inflicted labour and sorrow; vpon the woman trauaile and paine in labour: *Thom. Aquin. 2. qu. 163. artic. 4.*

3 *Mulier in se, proximum & Deum peccauit; vir in se tantum & Deum:* The woman sinned against her selfe, against God, against her husband: the man onely against God and himselfe: *de Genes. lib. 11. c. 42. Augustin.*

4 Saint *Ambrose* also vseth this reason: *Mulier sciens prudensq; peccauit, &c.* The woman sinned willingly, and wittingly, in that after she knew she had sinned, she drew also her husband into error, *de Paradis. cap. 6.*

5 As their sinnes were in degree and order, so was the punishment: first the Serpent is cursed, as being the first seducer: next the woman is chastised, as being in the second degree of offence: the man is reserued to the last and least punishment.

6 But the best reason of all is grounded vpon S. *Pauls* words: *Adam was not deceiued, but the woman was deceiued, and was fallen in the transgression,* 1. Timoth. 2. 14. Whereupon *Chrysostome* giueth this note: *Hoc amplius deliquerat, &c. Eue* sinned the more, in so much that *Adams* sinne compared with it is not counted transgression, *Hom. 32. ad Rom.* And S. *Ambrose* thus enforceth it: *Vitio mulier, non mulieri vir author erroris:* The woman to the man, not the man to the woman is author of error. The conclusion of the question is this, that *Adams* sinne in respect of the dignitie and excellencie of his person was the greater: as *Augustine* saith, *Adam plus peccauit, quia minus bono abundauit: Adam* sinned more, because he had more excellent graces and better strength to resist: But in regard of the qualitie of the sinne in it selfe it is euident, that the sinne of the woman was tempered with a greater measure both of infidelitie and ambition, than *Adams* was. I end this matter with that conclusion of *Augustine*, in the like case; that as one being fallen into a pit, thus answered him, that asked, how hee fell in: *Cogita quaeso quomodo hinc me liberes, non quomodo huc ceciderim quaeras:* Bethinke your selfe how you may deliuer me hence, aske not how I came hither. So it is needlesse for vs to be inquisitiue of the beginning, entrance, qualitie and degree of the sinne of our parents; but let vs rather seeke and labour by what meanes to be deliuered from it.

De ver. & fals. poenit. c. 14.

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THE THIRD PART, WHETHER ORIGINALL sinne remaine after Baptisme.

The Papists.

Bellarmine in flat words denieth, that the corruption of nature, or concupiscence, which remaineth in the regenerate after Baptisme, is originall sinne, nor yet any sinne of it selfe, nor yet doth make them guiltie, in whom it is found: *Bellarm. lib. 5. de stat. peccat. cap. 7.* The like also the Rhemists affirme, that concupiscence remaining after Baptisme, is not properly a sinne, nor forbidden by commaundement: it is called sinne, because it is the matter, effect, and occasion of sin, *Rhemist. Rom. 6. sect. 8.* 16. Error.

Argum. 1. Saint *Iames* saith, *That lust when it hath conceived, bringeth forth sinne, and sinne when it is finished, bringeth forth death.* The Apostle here calleth not lust or concupiscence sinne, but saith it bringeth forth sinne: *Sic Bellarm. cap 7. Rhemist. in hunc locum.*

Answ. 1. The argument followeth not, concupiscence bringeth forth sinne: *Ergo* it is no sinne: nay, it shall the rather be sinne, as one Serpent bringeth forth another: so both the mother and daughter are sinne.

2. We may better conclude out of this place, that concupiscence is sinne: *A good tree* (saith our Saviour) *bringeth forth good fruit, and an euill tree, euill fruite*, Matth. 7. 17. but concupiscence bringeth forth euill fruit. *Euery man is tempted* (saith the Apostle) *when he is drawne away of his concupiscence, &c. Ergo* concupiscence is an euill tree.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* saith, *Now it is no more I that doe it, but sinne that dwelleth in me: for I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing*, Rom. 7. 17. 18. Hence it is proued, first that this sin, which Saint *Paul* saith, is not his, is not imputed to the Apostle: And againe, it is in his flesh, therefore no sinne, for the flesh properly is not capable of sinne, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. By the flesh and the minde, Saint *Paul* doth not here vnderstand the two parts, whereof man naturally consisteth, namely, the bodie and the soule: but he speaketh of a man new regenerate: by the flesh vnderstanding whatsoeuer is carnall, either in the soule or bodie: by the minde or spirit whatsoeuer is spirituall and regenerate. And therefore as he is regenerate, he saith, the sin is him is not imputed: but yet it is sinne still.

Bellarm. obiecteth: 1. Though sometime the flesh be taken for the whole man, yet is it not so here: for that which he nameth flesh, he calleth the bodie of death, vers. 24. but by the mortall bodie both the parts of man cannot be vnderstood: for the soule is not mortall.

Contra. By death here the Apostle vnderstandeth not the mortalitie of the bodie, but that death which commeth by sinne both to the bodie and soule: as the Prophet saith, *That soule that sinneth, shall die*, Ezech. 18. 16. There is then a death of the soule, as there is of the bodie: the bodie then of death, is nothing else but the bodie, that is, the whole lumpe and masse of sin, Rom. 6. 6. which bringeth death both to bodie and soule.

Bellarm. 2. Saint *Paul* here speaketh of the inner man, vers. 22. but that is the soule of man; as it is taken, 2. Cor. 4. 16. *Though our outward man perish, yet our inward man is renewed daily*: the outward man then is the bodie.

Contra. By the inward man in this place, the Apostle vnderstandeth the regenerate part through the whole man, both in bodie and soule: which in other places he calleth the new man, and the outward man is the old man. And as here he saith, our outward man perisheth: so elsewhere, our old man is crucified with him, Rom. 6. 6. And by the old man, he vnderstandeth the workes of the flesh, not only outward, as, *Lye not one to another, seeing you haue put off the old man*, Coloss. 3. 9. but inward: *Cast off the old man, and be renewed in the spirit of your minde*. Ephes. 4. 23.

Bellarm. 3. Againe, S. *Paul* doth in very direct words distinguish betweene the minde and the flesh: *In my minde I serue the law of God, in my flesh the law of sinne*, vers. 25. By the minde, vnderstanding the soule of man: by the flesh, the bodie, *Bellarm.*

Answ. Saint *Paul* speaketh indeede of a minde regenerate, not setting it against an vnregenerate bodie: for if Saint *Pauls* minde were regenerate, so also his bodie in some sort must be partaker of the same regeneration: for he himselfe saith, *Glorifie God in your bodies, and in your spirits, for they are the Lords*, 1. Cor. 6. 20. The regenerate are renewed both in bodie and soule, and in them both doe glorifie God: therefore the flesh cannot be here taken for the bodie, seeing the Apostle speaketh of himselfe, who no doubt was mortified in his bodie, and did beate it downe, 1. Corin. 9. Neither can the minde simplie signifie the whole, or all the regenerate part: for as there is a regenerate mind; *Be renewed in the spirit of your mind*, Ephes. 4. 24. so there is a fleshly mind, Coloss. 2. 18. Wherfore the Apostle by the mind must either vnderstand the whole regenerate part, which is to the vnregenerate, as the soule to the bodie, and therefore the regenerate man is called the spirituall man, 1. Corinth. 2. 15. Or else by the minde regenerate which is the principall part of rege-

neration, inclusiuely the whole regeneration is insinuated, a part figuratiuely being taken for the whole.

Hauing now answered the Iesuites obiections, we will set downe some of our reasons, why this place is to be vnderstood, as we sayd, not of the two natural parts of man, the bodie, and the soule: but that by the flesh the Apostle meaneth the whole vnregenerate part: by the minde or spirit, the part regenerate.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* saith, *The euill I would not, that doe I*, vers. 21. *I serue in my flesh the law of sin*, vers. 25. And againe, *I see a law in my members leading me captiue to sinne*, vers. 23. These speeches are not vttered of the regenerate part: if of the vnregenerate, which must needes be granted, yet not of the bodie or flesh by it selfe considered without the soule: for the flesh of it selfe is a dead thing; how can the Apostle serue in his flesh, or doe any thing in his flesh, without the operation of the soule? And therefore by the flesh must wee vnderstand the part vnregenerate both in bodie and soule.

Argum. 2. The flesh of it selfe without the soule is no fit place for sinne: but in the flesh sinne dwelleth, as the Apostle saith: *Ergo*, flesh is not here to be considered without the soule.

Argum. 3. A perfect man consisteth of bodie and soule, but that which is regenerate is called the inner man: *Ergo*, regeneration is both in bodie and soule.

Argum. 4. The flesh is the same, which Saint *Paul* calleth the bodie of death, vers. 24. The bodie of death is all one with the bodie of sinne, Rom. 6. 6. The bodie of sinne, or sinfull bodie of the flesh, is the whole corruption of man both in bodie and soule, so much as is put off by the spirituall circumcision of Christ, Colos. 2. 11. *Ergo*, the flesh in this place is the corrupt and vnregenerate part of the whole man.

Argum. 5. The Apostle calleth concupiscence the law of his members, vers. 23. what members he meaneth, he sheweth elsewhere: *Mortifie your earthly members, fornication, vncleannes, inordinate affection*, Colos. 3. 5. but these are not members of the bodie, but of the whole corrupt masse of bodie and soule in man: *Ergo*. Thus much for our answere to *Bellarmines* second argument.

Argum. 3. The Apostle saith, *There is no condemnation to them, that are in Christ*: But if concupiscence remaining in those that are iustified were sinne, then there should be some matter of condemnation still in them, contrarie to the Apostle, *Bellarm. lib.* 5. *cap.* 7.

Answ. There is no condemnation either for concupiscence, or any other sinne, because though in it selfe it be worthie of damnation, yet the guilt thereof is taken away in Christ.

Bellarm. The guilt of sinne cannot be separated from the thing, that in it selfe deserueth condemnation: neither can sin be forgiuen, as long as the foundation thereof remaineth; Ezech. 18. vers. 21. Forgiuenes is remitted, if the wicked will turne away from his iniquitie. If iniquitie still remaine, there is then no forgiuenes, *ibid.*

Contra. 1. The Apostle himselfe had said in the next wordes before, Rom. 7. 25. *I my minde I serue the law of God, in my flesh the law of sinne*: He is not ashamed to confesse, that sinne remained in his members, yet was he one of those, *that are in Christ.*

2. Saint *Iohn* saith, 1. Epist. 1. 9. *If we say wee haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues: if wee acknowledge our sinnes, he is faithfull to forgiue them, &c.* Here the Apostle sheweth, that to haue sinne, and to haue forgiuenes of sinne, may both stand together: wherefore it is false which hee so boldly affirmeth, that the guilt of sinne cannot be separated from the sinne it selfe: the guilt is taken away by forgiuenes in Christ, and yet after forgiuenes obtained, hee is a lyar, that saith he hath no sinne.

3. The turning from iniquitie, which *Ezechiel* speaketh of, is by repentance, and by ceasing to commit the act of sinne: the staine or blot of sinne is one thing, the act and worke of sin another: though sin raigne not in vs, *that we obey the lusts thereof*, Rom. 6. 12. yet there is sinne still dwelling in vs, Rom. 7. 20. so long as we haue our habitation in these houses of clay.

4. If there remaine then in the regenerate no sinne at all; how farre are they from the opinion of the Pelagian heretikes, Anabaptists, Libertines, which hold that a man may attaine in this life to a state of perfection? And if the regenerate haue no sinne, what neede they say that petition in the Lords prayer; *Forgiue vs our trespasses?* But I thinke they will be ashamed of so great impudencie: as *Augustine* saith, *Nescio virum quispiam vel haretica prauitate reperiri posse, &c.* I thinke no man can be found, though of a most hereticall proud spirit, which will (I say) not openly professe, but thinke secretly within himselfe, that he neede not say this petition, *Forgiue vs our trespasses, &c. cont. Crescon. lib.* 2. *c.* 28.

The Protestants.

THat concupiscence, and the corrupt inclination of nature, euen in the children of God, is verily and properly sinne, and in it selfe worthie of damnation, but that both it, and all other sinnes, are remitted in Christ to the faithfull, and so not imputed: thus it is prooued by the word of God.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* calleth it ſinne dwelling in him, Rom. 7. verſ. 17. 20. *Ergo*, it is ſinne.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, it is a ſinne improperly ſo called, not becauſe it is a ſinne indeede, but either the cauſe or effect of ſinne: for the Apoſtle ſaith, that this ſinne dwelleth in his fleſh: but the fleſh is not the ſeate or place of ſinne: *Bellarm. lib. 5. cap. 10. reſpond. ad obiect. 1.*

Contra. 1. Let it be noted, that the Apoſtle giuing concupiſcence, at the leaſt ten ſeuerall times the name of ſinne in this one chapter, yet ſpeaketh improperly, and muſt now learne of *Bellarmine* to ſpeake: 2. By the fleſh Saint *Paul*, as before we ſhewed at large, vnderſtandeth not the bodie, but the whole part of man not renewed as well of the ſoule, as the bodie: therefore his reaſon for the place of ſinne is nothing. 3. But that concupiſcence hath the very proper nature of ſinne, it may appeare further by Saint *Pauls* deſcription: Firſt, he denieth it to be good, verſ. 18. Secondly, he ſaith it is euill, verſ. 19. Thirdly, hee ſaith he hateth it, verſ. 15. Fourthly, it maketh him to crie *O wretched man that I am, &c.* verſ. 24. It bringeth wretchednes, which is the fruite of ſinne: *Ergo* it is ſinne.

Bellarmine anſwereth: that it is an euill, but no ſinne.

Contra. Well then, it is an euill by the Ieſuites confeſſion, and Saint *Paul* ſaith it is ſinne: *Ergo*, an euill that is ſinne. 2. What will he anſwere to this place: *I knew not ſinne but by the law: for I had not knowne luſt, except the law had ſaid, thou ſhalt not luſt*, verſ. 7. Luſt and concupiſcence is forbidden by the law: *Ergo*, it is verily and properly a ſinne.

Bellarmine before diſtinguiſhed of ſinne, but that not ſeruing his turne here, for he dare not denie but that the tranſgreſſion of the law is ſinne: he hunteth about for another diſtinction: Concupiſcence forbidden by the law (*thou ſhalt not couet*) is not originall, but actuall concupiſcence: and therefore it is not pertinent to the matter: for the one wee confeſſe to be ſinne, but not the other.

Contra. Firſt, Saint *Paul* ſaith, that ſinne tooke occaſion by the law to work all manner of concupiſcence, verſ. 8. *Ergo*, all concupiſcence, originall or actuall, is forbidden by the law. Secondly, *ſinne wrought in me all manner of concupiſcence*: By ſinne, ſaith the Ieſuite, he vnderſtandeth original concupiſcence: the Apoſtle then calleth the working concupiſcence ſinne, the concupiſcence wrought he ſetteth downe by the name of concupiſcence ſtill: ſo then we reaſon thus: That is ſin properly, which is rather ſinne, than that which no man doubteth to be ſinne: but concupiſcence wrought in vs by our aduerſaries owne confeſſion is ſinne: yet the working concupiſcence is rather ſinne, becauſe the Apoſtle calleth it ſinne, and not the other: *Ergo*, it is properly ſinne. Thirdly, *Bellarmine* ſaith, that *Voluntarius actus concupiſcendi prohibitus eſt lege*: That is, the voluntare act of concupiſcence which is forbidden by the lawe: ſo that inuoluntarie motions, in his iudgement, are not againſt the law. But Saint *Paul* ſheweth the contrarie: *If I doe that which I would not, I conſent to the law, that it is good*, verſ. 16. His inuoluntarie motions were againſt the law: for obeying them againſt his will, he did in iudgement and conſent approue the law, though in practiſe he went againſt it. Fourthly, if originall concupiſcence be euill, as the Ieſuite confeſſeth, then muſt it needes be contrarie to the law, which is good, and ſo forbidden by the law: or elſe the law ſhall not be a perfect rule of righteouſnes, and goodnes.

Argum. 2. The Apoſtle calleth *the Law of his members a law rebelling againſt the law of his minde*: but whatſoeuer rebelleth, or is contrarie to the law, is ſinne.

Bellarm. 1. Euery thing that rebelleth, or is contrarie to the law, is not ſinne: for man, when he ſinneth, reſiſteth the lawe; and yet man is not ſinne. And againe, in that the Apoſtle calleth it a law, he ſheweth that it is not properly ſinne, but a law or rule rather of ſinning: *reſpond. ad obiect. 6.*

Contra. 1. The Ieſuites inſtance is very ridiculous, and bewrayeth the nakednes of his cauſe, which he is faine to bolſter out with ſuch ſillie anſweres: Man reſiſting the law is not ſinne it ſelfe, yet is he a ſinner: the queſtion is of that, which formally is contrarie to the law. 2. That euery tranſgreſſion of the law is ſinne wee ſhew it vs: Sinne onely deſerueth the eternall curſe of God: for the proper wages & ſtipend of ſin is death, Rom. 6. 23. and nothing is found worthie of death but ſinne: but euery tranſgreſſion of the lawe, falleth vnder Gods curſe, Galath. 3. 10. *Ergo*, it is ſinne. 3. Concupiſcence is the law of ſinne, therefore it is not ſinne. *Anſ.* Yea, but by this reaſon it is worſe than ſinne: As the law of God commaunding things holie, iuſt, and good, is it ſelfe much more holie, righteous, and good, Rom. 7. 11. ſo the law of ſinne preſcribing that which is euill, vniuſt, wicked, is it ſelfe more vniuſt, euill, and wicked. If then concupiſcence be not ſinne, and yet by your argument is worſe than ſinne, what haue you gained?

Argum. 3. Verſe 18. *To will is preſent with me, but I finde no meanes to performe that which is good:* but he that performeth not that which is good, ſinneth. Againe, verſe 24. *O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliuer me, from this bodie of death?* that which maketh a man wretched, and bringeth death, is ſinne: *Ergo*, concupiſcence working theſe things, is ſinne.

Bellarm. 1. Wretchednes in Scripture is attributed to puniſhment rather then to the fault.

2. If a man performe not that good, which he cannot do, he is lesse good, but not euill: as not to coueit in the flesh, is not in mans power.

3. The Apostle speaketh not of euerlasting death, but of the miseries and mortalitie of the bodie: *Bellarm. c.* 10. *resp. ad* 7. *&* 8. *obiect.*

Contra 1. Wretchednesse and miserie is the punishment it selfe, but issuing out from sinne: for 1. as the forgiuenesse of sinne maketh happie, Psal. 32. 1. so sinne maketh wretched. 2. And that which the Apostle would be deliuered from, made him wretched: but from Concupiscence, which he calleth *the bodie of death*, he desireth to be deliuered: *Ergo* his concupiscence made him wretched; and so consequently is properly sinne.

2. It is not in a mans power to do any good thing, but all our power is of God, it would follow then vpon this answere, that it is no sinne to leaue any good thing vndone: and further it is euident, that it is sinne to leaue that vndone, which is not in our power: as Iohn 16. 9. *The spirit shall reproue the world of sinne, because they beleeue not in me:* now to beleeue is not in mans power, but it is the worke of God, Iohn 6. 29.

3. S. *Paul* 1. speaketh directly of condemnation, which is the second death, Rom. 8. 1. *There is no condemnation to those, which are in Christ.* 2. Though he should speake onely of outward miserie and mortalitie, they are the fruites of sinne, Rom. 5. 12. *Death came in by sinne*, therefore concupiscence bringing death is sinne.

Argum. 4. Rom. 8. 7. *The wisedome of the flesh is enmitie against God:* Genes. 6. 5. *The imaginations of the thoughts of mans heart are euill continually: Ergo*, concupiscence is sinne.

Bellarm. 1. These places are vnderstood of actuall, not originall sinne. 2. And the Scripture thus describeth the wicked, in whom concupiscence remaineth and raigneth, *resp. ad obiect.* 9.

Contra. First, these places cannot be otherwise vnderstood, then of originall sinne. 1. The Apostle opposeth the wisedome of the flesh to the wisedome of the spirite, which he saith is *life and peace.* vers. 6. but the wisedome of the spirite *is the inward sanctifying of the soule*, and the renewing of the spirite, Ephes. 4. 23. *Ergo*, the wisedome of the flesh, is the inward secret corruption of the heart. 2. It is the same, which vers. 2. he calleth the law of sinne and death: as the wisedome of the spirite is there called the law of the spirite: but the law of sinne is concupiscence, Rom. 7. vers. 23. 3. *Moses* also speaketh of originall corruption, saying 1. *the imaginations of the thoughts of the heart*: but there is no actuall sinne before the thoughts. 2. And Genes. 8. 21. the thoughts of mans heart are euill from his youth: but the infancie is no fitte age for actuall sinne. 3. Our Sauiour also expoundeth this place, Matth. 15. 19. *Out of the heart come euill thoughts*: the fountaine of euill thoughts is originall sinne.

Secondly, 1. *Moses* as he speaketh in this place especially of the inhabitants of the old world: so Genes. 8. 21. he describeth the naturall state of all men in generall; that their thoughes are euill. 2. S. *Paul* also sheweth this to be the condition euen of the children of God, *that they are not sufficient to thinke any thing* of themselues which is good. 2. Cor. 3. 5. So that the same corruption remaineth euen in the regenerate, yet bridled and gouerned by grace. 3. That euen in the righteous and regenerate the sinne of concupiscence remayneth: these places following do manifestly shew.

Argum. 5. The Prophet *Dauid* saith, 1. *Create in me a new heart*, Psal. 51. S. *Paul* saith, Ephes. 4. vers. 23. 2. *Be renewed in the spirit of your mind*, Coloss. 3. 3. *Mortifie your earthly members, fornication, vncleannesse, &c. Ergo*, the regenerate had neede still to be renewed, and cleansed from the old man: *Ergo*, the sinne of concupiscence still remaineth in the regenerate. 4. 1. Iohn. 1. 9. If we say that we haue *no sinne*, we deceiue our selues: the Apostle saith, *If we say that we haue not &c.* shewing, that sinne that continually remaineth, which is originall sinne: for other sinnes are not alwaies in the regenerate, *argum. Luther. Caluin.*

Bellarmine answereth, First, to the 1. and 4. places, that they must be vnderstood of actuall sinnes, which the regenerate are dayly subiect vnto. 2. Secondly, there are some reliques of originall sin in the regenerate, in respect whereof, they had neede dayly to be renewed. 3. Thirdly, the regenerate must mortifie their earthly members, that they giue not consent thereunto, and fall into fornication, vncleannesse: which is all one with that, which the Apostle saith elsewhere, that sinne should not raigne in their mortall bodie, Rom. 6. 12. *Bellarm. c.* 11. *lib.* 5. *respons. ad lec.* 2. 8. 9. 12.

Contr. First, it is euident, that the Prophet *Dauid* speaketh of originall sinne. 1. He said before, verse 5. *In sinne hath my mother conceaued me:* from the which he desireth to be purged, vers. 7. 2. The creation of the heart anew is expounded by S. *Paul* to be the putting off of the old man, and putting on the new, *which after God is created in righteousnesse*, Ephes. 4. 24. Now the Image of God, which the Prophet prayeth to be created in him, is defaced and deformed by originall concupiscence: therefore against that he directeth his prayer. 2. Those reliques of sinne in the regenerate, are eyther belonging to actuall or originall sinne; but in the *spirit of the minde*, there can

be

be actuall ſinne: *Ergo*, it is originall: and the Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe, what it is to be renewed, &c. *To caſt off the old man which is corrupted through deceiuable luſtes*, verſ. 22. What is the old man, but the originall deprauation and corruption of nature?

3. If the regenerate muſt mortifie their earthly members, that is their carnall concupiſcence, then is not concupiſcence dead or extinct in them, for then it need not be mortified: and whatſoeuer is to be mortified in vs is euill and ſinfull: that whereto *we muſt be dead*, is ſinne, Rom. 6. 11. neither is there feare that the ſinne of concupiſcence ſhould raigne in our mortall bodie, if it be not at all there.

4. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh not onely of actuall but of originall ſinnes. 1. He ſaith, *If we ſay we haue no ſinne*: and afterward verſ. 10. *If we ſay we haue not ſinned*: there he pointeth at that ſinne, which we alwayes haue in vs, which is none other but originall ſinne, in the other place he ſpeaketh of that ſinne which hath been committed, noting actuall ſinnes, wherein the regenerate continue not. 2. He meaneth ſuch ſinnes, wherein a man may be deceiued, and thinke hee hath none: but none of the regenerate are ſo groſſe to thinke they haue no actuall ſinne. 3. He ſpeaketh of all ſinnes, for the which Chriſt is our reconciliation *cap. 2. 1. 2. If any man ſinne, &c.* but Chriſt dyed, and ſo is our reconciliation by his death; not onely for actuall, but originall ſinne: *Ergo*. Thus we ſee how friuolous and inſufficient this Diſputers anſwers are.

Laſtly, let *Auguſtine* ſpeake: *Omnium malorum reatu caret, qui baptizatur; non omnibus malis: quomodo caret ignorantia mali?* He that is baptized is cleared from the guilt of all euils or ſinnes, but not from the euilles themſelues: for ſhall we thinke that he is voide of ignorance? Againe hee ſaith: *Dimittuntur in baptiſmo omnia peccata, & originaliter tracta, & ignoranter vel ſcienter admiſſa*: All ſinnes are forgiuen in Baptiſme, both originall, and ſinnes committed ignorantly or wittingly. Originall ſinne then is no otherwiſe taken away in Baptiſme, then other Sinnes are: but the guilt only of other ſinnes is remitted in Baptiſme, the blot or ſtaine remaineth ſtill: *Ergo*, originall ſin ceaſeth in reſpect of the guilt onely: for neither it, nor any other ſins ſhall be imputed to thoſe, which are iuſtified in Chriſt: but yet it is a ſin ſtill, as the reſt are. *Auguſtine* alſo dare call it a ſin: *Concupiſcentia peior eſt ignorantia*: Concupiſcence is worſe then ignorance: *contr. Iulian. lib. 6. cap. 5.* And in another place, *Ignorantia in his, qui intelligere noluerunt, peccatum eſt, in his qui non poſſunt pœna peccati*: Ignorance in them that are able to learne and will not, is ſinne, in thoſe that cannot, a puniſhment of ſinne: *Epiſtol. 105.* If ignorance then be ſin, concupiſcence, which is worſe then ignorance, is much more.

Cont. Iulian. lib. 6. cap. 5.

Ibid. cap. 6.

I will adde one other notable ſentence out of this father: *Hoc malum quod in nobis remanet, non ſubſtantia, ſed ſubſtantiæ vitium; Dei gratia nos regenerante non eſt imputandum, Dei gratia iuuante ſanandum, Dei gratia commorante ſanandum*: This euill, which remaineth in vs, being not a ſubſtance, but a vice of or in our ſubſtance or nature, by the grace of God regenerating vs ſhall not be imputed, by the grace of God helping vs is bridled, by the grace of God in the ende crowning vs rewarding vs ſhall be healed. Firſt *Auguſtine* calleth here concupiſcence euen in the regenerate, *malum & vitium*, a vice and an euill. And what difference, I pray you, betweene vice and ſinne? *Vitium*, ſaith *Bellarmine*, *eſt nomen habitus mali, peccatum operationis mala*: Vice is the name of an euill habite, ſin the name of the euill action. Vice and ſin then are coſin germanes: and if concupiſcence be a vice or a vicious habite, it is in the next doore to ſin. Againe, *Auguſtine* ſetteth downe a threefold change of concupiſcence: it is not imputed, it is brideled, in the end it is healed: In the two firſt changes, though it be brideled, though it be not imputed; yet it ceaſeth not to be ſinne: but onely when it is healed, that is cleane taken away, which is not in this life, but when the time of our reward commeth: *Ergo*, it is ſinne ſtill in the regenerate, yet brideled in them, and not imputed.

Lib. 2. cont. Iulian.

Bellarm. lib. 1. de ſtat. peccat.

Concil. Milenitan. cap. 2. Propter hoc parvuli, qui nihil in ſeipſis peccatorum commiſerunt, ideo in peccatorum remiſſionem veraciter baptizantur, vt in eis regeneratione mundetur, quod generatione contraxerunt: For this cauſe children, which haue as yet done no ſinne in themſelues, are truely Baptized for the remiſſion of ſinnes, that it may be purged by regeneration, which they tooke in their birth. If originall corruption be not properly a ſinne, then children, who are as yet guiltie of no other ſinne, ſhould not be baptized for remiſſion of ſinnes.

Decret. par. 3. diſtinct. 4. c. 2. In baptiſmo caro peccati euacuatur, &c. In Baptiſme the fleſh or bodie of ſinne is euacuate; not that concupiſcence ſhould wholy be conſumed, *ſed ne obſit mortuo, quæ dum natus*: but that it be not hurtfull to him, that is dead vnto it, which was hurtfull to him in his birth. Their Maſter to the like effect, *lib. 2. diſtinct. 32. b.* ſheweth how originall ſinne is taken away in Baptiſme, *extenuatione, & ſolutione reatus*, by the extenuation of it, and taking away the guiltines: originall ſinne then remaineth ſtill; but it is not hurtfull, nor imputed to the regenerate.

Auguſtine alſo thus alleageth out of *Hilarie, lib. 2. cont. Iulian. Apoſtolis licet verbo fidei emundatis eſſe malitiam, per conditionem communis originis*: Euen in the Apoſtles, though cleanſed with the word of faith, there was not wanting malice or euilnes by the condition of the common

originall or birth: *Ergo*, by this sentence euen in the Apostles, the euilnes or malice of concupiscence by nature remained.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER ORIGINALL sinne be hurtfull to the regenerate after Baptisme.

The Papists.

17. Error. THe Rhemists do not onely deny concupiscence in the regenerate to be sinne, but they affirme also that the motions of the flesh in a iust man, whereunto the minde consenteth not, cannot any whit defile the operations of the spirit, but make them often more meritorious, for the continuall combate that he hath with them: for it is plaine that the operations of the flesh and the spirit doe not concurre to make one act: *Rhemist. annot. Rom. 7. sect. 10.*

Answ. 1. The combat betweene the flesh, cannot make the operations of the spirit meritorious: first, we cannot merite at all by any good action wrought in vs, because it is not of our selues, but wholy of God: *Thou liue*, (saith the Apostle) *not I now, but Christ liueth in me:* Galath. 2. 20. Secondly, the resistance of the flesh, is so farre from encreasing our reward, that it maketh our debt greater: for whose is the flesh? is it not ours? Who shall answere for that which is euill done in the flesh? shall not we? It is therefore our owne fault, that our flesh is rebellious, and that we doe not wholy yeeld to the working of the spirit.

2. Though the operations of the flesh concurre not with the spirit to make one act: yet the flesh concurreth, or rather occurreth, and resisteth the spirit in euery good act: and doth hinder the workes of the spirit from perfection, and so defile them.

The Protestants.

THe lust or concupiscence remaining, but not raigning in the regenerate, doth greatly hinder the good proceeding of the spirit in them.

Argum. 1. Concupiscence kept the Apostle from doing that good, which he desired: *The good that I would, doe I not*, Rom. 7. 19. *Ergo*, it was an hinderance to the working of the spirit.

Argum. 2. If concupiscence were any way profitable to goodnesse, it were a thing to be loued, not hated; to be desired, not wished to be taken away. But S. *Paul* hateth it: *What I hate, that do I*, vers. 15. and longeth till he be ridde from it: *O wretched man, that I am, who shall deliuer me from the bodie of this death?* vers. 24. *Ergo*, concupiscence is not good, nor any way helping vnto goodnes.

De Sanct. serm. 41. *Augustine* thus writeth of these smaller and lesse sinnes: *Quibus peccatis licèt occidi animam non credamus, ita tamen eam veluti quibusdam pustulis deformem faciunt, vt eam ad amplexum sponsi sui grandi confusione venire non permittant:* By the which sinnes, though the soule be not slaine, yet the face is deformed, as with pimples, that she dare not without great blushing draw neere to embrace her spouse. Let them tell me now, what great glorie is obtained, by this corruption in our members.

Arausican. Concil. 2. cap. 2. Si quis soli Adæ prænarrationem suam non & eius propagini asserit nocuisse, &c. anathema: If any man say that *Adams* transgression onely hurt himselfe, and not his posteritie and offspring, accursed be he. Originall sinne then is hurtful to all men that come of *Adam*: *Ergo*, it is no helpe or furtherance.

Esp enæus a graue writer among the Papists, alleageth out of S. *Cyprian de tentationibus Christi*, to this effect: *Neminem libidinum morsus illæsum euadere:* That no man doth escape the biting of lust without hurt: According to that saying of *Propertius lib. 2. Nec quisquam ex illo vulnere sanus abit:* No man goeth away whole of that wound: *in 2. epist. Timoth. cap. 2.* And out of *Augustine 4. Hypognosticorum: In omni homine libido mala est, &c.* Lust or concupiscence is euill in euery man: 1. *Tim. c.* 3. Wherefore original sin is hurtful to the regenerate. *Caus. 24. qu. 3. c. 39.* There are certaine heretikes rehearsed among the rest, called *Ophita*, of the serpent, whom they did reuerence: saying, *Ipsum in paradisum induxisse virtutis cognitionem:* That the serpent brought into Paradise the knowledge of vertue: not much vnlike doe the Papists commend concupiscence, which is the serpents sting; saying, that it maketh the operations of iust men more meritorious.

THE FIFT PART, OF THE PLACE OR seate of concupiscence in the regenerate.

The Papists.

18. Error. BEllarmine graunteth, that sometime flesh is taken in the Scripture for the whole man corrupted, both in bodie and soule: but then it is vnderstood onely of the wicked, and not of the godly: *Bellarm. de stat. peccat. lib. 5. cap. 7. respons. ad argum. 2. caution. 6.* And therefore he expoundeth that place of S. *Paul*, *There dwelleth not in me, that is, in my flesh, any good thing*, Rom. 7. of the bodie:

hence would proue that concupiscence in the regenerate is no sinne, because it is in the bodie. *cap. 10. respons. ad argum. 1.* His opinion then is, that concupiscence in them remaineth onely in their bodie. And where S. *Paul* saith, I am carnall, he thus expoundeth it: *Quia nondum spiritualem corpus habent*: Because he had no spirituall bodie, such as he should haue in the resurrection: *respons. ad obiect. 6.* So then in his opinion, the minde onely of the regenerate is renewed, not their bodie: he reasoneth thus.

Argum. S. *Paul* saith, *In my minde I serue the law of God, in my flesh the law of sinne*: Here the minde regenerate or renewed, is opposed or set against that part which is not renewed, namely the flesh, which shall be renewed in the resurrection: *Bellarm. cap. 7. respons. ad Rezam.*

Solu. First, that this place is to be vnderstood of the mind regenerate, we grant: but thereby, as principall part, the whole regenerate man is expressed both in bodie and soule: so where S. *Paul* saith, *Be renewed in the spirit of your minds*, Ephes. 4. 24. he vnderstandeth a renouation of the whole new man: *and put on the new man*, saith he: And S. *Peter* speaking to the women, *that the hid man of the heart should be vncorrupt*: In the same place exhorteth them to soberneſse and modestie of apparell, which is outward in the bodie, 1. Pet. 3. 4. So in this place, by the minde, the Apostle vnderstandeth the whole new or regenerate man. Secondly, how could S. *Paul*, speaking of himselfe by flesh, vnderstande a body not regenerate: seeing the Apostle was a mortified man, and much exercised in the taming and beating downe of his bodie, 1. Cor. 9. 27? Thirdly, the bodies of the Saints shall be renewed, we grant, in the resurrection: which is called the regeneration, Mat. 19. 28. but it followeth not, they shall be regenerate then from all mortalitie & corruption: *Ergo*, they cannot now be renewed, and subdued from sinne: the soule also then shall bee cleansed and made pure, like the Angels, yet for all this, the soule while it is in the bodie, is dayly renewed. As it is called the regeneration, so is it also the redemption of our bodies, Rom. 8. 23. because then our redemption in body and soule, shall be perfectly accomplished: notwithstanding it is begun in this life.

The Protestants.

That concupiscence dwelling in the regenerat, remaineth both in their bodies & their soules, and that as their regeneration is of the whole man, both in bodie and soule; so there is some sinfull part in both, resisting against the spirit, which in the scripture is called flesh: thus we are perswaded.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* saith, *I am carnall, sold vnder sin*, Rom. 7. vers. 14. if this should be meant of Saint *Pauls* body: what could be said more of the body of an adulterer, murtherer, glutton, or what body else is giuen ouer to all wickednesse; then that it is solde vnder sin? If S. *Paul* then, whose he saith, I am carnall, or, in my flesh I serue the law of sinne, ver. 25. doth vnderstand his bodie: is it not all one, as if he had said, *he had giuen his members seruants to sin*? to serue sin in the body, and to giue the members seruants to sinne, is all one: But neither S. *Paul* nor any other regenerate man is a seruant of sinne in his body: for, saith he, *When ye were seruants of sinne, yee were free from righteousnesse*, Rom. 6. 20. And *as ye haue giuen your members seruants to vncleannesse*: hee speaketh of the time before their calling: therefore S. *Paul* speaketh not of his body.

Augustine writing of those words of the Apostle, *It is no more I that do it, but sinne that dwelleth* Cont. Iulian. lib. 3. in fine. saith thus: *Quod ille dicere non potest, qui aut cordis consensione decreuit, quod cõcupiscit, aut corporis ministerio perficit*: which Saint *Paul* could not say, if either he had consented in his heart, to that vnto his concupiscence led him, or by the ministery and seruice of his bodie had done it. The Apostle then did not giue the ministerie or seruice of his bodie to sinne.

Man hath sometime his denomination of the mind, but not of the bodie: S. *Paul* saith not, my body is carnall, but *I am*; and afterward, *in me*, that is, *my flesh*. Saint *Pauls* flesh is himselfe, but himselfe consisteth both of bodie and soule: *Ergo*, the flesh is in them both: see more of the exposition of this place, *part. 3. istius quaestion. argum. 2.*

Argum. 2. There is a most euident place for this purpose, Gal. 5. 17. *the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh*: The Apostle by flesh here vnderstandeth the corrupt part both of body and soule: for a little after, among the workes of the flesh, he nameth not onely sinnes of the bodie, as adulterie, vncleannesse, but the sinnes also of the soule, as hatred, emulation, heresies, vers. 20. And all this while the Apostle speaketh to and of the regenerate: *those are contrarie each to other, so that ye cannot do the same things ye would*: this he writeth to the faithfull among the Galathians. So to the beleeuers among the Colossians, he saith, *Mortifie your earthly members, fornication, vncleannesse, couetousnesse*: which sins are as well in the minde as the body: wherefore they are not members only of the body, but of the old man vnregenerate both in soule and body: And thus, I trust, it appeareth, that the flesh, euen in the regenerate, doth comprehend the corruption remaining in them, both in soule and body.

Shall *Augustine* now speake: *Haec est lex membris omnium inserta mortalium, qua repugnat legi mentis: cogitationum spina & tribuli in nobis germinare incipiunt*: This is the law ingraft in the mem-

bers of all mortall men, which rebelleth against the law of the mind or spirit: for the thornes and thistles of euill thoughts begin to bud in vs: *de tempor. serm. 47.* Out of these words I reason thus: There concupiscence the law of the members is, where euill thoughts arise; but they are bred in the mind, not in the bodie: *Ergo*, concupiscence is as well in the mind as in the body.

Concil. Arausican. 2. cap. 2. Si quis dicit soli Adæ prævaricationem suam nocuisse, &c. non perceptum quod mors est animæ per vnum hominem in omne genus humanum transijsse, &c. If any man say that Adams transgression onely hurt himselfe, and that sinne, which is the death of the soule, did not through one man come vnto all mankind, let him be accursed. Originall sinne then is the death of the soule: *Ergo*, it hath the place in the soule, where it worketh.

Origen saith, *Hom. 8. Leuitic. Audi Dauidem dicentem, &c.* Heare *Dauid* say, I was conceiued in iniquitie, shewing, that *Quæcunque anima ex carne nascitur, &c.* That euery soule is borne of the flesh, and is polluted with iniquitie: if the soule then be polluted with originall sinne, then it followeth, that it hath the place and seate in the soule.

The Master of the Sentences agreeth, *Lib. 2. dist. 32. c. Nec caro corruptibilis animam peccatricem fecit:* The corruptible flesh did not make the soule sinfull, but the sinfull soule maketh the flesh corruptible. *Lib. 3. dist. 17. b. Ipsius carnalis concupiscentiæ causa, non est in anima sola, nec in carne sola* The cause of carnall concupiscence is not in the soule alone, or in the flesh alone, for it is made of them both, &c. *Lib. 3. dist. 27. f. Caro non dicitur concupiscere, nisi quia anima carnaliter concupiscit, &c.* The flesh is not said to lust, but because the soule doth carnally lust.

THE SIXT PART, OF THE PVNISHMENT of originall sinne.

THe punishment due to originall sinne, is double, either temporall or eternall: first, of the eternall punishment, then of the temporall.

OF THE ETERNALL PVNISHMENT due to originall sinne.

The Papists.

19. Error. BEllarmine affirmeth, that infants dying without Baptisme in originall sinne, are eternally punished: but their punishment, is, *damni, non sensus, sine ignis sensibilis*, of losse onely because they are excluded from heauen, not of any smart or outward paine of fire: such as the damned suffer in hell. Concerning the first poynt, whether infants not being baptized, are damned; we haue before intreated, in the twelfth Controuersie, and the third question of the necessitie of Baptisme.

Yet thus much of it here, that the popish opinion, in holding all infants dying without Baptisme, to be in the state of damnation; is very cruell, and most vncharitable: whereby it both restraineth Gods power, as though he were not able to saue infants without the sacrament; and obscureth his mercie, and impugneth his iustice, in suffering so many, hauing not yet sinned in acte, to be lost.

Our opinion rather is this, agreeable to Scripture, and the rule of charitie: first, that although all infants in themselues, being borne with that masse of originall corruption, are subiect to damnation; yet that many of them are saued, both by the couenant made to their faithfull parents, both or either of them, and to their seede: and that both immediatly, if their next parents were beleeuers, and mediately sometime, when their former predecessors haue beleeued, though their next progenitors are Infidels, (for Gods promise made to them that loue him, extendeth to a thousand generations, Exod. 20.) as also such as are not within the couenant; so many as God hath ordained to life, are saued by the free election of grace.

Secondly, as we denie not, but that if any infants so dying are damned, (which God best knoweth) he doth it most iustly: so christian charitie bindeth vs to hope and thinke the best of children dying in their infancie, and to presume that they are saued: seeing God preuenteth them, least that they should be ouertaken of the wickednes of this life: for which cause *Henoch* is said to haue been taken vp, *Sapient. cap. 4.*

Consul. Iunium de grat. respons. ad ration. 28.

But now to the second point, concerning the maner of the punishment of infants, *Bellarmine* reasoneth thus.

Argum. 1. We reade in the Apocalypse, *As much as she glorified her selfe and liued in pleasure, so much giue you vnto her torment and sorrow*, Chapter 18. verse 7. but infants neuer glorified themselues, or liued in pleasure; therefore they shall haue neither torment nor sorrowe, *Bellarm. de pur. peccat. lib. 6. cap. 4.*

Answ. First, the Iesuite abuseth this place to signifie the torments of hell: it is a prophesie of the temporall

...all destruction of the second Babylon, which is the seate of Antichrist, (and Rome by your ...) as we haue at large proued, in the fourth controuersie of the Pope: therefore the plagues are numbred which shall fall vpon her for pride, vers. 8. *Her day shall come vpon her, death, sorrow, famine* but famine I thinke, is none of the plagues in hell. But, secondly, if you will needs haue this place to be vnderstood of hell tormentes: what haue you gayned by it? Surely, by your owne confession, your Babylon and confused antichristian kingdome is appointed to that place. Secondly, the argument followeth not: they that liue in pride or pleasure, shall be tormented in hell: *Ergo*, they that doe not liue in these sinnes, shall not be tormented: for by this reason not only infants shall be excused, that are guiltie onely of originall sinne, but all other sinners, that offend not in the foresaid sinnes.

The Protestants.

The due and wages of originall sinne, is eternall death, which is the punishment both of bodie and soule in hell: And hell in the Scriptures is alwaies taken for a place of torment: if infants then dying before Baptisme are condemned to hell, as the Iesuite saith, they cannot there be exempted from torment.

Argum. 1. Christ shall say to the goates on the left hand, that is, to those that are condemned; *Depart from me ye cursed into euerlasting fire, prepared for the deuill and his angels*, Matth. 25. vers. 41. But of this number are infants which are condemned to hell: *Ergo*, they shall suffer torment in euerlasting fire. *Bellarmine* saith, that the forme of iudgement is here prescribed whereby they onely shall be iudged which were of the Church, for they are not condemned because they had no faith, which is the cause of the condemnation of Infidels, and those which are out of the Church, but for want of good workes: wherefore this place appertaineth not to children, that die without Baptisme, which were not of the Church, *Bellarm. cap. 5.*

Contra. 1. The fayling or want of good workes, is cause of condemnation to all men, whether within the Church, or without, as S. *Paul* sheweth, *Know you not that the vnrighteous shall not inherite kingdome of God, as fornicatours, idolaters, adulterers:* and he reckeneth vp other workes of the flesh and such saith he, were some of you, &c. 1. Corinth. 6. 11. he saith not for want of faith, but of good workes, that before they beleeued, they were in state of damnation.

2. But to put this matter out of doubt: the text saith plainely, that in the day of iudgement all nations shall be gathered before Christ, vers. 32. *Ergo*, all sortes of men, both within and without the Church: why is not the Iesuite ashamed then out of this number to exclude infants?

Argum. 2. Apocal. 20. 15. *Whosoeuer was not found written in the booke of life, was cast into the lake of fire: Ergo*, infants also that are condemned: and if they be in the lake of fire, how are they not tormented?

Bellarmine: They shall be cast, we graunt, into the lake of fire, that is, the place where fire is, but shall not be burnt of the fire, either because they shall be in a higher place, or that the fire shall haue powre onely *detinendi, non vrendi*, to keepe them as it were in holde, but not to burne or consume them.

Contra. Who seeth not what vaine and sophistical shifts this fellow vseth to obscure the truth? but none of them can helpe him. First, the text saith, they shall be cast into the lake of fire, not into a place neere to, or higher then the fire, where they shall see but not feele it: but they shall haue their part in the lake, Apocal. 21. 8. And againe, *It is sayd to burne with fire and brimstone*, that is, to burne most hotely, and most fiercely, that whosoeuer is in it, must needes be burned and tormented therein. Secondly, the Iesuites answere here is contrarie to his doctrine elsewhere: for he saith that *Limbus infantium*, the dungeon of infants, is higher then Purgatorie: and that Purgatorie is betweene it and hell, so that hell fire cannot come vnto it, *Bellarm. de purgator. lib. 2. cap. 6.* If it be so, as he imagineth, then cannot infants any way be cast into hell fire, seeing there is such a great space and distance betweene hell and their prison: wherefore if the Scripture be true, then *Bellarmine* must be the lyer.

Augustine thus answereth *Iulian* the Pelagian, who obiected, that if children be borne in the state of damnation, their parents, that are the cause of their birth, are no better then murderers of their owne children: *Id melius dicis* (saith he) *hominum creatori, quam genitoribus, nam quos praescijt quibus aeternis ardoribus crearet non desinit:* he might better obiect this vnto the creator of men, then to their begetters, for whom he foresaw should burne in euerlasting fire, he ceaseth not daylie to create. *Aug. Iulian. 5. 9.* Children then, and whosoeuer are borne and die in the state of damnation, shall burne in euerlasting fire.

Synod. Moguntin. cap. 3. Primorum hominum peccatum propagatione in omnes homines transijt &c. vt sit natura omnes homines iram Dei, mortis & damnationis rei, &c. The sinne of the first men is by propagation passed vnto all men, so that all by nature are guiltie of Gods wrath, death, and damnation. Eternall condemnation then is the iust reward euen of originall sinne.

Deut.

Dect. part. 2. cap. 15. pu. 1. §. 2. prefat. Sive pœnæ voluntariæ, sive pœnæ infirmitatis consistant pœnæ, semper imputantur ad peccatum. Whether sinnes be committed willingly, or consist in infirmitie, they are imputed to punishment. A punishment then and paine belongeth euen to sinnes of infirmitie.

Part 3. dist. 4. c. 3. Qui sine sacramento sanctæ baptismatis de hoc seculo transeunt, sempiterno igne puniendos: They which depart without the sacrament of Baptisme, shall bee punished with euerlasting fire: For although they had no sinne of their proper action, yet of originall corruption, &c.

The Master of Sentences is of opinion, that infants shall haue sense of inward paine and of the worme of conscience: *Quod Dei visione carebunt in perpetuum:* Because they shall want the sight of God for euer: *lib. 2. dist. 33. e.* If they haue sense of inward paine, why not also of outward.

THE SECOND POYNT OF THE TEMPORALL punishment of originall sinne.

THere are many euils and plagues which are laid vpon men in their minde, and all the parts thereof, the will, vnderstanding, and affections, and in their bodies, some externall calamities also of the life, which all are iust punishments of originall sinne: first in the vnderstanding there is great ignorance not onely in naturall things, but much more of heauenly and spirituall. Secondly, the foolishnes and fatuitie of the mind, the priuation or want of wit, which many children are borne withall, more then any beast in their kinde. Thirdly, the difficultie and great labour in attaining to knowledge and learning. Fourthly, the curiositie of the minde, and the desire that man hath to know things that are hid, and not belonging to him. Fiftly, the vanitie of the minde, which is occupied many times in foolish and idle thoughts: and such other defects there be in the minde.

Secondly, in the will and affections: first, there is *philautia*, selfe-loue, whereby euery man is addicted to himselfe. Secondly, the frowardnes of the will, in inclining to euill rather then good; chusing vice, rather then vertue. Thirdly, the carelesnes of men in following after heauenly things. Fourthly, the too great desire and coueting of earthly things. Fiftly, the inconstancie and mutabilitie of the will. Sixtly, discontentment, murmuring, and repining, no man contented with his owne estate. Seuenthly, the weakenes of our affections, in being soone prouoked to anger, enuie, reuenge. 8. Lastly, the concupiscence and lust of the affections, seeking to ouer rule reason.

Thirdly, in the bodie these infirmities are remaining: first, naturall defects and wants: as some are borne blinde, some deafe, some lame, &c. Secondly, the infinite diseases and sicknesses, which our bodies are subiect vnto. Thirdly, the difficult, hard and vnpleasant meanes in recouring our health. Fourthly, the great labour and toyle of the bodie for the preseruation thereof. Fiftly, the shortnes of our life, and the mortalitie of our bodies, with the continuall feare of death imminent, and hanging ouer our heads.

Fourthly, beside these, there are externall calamities without vs: first, by nature being the children of wrath, we are vnder the power of Sathan. Secondly, man is become by reason of his sinne, one an enemie, yea, as the Preacher saith, chap. 3. 18. a beast, to another. Thirdly, the vnreasonable creatures, whom man in his creation was made Lord of, are now become rebellious, & disobedient. Fourthly, the rest of Gods creatures, as the heauens, the elements, the earth are armed against vs: as when men are plagued with drouth, famine, pestilence, mildewe, lightening, and such like.

These and many more calamities sinne hath brought vs vnto, and they are iust punishments for our rebellion and disobedience against God: As Saint *Paul* saith, *Tribulation and anguish, indignation and wrath, shall be vpon the soule of euery one that doth euill,* Rom. chap. 2. vers. 9. *Augustine* also thus writeth, *Causa istorum malorum, quæ nunc patimur, non est ob scelera suscepta in vita superiore, vt philosophi putarunt, &c.* The cause of these euils which men suffer, is not for the sinnes done in another life, before the soule came into the bodie, as some Philosophers haue thought: there remaineth then nothing else, but that either God must be charged with iniquitie, or impotencie, as either not willing, or not able to make man righteous, or that it is a punishment of the first transgression: but because God is neither vniust nor impotent, we must needes confesse, that this grieuous yoke should not be layde vpon the sonnes of *Adam*, but for originall sinne: *Contra. Iulian. lib. 4. ca. 16.*

And thus farre we and our aduersaries are agreed: that, wherein we varie and disagree, is this poynt, as followeth.

The

The Papists.

There are three other effects, which we affirme to be the fruites of originall sinne, but *Bellar-* 20. Errot.
mine denieth them. First, the losse of free will to doe good, which we say is vtterly decayed by *Adams* transgression, which *Bellarmine* gainesayeth. Secondly, the corruption of nature, which is euen in the regenerate, that they cannot chuse but sinne: but the Iesuite affirmeth, that man by grace may receiue power to keepe the lawe. Thirdly, the third effect, as doubt, despaire, hatred of God and such like: The two first the Iesuite vtterly reiecteth, denying that there be any such effects at all; and herein referreth vs to the treatises of free will, and iustification which follow: and for those places we will also reserue this matter. Concerning the third, he graunteth, that such effects there be, yet not properly caused by originall sinne, *Bellarm. cap. 16.*

Argum. These motions are in some that haue not originall sinne, as in diuels, and are not in other, that haue: *Ergo*, they are not the proper effects of originall sinne, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Aduo. 1. As it followeth not, heat and light are proper to the Sunne, therefore not to the fire: for as the Sunne hath one kinde of heate and light, so the fire hath another: After the same manner, it is no good consequent, Lying and murther are proper to the diuell, Ioh. 8. 44. and so likewise despayre, distrust, hatred of God, and the rest: *Ergo*, they are not proper to men: for though these sinnes in both beare the same name, yet are they not of the same nature, neither came they of one beginning: for these sinnes in the damned spirits are alwaies actuall, and in the highest degree springing from their proud and wilfull apostasie: but man was seduced and deceiued by Satan, and so transgressed; whose fall was neither so grieuous, as the apostasie of the Angels, nor his sinnes either originall or actuall so hainous.

2. There are some proper effects of originall sinne by the Iesuites owne confession, that are not to be found in children: as curiositie in the minde, whereby men are more readie to behold other mens sinnes than their owne, *Bellarm. cap. 9.* he maketh this the ninth wound of the vnderstanding: there is also *malitia & peruersitas*, the frowardnes and malice of the will, which *Bellarmine* maketh the fift wound or disease in the will of man, *cap. 10.* But these defects are not in children, because as yet they want such acts of the will and vnderstanding: wherefore either these are not proper effects of originall sinne, as the Iesuite affirmeth they are, or else there may be some fruits of this sinne, that are not actually or presently in children, which is most true, because they want such instruments and meanes, whereby those effects shew themselues. Therefore *Bellarmines* argument is not good: these motions of the minde, despayre, distrust, are not in children: *Ergo*, they are not proper fruits of originall corruption.

The Protestants.

That these euill motions of the minde, whereof wee speake, are the immediate and proper effects of originall sinne: it may thus appeare.

Argum. 1. Rebellion of the flesh against the spirit, is a proper fruit of originall concupiscence, Rom. 7. 23. But despayre, distrust, murmuring, and such like, are nothing else but rebellion of the flesh: *Ergo*.

Argum. 2. These euill motions that arise suddainely in the minde without consent of the will, doe spring immediately from originall sinne: for there is no euill in man, but hath it beginning either from the corruption of our nature, or by the consent of will, or from both: But these euill motions, despayre, distrust, &c. in the regenerate haue no consent of will: for Saint *Paul* saith, *The euill which I would not, that doe I*, Rom. chap. 7. verse 19. And *Dauid* did these things in hate, as we heard before: *Ergo*, they doe arise immediately from originall sinne.

Augustine saith: *Operatur in nobis peccatum desiderio illicita, quibus si non obedimus* (i. *si voluntas consentit*) *& non operamur; si non obtemperamus, operatur in nobis peccatum*: Sinne worketh in vs vnlawfull desires: which if we obey by consenting vnto them, then doe we also worke together with sinne: but if we obey them not, it is sinne that worketh in vs, *in Psalm. 118. concion. 2. Ergo*, All vnlawfull desires and motions wrought in vs without consent of the will, are the fruites and effects of originall sinne.

THE

THE THIRD CONTROVERSIE, BEING THE NINETEENTH IN THE WHOLE, OF THE REPARATION AND RESTORING of man by Christ.

THis Controuersie hath foure parts: first, of our Predestination: Secondly, of our vocation, vnto the which belong the treatises of grace and free-will: Thirdly, of our iustification, and the fourth part is of sanctification, that is, of good workes that follow our iustification, as necessarie fruites thereof.

THE FIRST PART, OF PREDESTINATION.

THis part is diuided into foure questions: first, what predestination is. Secondly, who they are which be predestinate. Thirdly, the cause of predestination. Fourthly, of the certainte, and assurance thereof.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE DEfinition of predestination.

The Papists.

11. Error. BEllarmine thus defineth predestination: *Predestinatio est prouidentia Dei, &c.* Predestination is a certaine prouidence, or foreknowledge of God, whereby certaine men elected, are by infallible meanes and wayes directed vnto life eternall, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de grat. & liber. arb. cap. 9.*

In this definition we finde a double fault: first, because *Bellarmine* defineth predestination to be foreknowledge or prescience. Secondly, for that he affirmeth it to be onely of the elect. But of this latter fault more shal be said in the next part. As for the first, *Bellarm.* maketh predestination to be a *species*, a kinde or part of Gods prouidence: and further saith, that predestination partly belongeth to the will of God, partly to his knowledge and vnderstanding, but most principally to his knowledge: *Vbi* (saith he) *predestinationis ratio & essentia consistit:* Wherein consisteth the very essence of predestination. He reasoneth thus:

Argum. Saint *Paul* saith, *God hath not cast away his people whom he knew before*, Rom. 11. 1. *The foundation of God remaineth sure, the Lord knoweth who are his*, 2. Timoth. 2. 19. *Bellarm.* from hence he concludeth, that predestination is a foresight or foreknowledge of God, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, these places doe euidently proue, that God foresaw in his diuine prouidence those that should be saued: and that his prescience is certaine and infallible; but that predestination is the very prescience and foreknowledge of God, it is not hence proued. Secondly, Saint *Paul* himselfe doth distinguish them in the place alleaged, *The foundation of God remaineth sure* (saith he) *and hath this seale; the Lord knoweth, &c.* He calleth predestination, the foundation, and prescience the seale thereof: the foundation then, and the seale are not the same. Thirdly, we answere with *Augustine: Aliquando praedestinatio significatur nomine praescientiae vt Rom. 11. non repulit Deus plebem suam quam praesciuit:* Sometime predestination is signified by the word prescience, as in the 11. to the Romanes, God hath not reiected his people whom he knew before, *de perseuer. lib. 2. cap. 19.* In this place therefore prescience may be taken for predestination.

The Protestants.

THat predestination is alwaies ioyned with the prouidence and prescience of God, we graunt: but that predestination properly issueth out from Gods will, being an act and effect thereof, and not of his knowledge, it may partly appeare by the name: for *praedestinare*, [illegible], doth properly signifie, to define and determine, which requireth rather the consent of the will, than light of vnderstanding. We therefore define it thus: *Praedestinatio est decretum Dei &c.* Predestination is the decree of God, touching the saluation and condemnation of men: our arguments are these.

Argum. 1. If the prescience of God giue the essence, nature and kinde vnto predestination, as the Iesuite saith, then is it the cause thereof, and the other is the effect; but Gods prescience is

not

not the cause of predestination: for he also confesseth, *Homines gratis à Deo electos, ante omnia opera prævidemus*: That men are freely elected of God, before any foresight of their workes, *cap.*10. *Ergo*, Gods prescience giueth not the essence and nature of predestination. And here by the way, note the Iesuites contrarie and repugnant sayings: election, he saith, goeth before prescience, and yet Gods knowledge is the cause of election: but how can the effect goe before the cause?

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* speaketh euidently, that predestination proceedeth of Gods good will and pleasure, which is the onely cause thereof: *He hath predestinate vs according to the good pleasure of his will*, Ephes.1.5. *and according to his good pleasure, which he had purposed in him*, vers.9. *predestinate according to the purpose of him, which worketh all things according to the counsell of his owne will*, vers.11. These three words, *beneplacitum voluntatis*, *propositum voluntatis*, *consilium voluntatis*, the good pleasure of his will, the purpose of his will, the counsell of his will, haue no relation at all, to the knowledge or vnderstanding of God, but onely to his will. Saint *Peter* also putteth a manifest difference betweene prescience, and predestination, when he saith, that *Christ was deliuered vp according to the determinate counsell and foreknowledge of God*, Act.2.23. the decree or determination is ioyned to his counsell or will, not to his foreknowledge.

Augustine, speaking of the free election of the children of God, saith thus: *Sed diuinæ voluntatis est hoc donum, non humanæ fragilitatis meritum: Audi, qui omnia operatur secundum consilium voluntatis suæ*: But this is the gift or graunt of the diuine will, not a merit or desert of humane frailtie: hearken, what the Apostle saith, which worketh all things according to the counsell of his owne will. He maketh election a free worke of Gods will. Hypognost. articul.16.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THOSE WHICH are predestinate, whether some are ordained to damnation, as other are elected vnto life.

COncerning this point, there are foure opinions: Some thought that all men in the end should be saued; yea the diuels & all: which error is attributed to *Origen*: whom with the rest of this opinion, *Augustine* confuteth at large, *lib.*21. *de ciuitate Dei*, *cap.*17. *ad* 24. Some other held, that God ordained grace and mercie for al, and was not any way the cause of the reprobation of men: This was the heresie of the Pelagians, euery where confuted by *Augustine* in his learned workes written against the Pelagians: and I am afraid it hath too many fauourites and friends in these daies. The third opinion is of the Papists, who denie not, but that reprobation doth proceede in some respect from the will, and decree of God, but that it is not so properly Gods act, as election is. The fourth opinion is ours, that predestination is both of the elect to saluation, and of the reprobate to damnation. Against two of these opinions, wee will deale briefly at this time: first, against the Papists, then against the error of the Pelagians.

THE FIRST PART, OF REPROBATION.

The Papists.

GOd intendeth no mans damnation, say they, directly, or absolutely, but in respect of their demerits, *Rhemist. annot. Rom.*9. *sect.*9. And againe, God is not the cause of any mans reprobation or damnation, *ibid. sect.*1. Of the same opinion is *Bellarmine*, who, although he simply denieth not reprobation, as afterward we shall see: yet maketh God farre otherwise the author of it, then of election: yea he excludeth it out of the definition of predestination; which he defineth to be the prouidence of God onely to direct those that are elected, to eternall life, *lib.*2. *de grat. c.*9. Their arguments are these. 11. Error.

*Argum.*1. Timoth.2.4. *God would haue all men to be saued, and come to the knowledge of the truth.* 2.Pet.3.ver.9. *God would haue no man to perish, but would haue all men to come to repentance.* Ezech.18. vers.23. *God will not the death of a sinner: Ergo*, the death and damnation of men, standeth not properly with the will of God.

*Answ.*1. God is said not to will or desire the death of a sinner: not because in his secret counsell, he hath not decreed it at all, but because, God in their condemnation hath respect to his owne glorie, which is the chiefe and principall end both of election and reprobation: And God is so tender of his own honor & glorie, that in respect of it, he is said not to will or desire other things: he willeth not death or dãnation, that is, not as the chiefe end of his will or purpose, but intendeth a further thing, than their damnation, that is, the setting forth of his owne glorie: as the Apostle saith, Rom.9.14. that God hath set vp *Pharao* to shew his power in him: So *Augustine* saith, *Ita plenitudo diuinæ præscientiæ in aliis manente iustitia, in aliis gratia profluente completa est*: So the fulnes of Gods prescience is accomplished, his iustice being shewed vpon some, and vpon others, grace and mercie: *de Prædest. lib.*1. *cap.*13.

2. God is said not to will the death of any, because no man is to impute his damnation vnto God, because the wicked are iustly punished for their sinnes, without any respect had to the secret counsell of God: Gods eternall decree then, is not the next and immediate cause of damnation; but the sinnes of men: therefore he may truly say, God will not the death of a sinner, because he no waies willeth sinne, which is the cause of their death. But as *Augustine* saith, *Praedestinauit secundum iudicium suum, quo vnicuique prout gessit, retributurus est*: He hath predestinate only his iudgements, to giue to euery man, as he hath done: *artic. fals. impos.* 16.

Enchirid. cap. 103.

3. Whereas Saint *Paul* saith, *God would haue all men saued, &c.* *Augustine* expounded it thus: *Omnes homines, omne genus hominum intelligamus*: By all men, we may vnderstand all sorts of men, not euery particular man. And this is very agreeable to the Apostles meaning, which a little before exhorted men to pray for Kings and Princes: and then he giueth this reason, because God would haue all men to be saued, that is, high and low, Kings and people, men of all sorts.

4. We must vnderstand these and the like places, not of the secret, but of the reuealed will of God, who offereth vnto all the outward meanes of saluation: there is, *voluntas medij vel finis*, and, *voluntas finis*: the will of God concerning the end, & concerning the meanes leading to the end: So although God haue willed and determined euery mans end, some one way, some another, yet the externall meanes of saluation are denied to none. And that this is the Apostles meaning, that which followeth doth declare: *God would haue all men come to the knowledge of the truth*, vers. 4. and *to come to repentance*, 2. Pet. 3. 9. Thus also *Augustine* expounded these words: *Remota hac disputatione, quam diuina scientia intra secretum iustitiae suae continet, syncerissimè credendum est, &c.* Setting apart the consideration of the secret counsell of God, it is syncerely to be beleeued, that God would haue all men to be saued: that is, offering to all the outward meanes of saluation, as his word and Sacraments: *cent. articul. fals. impos. articul.* 2. To this purpose Saint *Ambrose lib. 2. de vocat. Gent. c.* 1. *Quamuis omnes dominus salvos fieri, &c.* Although God would haue all men saued, and come to the knowledge of the truth: *non tamen sibi dispensationum suarum abstulit potestatem, &c.* yet hath he not taken away the power of his dispensation, that the order of his counsell should runne otherwise, than he in his secret iudgement had appointed.

5. Saint *Ambrose* also sheweth another way, how this is to be expounded, *lib. 1. de vocat. Gent. cap. 3. Habet populus dei plenitudinem suam, &c.* The people of God haue a certaine plenitude or fulnes, and in the elect there is a speciall kinde of vniuersalitie: like as when the Scripture speaketh of the wicked, *Ea, quae de parte quadam dicuntur, &c.* Those things, which are spoken but of a part, doe seeme to appertaine to all: as Philip. 2. *All seeke their owne, &c. Videmus ergo pro parte hominum omnes homines nominari*: We see then that for a part of men, all men are named. After the same maner may the Apostle be vnderstood, when he saith, *God would haue all men to be saued.*

6. Saint *Ambrose* also hath another exposition of this place: *Vult Deus omnes saluos fieri sed accedunt ad eum, &c.* God would haue all to be saued; but if they come vnto him: *non sic vult, & nolentes saluantur*: he so would it not, as that they against their wils should be saued, &c. but all men are not willing to be saued: *Ergo*, God would not such to be saued: *Ambros. in 1. Tim. 2.* Among so many expositions of this place, there is none of them, that enforceth these words to signifie a generall decree and purpose in God to saue all.

The Protestants.

GOd as he hath made all men, so hath hee freely disposed of their end, according to the counsell of his owne will, ordaining some to be vessels of honour, and others to be vessels of wrath: And this notwithstanding standeth with the iustice of God, to saue some and reiect others: for he might iustly condemne all to eternall death. So *Augustine* saith, *Nemo iniustitia Dei damnatur, si cui indebitam donauerit gratiam, alteri reddiderit debitam poenam*: Let no man seeme to challenge Gods iustice, if hee giue vnto one grace vndeserued, and to another punishment due and deserued: *de Praedest. lib. 1. 4.*

Further, we say with *Augustine epist. ad Hieronym. Nihil nos cogat deum credere vllarum animarum sine culpa damnatorem*: Nothing must compell vs to beleeue, that God is a damner of soules, without their fault. Againe, we confesse with *Augustine*: *Deus multis est causa standi, peccati tamen de se*: God is the cause of standing to many, of falling to none: *Hypognos. cap. 13. Nemini per hoc quod cadit non potest, aut necessitatem aut voluntatem intulit delinquendi, cap. 14.* God, in that he cannot be deceiued, hath not forced any either with a necessitie or will to sinne. We so then affirme the reprobation of the wicked, as that we thinke none ordained to condemnation, which they haue not iustly deserued by their sinne, and that God only hath decreed and willed their punishment, but not their sinne, that bringeth them vnto it.

Argum. 1. God hath made the wicked for the day of euill, Prouer. 16. 4. *They were before of old ordained to this condemnation*, Iud. 4. The Prophet *Isai* saith, *Tophet*, that is, hell is prepared of old, chapter 30. 33. *And euerlasting fire is said to be prepared for the diuell and his angels*, Matth. 25. 41. If hell were

were prepared of old; then they were also prepared of old, that should be tormented in hell: for hell was not made for nought.

Argum. 2. But of all other places this is most euident in the ninth to the Romanes: out of the which chapter, for this matter wee gather diuers arguments: First, the Apostle alleageth the example of *Esau* and *Iacob*, *I haue loued Iacob, and hated Esau*: which was spoken before they were borne: *Ergo*, God in his eternall decree electeth some, and reiecteth others. It cannot be answered here, that this is onely to be vnderstood of the temporall reiection of *Esau*, and election of *Iacob* concerning the promised land: for the Apostle throughout this chapter reasoneth of Gods eternall election, and reprobation, as it appeareth by the example of *Pharaoh*: yea, and this *Bellarmine* liberally confesseth: that the example of *Esau* and *Iacob* is to be applied vnto eternall election and reprobation, *lib. 2. de grat. cap. 10.* But he hath another euasion, making a distinction betweene *negatiue* and *positiue* damnation, which serueth not his turne here, as afterward shall be seene.

We haue *Augustines* iudgement also of this matter: *Et reprobi in Esau demonstrantur Iudæi, & predestinati in Iacob apparent Christiani*: The reprobate Iewes are shewed in *Esau*, and the elect Christians appeare in *Iacob*. He vnderstandeth this example of election, and reprobation. De symbol. lib. 2. cap. 2. tom. 9.

Secondly, the Apostle saith, that as the vessels of mercie are prepared to glorie, so the vessels of wrath are prepared to destruction: And that God hath as great right and power ouer his creature, as the Potter hath ouer the clay, to make of it a vessell of honour or dishonour.

Thirdly, vers. 17. The Lord set vp *Pharaoh*, to shew his power in him, Pro. 16. *The Lord hath made all things for himselfe, and the wicked against the euill day*: The damnation of the wicked then, doth as well set forth the glorie of God, as the saluation of the elect: for God hath done both for his owne sake: *Ergo*, both are the Lords proper acts, the one, as well as the other.

Augustine saith, *Filius perditionis dictus est traditor Christi, perditioni predestinatus*: The betrayer of Christ is called the childe of perdition, because he was predestinate or ordained to perdition: *Tract. in Iohan. 107.*

Againe, he saith, *Tenenda est inconcussè hæc regula, impios in peccatis, antequam essent in mundo præsciri tantum, non predestinatos, pœnam autem ipsis predestinatam*: This rule wee must vndoubtedly hold, that the wicked were onely foreseene or foreknowne of God in their sins, not predestinate, but their punishment was predestinate, *Hypognost. articul. 6.* So then God ordaineth not men to sinne, but he ordaineth men to punishment for their sinnes: yet are not the wicked to complaine, for they are iustly forsaken of God, because of their rebellion, and disobedience. Neither are the godly and faithfull by this doctrine to be discouraged: forasmuch as God hath not denied them the grace of his spirit, but hath giuen them faith and repentance, and strength to walke before him in his feare: all which are pledges vnto them of their free election, and saluation in Christ.

We want not the testimonie of some of their owne writers for the reprobation of the wicked: *Magister sen. lib. 3. distinct. 4. e. Dicuntur filij gehennæ, non ex illa nati, sed in illam præparati*: They are called the children of hell, not because they are borne of hell, but ordained, or prepared vnto it. *Idem dist. 32. liter. E. De reprobis, qui præparati sunt non ad vitam, sed mortem, quæritur, &c.* It may be asked concerning the reprobate, which are not prepared to life, but vnto death, whether it may be granted, that God did loue them from the beginning: we say then, that it must be graunted of the elect, that God loued them from the beginning, &c. but of the not elected it must be simply granted, that God did hate, that is, reprobate them. A more euident testimonie we cannot haue.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE VNIuersalitie of the grace of God.

IT was the error of the Pelagians, as *Augustine* noteth, that the grace of God was not only in respect of the outward meanes, generally offered to all, but in Gods eternall decree and purpose ordained for all, if they would receiue it: for thus they affirmed: *Quantum ad Deum, omnibus parata esse vitam æternam, quia vult omnes salvos fieri: quantum ad arbitrij libertatem attinet, ab eis eam apprehendi, qui sponte Deo crediderunt*: On Gods behalfe, they say, life eternall is prepared for all, because God will haue all men saued: and as for the freedome of the will, so many apprehend or lay hold of eternall life, as of their owne accord doe beleeue in God. It followeth vpon this opinion, that Christ also dyed in the purpose and intention of God, for all men generally, and not for beleeuers onely, such as are ordained vnto life. 13. Error. In epist. Prosper ad Augstin.

Bellarmine confuteth this error, and would make vs beleeue that he himselfe is farre from it: yet elsewhere he seemeth to affirme it in these words: *Si sanguis Christi dandus esset omnibus pro quibus fusus est, dandus esset omnibus omnino hominibus etiam Turcis, Iudæis, Ethnicis, quibuscunque impijs: sanguis enim ille pro omnibus fusus est*: If the blood of Christ should be giuen to all, for whom it was shed,

shed, it should bee giuen generally to all men, Turkes, Iewes, Ethnikes, to all wicked men: for his blood was shed for all, *Bellarm. de Eucharist. lib. 4. cap. 25.* This should seeme also to haue been the iudgement of the elder Papists: for *Iohn Careloſſe* Martyr was charged by a popish Doctor, that he should hold, that Christ did not dye effectually for all men, *Fox. pag. 1920.* It should appeare then, that he himselfe thought that the benefit of Christs death was ordained and purposed for all: and therefore that he dyed effectually for all.

There be at this day three sundrie opinions maintained by some concerning the vniuersalitie of grace: The first is, *Christum sine vllo discrimine pro omnium hominũ peccatis esse mortuum, & omnia hominum peccata non modo sufficienter verum etiam efficienter expiasse, &c.* That Christ hath dyed for all men, without any difference, and hath actually purged all mens sins, not onely sufficiently but effectually: *absque vllo fidei vel incredulitatis respectu*, without any respect to their faith, or incredulitie: *Huberus thes. 19.* Againe, *Omnes reprobos, & electos aque per Christum saluatos fuisse credunt, siue non*: That the reprobate as well as the elect are saued by Christ, whether they beleeue or not, *Huber. thes. 270.* That Christ dyed as well for the damned and reprobate, as for *Peter* and *Paul*: *Iacobus Andre. colloq. Mompelgartens. p. 548.* yet are not the reprobate saued, because they despise this grace offered, and so are depriued of this reconciliation purchased by Christ, *Huber. thes. 245.*

The second opinion is, *Omnes & singulos homines beneficio & gratia vniuersali summi patris esse per Christum seruatos*: That all men, and euery one by the vniuersall grace of God the father in Christ, are saued: yet not without respect had to their faith: but they say further, *Fidem in Deum naturalem esse, omnibus indatam & innatam*: That this faith in God is naturally giuen vnto all: *se Pucks. praefation.* So that in effect they affirme the same thing, which the other doe, that by nature all men are actually saued by Christs death, if they doe not afterward wilfully reiect this grace.

The third opinion is, *Quod sit Dei propositum saluare omnes, & elegerit eos & praedestinarit vitae aeterne, seruata tamen conditione*: That it is Gods purpose, that all men should be saued, and that he hath elected and predestinate them to eternall life, the condition kept, that is, if they beleeue: *Hemming. de gratia vniuersal. p. 20.* So also *Snecanus*: *Deus vniuersaliter omnium in Christo miserat assumpsit humanum genus in reconciliationis foedus*: That God hauing mercie vpon all, hath receiued whole mankinde into the couenant of reconciliation, *de Praedestinat. 480.* That is, as many as beleeue: which gift to beleeue they acknowledge to be of God, and the same not denied to any, but offered generally to all: and that it is in mans power to giue assent vnto grace offered, and to beleeue: *Voluntatem à Deo doctam, & motam à spiritu sancto posse se applicare ad gratiam, assentiri Euangelio, credere*: That the will being taught of God, and somewhat stirred of the spirit, may apply it selfe to grace, giue assent to the Gospell, beleeue, &c. *Hemming. de libero arbit.* Pag. 112.

These three opinions, though in some circumstances differing from themselues, as the first holdeth all men actually by nature to be saued by Christ, without any respect to their faith; the second by nature, not excluding faith; the third by grace and faith, which they say is offered of God, and apprehended of mans free will: yet all these herein agree, that Christ was not giuen of his father to dye for a certaine and definite number of the elect, which they denie, but vniuersally for all men in the world.

The first opinion, applying Christs death to all, as well vnbeleeuers as beleeuers, doth manifestly impugne the Scripture, which saith, *God so loued the world, that he hath giuen his only begotten sonne, &c. that whosoeuer beleeueth in him, should not perish, &c.* Ioh. 3. 16.

The second, making faith a naturall gift, is contrarie also to the word: for that which is naturall is common to all: but all men haue not faith, 2. Thess. 3. 2.

The third, ascribing power to mans free will to receiue and apprehend grace offered, gainsaith the truth which saith, *Without me you can doe nothing*, Ioh. 15. 5.

But leauing the seuerall absurdities of these opinions, wee will deale against them all in that wherein they agree, concerning the vniuersalitie of grace: and especially against the latter, which seemeth to be much approued euen of some of our owne countrey men, and alreadie hath gotten some patrones and defenders in our Church. Wherefore this matter being waightie in it selfe, and daungerous for feare of further infection, wee will not lightly passe ouer this place, but take some paines, first to answere the arguments vsed by the aduerse part, and then bring foorth our owne.

Their arguments are of two sorts, either drawne directly from some places of Scripture, or from some shew and apparance of reason: of the first in the first place.

Argum. 1. First, they obiect such places of Scripture, where it is directly affirmed, that Christ died for all men.

1. *God will that all men shall be saued*, 1. Tim. 2. 4. and vers. 5. *Christ gaue himselfe a ransome for all men*: *Huber. thes. 70. Pucks. ration. 83.*

2. *Christ died for all*, 2. Cor. 5. vers. 15. *Huber. thes. 87. Pucks. ration. 79.*

3. The

3. *The Lord would haue no man periſh, but would haue all men come to repentance:* 2. Pet. 3. 9. *Pucke. nation. Huber. thef.* 93.

4. *Chriſt gaue himſelfe for vs all,* Rom. 8. 32.

5. *Chriſt did taſte death for all men,* Hebr. 2. 9.

Out of theſe and ſuch like places of Scripture, they inferre and conclude, that Chriſts death is effectuall to all, and that in the purpoſe of God he was giuen generally for all men.

Contra. Firſt, to theſe places wee will anſwere in generall, and then in particular: that Chriſt died for all men, the Scripture ſo affirming, wee denie not: but becauſe elſewhere the Scripture ſaith, that Chriſt died for his ſheepe, Ioh. chap. 10. for the Church, Epheſ. chap. 1. He prayeth not for the world, Ioh. chap. 17. much leſſe died for it: leaſt now the Scripture ſhould ſeeme to be contrarie to it ſelfe, we muſt not take the letter, but follow the ſenſe, where we finde mention made of the vniuerſalitie of Chriſts death: Chriſts death therefore is ſaid diuerſly to be vniuerſall, or to be giuen for all men.

1. The death of Chriſt, *ſecundum ſufficientiam*, in reſpect of the ſufficiencie and the fulnes of redemption thereof, hath ſatisfied for all men: but *ſecundum efficientiam*, it is efficacious and effectuall onely to thoſe, which were fore-ordained to life in Chriſt; thus *Auguſtine* diſtinguiſheth: *Quod ad magnitudinem & potentiam precij, ſanguis Chriſti redemptio eſt totius mundi: quoniam tamen non omnes captiuitate eruti ſunt, redemptionis proprietas haud dubiè penes illos eſt, qui membra ſunt Chriſti.* In reſpect of the greatneſſe and price, the blood of Chriſt is the redemption of the whole world; but becauſe all are not redeemed from captiuitie, the proper effect of redemption is onely wrought in the members of Chriſt, *Tom. 7. ad articul. falſo impoſit.*

Obiect. This is a vaine diſtinction of ſufficiencie, and efficacie, *Quia nil magis requiritur ad ſufficientis veritatem, quàm efficacitas:* For there can be no ſufficiencie, vnleſſe the ſame be effectuall, *Iuſtification.* 2.

Reſpon. 1. There is as great difference betweene ſufficiencie, and efficacie, as betweene δύναμιν, a power, facultie or abilitie, and the worke: as a tree firſt is good, there is the ſufficiencie; then it bringeth forth good fruit, which is the efficacie: the tree may be good, though it haue not alwaies good fruit: ſo there may be a kinde of ſufficiencie without efficacitie. Secondly, we ſay that the death of Chriſt is both ſufficient and efficacious in it ſelfe, though it be not to thoſe that periſh for want of beleefe: and it is efficacious alſo to them in ſome ſort, for through Chriſt they enioy what good thing ſoeuer they haue, though not after that ſingular manner, as it is to the faithfull: *ſic Iunius ad tom. 3. Pucke.*

To this purpoſe Saint *Ambroſe lib. 3. de fide cap. 4. Ille quidem miſericordia ſua omnibus natus eſt, ſed perfidia hæreticorum fecit, vt non omnibus naſceretur, qui omnibus natus eſt:* He in mercie was borne for all, but the vnfaithfulnes of the heretikes is the cauſe, that he, which was borne to all, is not borne for all. Likewiſe, *lib. 5. in Luc. c. 7. Si Chriſtus pro omnibus mortuus eſt, pro nobis tamen ſpecialiter paſſus eſt:* If Chriſt died for all, yet more ſpecially he hath ſuffered for vs. What is this ſpeciall ſuffring of Chriſt but his effectuall dying onely for the elect?

Magiſt. ſentent. lib. 3. diſtinct. 20. liter. c. Chriſtus precium noſtræ redemptionis obtulit pro omnibus quantum ad ſufficientiam, ſed pro electis tantum, quantum ad efficaciam: Chriſt offered vp the price of our redemption for all in reſpect of the ſufficiencie, but for the elect only as concerning the efficacie. This diſtinction is receiued by *Thomas, Lyra*, and the whole ſchoolemen: *Eſſens. in* 1. *Tim. p.* 36.

2. Chriſt is ſaid to haue died for all, and that effectually, that is for all the elect: for as there is an vniuerſalitie of the wicked, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *All ſeeke their owne, and not that which is Ieſus Chriſt,* Philip. chap. 2. verſ. 21. that is, all falſe teachers: ſo there is an vniuerſalitie of the faithfull: as Chriſt ſaith, Iohn 12. *When I am lift vp from the earth, I will draw all men vnto me,* meaning all beleeuers: *Omnes prædeſtinatos ad ſalutem:* All ordained to ſaluation, as *Auguſtine* expoundeth it, *Tract.* 53. Likewiſe Iſai. 54. *They ſhall be all taught of God:* that is all the faithfull. So one ſaith, *Et populus Dei ſuam habet plenitudinem, &c. in electis & profectis ſuis quædam cenſetur vniuerſitas, vt de toto mundo totus mundus, & de omnibus hominibus omnes homines videantur aſſumpti:* The people of God hath a certaine fulnes, and there is a kind of vniuerſalitie in the elect, that out of the whole world, a whole world, and from among all men, all men in ſome ſort ſhould be deliuered, *Ambroſ. de vocat. Gentium lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

3. Chriſt is ſaid to haue dyed for all; and all men are ſaid to bee redeemed by his death, becauſe as many as are redeemed, doe obtaine redemption onely by Chriſt: ſo is that place to bee vnderſtood, 1. Corinth. chap. 12. verſ. 6. *God worketh all in all,* not euery man hath all gifts; but becauſe, what good gift ſoeuer there is in any man, it commeth onely of God. So *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Dictum eſt, omnes iuſtificari per Chriſtum, non quia omnes iuſtificantur in Chriſto, ſed qui iuſtificantur non aliter iuſtificantur, quàm in Chriſto; ſicut dicimus omnes homines intrare in domum per vnam ianuam, quia non intrant niſi per ipſam:* It is ſaid, many are iuſtified by Chriſt, not becauſe all are iuſtified in Chriſt, but they that are iuſtified, are not otherwiſe iuſtified, than in

Christ, as we say, all men went into the house by that doore, because none went in, but by it: *Augustin. contra Iulian. lib. 6. cap. 12.*

4. When the Scripture vseth in this case these generall termes, *omnes, omnia*, all men, all things, we must not vnderstand them vniuersally, as comprehending euery particular, but indefinitely, as for *omnes homines*, all men, we vnderstand *omnia hominum genera*, all sorts of men: this is *Augustines* rule also, *tract. 1. in Ioan. 53.* So it is said, that Christ healed *omnem morbum*, euery disease, that is, euery kinde of disease, Matth. 4. 23. *Decimatis omne olus*: You tithe all herbes, that is, euery kinde, Luk. 11. 42. *Omnis Iudea exibat*: All Iudea went foorth vnto *Iohn*, Mark. 1. 5. that is, out of euery part of Iudea.

5. Christ is said to haue dyed for all: in respect of the externall preaching of the Gospell, and common oblation of grace vnto all, which notwithstanding is not auailable or effectuall in all: as in the Gospell the marriage feast was prepared for all; but all that were called came not: *For many are called* (saith our Sauiour) *few chosen*, Matth. 22. So the grace of God, *ex peccato omnes communiter, suos excitat singulariter*, doth call all men from sinne generally, but his elect he stirreth vp after a singular manner, and effectually.

Obiect. If God doe offer Christ outwardly to all, and yet all be not thereby called, hee should seeme to mocke and dissemble with men, *Pucks ration. 57.*

Respons. First, the calling of God in it selfe is effectuall to all, if all had grace to lay hold of it: now, if God giue grace vnto some to obey their calling, and thereby to be conuerted, and not to others, we must not be inquisitiue to search, but leaue it vnto God, whose iudgements may be hid and secret, but they are alwaies most iust: for he hath mercie on whom he will. Secondly, though the calling of God worke not it proper and naturall effect in the incredulous, vnto their conuersion; yet it is effectuall, *more accidentario*, accidentally, being made vnto them, through the hardnes of their owne heart, the sauour of death vnto death. Thirdly, Saint *Ambrose* witnesseth for this distinction of generall and effectuall calling: *lib. 2. de vocat. Gentium cap. 8. Praeter illam communem gratiam parcius & occultius hominum corda pulsantem excellentiore opere, largiore munere, potentiore virtute vocatio specialis exeritur, &c.* Beside the generall grace more sparingly and secretly beating vpon mens hearts, there is a speciall calling more excellent in working, of a larger gift, and more mightie in vertue.

THE PARTICVLAR ANSWERE TO the former places.

TO the first, that God would haue all men to be saued, we haue answered before, quest. 1. of this Controuersie, part. 1. and to this effect, that it cannot bee literally vnderstoode, that God would absolutely haue all men to be saued, for why then should not all be saued? *For who hath resisted Gods will?* Rom. 9. 19. Neither can it be answered here, as sometime by the old Pelagians, that Gods will is not fulfilled, because man will not: for this were to make men mightier than God. The meaning then of the place is this: first, that God offereth the externall meanes of salution to all: which if they refuse, they are in fault themselues, God is not to be blamed. Secondly, the Apostle, as *Augustine* saith, by all men, vnderstandeth all sorts of men: as high and low, Kings, Princes, and the people, as it may appeare by that which goeth before in this place. Thirdly, in the same sense Christ is said to giue himselfe a raunsome for all men, that is, for all sorts of men, or for all the elect, or sufficiently for all in generall.

In the second place, 2. Cor. 5. 15. the Apostle sheweth, that howsoeuer the death of Christ is sufficient for all, yet it is effectuall onely to the faithfull, to them, *That from henceforth liue vnto themselues, but to him that dyed for them*, vers. 15. and to such as are new creatures, vers. 17. But all are not new creatures in Christ, therefore for all and to all Christs death is not effectuall.

In the third place S. *Peter* speaketh to the faithfull, whom he calleth vers. 1. beloued, and God is patient toward vs, saith he, vers. 9. *and would haue no man perish*: that is, none of vs, none of the faithfull and elect: *Sic Iunius respons. ad ration. 90.* And againe, *The patience, long suffering and bountifulnesse of God, leadeth euery man to repentance*: Rom. 2. 4. *But thou* (saith the Apostle) *after thine hardnesse, and heart that cannot repent, &c.* They therefore which abuse and despise the patience of God, are themselues the cause of their destruction: God is not to be charged with it.

In the fourth place, Rom. 8. 32. the Apostle saying, *Christ gaue himselfe for vs all*, meaneth the vniuersalitie of the faithfull and elect: whom he hath predestinate, called, iustified, vers. 30.

In the fift place, Heb. 2. 9. where the Apostle saith, that Christ did taste death for all men, he afterward expoundeth himselfe, vers. 10. saying, *That Christ brought many children to glory*, such as are sanctified, vers. 11. whom Christ vouchsafeth to call his brethren, vers. 12. and his children vers. 13. These are not vniuersally all men, but the faithfull and elect onely: Christ onely is the Prince of their saluation, whom he bringeth to glory, vers. 10.

Argum. 3.

Argum. 2. Their second generall argument is drawne from such places of Scripture, where mention is made of the whole world, in the benefit of redemption: as Iohn 1.29, *Behold the lambe of God, that taketh away the sinne of the world*: Iohn 6.51. *The bread that I will giue is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world*: Iohn 12.47. *I came not to iudge the world, but to saue the world*: 2. Cor. 5.19. *God was in Christ, and reconciled the world to himselfe*. These places are alleaged by *Ruinerius lib. de vniuersalitate gratiæ. Huberus lib. 1 thes.* 1. *Pucsius, station.* 60. 91. to proue the vniuersalitie of the benefite of Christs death to all.

Answ. First, Christ is sayd to take away the sinnes of the world, in respect of the sufficiencie of his death, which is able to satisfie in it selfe, not onely for the sinnes of the world, but, as *Thom. Aquinas* saith, *si plures mundi essent*, if there were many worlds: yet is his death effectuall onely to those that beleeue, and are ordayned vnto life. *Epistol. decret. Gaij. Effusio iusti sanguinis Christi tam dives fuit ad pretium, vt si vniuersitas captiuorum in redemptorem suum crederet, nullum diaboli vincula remanerent*: The shedding of Christs righteous blood, was so rich to pay our ransome, that if all the captives did beleeue in their redeemer, none of them should be held in the diuels bonds. Secondly, the world in Scripture is not alwayes taken for the vniuersall companie of men both good and bad, but as it is sometime taken onely for the wicked, as Iohn 14.30. *The prince of this world commeth, &c.* And Iohn 17.14. *The world hath hated them*: so also doth it sometime signifie onely the elect companie dispersed ouer the world: as Iohn 17.23. *That the world may know that thou hast sent me*. And againe, vers. 25. *The world hath not knowne thee, but I haue knowne thee, and these haue knowne that thou hast sent me*. So then there is a world that hath not knowne Christ, namely the wicked world: there is a world that hath knowne Christ, that is, the company of the elect: so *Abraham* is called the heire of the world, Rom. 4.13. that is, the father of the faithfull, vers. 11. *Augustine* also thus writeth, *Tract. in Iob.* 53. *Mundus appellatur in malis hominibus, qui toto terrarum orbe diffusi sunt: appellatur mundus in bonis, qui similiter toto terrarum orbe diffusi sunt: vnde dicit Apostolus, Deus erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi*: The world is vnderstood of wicked men, that are dispersed ouer the world: the world also is named of good men, that are so likewise dispersed; as the Apostle saith, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himselfe. This world Christ came to saue, not to iudge, he gaue himselfe for the life of this world: this is the reconciled world, as *Augustine* againe saith, *Mundus damnatus quicquid præter Ecclesiam: mundus reconciliatus Ecclesia*: The reconciled world is onely the Church: the damned world all those that are beside the Church.

Obiect. But Saint *Iohn* saith, *Christ is the propitiation for our sinnes, and not for our sinnes onely, but for the sinnes of the whole world*: Christ then dyed not for the elect onely, (not for our sinnes onely, saith the Apostle) but for all in the world: and therefore hee saith the whole world: *sic Huber. thes.* 131.

Contra. First, Saint *Iohn* in saying (not for our sinnes onely, but, &c.) meaneth that Christ hath not satisfied by his death, for our sinnes that now beleeue, saith the Apostle, but for as many as shall beleeue, while the world standeth: as our Sauiour saith, *I pray not for these alone, but for them also which shall beleeue in me through their word*: Iohn 17.21. Secondly, by the whole world the Apostle may here as well vnderstand the vniuersall company of the faithfull, as he saith, *The whole world lyeth in wickednesse*, 1. Iohn 5.19. meaning the wicked onely. Therefore *Augustine* writeth well, *Epistol.* 48. *Totus mundus in maligno positus est propter zizania, quæ sunt per totum mundum, & Christus propitiatio est peccatorum totius mundi propter triticum, quod est per totum mundum*: The whole world lyeth in euill, because of the tares throughout the whole world, and Christ is the propitiation of the sinnes of the whole world, because of the good wheate throughout the world.

Argum. 3. Their third generall argument is grounded vpon such places of Scripture, where the fall of mankind by *Adam*, and the redemption by Christ are compared together: as Rom. 5. vers. 18. *As by the offence of one the fault came vpon all to their condemnation: so by the iustifying of one the benefit abounded towards all men, &c.* And againe, 1. Cor. 15.22. *As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made aliue*: Christs redemption then is as generall, as *Adams* fall; vnlesse ye will say, that *Adams* sinne exceedeth the merite of Christ. But all are dead in *Adam*: *Ergo*, all are redeemed by Christ: *Huber. Thes.* 48. *Suecan. de prædest. pag.* 486. 492. 494. *& alibi.*

Answ. 1. *Augustines* exposition may here safely be admitted, that all men are said to be iustified by Christ, not that all men are actually iustified by him, but because all that are iustified, are not otherwise iustified, then by him: as all that are dead, are dead in *Adam*: *August. de natur. & grat.* cap. 40. And againe he saith, *Sicut in Adam omnes, &c.* as in *Adam* all die, &c. *Sicut omnes qui moriuntur, non nisi in Adam moriuntur, &c.* As all that die, do not die but in *Adam*; so all that are make aliue, are made aliue in Christ. *August. Hieronym.* So then as all that pertaine to *Adam*, in the first generation, are dead in *Adam*; so all that by regeneration and new birth are engraft into Christ, are made aliue by him. 2. The Apostle saith, that all they which are iustified by Christ, shall raigne in life by Christ, vers. 17. but all that are of *Adam* shall not inherite eternall life: *Ergo*, all are not vniuersally iustified by Christ, neither dyed Christ in that sense for all. 3. Neither

ther doth it follow, that if more perish by *Adam*, then are redeemed by Christ, that the grace of Christ should be of lesse force, then the sinne of *Adam*. First, because they which haue no fruite in Christs death, are depriued thereof through their owne vnbeleefe, not for want of any sufficiencie in the raunsome and price of redemption. Againe, though so many should be saued by Christ, as are dead in *Adam*, yet herein grace should be but equall to the sinne of *Adam*: as many for as many: But now the Apostle preferreth grace, not in respect of multitude or number of the redeemed, but in a double regard. First, *Adams* sin brought death, grace by Christ giueth life: now it is an easier thing for many to perish, then for one to be restored: *Adam* alone lost himselfe and all the world: but all mankind ioyned together cannot saue a soule: grace therefore is preferred in respect of the difficultie of the worke. In this sense the Apostle saith, Rom.5.17. If through the offence of one, death raigned; much more shall they, which receiue abundance of grace, reigne in life, &c. Secondly, the Apostle sayth, *The fault came of one offence to condemnation*, vers.16. that is, onely originall sinne, which we deriue from *Adam*, maketh vs guiltie of condemnation: *but the gift is of many offences to iustification*: in Christ not onely our originall, but actuall sinnes also are pardoned. This then is the preeminence of grace.

The other place, 1.Cor.15. is either to be vnderstood of the resurrection, or rather of the life of the Saints in glorie: for the Apostle saith, *all shall be made aliue in Christ*: not that they already are: And in this sense it maketh nothing for the vniuersalitie of grace. And if we vnderstand it of redemption purchased by Christ, by (*all*) here, the elect onely are signified, namely, they which are of Christ, as vers.23. And so *Ambrose* vpon this place expoundeth it, vpon these words, 1.Corinth.15. *Sicut in Adam, &c.* As in *Adam* all die: *Sicut Adam peccans mortem inuenit, & omnes eius origine texuit: ita Christus mortem vincens, omnibus qui sunt ex eius corpore vitam acquisiuit*: As *Adam* sinning wrought death vpon all of his offspring; so Christ hath purchased life to all that are of his body: *vel sicut, &c.* or as in *Adam all*, both iust and vniust do die: so in Christ all, both beleeuers and vnbeleeuers shall rise, though vnto punishment.

*Argum.*4. Their fourth argument out of Scripture, is from such places, which seeme to extend the benefites purchased by Christs death generally to all.

First they vrge that place, Ioh.1.9. This is the true light, that lightneth euery man which commeth into the world: *Ergo*, the light of grace is common to all: *Pucks ration.*55.

Answ. First, this place must be vnderstood not of that singular and especiall light of grace, which is giuen onely to the elect, but of the light of nature, or common grace, which is infused into all: for what light he meaneth, is plainely shewed before, vers.4. *In it was life, and the life was the light of men*: he speaketh of the naturall life and light, and that capacitie of reason, which is in all by nature. Secondly, if we should vnderstand the light of peculiar grace, then it would follow, that not onely grace is offered, but receiued of all: for this light is sayd verily and indeed to lighten all. Thirdly, *Augustines* exposition may here safely be receiued: *Illuminat omnes homines, i.omnis generis homines*: He lighteneth all men, that is, all sorts of men: or thus, *Illuminat omnes hominem, quia nisi ab ipso nullus illuminatur*: He lighteneth all men, because there is none lightned but by him: *Enchirid.cap* 96.

*Obiect.*2. Rom.11.32. *God hath shut vp all vnder vnbeleefe, that he might haue mercie vpon all*: Mercie then is ordayned for all.

Answ. The meaning of the place is this, God will haue mercie vpon all, that is, both Iewes and Gentiles: for of them the Apostle entreateth throughout the whole chapter: *Intelligitur* (saith *Augustine*) *de Iudaeis & Gentilibus quos Deus praedestinauit*: It is to be vnderstood of those of the Iewes and Gentiles, whom God had predestinate: *de ciuitat.dei.lib.*21.*cap.*18.*&* 24.

*Obiect.*3. Colos.1.20. It pleased God the Father, &c. *by him to reconcile all things to himselfe, &c. both the things in earth, and the things in heauen, through the blood of his crosse: Ergo*, Christ dyed for all: *Pucks.*82.

Answ. First, if they will so strictly vrge this word, *omnia*, all things, Christ shall not onely be the redeemer of men, but of all things in the world. Secondly, this word therefore is to be restrained, according to the matter or subiect, wherof the Apostle entreateth: who hauing first set downe the worke of the creation, whereby all things visible and inuisible were created, vers.16. he commeth then to the worke of redemption, which he extendeth not to all things visible, and inuisible, as he did the creation, but restraineth to the Church, whereof Christ is the head, vers.18. which Church consisteth of two parts, of the Saints in heauen, and the Saints in earth, vers.20. As the Apostle saith elsewhere: *Of whom is named the whole familie in heauen, and in earth*, Ephes.3.15. The benefit of redemption therefore belongeth onely to the Church and familie of the Saints.

*Obiect.*4. Iohn 17.2. *Thou hast giuen him power ouer all flesh, that hee should giue eternall life to all them that thou hast giuen him: Ergo*, all flesh is reconciled vnto God by Christ: *Huber thes.*161.

Answ. First, it followeth not, Christ hath power ouer all flesh, therefore all flesh is reconciled by Christ: for he hath power ouer all creatures in heauen and earth, euen ouer bruit beasts, yet

they

haue no part in this reconciliation. Secondly, it is one thing to haue power giuen ouer all flesh, another thing to haue men giuen vnto Christ out of the world, as *Augustine* saith: *Potestatem omnis hominis accepit, vt liberet, quos voluerit; damnet, quos voluerit: sed eos sibi esse dates omnibus quibus omnibus det vitam æternam:* He hath receiued power ouer all men to deliuer whom he will, and to condemne whom he will: but they onely are giuen vnto him, to all whom he giueth eternall life: *in Iohan. tract. 111.* Thirdly, that not all men, but onely some in this sense are giuen vnto Christ, he himselfe witnesseth: *I haue declared thy name vnto the men, whom thou gauest me out of the world.* All the world therefore was not giuen vnto Christ, but a certaine number chosen out of the world. And thus much of their obiections out of Scripture: let vs now see some other of their arguments.

Argum.2. Their second generall argument is drawne from those absurdities and inconueniences, which do follow, as they imagine, vpon this doctrine, that God in his eternall counsell hath predestinate some vnto damnation, as he hath ordained others to life.

Obiect.1. If God haue appointed some vnto damnation, and it is impossible that such should not sinne, neither can Gods sentence be altered: it should seeme then, that they are not in fault themselues, seeing they can no wayes escape the wrath of God: how then can it be auoided, but that God should be the author of sin? *Sic Hubertus in thesib. Succan. p. 483. & 500.*

Answ.1. I answere with *Augustine: Qui deficiunt, non ex opere Dei, sed ex voluntate sua deficiunt, ac voluntate vt cadant, nec eiciuntur vt deserant; casurt tamen ab eo, qui falli non potest, præsciuntur:* They which fall away, or sinne, do not fall away, by any thing that God doth or worketh, but of their owne will and voluntarie inclination; they are neyther compelled to fall, nor cast off to that intent they should forsake God: but God, who cannot be deceiued, onely foresaw they should fall. The fall of man therefore is voluntarie, and none the cause of it but himselfe: God foreseeth (from whose eyes nothing can be hid) that sinne should be committed in the world: but hee decreed it not, but onely foreordained the punishment of sinne: And although sin be euill, yet the punishment thereof, as it is appointed of God, is iust and good: *Non ipse ignis æternus, qui cruciaturus est impios, malus est, habens modum & ordinem suum, sed cruciatus est damnatis malus, quorum peccata sunt debita:* Euerlasting fire, which shall torment the wicked, is not euill it selfe, being not without some measure, and order, but the torment is euill to the damned, to whose sinnes it is due. Artic. fall. impos. 16. De natura boni cap. 37.

Lets heare for this matter the testimonie of *Succanus* a Patron also of vniuersall grace: *Deum iidem, aut iusto odio destinare, quos vult; & homines interea spente, non cauté malefacere, &c. simul stabunt a non pugnantia:* These two sayings, for God to harden; and ordaine to be hated, whom he will; and for men notwithstanding to doe euill willingly, not of constraint, are not contrarie; but one seruing and subordinate to another. *Nostræ voluntates manent liberæ sub diuina prouidentia: plurima causa, non tolluntur media causa, sed potius stabiliuntur:* Our owne wils remaine free vnder Gods prouidence, the first cause doth not take away the second, but rather establisheth them: *in tr. de predestinat. pag. 622.* His meaning is this, that though Gods will and decree be the first cause of all things, and so of the saluation, or damnation of men; yet are there second causes, whereby Gods will is effected: as the corrupt will of man is the cause of sinne, and sinne the cause of damnation. It is not Gods will, that any man should come to condemnation, who first wilfully falling into sin, doth not iustly deserue the same. So then Gods decree is not the cause of sin, but the corruption onely of mans will. Thus haue we the testimonie of an aduersarie very cleare in our side.

S. *Ambrose* also thus testifieth, *lib. 2. de vocat. Gentium. c. 4. Æterna Dei cognitio nulla nos vrget necessitate peccandi, &c.* The eternall knowledge of God, doth not vrge any necessitie to sinne, neither doth iniquitie proceede from whence commeth equitie, &c. From the free will of men transgression first tooke beginning.

Magist. sentent. thus *lib. 1. dist. 41. litter. E. Non reprobatio ita est causa mali, sicut predestinatio causa boni, nec obduratio ita facit hominem malum, sicut misericordia bonum:* Reprobation is not so the cause of euill, as predestination is the cause of good: neither doth obduration so make a man euill, as mercie maketh him good.

Answ.2. But if God would (they say) men might be preserued from sin: why should hee rather giue his grace to one, then to another? *Augustine* also very well answereth this matter: *Cur illum retineat, illum autem non retineat, nec possibile est comprehendere, nec licitum inuestigare:* But why he withholdeth some from sin, and not others, it is neither possible to comprehend, nor lawfull to enquire. The Apostle also may resolue vs herein, who sayth, according as God spake to *Moses, I will haue mercie vpon whom I will haue mercie, and will haue compassion vpon whom I will haue compassion:* Rom. 9. 15. Other reason we must not be desirous to know, neither shall we be euer able to comprehend.

Obiect.2. But why should God saue some, and not others, seeing they are all his creatures and workmanship?

workmanship? how is not God vniust, or partiall in so doing, and an acceptor of persons? *Suecan. p.480 de predestinat.*

Answ. 1. Saint *Paul* herein doth satisfie them to the full: first he saith, *Who art thou O man, that pleadest against God?* Rom. 9.20. It is an vnreasonable thing, that the creatures should call the creator to account, or demaund a reason of his doings. Secondly, hee sheweth by the example of the potter, that God may with better right dispose of his creature, as it pleaseth him, than the potter maketh of one lumpe, vessels of honour and dishonour. Thirdly, the Apostle giueth a reason, which may content vs, why he electeth some, namely, to shew the richnes of his mercie, and why he reiecteth others, namely, that his power may be knowne, vers. 22. Gods glorie then, which standeth partly in mercie, partly is seene in his iustice, cannot appeare to the full, but in the saluation of some, and damnation of others: he therefore that thinketh Gods dealing herein to be vniust, is an enemie to the glorie of God.

Answ. 2. *Augustine* hath a singular speech of this matter: *Nemo* (saith he) *iustitiæ Dei arguat, si vni indebitam donauerit gratiam, alteri reddiderit debitam pœnam: an audebit debitor creditorem iniquitatis arguere. si alteri donauit, ab eo, quod debebat, exegerit?* Let no man seeme to charge or accuse Gods iustice, if he giue grace to one vndue, and so another render punishment due and deserued: shall the debtor accuse the creditor of vniust dealing, if he forgiue one his debt, and exact of thee that which thou owest? *de predest. lib. 1. 4.* Neither can God be charged with partialitie, or hauing respect of persons, in that of his free grace and mercie he saueth some, and leaueth the rest in their sinnes: he is said to respect persons, that for some qualitie or outward circumstance preferreth one before another: as the Iudge is said to respect the person, when hee heareth the rich and the great men, before the small and the poore, Deut. 1.17. As *Samuel* being sent to annoynt one of *Iesse* his sonnes, respected the outward comely person of the elder brethren: But with God there is no such respect of any such outward condition or qualitie. Act. 10.35. God is no acceptor of persons, but in euery nation he that feareth God: that is, God respecteth not ỳ person of men, that is, of what kindred or countrie they are: So is it likewise taken, Rom. 2.10. *There is no respect of persons before God*: that is, whether they be Iewes or Gentiles. It is not therefore of any thing in men themselues, that some are saued and not others, but of the free mercie of God: God seeth nothing in man, thereby to be moued to shew him mercie: therefore he respecteth no mans person: but all is of grace.

Obiect. 2. The person of man betokeneth not onely some externall qualitie, or outward respect in man, but the essence and substance of man also: As in the Trinitie, the name of person is taken substantially. Therefore if God be no acceptor of persons, one man cannot any waies be preferred before another: *Suecan. de predestinat. p.480.*

Answ. First, the person of God and the person of man, are not well compared together: for as much as there is nothing accidentall in God, but whatsoeuer, is belonging to his essence: but so is it not in man, in whom many things are accidentall, and subiect to chaunge. Secondly, though the person in the Trinitie be substantiall, yet is it not all one with the substance of the Trinitie: for there is but one substance of the Trinitie; and if the person were the substance, then should there be but one person also, which were great heresie to affirme, and so are they ouerthrowne by their owne example. Thirdly, if they will so strictly exclude all respect of man on Gods behalfe; how commeth it to passe, that beleeuers are saued, all vnbeleeuers damned? vnlesse the respect of their faith make a difference between them, through the gracious and free acceptation of God. Wherefore God is sayd not to accept the persons of men no otherwise than I haue sayd, that is, not to regard any thing in man, or of man, whereby originally one man should haue a preeminence to another.

3. They are all Gods creatures, we graunt: but what then? must either all be saued, or should God refraine from creating those, whom he foresaw should fall? No, it is sufficient that God is not the cause of their fall. And if God in his prescience saw they should fall, and should for this cause desist from creating them, that they might not fall: then should the prescience of God be deceiued in foreseeing that to be, which shall neuer be. *Augustine* also doth very well touch this point: *Creat homines secundum consilium bonæ voluntatis suæ, reparaturus in multis, quod ipse fecit, & puniturus, quod non fecit*: God, according to the counsell of his good will, did create men, being to repayre in them that, which he had made, and to punish that, which he made not.

Contr. artic. fall. impos. 3.4.

Obiect. 3. If it be so, that God hath cast lots ouer euery man, and hath alreadie decreed concerning their saluation or damnation; then all exhortation and preaching, and all endeuour to liue a godly life, is in vaine: for, *de vnoquoque fiet, vt prædestinatus est*, it shall befall euery man, as he is predestinate. So the Pelagians obiected, *de perseuer. lib. 2.15.*

Answ. 1. The doctrine of predestination doth no more hinder godly endeuour and exhortation, than the doctrine of Gods prescience and foreknowledge: *Sicut non deterremur* (saith *Augustine*) *à confitenda præscientia Dei, &c.* As we are not terrified, or frayed from confessing Gods prescience

sinne, because whether men liue well or euill, *tales erunt, quales præscivit Deus*, they shall be none other then God foresaw they should be: so, saith he, we ought not for this cause to be driuen from maintaining predestination, *Augustin. ibid.*

Augustine also in another place putteth this example: As (saith he) though the Apostle confesse that God worketh in vs both the will and the deede, yet hee ceaseth not euery where to exhort vs both to will and worke those things that please God. Our Sauiour Christ also biddeth vs to beleeue in him: *Ye beleeue in God, beleeue also in me.* Iohn 14. *Non tamen eum sic accipit frustrari.* And yet it is true which our Sauiour saith, That no man can come vnto him, vnlesse his father draw him: for faith is the gift of God. So men notwithstanding ought to endeuour themselues to walke in obedience before God, although they be predestinate thereunto. De perseuerant. lib. 2. cap. 14.

3. Christ also (saith *Augustine*) teaching his Apostles to pray, further telleth them, that God knoweth what is needfull for vs, before we aske, and yet wee ought to pray notwithstanding. So although God foresaw and did predestinate the end of euery man, yet wee must exhort and stirre vp one another to all holines of life, thereby to make sure our election, as Saint *Peter* saith, 2. Pet. 1. vers. 10.

4. I will also adioyne Master *Phelpots* learned and godly answere: Some (saith he) for an extreame refuge in their euill doing runne to Gods predestination and election, saying: If I be elected of God to saluation, I shall be saued, whatsoeuer I doe: but such be great tempters of God, and damnable blasphemers of Gods holie election, and cast themselues downe from the pinacle of the temple in presumption, that God may preserue them by his Angels through predestination. Soberly may reckon themselues to be none of Gods elect children, that will do euill that good may ensue; whose damnation the Apostle saith, is iust: Gods predestination ought with a simple eye to be considered, to make vs more warily to walke according to Gods word: for thus is the end and fruit of our election, *That wee should be holie and blamelesse in his sight*, Ephes. 1. *Epistol. ad regem Christian. pag.* 1832.

Gregorie hath an excellent saying, which may serue as a full answere to this obiection: as he is alleaged, *Caus.* 23. *qu.* 4. *c.* 21. *Obtinere nequaquam possunt, quæ prædestinata non fuerunt &c.* Those things cannot be obtained, which are not predestinate: but those things, which holie men effect by their prayer, were predestinate to be obtained by prayer: for predestination is so disposed of God, that they which are elected should come vnto it by labour. Wherefore predestination doth not take away the meanes, as prayer, instruction, exhortation, which tend vnto it.

Obiect. 4. To what end commanded Christ, that the Gospell should be preached to euery creature, if it were not Gods meaning that all men should come to the knowledge of the truth, and so be saued: otherwise the Lord should seeme to purpose one thing and doe another? *See Huber. in Rom.*

Contra. First, God calleth all men generally by the preaching of the Gospell, neither is God to be blamed, if they obey not their calling, which in it selfe is sufficient, but they onely are in faulte that refuse it: As Saint *Ambrose* well saith, *In aliis præualuisse gratiam, in aliis resilisse naturam*: That in some grace preuaileth, in some their owne nature resisteth. He speaketh of those, to whom the Gospell is preached, *lib. 2. de vocat. Gent. cap.* 8. Secondly, it followeth not, that because the Gospell is preached to all, God hath decreed to saue all: for Christ commaunded his Apostles to preach vnto those the Gospell of peace, that should notwithstanding neither heare them nor receiue it, Matth. 10. 13. So *Ezechiel* is sent to a people, that will not heare, Ezech. 2. 5. And why may not the Gospell be preached in like sort to many that shall perish? Thirdly, the causes therefore why the Gospell is preached to all, and yet all are not ordained to be saued, are these two chiefly: first, because the elect and the reprobate are mixed together in earth, neither is it knowne vnto men, whether euery man appertaineth, therefore is the Gospell offered to all, that some might be saued. And it is more agreeable to Gods mercie, that euen the reprobate should haue the externall meanes of saluation offered vnto them for the elects sake among them, than that the elect should be defrauded thereof because of the other. Of this *Augustine* writeth well: *Correptio medicinalis ita omnibus adhibenda est, etiamsi salus agrotantis incerta sit: vt sit ea, qui corripitur ad numerum prædestinatorum pertinet, sit ea correptio salubre medicamentum; si autem non pertinet, sit pœnale tormentum: de corrept. gra. cap.* 13. The medicine must be giuen to all, though it be vncertaine who shall haue their health: that if hee that is rebuked be of the predestinate, his chastisement shall be healthfull to him, if not, it shall be a penall torment. So then the second reason is, that the wicked may be left inexcusable, when as the word of God is preached vnto them, and they regard it not.

Heburus here obiecteth, *thes.* 304. If it be so, that the word of God be vnto some the sauour of death vnto death, it were better neuer to heare it, than that the hearing thereof should be to some to their condemnation.

Contra. 1. It is an absurd consequent, that the word should not be preached at all, because some profit not by it: by the same reason, because some in the Sacrament doe eate and drinke their

their owne damnation, it might be inferred, that it were good for none to receiue it: or because some abuse meate and drinke to gluttonie and drunkennesse, that therefore none should eate or drinke. 2. That it were better for the wicked, neuer to haue knowne the way of righteousnesse, than after they haue knowne it to turne away, &c. as Saint *Peter* saith, 2 Epist. 2. 21. We graunt: but it followeth not, that it were better not to haue it knowne at all: It is better, that by the preaching of the Gospell some should be saued, though other be left without excuse, than by not preaching, to helpe to excuse vnbeleeuers, none should be saued.

Obiect. 5. This obiection is not much differing from the former: Seeing that Baptisme is offered to all: *Go and baptize all nations*, Matth. 28. ver. 19. grace also together with Baptisme is offered: for God would neuer haue inuited all men to Baptisme, if he would not impart vnto them that grace, which is sealed by Baptisme: *Sic Heming. de vniuersal. grat. pag. 75.*

Contra. 1. That Baptisme is auailable only to those that beleeue, the Scripture testifieth, Mar. 16. *He that beleeueth, and is baptized, shall be saued?* And to beleeue is the worke of God, Ioh. 6. 29. And to them onely, that are ordained to euerlasting life, is it giuen to beleeue, Act. 13. 48. Therefore to them onely is Baptisme of efficacie. 2. As before we said of the preaching of the Gospel, so now of Baptisme: that they are offered to all, that amongst many, such as are ordained to life, should be saued: for it were not meete, that because some are found abusers and prophaners of the Sacraments, therefore they should be denied to all. 3. If all in Baptisme are verily partakers of grace, how are not all saued? If they answere, that through their owne negligence this grace is lost, which is their onely answere here, *Heming. pag. 75.* they speake contrarie to the Scripture, which testifieth, that whom God loueth, he loueth to the end, Ioh. 13. 1. And that the gifts of God are without repentance, Rom. 11. But of this more God willing afterward.

Obiect. 6. The doctrine of predestination, say some, is a doctrine of despaire: for if it be so, that God hath decreed some to damnation from the beginning, what comfort now remaineth to those that are in despaire, and distresse of conscience, if we cannot assure them, that the mercie and grace of God is free for all men, and not denied to any?

Answ. 1. The doctrine of predestination, is a true and sound doctrine, yet not at all times, nor in the hearing of all persons to be vttered: for so Saint *Paul* saith, *That he gaue vnto some milke, not strong meate, for they were not able to beare it*, 1. Corin. 3. 2. The doctrine of predestination is strong meate, and therefore not to be ministred to the weake and bruised conscience. *Hac vna est causa tacendi verum*, (as *Augustine* saith) *ne peiores faciamus, qui non intelligunt, dum volumus eos qui intelligunt, facere doctiores:* This is one cause of concealing the truth, least we make them worse, that vnderstand not, while wee would teach those, which are of better capacitie. He prescribeth also the manner how predestination should be taught and handled: namely, in the hearing of the faithfull, to entreate onely of election: But if any man be disposed likewise to touch the other part of reprobation: *Non de ipsis, qui in populo audiunt, dicendum est per secundam personam, sed de illis ipsos per tertiam.* He must in no wise speake in the second person to those that are present, but of others in their hearing in the third person, *lib. 2. de perseuer. cap. 23.* De perseuer. lib. 2. cap. 16.

2. This doctrine notwithstanding, there is sufficient place for comfort: If any man doubt of his saluation, wee must neither build vpon a false ground, to comfort them; as to beare them in hand, that God hath a purpose to saue all men: nor yet referre them to Gods eternall decree, which is too strong meate for them in that weake estate to beare: But as if a man should denie that the fire is hot, or that the Sunne shineth, we would vse no better argument, to perswade him, than by experience of the effects, as how the fire burneth, and the Sunne giueth light: so in this case to assure a man of saluation, we would exhort him to vse the secondarie meanes, as faith, repentance, to beleeue in Christ, and as the Apostle saith, to make his election sure by good works: And by the experience of Gods mercie and goodnes, which he hath felt, to grow vp vnto the assurance of his fauour.

3. I will conclude with *Augustine*, who thinketh this doctrine of predestination to be a doctrine not of despayre and distrust, but of comfort and confidence: *Absit à vobis ideo desperare de vobis, quoniam spem vestram in ipso habere iubemini, non in vobis: An verendum est, ne tam de se homo desperet, quando spes eius ponenda demonstratur in Deo?* God forbid that you should despayre of your selues, because ye are willed to put your trust in God, and not in your selues: Is it to be feared, lest man should then despayre of himselfe, when hee is taught to place his hope and trust in God? *de perseuer. lib. 2. cap. 23.* For this the doctrine of predestination teacheth vs, that whatsoeuer is in vs, that is good, it neither is of our selues, nor yet commeth vnto vs by chaunce, but is bestowed vpon vs freely, as God in mercie in the beginning had appointed.

Huberus further obiecteth thus: If it be so that Christ dyed not for all, but onely for some, then all comfort and consolation is taken away: as if a man should thus reason; Some men are elected to saluation in Christ, I am a man: *Ergo*, I shall be saued. This were a weake argument of comfort, concluding onely vpon particulars, *Huber. p. 20. 97.*

Contra.

Obiect. 2. If we should draw our comfort immediatly from Gods eternall will and decree; our hearts must needes fall into the same straits of particularities: for it is certaine, that in the decree all shall not be saued, but some must goe into euerlasting paine, others to eternall life, as God in the beginning had decreed. Wherefore there must be a certaine number of elect, and of damned to life. 2. To assure our selues then of our saluation before God, we must not immediatly vnto Gods secret decree and counsell, as though by some extraordinarie speculation or reuelation, we could attaine to the knowledge thereof: but we must iudge of our election by the fruites and effects thereof, as our faith, vocation, sanctification: and this *See more at large, pag. 466.* Our argument then of comfort grounded vpon the word of God, is this: Whosoeuer beleeueth in Christ, shall be saued; I beleeue in Christ: *Ergo*, I hope to be saued: So that our comfort ariseth not from any particular, but from the vniuersall promises of God made to all those which beleeue. But in the assumption of this argument, two things may trouble vs: first, if Sathan shall tell vs, that wee beleeue not, how we may assure our selues of faith. The remedie against this temptation is this: We must examine our faith by the fruits thereof. 1. Ioh. 2. 3. *Hereby we are sure we know him, if we keepe his commandements.* Neither ought we to be dismayed though we finde in our selues some contrarie motions of feare, doubtfulnes, and such like. But though our faith be imperfect, we must consider how Christ did succour and cherish the weake in faith, as appeareth of him, Mat. 12. 4. that hee should *not breake the bruised reede, nor quench the smoking flaxe*: also we must pray continually with the Apostles, *Lord increase our faith*: and with him in the Gospell: *Lord I beleeue, helpe my vnbeleefe*, Mark. 9. The second thing that may trouble vs, is, to know how we attaine to faith: for all haue not faith, as the Apostle saith, 2 Thes. 3. 2. Our reuolt from God to acknowledge faith, and all other gifts to come from God; not to think it standeth in our owne power to beleeue: and therefore by faithfull prayer to seeke for this precious gift at Gods hands.

Who seeth not then, but that this is a more sure and readie way vnto comfort, as wee haue heard, then to beare men in hand, that God would haue all men to be saued, and that Christ died for all? So their argument of comfort standeth thus: *Christ died for all men for those that shall be damned: therefore he died for me.* What comfort now can a troubled conscience reape by the death of Christ, seeing that notwithstanding hee may be damned: and that Christ hath done as much for those that shall be damned, as for other? May not the distressed conscience iustly say vnto such, *Miserable comforters are ye, and physitions of no value?* Iob. 13. 4. And thus farre of the first arguments, and obiections, that do maintaine the vniuersalitie of the grace of God. Now we will come by euident testimonies of scripture, & other effectuall reasons to establish and make known the truth.

THAT CHRIST DIED ONLY for the elect.

Our sentence then is this, that whereas all men were by nature the children of wrath, and like to perish in themselues, God from the rest hath according to his good pleasure elected some, vnto whom he hath appointed Christ Iesus to be their Mediatour and Redeemer. And here we are to consider first the beginning of election: secondly, the progresse thereof: lastly, the end. The beginning is, that God according to his good pleasure, elected vs in Christ before the foundation of the world, Ephes. 1. 4. The progresse, in that hee hath giuen the elect vnto Christ to be saued, and redeemed by him, Ephes. 1. 5. *He hath predestinate vs to be adopted through Iesus Christ*: The end is, that whom hee hath predestinate, (that is the beginning) called, iustified, (there is the progresse) *them he hath glorified*, Rom. 8. 30. he hath purposed to bring them to glorie: that is the end. That now Christ onely was giuen to dye for the companie of the elect: not that it is not sufficient for the whole world in it selfe, but because the efficacie and benefit of Christs death is onely applied by faith vnto the beleeuers: and faith onely is of the elect. That therefore Christ died only for the elect, it remaineth now to be proued. Our argumentes we will distribute into three places: first we will produce direct places of scripture for our purpose. Secondly, reasons grounded vpon scripture. Thirdly, we will shew the absurditie of the aduersaries opinion.

First, our euident testimonies out of scripture are these: First, Ioh. 10. 15. *Christ laieth downe his life for his sheepe*: the elect onely are his sheepe: *Ergo*.

Hebr. denieth the assumption: saying, that all men are Gods sheepe, and inheritance, who if afterward they stray away from the Lords sheepfold, the fault is in themselues. *Rhes.* 1069.

Contra. But our Sauiour speaketh of such sheep, as do heare his voyce, and follow him, and they will not follow a stranger, ver. 5. They therefore that fall away, & follow any other, are not y sheep of Christs fold: therefore for such sheepe only he died, as finally are his: those are the elect only.

2. Ioh. 11. 52. Christ died not for the nation onely, that is, of the Iewes, but, *That he might gather together in one the children of God that were scattered.* But the elect only are the children of God:

of? to whom he speaketh againe, namely, of those dispersed and scattered children, Ioh. 10. 16. *Other sheepe I haue also, which are not of this folde, them also I must bring &c.* These are the predestinate, as *Austin* saith: *Erant prædestinati, nondum congregati*: They were predestinate, though not yet gathered together: *Augustin. serm. 50. de verbis Domini in Iohan.*

3. Ioh. 14. 13. Christ dyed onely for his friends; the elect onely, and such as shall be saued, only are the friends of Christ. And if that place of the Apostle be obiected, Rom. 5. *That Christ died for vs, when we were yet enimies*: We answere with *Bernards* distinction, *Serm. 10. de Psalm. Qui habitat*: *Christus secundum tempus pro impijs & inimicis mortuus est, secundum prædestinationem autem pro fratribus & amicis*: Christ according to the dispensation of time died for the wicked and his enemies: but in respect of his predestination, for his friends and brethren.

4. S. *Paul* testifieth, Ephes. 5. verse. 26. That Christ gaue himselfe for his Church, that he might sanctifie it, &c. and hee is the Sauiour of his bodie, verse. 23. But the elect only, and such as shall be saued, are members onely of his bodie; *Ergo*, for such onely he dyed.

Contra. Huberus answereth, that the Church is here taken for the whole assemblie of beleeuers, and vnbeleeuers, who all were sanctified and washed with the blood of Christ, but afterward are defiled againe by their vnbeleefe: *Huber. thes.* 1088.

Answ. That Church which Christ sanctifieth, and cleanseth with his blood, he also glorifieth: to make it a glorious Church (saith the Apostle) without spot or wrinckle, verse. 27. But the elect only and predestinate vnto life shall be glorified: *Ergo*, they only are the true Church, and liuely members of Christs bodie. Secondly, our reasons and arguments grounded vpon the word of God, are these, and such like which follow.

1. Christ dyed onely for those that should beleeue in him, Ioh. 3. 16. But it is not giuen to all to beleeue in Christ, except only to the elect, which are ordained to life: *Ergo*, for them only Christ dyed. That faith is onely of the elect, it is thus proued: first, Matth. 13. 11. *To you it is giuen to know the secrets of the kingdome, to them it is not giuen*: this knowledge then is not giuen to all. *Contra.* The meaning is, not that God in his eternall decree, had ordained knowledge vnto some, and denyed it to others, but that the ministerie of the word being offered to all, some through their incredulitie refused the same, and so their hearts were iustly hardened: as the Apostle saith elsewhere, *That they did put away from them the word of God, which it was necessarie should haue been first spoken vnto them, and so iudged themselues vnworthie of euerlasting life*, Act. 13. 46. The rest, which did not abuse their naturall gifts of hearing and vnderstanding, but willingly gaue care vnto Christ, had power to beleeue in Christ, and to continue therein: *sic Huber. thes.* 826. *Sueuus. p.* 522. *Aos.* 1. That they which loue not the truth, are iustly giuen ouer of God to a reprobate sense, we grant, as Saint *Paul* sheweth, 2. Thess. 2. 10. *Because they would not receiue the loue of the truth, God shall send them strong delusions, &c.* 2. Yet men are not so the cause to themselues of their beleefe, as they are of their incredulitie: but the cause and beginning is of God, as our Sauiour testifieth, Matth. 11. 26. *Ita pater, because thy good pleasure was such.* The cause then why some vnderstand the mysterie of the kingdome, is not in their willingnes, but in the good pleasure of God: It is not a gift equally offered to all, which all may receiue, if they will; it is giuen to you, saith Christ, it is not giuen to them.

To this purpose S. *Ambrose*: *Qui veniunt dei auxilio diriguntur, qui non veniunt sua pauitate reclamant*: They that come are directed by Gods helpe; they which come not, by their owne power doe resist, *lib. 2. de vocat Gent. c. 9.* And againe, *Tales fuerunt, qui sunt attracti, quales ij qui in sua duritie sunt relicti, sed illis tribuit gratia stupenda quod voluit, illis retribuit veritas iusta, quod debuit, &c.* They were the same, that are drawne, which they were, that remained in their hardnes: but grace giueth vnto them, as God would; iustice rendreth to the other as they deserue. Wherefore though a man resisting the calling of grace, is the cause why hee beleeueth not, yet in them which obey their calling, it is of the grace of God that they beleeue.

Againe, Christ saith, Ioh. 10. 26. *You beleeue not, for you are not of my sheepe.* It is not therfore giuen to all to beleeue in Christ, but to his sheepe onely, that is the elect, to whom hee giueth eternall life, verse. 28.

Thirdly, Act. 13. 48. *As many as were ordained to eternall life, beleeued*: To beleeue therefore is giuen only to the elect, which are ordained vnto life.

Contra. Huberus thus expoundeth this place: they beleeued, which were ordained to life, that is, which followed the order appointed of God, whereby men should be saued, that is, by the preaching of the Gospell: for this, saith hee, is the ordinance of God, that they that beleeue the Gospell should be saued, *Huber. thes.* 834.

Answ. 1. If this be the meaning, that they beleeued that were ordained, that is, followed Gods ordinance, which was to beleeue, it is all one to say, they beleeued, that beleeued; and so there should be a needlesse repetition of the same thing. 2. If we vnderstand it of faith and beleefe, yet it includeth an act of the ordainer, and they passiuely are ordained to beleeue: whereupon it will

ensue,

that they onely beleeued that were ordained to beleeue: for whereas they ascribe vnto man [illegible] power to beleeue; but this, to be ordained, is actiue in God, and passiue in man, it cannot [illegible] stood simply vpon the act of beleefe, but of the ordinance of God before going. 3. Though God [illegible] well ordaine the meanes, as the end, to the which the meanes doe leade; yet because the [illegible] here directly mentioned, namely, *to eternall life*, wee are thereby directed to vnderstand the [illegible] of the end, rather, or as well as of the meane: so that this must be the sense, they that [illegible] ordained, that is, appointed of God to be saued eternally, beleeued: life eternall is the end, [illegible] in Christ is the meane, the ordinance or foreappointment of God is the cause or beginning. Other not satisfying themselues with the former exposition, haue found out a new: *As many [illegible] ordained*, &c. that is, many of the Gentiles, according to the ordinance of God, beleeued. Some vnderstand this word (*quot quot*, as many, as) not of their particular persons, that beleeued, but many of distribution of euery kinde & sort of men present: that is, euen the Gentiles also as [illegible] Iewes (as God had foreordained) beleeued: for it is not likely, say they, that all in the citie Antiochie, which should be saued, were at this time conuerted, but some at one time, some at [illegible] *See Hemingius p. 23. Gualterius p. 37.*

Obiect. First, they now are constrained to vse that distinction, which they will not allow vnto vs: whereas, wee interprete Saint *Pauls* saying, *God would haue all men to be saued*, of all sorts of [illegible] vtterly reiect that sense, and yet are driuen hereto vse it themselues. Secondly, yet the [illegible] vsed, *quot, quotquot*, will better beare that sense, then the word *quicunque*, (as many, as) [illegible] we reade here: but the word (*omnes*) all, sometime in Scripture signifieth, not euery particular [illegible] euery kinde, as Luk. 11. 42. *Decimatis omne olus*. You tithe euery herbe, that is, euery manner herbe. But wheresoeuer you shall reade, *omnes, quicunque, quisquis, quotquot*, (as many as) it includeth some particular, as Luk. 18. 22. *Sell all that euer thou hast*: Act. 2. 39. *As many as the Lord our God shall call*: Act. 4. 34. *As many as had lands, sold them*: that is, euery one: and so must it be taken here. Thirdly, it cannot be vnderstood here of euery kinde, that is, both Iewes and Gentiles: for [illegible] were all Gentiles that beleeued here, the Iewes openly resisted the Apostles. Fourthly, to the reason we answere: that it is not necessarie to restraine this speech, *As many, as were ordained [illegible] beleeued*, to that present time: but as Saint *Luke* saith, Act. 2. 47. *God added from day to day to the Church such as should be saued*: so this may be spoken indefinitely, that by the preaching of the Apostles so many first and last beleeued, as should be saued. And yet if wee applie it to the present [illegible] then, not to the whole citie, (for al the citie heard him not at once) we know nothing to the contrary, but that euery one of them that was saued in that assemblie, at that instant beleeued.

The second argument out of Scripture is this: for whom Christ is a Redeemer, for them also he is Mediatour and aduocate: but hee is an aduocate onely for the elect, not for the reprobate: Ioh. 17. 9. *I pray not for the world, but for those which thou hast giuen me: Ergo*, Christ by his death redeemed the elect.

Contra. 1. *Huberus* answereth, that Christ prayeth not for the world, that is, that the workes and [illegible] of the wicked and vnbeleeuers should be approoued: yet saith he, *Pro mundo orandum [illegible] conuerti eum*: We must pray for the world, that it may be conuerted: *Thes.* 92 5.

Resp. 1. Christ so farre forth prayeth not for the world, as he prayeth for his; but for his owne onely, that they may be saued: vers. 24. *I will that they which thou hast giuen me, to be with me [illegible]*: Therefore in that sense he prayeth not for the world, that it should be conuerted or saued; and therefore seeing the world hath no part in Christs mediation, and intercession, neither [illegible] they any benefit by his redemption.

2. Christ prayeth onely for those, which were giuen him out of the world, vers. 6. 9. But all the world was not giuen vnto Christ to be saued: for how can the world be giuen out of the world? Againe, Christ giueth glorie, that is, *eternall life to those that are giuen him*. vers. 22. but the whole world hath not eternall life, but those onely that are elected thereunto: *Ergo*, the world is not giuen Christ to be saued, neither doth he pray for them.

3. Though wee in charitie may pray for the conuersion of Turkes, Iewes, Infidels, out of the world: yet it followeth not that Christ did pray for the world: for hee knew who they were, that should be saued, and so doe not we, and therefore we are to hope the best, euen of those which are in the world.

4. *Origen* thus expoundeth this place, *hom. 9. in Leuitic. Non vxorat Christus pro his, &c. pro illis [illegible] quos sui sors Domini*: Christ prayeth not for them, &c. but onely for those which are the Lords lot or portion.

Contra. 2. *Hemmingius* answereth, that by the world here we must vnderstand the peruerse and obstinate companie of the Iewes, which had alreadie wilfully refused grace offered vnto them, and so had committed sin against the holie Ghost, Mark. 3. for those Christ prayeth not, pag. 42.

Resp. That Christ by the world vnderstandeth not onely the wicked of that time, but all vnbeleeuers to the end of the world, it is thus shewed: As they are, which are giuen Christ, for whom

he prayeth, so is the world to be vnderstoode, for them which he prayeth not: but by those that are giuen him he vnderstandeth all beleeuers, not onely at that time, but to the end of the world, verſ. 20, and 24. Therefore, by the world our Sauiour meaneth all vnbeleeuers whatsoeuer, and not the obſtinate onely of that time.

Contra 3. Sweemus de prædeſtinat. p. 660. ſaith, that by the world Chriſt vnderſtandeth thoſe that doe contemne the benefit of Chriſts death, as Ioh. 15. 18. *If the world hate you, it hated me before you* and ſo they exclude themſelues from grace offered in Chriſt, not that any ſimply are excluded before their vnbeliefe.

Anſw. Firſt, it is true, that there are none elected in the eternall counſell of God, but are ordained in time to beleeue, nor none excluded, but doe afterward by their owne malice and frowardnes iuſtly exclude themſelues from beliefe: yet it is certaine, that the number and company of beleeuers is foreſeene and preordained of God, and ſo conſequently of the other alſo: as is eaſy thus appeare: Chriſt praying for thoſe, that ſhall beleeue in him, verſ. 20. ſaith, verſ. 22. *I haue giuen them the glorie, &c.* and yet in 24. *I will, that they which thou haſt giuen me, &c.* They which as yet beleeued not, but ſhould beleeue, are alreadie giuen vnto Chriſt, and euen now glorified: what is this elſe, but that they are preordained of God, which ſhould beleeue in Chriſt, and that they are alreadie giuen vnto him, and glorified in the purpoſe of God? Secondly, wee will adioyne alſo the teſtimonie of *Auguſtine: Eſt mundus damnandorum, de quo ſcriptum eſt, ne cum mundo hoc damnemur, 1. Cor. 11. pro iſto mundo non rogat, neque enim quò ſit prædeſtinatus, ignorat: eſt mundus ſaluandorum, de quo Apoſtolus, Deus erat in Chriſto mundum ſibi reconcilians, pro iſto mundo rogat, vt credat per teſtat. in Ioan. 110.* There is a world of the damned, of the which it is written, that wee be not damned with the world: for this world Chriſt prayeth not; for he was not ignorant to what end it was predeſtinate: There is a world of thoſe that ſhall be ſaued, of the which the Apoſtle ſaith, God was in Chriſt reconciling the world, &c. for this world Chriſt prayeth, that it may beleeue. *Ergo*, for this world Chriſt onely dyed.

Our third argument is this: Chriſt onely dyed for thoſe, to whom the benefit of his death verily and indeede is applied, and which finde life by his death: Ioh. 17. 19. *For their ſakes ſanctifie my ſelfe* (that is, to be an acceptable ſacrifice vpon the croſſe) *that they alſo may be ſanctified.* And verſ. 2. *Chriſt giueth eternall life to all that were giuen him:* But all the world is not ſanctified, or regenerate by Chriſt, nor yet commeth to eternall life, but onely thoſe that ſhall be ſaued: *Ergo*, Chriſt dyed not for the whole world, but for the elect onely, that ſhall be ſaued. Neither can it be anſwered, that Chriſt died for all, becauſe all may, if they will, beleeue; and ſo be ſaued: for Chriſt ſpeaketh not of a power or poſſibilitie onely to be ſanctified, and ſo ſaued, but of an actuall ſanctification, and ſaluation: they are verily ſanctified, for whom Chriſt ſanctifieth himſelfe, and he giueth eternall life indeede to all them that are giuen him: wherefore ſeeing that all men are not ſanctified, nor brought to eternall life, but ſuch as are indeed ordained to ſaluation; it followeth, that for them onely Chriſt died.

Argum. 4. Chriſt died onely for thoſe that are appointed to ſaluation, for the death of Chriſt is a ſubordinate meane for the ſaluation of thoſe, whom God would haue ſaued: But all men in the world are not appointed to ſaluation, therefore Chriſt died not for all. It will be anſwered, that it is Gods will, that all men ſhould be ſaued by Chriſt, with this condition, ſo that they beleeue in him, and that God hath not made any ſpeciall election and ſeparation of ſome from the reſt, which ſhould be ſaued, but that indifferently all men are comprehended vnder Gods conditionall decree of election, that is, as many as ſhall beleeue. If then we can proue out of the word of God, that Gods election vnto life is not conditionall, but abſolute, in letting a certaine number apart, who onely ſhould haue power to beleeue, and ſo onely be ſaued by Chriſt, and none beſide, then it will appeare manifeſtly, that for them Chriſt onely dyed.

1. Our firſt place to proue an abſolute and particular election of ſome onely vnto life, is that Matth. 22. 14. *Many are called, but few choſen:* which place ſheweth, that although the externall meanes of ſaluation be offered to many, yet not all of them, but ſome onely are elected and choſen vnto life.

Huberus anſwereth, that there is a generall election, and ſpeciall: the generall election is of all, which are called to the kingdome of God, and outwardly profeſſe obedience: the ſpeciall election is of thoſe which do obey their calling, and indeed perſeuere and continue in the faith to the end, *theſ. 734.* So then his meaning is, that few are elected, not in reſpect of any election and ſeparation made in the counſell and decree of God, but becauſe ſome amongſt many perſeuere to the end.

Contra. Firſt, there can be no ſuch generall election: for what choiſe is there, when all indifferently are receiued? An election therefore implieth a receiuing of ſome, and a refuſing of others: all therefore cannot be elected. This were alſo to confound vocation, and election: Many are called, but not many are choſen: to ſay therefore that many are choſen, where Chriſt ſaith, *ſew* only

...ded, were to contradict his words. Secondly, if the speciall election depend vpon mans perseuerance and continuance, not this rather vpon the other; if some are said to be elected, because they perseuere, and not rather to perseuere because they are elected; then are men the cause of their election, and they chuse God first. But Christ saith contrarie, *you haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you*: and S. *Iohn* saith, *not that we loued God, but he loued vs first*, 1. Iohn. 4. 10. And *Paul* also saith, *who hath separated thee?* 1. Corint. 4. 7. It is God that electeth and separateth one from another, and distributeth vnto them his gifts. And again, in the parable, Mat. 20. 15. *May I not doe what I will with mine owne?* The election therefore of some dependeth not vpon their owne will, but vpon the good will and pleasure of God.

The second place, Matth. 20. 23. *The kingdome of God shall be giuen vnto them, for whom it is prepared of my father:* The kingdome of God then is not prepared for all, but for some. Saint *Paul* also saith, Rom. 9. 22. *That there are vessels of wrath prepared to destruction, and vessels of mercie prepared to glorie:* All therefore are not vessels of mercie, neither are all prepared to glorie.

Iunius answereth, *pag.* 602. that these places proue not any particular exception or restraint of certaine men prepared to glorie, or of others to destruction, but that generally and indifferently the kingdome of God is prepared for all that shall beleeue, and they that beleeue not, are excluded by their owne incredulitie to destruction.

Contra. We also grant, that none but beleeuers are prepared to glorie: but we make beleefe a consequence and effect of their election and preparation to glorie: so that the number of beleeuers is as certaine before God, as certainly he hath decreed who shall be saued: for I aske, whence commeth it that wee haue faith? *it is not of our selues, but it is the gift of God*, Ephes. 2. 9. And, *it is the worke of God to beleeue*, Ioh. 6. 29. If faith then be Gods gift, how is it that all haue not faith? but because God giueth it not to all. And why is it not giuen to all? but that God in mercie hath chosen some whom he purposeth to saue in Christ: And vnto these onely faith is giuen. If ye say, God giueth faith to all, but all receiue it not: then is Gods will resisted: for if he would haue all men beleeue, and they will not; then doth the will of man frustrate Gods will.

Iunius answereth, that all men are elected and adopted in Christ, *thes.* 748. And that God giueth faith, conuerteth the heart, illuminateth, worketh effectually in all that are so elected, and maketh the vessels of mercie, *thes.* 867. But yet so that the vessels of honour thus prepared of God, are made the vessels of dishonor, *thes.* 903. So the same vessels are prepared of God to honor, of themselues and Sathan to destruction, *thes.* 870.

Contra. First, thus it shall come to passe, that the vessels of honor shall be prepared to destruction, which is contrarie to the text alleaged, *That the kingdome of heauen shall be giuen vnto them for whom it is prepared:* But by his saying, they that are prepared for it shall not haue it. Secondly, by these meanes also Satan is made stronger than God: for whom he prepareth to glorie, the other prepareth to destruction. But Christ saith otherwise, *none is able to pluck them out of mine hand*, Ioh. 10. 28.

The third place: They onely are ordained to life, that are giuen to Christ: Ioh. 17. 2. *Christ giueth eternall life to all, that are giuen him:* but a certaine number taken out of the world, not the whole world is giuen to Christ, vers. 6. thou gauest them me out of the world, thine they were, &c. Here the number is certaine and definite before God, of them that shall be saued.

Iunius answereth: First, Christ speaketh not here of eternall election, but of such as were giuen him out of the world to be his Apostles, of which number *Iudas* was one, who was giuen vnto Christ, & yet perished: but they that by eternall election are giuen vnto Christ, perish not, *p.* 724.

Contra. First, that Christ speaketh of those that were giuen him eternally, it is plaine; because, to whom *Christ giueth eternall life*, vers. 2. *he glorifieth them*, vers. 22. *he will haue them to be where he is*, vers. 24. But such are eternally elected. Secondly, though *Iudas* may be said in some sense to be giuen to Christ in respect of his Apostleship; yet was he not giuen as the rest of the Apostles: for of them Christ saith, that they kept his word, vers. 6. that he was glorified in them, vers. 10. they were not of the world, vers. 14. But *Iudas* neither kept Christs word, neither yet was Christ glorified in him; and he was of the world: therefore they were giuen eternally to Christ, though *Iudas* was not.

Successus. Secondly, though wee vnderstand here eternall election, whereby some were giuen vnto Christ, yet it implieth not a speciall exception and choise of some persons, but that all indifferently were giuen vnto Christ, that should beleeue in him, *Successus ibid.*

Contra. First, Christ saying, the men, *which thou gauest me out of the world*, assigneth some speciall persons, that were giuen vnto him, namely his Apostles, as it is cleere by the text: And if some particular persons were giuen vnto him, why may there not be a particular assignement, and cognisance also before God of the rest that are giuen vnto him? Secondly, where Christ saith, speaking of his Apostles, *thine they were*, and *thou gauest them me*, vers. 6. it sheweth an absolute election before God, without any respect of their faith: for first, Christ saith, *they are thine*, that is, by election; and then they are giuen to him, to know him, and beleeue in him, vers. 8.

4. The fourth place: Philip. 4.3. *whose names are in the booke of life*: Apocal. 17.8. *whose names are not written in the booke of life from the foundation of the world*. Therefore some were elected from the beginning before God, some not elected.

Huberus answereth: that all are elected in Christ, and written in the booke of life, vnder this condition, so that they beleeue, and continue in faith: whereupon it commeth to passe, that they which beleeue not, do lose their saluation, and so are as not written in that booke, because raced out of it, *thes.* 917.

Perkins also answereth to the same effect, that not to be written in the booke of life must be vnderstood positiuely, not priuatiuely, that is, they are written and declared thorough their contumacie or contempt worthy of damnation: *ration.* 96.

Cont. 1. The text is, *They are not written in the booke of life from the foundation of the world*: which first ouerthroweth *Huberus* answere, that saith, they were written, but after raced out: for they were not written from the foundation of the world, not from the beginning, that is, neuer.

2. Secondly, it meeteth with the other cauill: for in that they were not written from the foundation, &c. it sheweth, that they were shut out of the booke of life, before their contumacie or infidelitie appeared; and therefore their contumacie which appeared in the world, could not be the cause of their names not writing in the booke of life, which was done before the foundation of the world: And thus much of our reasons and arguments deduced out of Scripture.

Lastly, that Christ died only for the elect, this euidence we haue of antiquitie. 1. *Origen hom. 9. Leuitic.* alleadged before, affirmeth, that Christ prayeth onely, *pro illis, qui sunt sors Domini*; for them, that are the Lords lot or portion: *homil. 1. in Cantic. Ecclesiam eatenus omnium admittit saluandam*: By the Church vnderstand the company of all Saints. If the Saints onely make the Church, and Christ dyed onely for his Church, Ephes. 5.25. then consequently he dyed only for the Saints.

2. S. *Ambrose lib. 5. in Luc. c. 7. Christus pro omnibus mortuus, prouobis tamen specialem gessit*: Christ dyed for all, but more specially suffered for vs. *In 1. Cor. 15. Omnibus qui sunt ex eius semine vitam acquisiit*: He procured life to all of his body.

3. S. *Augustine* saith, *Electi sunt ad regnandum cum Christo*: They were elected to raigne with Christ, *de corrept. & grat. c. 7.* but Christ onely dyed for those that shal raigne with him, Iohn 17.24. *Father I will, that they, which thou hast giuen me, be with me, where I am*. Againe, Christ dyed onely, and gaue his life for his sheepe, Iohn 10.11. the elect onely are the sheepe of Christ, as *Augustine* saith, *De omnibus istis, nec lupus rapit, nec fur tollit, nec latro interficit*: Of these sheepe, neyther the woolfe snatcheth, nor the theefe taketh, nor the robber killeth, *tract. 48 in Ioann.*

4. *Concil. Aquisgranense. 14. Christus ecclesiam, quam pretioso suo sanguine redemit, nunquam deserturus est*: Christ wil neuer forsake the Church, which he hath redeemed with his precious blood: but they, which are neuer forsaken, are the elect.

5. *Concil. Wormatiense praefat. Ecclesiam catholicam pretio sui sanguinis redemptam, cum eandem in perpetuum regnaturam*: We do beleeue that the catholike Church redeemed with the price of his blood, shall raigne with him for euer: but the elect onely shall raigne with him for euer.

6. *Bernard. serm. 9. in Psal. 90. Christus secundum tempus pro impijs mortuus, secundum praedestinationem pro fratribus & amicis*: Christ in respect of the time dyed for the wicked; in respect of predestination onely, for his brethren and friends.

7. *Caus. 33. dist. 4. c. 8. ex Augustino: Illi Christo intelliguntur dari, qui ordinati sunt in vitam aeternam*: They are vnderstood to be giuen to Christ, which are ordained to eternall life: as our Sauiour himselfe saith, Iohn 6.39. *This is the will of my Father, that of all, which he hath giuen me, I should lose nothing*: and againe, Ioh. 11.52. *Christ died to gather together in one, the children of God, which were scattered*: he dyed then onely for the children of God, that is the elect.

8. *Magist. sententiar. lib. 3. distinct. 19. G. Christus omnes fideles per mortem reconciliauit*: Christ reconciled the faithfull by his death: *dist. 31. lit. Christus electos tantum sicut se dilexit, eorum, solum optauit, &c.* Christ loued onely the elect as himselfe, and desired their saluation.

THE THIRD GENERALL ARGVMENT, AGAINST the vniuersall and confused communitie of Redemption by Christ, drawen from the manifold inconueniences and absurdities, which necessarily ensue and follow vpon this opinion.

Absurdum 1. First in affirming that Christ dyed vniuersally for all that should beleeue, and not for any speciall elected sort, they consequently do hold, that God specially and particularly elected none vnto saluation, but onely in generall, and indifferently all that should beleeue.

ſtion in effect, they take away predeſtination, making it to be a confuſed and conditional de-
of God to ſaue whomſoeuer: This we are then to proue, that Gods election is certaine and
, and that he knoweth and decreeth the number of the choſen.
, we reaſon thus, whatſoeuer God did foreſee, that he was to do in the world, that alſo hee
ered and ordayned: Some things he foreſeeth onely, namely, ſuch thinges as are done in the
ll, and not by him, as euill and ſinfull workes: but whatſoeuer God doth in the worlde, hee
th foreſaw and decreed: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Predeſtinatione ea Deus præſcierat, quæ erat facturus, præſcire autem poteſt, quæ non eſt facturus*: God in predeſtinating did foreſee, that is, did both pre-
inate and foreſee, whatſoeuer he was to doe in the world; but he onely foreſaw the things that
was not to do, as all ſinnes whatſoeuer, *lib. 2. de perſeuerant. cap. 10.* But God in the beginning
foreſee the particular ende of euery man in the world: *The Lord knoweth who are his*: 2 Tim. 2.
19. that is, he knoweth the definite and certaine number of the elect: as *Auguſtine* alſo wit-
neth, *Non temerè quenquam creat Deus, aut quid de illis boni operetur ignoret*: God createth no man
ndly, neither is ignorant to what good vſe or purpoſe he hath made them, *cont. Julian. lib. 5. cap. 3.*
, God hath defined and decreed the particular number of ſuch, as ſhall be ſaued.
d for better proofe of the propoſition: firſt, we ſay further, that ſeeing the knowledge and
l of God, are infinite, as he himſelfe; and that the attributes of God, receiue neither *magis vel*
minus, more or leſſe, his wil is not greater then his knowledge, nor this more ample then the other,
their proper obiects: hereupon it followeth, that ſeeing God by his knowledge knoweth all
, which are to be knowen, ſo by his will he decreeth all things, that do fall vnder his decree,
mely, ſuch things as are good, and to his glory: ſuch is the particular election of thoſe, that are
d: *Ergo*, by him it is decreed. 2. Further, there can be but two kindes of thinges, which are
ſide the compaſſe of Gods decree, either what he knoweth not or what he doth not; of the
ſort there is none, becauſe God knoweth all thinges; of the ſecond, are all euill and ſinfull
ions, which God hath no part in: But the particular election of men, is neither vnknowne nor
wrought by God, but both knowne of him and wrought by him: *Ergo*, alſo decreed. 3. The
particular end of the elect dependeth either of ſome fatall neceſſitie, ſome accidentall chance, or
of the will of man, or it ſtandeth by Gods euerlaſting decree: there can be aſſigned no other
cauſe: Not the firſt, for that were to tie God vnto ſecondary cauſes, for ſuch was the ſtoicall de-
ny; not the ſecond, for that were to ouerthrow Gods prouidence, by the which all things are
ordered, and not by chance: not the third, which were to aduance the creature aboue his Crea-
tor: and Saint *Paul* ſaith, It is not of the willer, nor the runner, &c. *Ergo*, Gods ſpeciall and de-
finite decree muſt ſtand: As *Auguſtine* alſo concludeth: *Cerni hic, vbi nulla eſt fati immobilitas, nulla fortuna tributa, nulla perſona dignitas, quid reſtat niſi miſericordia & veritatis profunditas?* Certainly
in this caſe, where neither things are gouerned by fatall neceſſitie, nor by raſh vnaduiſed chance,
what other cauſe remaineth then the profunditie of Gods mercy and truth? *Cont. Iulian. 6. cap. 5.*
Thirdly, it skilleth not, concerning the matter in hand, namely, the particular and perſonall e-
lection of thoſe that ſhall be ſaued, whether wee vrge Gods preſcience onely or predeſtination:
for if God did onely foreſee in particular, who, and how many, and of what condition, ſhould
beleeue in Chriſt, and be ſaued; and that as God foreſaw, ſo it muſt be, that the ſame, ſo many, no
more, no more ſhall beleeue, then God foreſaw; then muſt the number of the elect and beleeuers
be as certaine, definite and determined, as if they yeelded to Gods decree herein: wherefore they
muſt either doubt of Gods preſcience, or confeſſe a certaine determination of the number of the
elect.

Secondly, we haue direct places of Scripture for particular election, Ioh. 10. 3. *Chriſt calleth his ſheep by name*: they are all knowne particularly, and aſſigned to ſaluation as by name: The A-
poſtles were perſonally elected of God, and giuen vnto Chriſt, Ioh. 17. 6. And as ſome of the elect
be, ſo are the reſt, for there is one condition of them all. Saint *Paul* ſpeaking of certaine perſons
his fellow labourers, amongſt whom hee nameth *Clement*, ſaith, *Their names are written in the booke of life*, Phil. 4. *Ergo*, they were ſpecially and particularly elected. Further, the Scripture ſaith, that
God calleth the ſtarres of the skie by their names; how much more the ſonnes of men, the chil-
dren of ſaluation are particularly knowne vnto him: and if the haires of their head are numbred,
much more themſelues.

The Preacher alſo ſaith: *I know, that whatſoeuer God ſhall doe, it ſhall be for euer: to it can no man adde, and from it can none diminiſh*: Eccleſ. 3. 14. But the election of ſuch as ſhall be ſaued is one of
Gods workes: *Ergo*, to it can no man adde, or take from it, and ſo conſequently the number of
the elect is certaine and determined: But if Gods election were left at large for all, then is it in
mans power to adde vnto it, or take from it, as they are many, or few that apprehend and lay hold
of their election.

Thirdly, we vrge that place of the Apoſtle, Roman. chap. 9. verſ. 13. *I haue loued Iacob, and hated Eſau*: which the Apoſtle referreth to the purpoſe of Gods free election before the children were
borne,

borne, or had either done good or euill, vers. 11. Hence we conclude, that Gods election is not generall and indefinite, but particular and personall.

First, it is here answered, that the particular persons of *Esau* and *Iacob* are not here vnderstood, but that they are types of two people, the one of the Israelites, of whom Messiah should come; the other of the Idumeans: that two people are here signified, their reasons are these: First, Genesis 24.23. the Lord saith to *Rebecca*, two nations are in thy wombe: Secondly, the elder shall serue the younger, which was accomplished in their posteritie, for *Iacob* in his owne person submitted himselfe to *Esau*, *Huber. thes.* 675. *Suecan. p.* 565. Thirdly, these words, *Iacob haue I loued, and hated Esau*, were vttered by the Prophet *Malachy*, about 1400. yeares after the birth of the children, and therefore it cannot be, that the Prophet should vnderstand onely the persons of *Iacob* and *Esau*, that were dead so long before, *Suecan. p.* 566. Fourthly, because S. *Paul* speaking of *Ismael* and *Isaac*, Galath. 4. vseth the word type or allegorie, in like maner *Esau* and *Iacob* may be set forth for types in this place, *Suecan.* 533.

Contra. 1. To admit that in *Iacob* and *Esau* two people are prefigured, yet it followeth not, that their persons are to be excluded: for whatsoeuer was foretolde of their posteritie, it was first and in part true in them: As where it was said, *Two nations are in thy wombe: Iacob* and *Esau* were not bare types of two nations, but the beginners and progenitors, and two nations were euen now in their loynes: *The elder shall serue the younger:* so *Esau* solde vnto *Iacob* his birthright, and resigned vnto him in his owne person the soueraigneship. So in like maner, where God saith, *Iacob haue I loued, and hated Esau*, First, this distinction of loue and hatred appeared in *Iacob* and *Esau*, and then in their posteritie. Secondly, there are two sorts of types, there is, *typus historicus, seu factus*, an historicall type which was done, *typus poeticus seu fictus*, a deuised and inuented type. In types of the second kinde, that which is prefigured is not necessarie to be first true in the type: as Christ for the suddainnesse of his comming is compared to a theefe, though the type in all respects properly agree not vnto him: In types of the first kinde, first, the example must be true, then the thing exemplified: as 1. Corinth. 10. 11. the olde Israelites that were punished for their fornication, are types and examples to admonish vs, that we commit not fornication as they did, and be punished likewise with them. So *Isaac* and *Ismael* are set forth as types, Galath. 4. but first the thing exemplified by them is true in the types: As verse 29. *As then he that was borne after the flesh persecuted him that was borne after the spirit, so it is now:* after the same maner *Iacob* and *Esau* are set forth as examples, the one of Gods loue, the other of his hatred: which first must agree to their owne persons. Thirdly, *Pharaoh* is set forth an example of the same thing, whereof *Esau* is namely, of the hatred of God: the person therefore of *Esau* can be no more exempted here, then the person of *Pharaoh*. And that both the persons of *Iacob* and *Esau* are to be vnderstoode, it appeareth by these circumstances: First, the Apostle speaketh of the conception of these children in their mother *Rebecca*, and of their birth: but *Esau* and *Iacob* personally were thus conceiued and borne, not the whole nations: secondly, vnto them this loue and hatred belongeth, that had yet neither done good, or euill: but this is spoken of the persons of *Esau* and *Iacob* verse 11. *Ergo* also the other.

Secondly, it is answered, that this loue and hatred, are to be vnderstood only of temporall blessings, because *Iacob* was made heire of the promised land, and *Esau* refused; and in this respect the one was loued, the other hated, not that *Esau* was eternally, but onely temporally refused: *Suecan. pag.* 550. *Huberus thes.* 697. their reasons are these: first, *Iacobs* blessing pronounced by his father, Gen. 27. 28. is onely of temporall things, *God giue thee the dewe of heauen, and the fatnes of the earth, &c.* Secondly, *Esau* is blessed as well as *Iacob:* But if *Iacob* only had been heire of the spirituall blessings, they should haue been denied to *Esau*.

Contra. 1. That *Iacob* and *Esau* are set forth as examples in spirituall things, it appeareth by the scope of the place; for how agreeth it with the Apostles purpose, to bring in examples of temporall things? verse 8. he bringeth in a distinction, of the children of the flesh, and the children of promise; these hoping to be iustified by faith, and to be partakers of the promise in Christ, the other remaining still in their carnall ignorance and vnbeliefe: of those two kinds, he propoundeth *Iacob* and *Esau* as examples, the one of the children of promise, the other of the children of the flesh: As *Esau* had the carnal prerogatiue, but *Iacob* was made heire by promise. And that *Iacob* and *Esau* doe exemplifie these two generations, it is confessed by *Hemmingius de grat. vniuers. p.* 33. and by *Suecanus p.* 533. Secondly, that these examples doe shadow forth spirituall things, it thus further appeareth: the Apostle to the Hebrues saith, that *by fayth Isaac blessed Iacob and Esau concerning things to come*, chap. 11. 20. but fayth is seene in things spirituall not temporall, it is of things inuisible, not visible, verse 1. Againe, *Esau* is called a prophane person, because hee sold his birthright, chap. 12. 16. It is not prophanenes to contemne things temporall, but spirituall. Saint *Ambrose* doth take *Iacob* and *Esau* for examples of Gods eternall election and reiection, *in* 9. *ad Roman. vnum elegit prescientia, alterum sprevit, Esau* 1. *& Iacob*. He did chuse one in his prescience,

and

and deſpiſed another. The Maſter of the Sentences doth ſet them forth as examples of eternall election and reprobation, *lib. 3 diſt. 32. a.* Thirdly, now as touching their reaſons: firſt, *Iacob* is not onely bleſſed in things temporall, but in ſpirituall alſo: for he ſaith, *Bleſſed be he that bleſſeth thee, and curſed be he that curſeth thee*, Geneſ. 27. 29. In the very ſelfe ſame words, wherein the promiſe of Chriſt is made to *Abraham*, Gen. 12. 3. ſo that this muſt needes be ſpiritually vnderſtood: for otherwiſe we ſhall obſcure the moſt manifeſt promiſes of the Meſſiah, which were made to *Abraham*. Secondly, though *Eſau* haue a ſhare with his brother in his temporals, yet hath he no part in his ſpirituall bleſſing: *Eſau* alſo ſhall haue *of the fatnes of the earth, and of the dewe of heauen*: but God ſaith not vnto him, as before vnto *Iacob*, *Bleſſed be he that bleſſeth thee, &c.* Therefore the Apoſtle to the Hebrues concerning this ſpirituall bleſſing ſaith, that when *Eſau* would haue inherited the bleſſing, he was reiected: *neither found he any place of repentance, though he ſought it with teares*, chap. 12. 16. that is, his father by no meanes would reuoke that bleſſing, which he had giuen to *Iacob*: *Eſau* therefore was not bleſſed in like ſort as *Iacob* was.

Thirdly, it is anſwered: that theſe words, *Iacob haue I loued, Eſau haue I hated*, are to be vnderſtoode comparatiuely, not as though *Eſau* and his poſteritie were abſolutely reiected of God: but that God rather made choice of *Iacob*, of whoſe ſeede the promiſed Meſſiah ſhould come, then of whom his ſeede, *Swecan. p. 568. Hemming. p. 34.* Their reaſons are theſe: firſt, it is not neceſſarie in any place in Scripture, where we reade of election and reiection, or reprobation, to referre it vnto eternall ſaluation or damnation, as Pſalm. 78. verſ. 67. 68. *He refuſed the tabernacle of Ioſeph, and choſe not the tribe of Ephraim, but choſe the tribe of Iuda, and mount Sion, which he loued*: Becauſe God preferred *Iuda*, it followeth not that the other tribes were condemned: So in this place though in compariſon of *Iacob*, *Eſau* be refuſed, yet is he not abſolutely reiected: *Huber, thes. 720.*

Anſ. Firſt, we graunt that the loue and hatred here ſpoken of in the perſons of *Iacob* and *Eſau* are comparatiuely to be vnderſtood: that *Eſau* is ſayd to be hated, not that God ſimplie hated him, but becauſe *Iacob* is elected, and the other pretermitted; the one choſen, the other neglected: yet comparatiuely, not in reſpect of any ſuch temporall preeminence, but concerning eternall election, or pretermiſſion. Secondly, becauſe election ſometime implyeth a temporall preferring onely in reſpect of ſome ſpeciall and peculiar benefit, and is not neceſſarily alwaies referred to eternall ſaluation; it is therefore to be interpreted according to the ſcope and circumſtance of the place: as in the Pſalme alleaged, it is plaine, that the Pſalmiſt meaneth, that in reſpect of the ſanctuarie, which was placed at Ieruſalem, *Iudah* was elected, and *Ephraim* refuſed: So in this place the Apoſtle treating thorough the whole chapter, of the mercie of God vpon ſome, and his wrath vpon others, not in this or that reſpect, but ſimply, as they ſtand before God, would haue vs to vnderſtand the inſtance of loue and hatred in the perſons of *Iacob* and *Eſau*: So is *Pharaoh* brought in an example of eternall hatred and reiection: ſo the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of veſſels of mercie prepared to glorie, and veſſels of wrath prepared to deſtruction: ſo are we to vnderſtand the loue of *Iacob* and hatred of *Eſau*.

Secondly, that *Eſau* was eternally hated, or reiected of God, it cannot be vnderſtoode of *Eſaus* poſteritie: for then all his ofſpring ſhould haue been caſtawaies: which is not true, for *Iob* is thought to come of *Eſau* his ſtocke, *Swecan. pag. 574.* Neither is it true of *Eſau* his perſon: for if he had been eternally reiected, to what end was he circumciſed? *Swecan. p. 574.* he liued alſo in his father houſe, who loued him, and he was obedient to his father: what reaſon had *Iſaac* to loue whom God hated? *Huber. thes. 709. Iſaac* alſo is ſaid by faith to haue bleſſed *Eſau*: which his bleſſing had been in vaine, if *Eſau* had been eternally reiected of God, *Swecan. p. 588.*

Anſ. 1. If in *Eſau* and *Iacob*, not their perſons onely, but their whole generations are to be conſidered, which if it be rightly vnderſtoode, we will not greatly gainſay: yet it followeth not, that all of *Iacobs* carnall linage ſhould be likewiſe loued, and *Eſaus* poſteritie hated: for in *Iacob* we vnderſtand all the children of promiſe, though they be not of his carnall ofſpring; and in *Eſau*, all the children of the fleſh, though not deſcending of his ſtocke: So that in this ſenſe, as all they are not Iſrael, which are of Iſrael, as the Apoſtle ſaith, verſe 6. ſo all are not *Eſau*, that are of *Eſau*. And therefore *Iob*, though of *Eſau* after the fleſh, yet is the ſonne of *Iacob* by promiſe: And thus *Hemingius* expoundeth this place, *de vniuerſ. grat. p. 33.*

2. Concerning *Eſau* his perſon; how he ſtandeth before God, whether in the ſtate of ſaluation, or damnation, though we hold it the ſafeſt, to leaue him vnto God, before whom he ſtandeth, or falleth; nor to affirme any thing raſhly without warrant: yet we may be bolde to proceede ſo far herein, as we haue the word of God to goe before vs. Firſt therefore their reaſons, which they bring in defenſe of *Eſau*, are very inſufficient: for *Eſaus* outward and temporall circumciſion, cannot exempt him from this hatred, no more then *Iſmael* was priuiledged by his circumciſion: *Who notwithſtanding was borne after the fleſh, and was a perſecuter of him that was borne after the ſpirit*: Gal. 4. The Apoſtle himſelfe alſo diſtinguiſheth of circumciſion: that there is a circumciſion of the fleſh, and a circumciſion of the heart, Rom. 2. 28. The firſt *Eſau* had, the other he had not: for

though

though he had the signe of the couenant, yet the couenant it selfe he despised in selling his birth-right, Genes. 25.34. As touching *Esau* his obedience to his father, first, it was not such, as it ought to be; for then he would not haue married two wiues of the daughters of the Hittites, to vexe his parents withall, Gen. 26.34.35. Secondly, that it was but in hypocrisie: as it may appeare, in that he purposed to slay his brother *Iacob* after his fathers death, Gen. 27.41. which he would not haue done, if he had truely reuerenced his father: for he would haue loued his brother for his fathers sake. Againe, when he vnderstood that his father gaue his sonne *Iacob* charge, not to marrie with the daughters of Canaan: *Esau* like an hypocrite hauing already displeased his parents, in marrying with the daughters of Canaan, went and tooke to wife the daughter of *Ismael*, Genes. 28.9. So that nothing els kept *Esau* in some awe to his father, but onely a hope of some temporall blessing, Gen. 27.41. But *Isaac* loued *Esau*, would he loue him whom God hated? *Aduers.* It was a fatherly and in some sort a carnall loue: *he loued him, for venison was his meate*: Gen. 25.28. *Esau* was an actiue and valiant fellow, and a good hunter, therefore *Isaac* made account of him: he loued *Esau* onely as a father, but *Iacob* beside as a Prophet. 2. *Isaac* loued *Esau*, as *Abraham* loued *Ismael*, and prayed, that he might liue in Gods sight, Genes. 17.18. yet both of them were refused: so *Samuel* being sent to annoynt *Dauid* King, liked other of his brethren before, whom God liked not: these holy Prophets and Patriarches were men, and had their naturall affections. Thirdly, what if *Isaac* did not see fully into the state of his children as yet: for he did but as in a cloude behold things to come: so much was not reuealed to him, as afterward to the Prophets, *Iacob haue I loued, Esau haue I hated*, Malach. 1.2. And more to the Apostles, who doubt not to call him a prophane person, Hebr. 12.16. for as the Patriarches and Prophets liued neerer the times of our Sauiour Christ, so were their reuelations more full, and their visions cleerer.

Now whereas it is said, that *Isaac* by faith blessed *Iacob* and *Esau*; this doth no whit priuiledge *Esau*: for it was *Isaacs* faith, not *Esaus*: and though he blessed both, yet not alike; for *Iacob* had both a spirituall and temporall blessing: *Esau* had onely a temporall, the spirituall he could not obtaine, no not with teares. Thus whatsoeuer can be said for *Esau*, is easilie remoued. Now against him thus much may be alleaged out of Scripture: first, *Esau* contemned his birth-right, Genes. 25.24. and held it not so deare as a messe of pottage: wherefore the Scripture calleth him a prophane person, Hebr. 12.16. this is first a fearefull signe of eternall damnation, to contemne and despise holy things: for such as make a mocke of Christ, Hebr. 6.6. (as *Esau* did that despised this birth-right in Christ) *and despite the spirit of grace*, Hebr. 10.29. there remaineth nothing else, but a fearefull looking for of iudgement, verse 27. Secondly, *Esau* hated *Iacob*, he is become a persecutor of the righteous, he hateth those, whom God loueth, Genes. chap. 27. verse 41. So *Ismael* persecuted *Isaac*, he that was borne after the flesh, him that was after the spirit, Galath. 4. verse 29. Thirdly, *Esau* was disobedient to his parents, he maried heathenish women, daughters of Infidels, to vexe his parents withall: As the Apostle saith of the Gentiles, *God gaue them ouer to a reprobate mind, to doe those things that were not conuenient; as being full of enuie, murther*, (so was *Esau* toward *Iacob*) *disobedient to parents*, so was he toward *Isaac* and *Rebecca*, Rom. 1. verse 29.30. Fourthly, *Esau* expecteth, and wisheth his fathers death: *the dayes of mourning for my father will come shortly*: as if he should haue said, I hope my father will not liue long; then will *I slay my brother Iacob*: Genes. 27. verse 41. Thus enuie in *Esau* bringeth forth murther: and this murtherous heart continued toward *Iacob* twentie yeares: for so long serued *Iacob* in *Labans* house, Genes. 31. verse 38. And after at his returne he sent a messenger to be reconciled to his brother *Esau*, who came against him with foure hundred men with a purpose to haue slaine him, Genes. chap. 32. verse 6. but that at the instance of *Iacobs* prayer, by the mightie power of God, (in whose hands the hearts of kings are to turne them, as the vessels vpon the waters, Prouerb. 21. verse 1.) his heart was mollified, and his affection relented towards his brother, Genes. 33. Lastly, Saint *Paul* intreating of Gods eternall election, bringeth in the examples of *Iacob* and *Esau*, the one loued, the other hated of God.

Thus by more euident coniecture, and likely arguments we are able to proue out of Scripture the finall reiection of *Esau*, then they can shew the contrarie: And so consequently, notwithstanding all these humane deuises, we haue a most firme and euident testimonie for particular and personall election in this place, drawne from the example of *Iacob* and *Esau*. And thus much of the first inconuenience that must needes ensue vpon this opinion concerning vniuersall grace, which ouerthroweth the foundation of Gods predestination: which they doe as it were hang in the ayre, affirming that it is nothing else but an vniuersall confused decree, as though God either did not know the particular ende of euery man, or knowing the same willed it not.

Now lastly, that God hath from the beginning made a particular and absolute election of some, and that Gods election is not generall and conditionall, it hath been the auncient doctrine of the Church.

1 *Ambrose. 1. Timoth. 5. Electos Angelos dicit, quia sunt alij reprobi, non Dei Angeli, sed diaboli,*

saith he of elect Angels, because there are some reprobate, not the Angels of God, but of the diuell: As there be then among the Angels some elect, some reprobate, so is it among men: but the election and reprobation of Angels was particular and certaine; *Ergo*, so is the election and reprobation of men.

Against *de vocat. Gentium lib. 1. c. 7.* *Multa discretionis illius, qua Deus alios eligit, alios non eligit.* That discretion or separation, whereby God hath chosen some, and not chosen others, many doe ascribe to mans will. *Et lib. 2. c. 8.* *Hac altitudine discretionis dei non conturbabitur cor nostrum,* By this depth of Gods separation or discerning of men our heart shall not be troubled, if wee faithfully beleeue that Gods iudgement is iust. If there be then a separation, and discerning of men in Gods euerlasting decree, then are not al generally and conditionally elected. For this were not to make a seperation, but a confusion of all together.

Saint *Augustine* to this purpose writeth very directly: *Tract. 114. in Iohan.* *Est quidam populus preparatus ad iram dei, damnandus cum diabolo, &c.* There is a certaine people prepared to the wrath of God to be condemned with the diuell.

Tract. 43. *Illi morti aeterna predestinati respondebant, &c.* Those which were predestinate to euerlasting death, answered, Thou hast a diuell.

Tract. 48. How said he to those, You are not of my sheepe, *Quia videbat eos ad simpiternum interitum preparatos, &c.* Because hee saw that they were prepared to euerlasting destruction, and not redeemed to eternall life by his blood. By these places it is euident what *Augustines* iudgement was, that Gods election was not indefinite or vncertaine, but that the end of euery man, whether to life or death, was determined and decreed in particular.

Magist. sentent. lib. 1. dist. 43. E. *Non vult Deus omnes homines iustificari, & ratio quia dabitur non post:* God will not iustifie all men, and yet who doubteth but he can. *Lib. 2. dist. 21. f.* *Humana natura pars redempta est:* Mans nature is redeemed but in part. If all be not redeemed, then all are not elected. *Lib. 3. dist. 32. a.* *Magis diligit rationales creaturas, & de illis eas amplius, quas sanat unica virginis:* God loueth reasonable creatures more than vnreasonable; and among the reasonable, those which are the members of his onely begotten sonne. If all men be not loued alike, then they not all elected alike.

Ioh. 1. prolog. Ioh. 1. cap. 17.

THE SECOND INCONVENIENCE THAT followeth the opinion of vniuersall grace.

Assert. 2. The second inconuenience that issueth out of this doctrine of vniuersall election, is this, that Gods election ariseth *ex praeuisa fide*, from the foresight of their faith which shall be saued: *Huberus Ibef. 786.* *Deus electionem suam non absolutè statuit, sed desixit eam in filio suo, vt credentes in eum, salui fiant:* God hath not absolutely made any election, but he hath founded it in Christ, that they which beleeue in him should be saued; they that beleeue not, should be damned. So *Hemmingius* saith: *Praescientia Dei regula est electionis & predestinationis:* The prescience of God is the rule of election and predestination, *pag. 21.* And againe, *Non quia praesciti & electi sumus credimus, sed quia credimus praesciti & electi ad vitam conseruamur:* Wee doe not beleeue, because wee are foreseene and elected, but because wee beleeue wee were foreseene and elected vnto life, *pag. 27.* *Sarcerius*, though he seeme in words to confesse, that *aeternum eligendi propositum non dependet ex vlla nostra fide, vel bonorum operum praeuisione:* that the eternall purpose of election dependeth not of the foresight of our faith or workes, *pag. 461.* yet he is driuen by the streame of words to affirme as the rest doe, that *fides continetur in Dei proposito*, that faith is included in the purpose of Gods election, *p. 463.* and that God vniuersally ordained to saluation all that should beleeue, *pag. 486.* They would ground this their opinion concerning the foresight of faith vpon these and such like places of Scripture, as Rom. 8. 29. *Those which he knew before, he predestinate to be like the image of his sonne:* Predestination then is grounded vpon the foreknowledge of God: *Hemmingius de vniuersali. grat. pag. 29.*

Contra. 1. We graunt with *Augustine*, that *predestinatio sine praescientia esse non potest*, that predestination cannot be without prescience in God, *lib. 1. de praedestinat. cap. 10.* And thus are they ioyned together in this place: but it followeth not, that one is the cause of another. 2. The text maketh directly against them: for he saith not, whom he knew before should be like the image of his sonne he predestinate; but, whom he knew before he did predestinate to be like his sonne: so that this conformitie by faith vnto Christ is an effect and consequent of their predestination. 3. Though we admit the former reading, yet haue they gained nothing: for the conformitie to the image of Christ consisteth in being made partakers of Christs sufferings, whereof Saint *Peter* intreateth, 1. Pet. 4. 13. vnlesse they therefore will affirme, that the foresight of mens afflictions is the cause of their election, and so ioyne in opinion with the old Pelagians, that grounded election vpon the foresight of good works, this place is not for their turne. 4. By the knowledge of God

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in scripture, the loue, liking, and approbation of God is often signified: as Psal. 1. 23. *To him that ordereth his way aright, will I shew the saluation of God.* Ioh. 10. 14. *I am the good shepheard, and know my sheepe*, that is, loue them: so in this place, whom he knew before (whom he loued and fauoured) *he predestinate.*

Against, they obiect that place, Ephes. 1. 4. *He hath chosen vs in him before the foundation of the world*: that is, God hath chosen those whom he foresaw should beleeue in Christ; *Hemming, fol. 46. pag. 2.*

Contra. 1. The Apostle meaneth not, that we were so chosen in Christ, that is, for the sake of our faith in him, but that Christ was appointed of God, as the foundation, by whom our election should be accomplished: as in the next vers. *Hee hath predestinate vs to be adopted through Christ*: We were not first adopted in Christ, and then predestinate, but first predestinate, and then chosen in Christ, vers. 11. *In whom we obtained an inheritance, being predestinate according to the purpose of him, &c.* First, therefore there is the decree of election and predestination, grounded onely vpon the good pleasure of God, vers. 5. then followeth the accomplishment and execution of that decree by our adoption in Christ.

2 *Augustine* vpon these words, *He hath chosen vs in him that we should be holy*, groundeth a diuine contrarie argument: *Non elegit, quos futuros sciuit immaculatos, sed elegit vt essemus sancti, quos futuri eramus, sed vt essemus*: Hee did not chuse those whom hee saw it could be vnpossible but he chose them that they should be holy, not because they were holy, *lib. 2. de praedestinat. c. 18.* So then faith, holines, sanctification, are fruits and effects of election, not causes thereof.

3 Christ Iesus, or our faith in Christ foreseene, cannot be the cause of our predestination, seeing Christ himselfe, in respect of his office of redemption, and mediation, was predestinate and preordained of God: the same thing then cannot be the cause of predestination and the thing together; Christ Iesus as the head, with his bodie, which is the whole companie of the elect, are the obiect of predestination, that is, those which were predestinated: *Ergo* he is not the cause. *Augustine* also saith, *Christus praeclarissimum lumen est gratiae praedestinationis, qui, vt hoc esset, quibuslibet suis, vel operum vel fidei meritis, naturae humanae, quae in illo est, coaptari potuit? sicut ergo praedestinatus vnus est, vt caput nostrum esset, Rom. 14. qui praedestinatus est filius Dei, ita multi praedestinati sumus, vt membra eius essemus*: Christ is a notable light of the grace of predestination, in whom his humane nature deserued not by the merit of his workes, or faith, to be ioyned to his Godhead: As he therefore was predestinate to be our head, Rom. 1. 4. predestinate the Sonne of God (that is in respect of his office and humanitie) so are wee predestinate to be his members, that is, without respect to our faith or workes, onely according to the good pleasure of his will. And this shall be our first argument on the contrarie side, against this respective election, and further we proue thus:

De praedest. lib. 1. cap. 15

Luk. 12. 31. *It is your fathers pleasure to giue you a kingdome*: There is no other reason to be rendred, why God hath elected his children, and appointed them a kingdome, but this: *Complacuit patri*, it was your fathers pleasure.

Ioh. 15. 16. *You haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you*: Whereupon *Augustine* thus weeth: *Quod si autem ipsi prius crediderunt in eum, elegerunt eum, ipse non elegit eos*: But if so be that they first beleeued in him, they chose him, he chose not them. Their onely answere here is, that this is to be vnderstood not of their eternall, but temporall election to the office of their Apostleship.

Answ. To this also *Augustine* answereth: *Elegit eos de mundo cum hic ageret in carne, sed iam electos in seipso ante mundi constitutionem*: He chose them indeede out of the world when he lined in the flesh: but they were chosen in himselfe before the world was made, *lib. 1. de praedestinat. sanct. 17.* Our Sauiour also saith, *I haue chosen you, and ordained you, that you goe and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit remaine*: This sheweth that he speaketh of their eternall election to saluation.

Thirdly, we haue a most direct place, Rom. 9. 11. where the Apostle saith, *That before the children were borne, and had done either good or euill, the Lord pronounced of them, Iacob haue I loued, Esau haue I hated: Ergo*, in Gods eternall election, which goeth before our birth, there is no respect had vnto any thing that followeth after the birth, either faith, or workes: for the reason is generall against both.

Answ. Suecanus answereth, that (these words) I haue hated *Esau*, are as much, as *odisse docui*, I haue decreed to hate, for God really and verily hateth none but for their sin, *pag. 567.* And therefore where the Scripture calleth *Esau* a prophane person, the formall cause is added, for selling his birthright, Heb. 12. 16. *Suecan. pag. 590.*

Contra. 1. We graunt that no man is verily condemned (which is the reall reprobation) but for his owne sinne and wickednes: but here the Apostle speaketh of the decree it selfe, not of the execution; the decree is before all time, the execution of the decree followeth in the time appointed: the execution followeth after the birth, and after men haue done good or euill. This therefore, which the Apostle speaketh of, which was determined before their birth, and before they had done any thing, is the absolute decree of God. Neither is that place to the Hebrues any thing like

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was due: for there the Apostle speaketh not of any purpose or decree of God concerning *Esau*, before any euill done, as hee doth here; but onely of an act of prophanenes committed in his life. Although we admit his interpretation, I haue hated, *that is decreed to hate*: yet wee must vnderstand the decree still: that although reall hatred be caused by their owne sinne, yet hatred or loue beforehand, is grounded onely vpon the will and purpose of God: as the Apostle saith, *that the purpose of God might remaine, &c. by him that calleth*, vers. 11. but if election should be because of faith foreseene, it should stand as much by the called, as him that calleth.

That this therefore pronounced concerning *Esau* and *Iacob*, is to be vnderstood onely of Gods eternall decree and free purpose without the foresight of faith, or workes, not of the execution of the decree, alone, or of them both together; as *Suarez* seemeth sometime to affirme, *disp.* 76. thus it shall appeare by the opening of that which followeth.

Vers. 14. The Apostle answereth an obiection, *Is there vnrighteousnesse then with God? God forbid.* Which obiection ariseth vpon the former examples: If God then doe elect one and reiect an other, neither of them hauing done either good or euill, but both being alike, how is hee not vnrighteous, in that he ordaineth not alike vnto those that are in the same case? But if so that God ordaineth some because of their beleefe, and reiecteth others for their vnbeleefe, there were no iust occasion to complaine of God as vnrighteous, or so to obiect, because the cause of difference in Gods election is apparant, namely, the respect to their faith: and it is a iust and righteous thing, that God should preferre beleeuers before vnbeleeuers: therefore if election depended vpon any such foresight, and not absolutely vpon the will and purpose of God, there could be no shew of vnrighteousnes in God, nor any cause so to obiect.

Hemingius maketh the meaning of the obiection to be this: that God should seeme to be vniust, because he doth not adopt and elect *Ismael* and *Esau* for his children for the merit of their workes, as well as *Isaac* and *Iacob*, *pag.* 47.

Contra. The merit of faith is as well excluded as the merit of workes: and if God should elect vpon the foresight of faith, the ground of this obiection is as well remoued, as if he did elect vpon the foresight of workes: for then God should see somewhat more in those that are elected, than in the other, that is, their faith, and so they should haue no colour to charge God with vnrighteousnes: This appeareth also by the verse following.

Vers. 15. *I will haue mercie on him, to whom I will shew mercie.* And vers. 18. *He hath mercie on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth*: that is, saith *Hemingius*, God sheweth mercie vpon those that beleeue, who are saued only by faith, through the mercie of God in Christ, and he reiecteth al that refuse to beleeue, and suffereth them to be hardened, *Heming fol.* 49. 1. *Sarcer.* 698. *& alibi.*

Contra. 1. Thus they applie these places only to the execution of Gods decree, and vnderstand them only of that temporall difference, which God maketh in this world betweene beleeuers and vnbeleeuers: whereas the Apostle speaketh of that difference, which God maketh in his eternall election: as may appeare by the examples of *Iacob* and *Esau*, betweene whom there was a distinction made before they were borne: and to this end hee bringeth in the similitude of the potter, vers. 21. that as he hath power to make his vessels not yet made, how he will; so God may appoint his creatures to such purposes, as him pleaseth, euen before they are: he hath not power to dispose of them onely after they are made and borne. 2. If Gods mercie be decreed vpon the foresight of faith, I aske them, whence is this faith? Is it of themselues that beleeue, or of God, or of both? if it be of man, then God hath not mercie on whom he will, but vpon whom man will: because it is (say they) in mans power to beleeue; and if he will beleeue, then will God shew mercie, and not else. And againe, whereas they say, God would haue all men to beleeue, and so be saued; it followeth that God hath mercie vpon all, conditionally if they beleeue: but the Apostle saith contrarie, that hee hath mercie vpon some, not vpon all, and that hee withholdeth his mercie from others, whom in his iust iudgement he hardeneth. But if faith be of God, and none can haue it, vnlesse he giue it, what other reason is there, that he giueth it not to all, but because he hath not elected all?

3. Neither is God said to harden some mens hearts only by suffering them to be hardened, but as *Augustine* saith of *Pharao*: *Deus induranit per iustum iudicium, Pharao per liberum arbitrium*: God hardened his heart by his iust iudgement, *Pharao* by his freewill. And againe, where *Dauid* saith, that God bade *Shemei* curse him, *Augustine* saith thus: *Vtique non iubendo dixit ei, sed quod eius voluntatem propria sua vitia malam, in hoc peccatum iudicio suo iusto & occulto inclinauit*: He did not command him so to do, but because by his iust and secret iudgement, he did incline his will of it selfe corrupt, and wicked, to this sinne: *de liber. arbit. cap.* 20. *&* 23. God therefore onely permitteth not as a looker on, but is an agent and a doer as a iust iudge, yet without sinne.

Vers. 16. *It is not in him that willeth or runneth, but in God that sheweth mercie*: that is (saith *Hemingius*) it is not in him that willeth or runneth after the flesh, but in him that willeth and runneth by faith, which is grounded vpon the mercie of God; who of meere loue gaue his sonne to be the redeemer of the world, *pag.* 48.

Contra. 1. The opposition here is not betweene man willing by nature, and man willing by faith, but betweene man willing or running, and God shewing mercie. If it be all one for men to will according to faith, and for God to shew mercie, then is it Gods grace and mercie, that some men haue faith: for if to will according to the flesh be one thing, and to will according to faith another, seeing all men are the same naturally and according to the flesh, whence is it then, that some mens will is regenerate by faith? is it not of the grace and mercie of God? Mercie therefore is first shewed, and then faith is giuen: the foresight then of faith is not the cause of grace and fauour. 2. It is Gods mercie you say, that Christ was giuen for the redemption of the world: but this is a common mercie, as ye hold, that Christ dyed for all men: is it not also a mercie of God to giue faith to beleeue in Christ? If you affirme only that common mercie: then is it not true which the Apostle saith, that God hath mercie only on some, and hardeneth others; but God is mercifull to all alike in offering Christ both to beleeuers & vnbeleeuers. And concerning faith, if it be not Gods mercie that we haue it, then Gods mercie in giuing Christ, is nothing without our owne mercie vpon our selues in beleeuing in Christ: yea our owne mercie shall exceede Gods mercie, in as much as beleeuers haue more mercie than vnbeleeuers. If it be of Gods mercie, that we haue faith, why is not this mercie shewed to all, but that it pleased not God to elect all, but to reserue to fauour onely his chosen? These patrons of vniuersall and common grace, are neuer able, holding their opinion, to make all sound here.

Vers. 19. *Thou wilt say vnto me, Why doth he yet complaine, who hath resisted his will?* vers. 20. *But who art thou ô man, that pleadest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power of the clay to make of the same lumpe one vessell to honour, another to dishonour?* Hence we conclude, that euen so in the beginning God had power by speciall election to appoint some vnto honour, pretermitting others and leauing them in dishonour, and this of his owne freewill and purpose, not hauing any respect at all vnto man.

Hemingius answeteth: That this similitude holdeth not in euery point, but is brought in by the Apostle to shew the power of God, that hee is able to punish the contemners of his word, and vpon their repentance to renew them againe, as the potter, &c. And so is it applied by *Iesaias* chap. 18: for otherwise simplie God maketh not the wicked, as the potter doth the base vessels: *pag.* 50. 30.

Contra. 1. The obiection here moued, *Who hath resisted his will?* standeth not with this interpretation, nor with *Hemingius* opinion: for if God would haue all men to beleeue, and so be saued; then is Gods will ouerthwarted, and his purpose is gainsaid, and his wil resisted, for he would haue all saued, and yet all are not saued. But the Apostle hauing set downe this principle, that God in the beginning elected whom he would, and left the rest, whom he would not receiue to mercie: then this obiection is made, that seeing Gods will is performed in both, that whom hee would, are saued; whom he would not, remaine as they were: why then should there be any complaint made of their disobedience? vnlesse therefore we make the Apostles scope to be this, the obiection hath no coherence at all with the precedent part.

2. This similitude we do not vrge in all points: for man is otherwise by creation, than a piece of clay, but so farre onely, as it is applied by the Apostle as we haue shewed. *Ieremie* vseth the similitude somewhat to a diuers purpose, then the Apostle doth: for the Prophet setteth forth Gods power in the externall workes of his prouidence in the gouernment and administration of the world; as in the planting, and destroying of nations: the Apostle entreateth of the workes of Gods election, and predestination, vers. 11. *That the purpose might stand according to election.* Therefore Gods power is not here set forth toward those that are now contemners, or beleeuers, but before they were such.

3. As touching his reason: Though God make vessels to dishonour, that is, ordaine wicked men to punishment, yet he maketh them not wicked: they are wicked of their owne making, but the punishment due to their wickednes, which is eternall shame and dishonor, is made and ordained of God: as Prou. 16. 4. *God made the wicked against the euill day.*

Vers. 22. What if *God to shew his power, &c. the vessels of wrath prepared to destruction, and to declare the riches of his glorie vpon the vessels of mercie, which he hath prepared to glorie?* *Ergo*, from the beginning some were prepared to glorie, some to destruction.

Suecanus saith, That none absolutely before God are appointed to be vessels of honour or dishonour, but conditionally in Christ, *pag.* 686. that is, as they should beleeue or not beleeue in him. *Haberus* saith, That God indeede prepareth the vessels of mercie, giuing them faith, and illumination, but they are made the vessels of wrath of themselues, and by Sathan. And therefore the Apostle chaungeth the phrase, saying, that God prepareth the vessels of mercie, but the other are prepared: *7 Bef.* 868. 869. 870.

Contra. 1. The vessels of honor and dishonor are simplie, not conditionally formed: else the Apostles speech were impertinent, vers. 20. *Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou*

...made me thus? But now if they were formed onely conditionally, which condition is performed not by the former, but by the thing formed; then are they formed by themselues: but the Apostle saith they are formed of God: all condition then on their part is excluded. 2. Againe, as the potter of the same lumpe maketh vessels of honour, or dishonour, so God doth ordaine men of the same masse and condition in themselues, some to honour, some to dishonour: but now if God should respect the faith of some, and the vnbeleefe of others, and so according to this fore-sight ordaine them, they should not be one lumpe, or of one mould, but diuers.

To *Huberus* wee answere: first, if God prepare the vessels of mercie, and worke effectually in them, one of these two must needes be graunted; that God either prepareth all men generally for the vessels of mercie, and they afterward are made by themselues the vessels of wrath, (which seemeth to be his opinion) then is the will of God resisted. If they say Gods will is conditionall, if they beleeue, yet this helpeth them not: for God giueth faith to all (as he saith) and so would haue all to beleeue: seeing then all doe not beleeue, Gods will is gainesaid, and ouerruled: Or else if God prepare some and not others, by giuing faith and grace, whereof commeth this difference, but that God hath sorted out some from the rest by his eternall election?

2. *Huberus* seemeth to note a mysterie, in that the Apostle speaking of the vessels of wrath, vseth another word, and in the passiue voyce, saying, [Greek], vessels fitted or composed to destruction: but of the other he speaketh actiuely, which God hath prepared, [Greek]. First, for the change of the voyce which he obiecteth, it is nothing: for is it not al one to say, which he prepared, or which are prepared of him? And Matth. 25. vers. 34. 41. Both the kingdome of God, and euerlasting fire are said passiuely to be prepared of God. And for the word, both that which is here pronounced of the vessels of mercie, is vsed in the Scripture of the preparation to destruction, Matth. 25. 41. And on the contrarie, the other word applied to the vessels of wrath, is attributed to the faithfull, 1. Corin. 1. 10. *Be ye knit together,* [Greek]: and he speaketh to those which are sanctified in Christ, and Saints by calling, vers. 2. 3. So that here the Apostle speaketh not, how men by their owne wickednesse are fitted to damnation, but how they stand in the decree of God, how they are vnder the hands of the potter: the reddition of the similitude must answere to the proposition: the potter maketh himselfe both kinde of vessels, he maketh not the one, and the other maketh it selfe: so God decreeth both concerning the elect and reprobate.

Thus haue we opened the true sense of this chapter, and freed it from the corrupt glosses of the contrarie minded: And so haue we a most cleere testimonie of the Apostle, for Gods free and gracious election, without any foresight of faith or any thing else in vs. And thus *Augustine* expoundeth it: *Apostolus non solum fratres, sed geminos, nec geminos solum, sed vno concubitu fusos in vtero comparauit, vt quoniam in nondum natis aut aliquid operatis nulla esse poterant momenta meritorum, pariaque essent parentum merita, quæ diuerso tempore variasse potuerunt: itaque Apostolus eos vasa misericordiæ vocat, vt totum quicquid essent, secundum misericordiam se esse cognoscerent: De prædestinat. lib. cap. 10.* The Apostle doth compare together not brethren onely, but twinnes borne at one birth: that because in those which were not yet borne, neither as yet had done any thing, there could be no difference of merit, and their parents merits were alike, which might haue been at diuers times vnlike: the Apostle therefore calleth them vessels of mercie, that they might acknowledge all, whatsoeuer they had, to be of mercie.

Saint *Ambrose in Tit.* 3. vpon these words of the Apostle, *Secundum misericordiam suam, &c.* According to his mercie he saued vs: *Hoc bonum quod in Christianis florere cernimus, de radice diuinæ pietatis oritur, &c.* This goodnesse, which doth florish in Christians, doth arise of the roote of the diuine pitie, or loue, for God by his mercie hath saued vs in Christ.

Againe, *de vocat. Gent. lib. 1. cap.* 1. *Non omnis Israel reprobatus, nec omnis electus, sed partem cæcitas voluntaria auertit, partem sibi illuminatio gratuita reseruauit:* All Israel was not reprobated, nor all elected: but part through their voluntarie blindnes is turned aside, part by gratious illumination is reserued.

Hieron. apolog. ad Ruffinum: Non ait Apostolus elegit nos, &c. cum essemus sancti, sed vt essemus: The Apostle saith not he hath chosen vs, when we were holie, &c. but that we should be holie.

Thus *Augustine* thought in the end of the grace of freenes of election, though hee had beene sometime of another minde, that God, though hee elected not by the fore sight of workes, yet, *Elegit fidem, vt quem sibi credit[u]rum præsciret, ipsum eligeret:* Yet hee elected their faith, that is, whom he foresaw should beleeue, him he elected. This sometime was *Augustines* opinion, which he afterward retracted: *Sed nondum (inquit) diligentius quæsieram, nec inueneram qualis sit electio gratiæ:* But yet I had not diligently searched, or found out, what to thinke of the election of grace: *lib. 1. de prædestinat. cap. 3.*

Augustine therefore being better reformed in iudgement thus writeth: *Electio gratiæ non solum opera humana, sed fidem præuenit, ex qua omnia opera bona incipiunt:* The election of grace doth not onely preuent, or goe before mens workes, but before faith, where all good workes begin.

So I wish that they, which thinke now, as *Augustine* sometime did, would not be ashamed with *Augustine* to correct their erroneous opinion. It was counted in time past Semipelagianisme, to ascribe election to the foresight of faith. *Bellarmine* a patrone of poperie yet abhorreth this opinion, and proueth at large, *Nullam esse causam in nobis prædestinationis*: That there is no cause in vs of our predestination, neither that God hath elected vs vpon the foresight of our workes: *nec propter bonum vsum liberi arbitrij, aut gratiæ*: or for the good vsing of freewill, or grace: *Lib. 1. de grat & liber. arbit. cap.* 10. Is it not therefore a shame for Protestants, euen in a popish error to be more stiffe and resolute, then a popish professor? And thus much of this second absurditie: We will be shorter in the rest.

THE THIRD INCONVENIENCE or Absurditie.

Absurd. 3. The patrones of vniuersall grace, who affirme that God conditionally hath appointed all men to saluation, if they will beleeue, and that he would haue all men to beleeue: *Hemingius de vniuersal. grat. pag.* 58. And that if all beleeue not, it is not for any defect of grace, but through their owne fault: *Snecan. de liber. arbit. pag.* 408. They thus holding are driuen to confesse, that to beleeue, man hath power of himselfe, by his freewill: for God offereth grace and faith to all, and it is in mans power to receiue, or refuse it.

Hemingius further deliuereth his opinion thus: *That faith is both the gift of God, because it is wrought by his holy spirit in those that desire it; it is also of mans free will, because it is in the will of man to giue or withhold his consent to and from the calling of God: And yet* (saith he) *this will, wherein we beleeue, is also Gods gift, because it appertaineth to free will, which was giuen in the creation: so there are some things, which concurre vnto faith, to heare the Gospell, to consent vnto it, to desire grace offered, and to beleeue God, which promiseth: all these are voluntary in man:* De vniuers. grat. pag. 57. So he concludeth, *that faith is partly the gift of God, because he giueth his word, and inwardly moueth the heart; partly the worke of man, because man, volens credit, beleeueth willingly, being once moued of the free, & bonitate obiecti, by the goodnesse of the obiect: pag.* 56. So his opinion is, *That the will of man is not onely passiue, but also actiue in the conuersion of man:* de libero arbit. pag. 118. *And as God worketh by teaching, inspiring, moouing; so man worketh by willing, consenting, endeauouring: pag.* 120. *in.* 12. So the beginning and occasion of faith is of God, but the act and perfection of faith, in man.

Yet *Hemingius* much forgetting himselfe, alloweth that saying of *Augustine*: *Liberi arbitrij est velle, tantùm bene velle, gratiæ Dei est*: That it is in our free will, to will; but well to will, is of grace, *De liber. arbitr. pag.* 98. And that of *Bernard* also he alloweth: *Deus est author salutis, liberum arbitrium tantum capax, nec dat illam nisi Deus, nec capere valet nisi liberum arbitrium*: God is the author onely and worker of saluation, free will is onely capable, none giueth but God, nor nothing is capable of it, but free will: *pag.* 120. Thus he confesseth with these fathers, that mans free will is meerely passiue in diuine things, and onely receiueth, worketh nothing. And further he confesseth, *That a man regenerate and taught of God, may will that is good, by his free will, which he hath of grace: pag.* 114. *in.* 17. Here he saith, that free will to good is of grace: and thus he is contrary to himselfe.

Snecanus likewise runneth in a maze, and confoundeth himselfe: One while he saith, *That grace and mans will worke together: and that men may resist God, and of their owne motion goe from him*; Quantum ad ipsam naturalem volendi actionem in creatione inditam attinet: *by the very naturall action of the will, as it was giuen in the creation: De liber. arbitr. pag.* 405. Yet with the same breath hee saith, that mans will is no efficient, or working cause of his conuersion, but onely a principall subiect, *wherein the spirit of God worketh*: And that in spirituall actions, as faith, regeneration, *A man vnregenerate neither vnderstandeth, nor is able to do it will any thing: pag.* 398. *And that the whole benefite of our conuersion, in the beginning, midst, and end, is neither begun nor finished by our strength, but is onely of grace: pag.* 405. Thus they speake and write contrary things, and blow hote and cold with one breath. But for all this, they cannot thus shuffle vp the matter, but we further vrge them thus.

Contra. They that affirme that God offereth grace and faith equally to all, and that God would haue all men to beleeue, and if they beleeue not, it is not for want of grace, but the fault is onely in themselues: do consequently hold, that to beleeue is either wholy or in part in mans power. The first, to affirme that faith is in mans power wholy without the gift of God, is Pelagianisme, and maketh man the author of his owne saluation. Yet so holdeth *Pighius*, one of the patrones of this opinion: but *Hemingius* and *Snecanus*, or other vniuersall men, are not yet so grosse. Their opinion is then, that faith is partly of God, partly of man, that consenteth vnto the calling of God by his freewill. Against the which opinion we haue the decree of the *Arausican Councell. can.* 5. *Si quis sicut augmentum, sic & initium fidei, ipsum credulitatis affectum &c.* If any man say, that

the increase, so the beginning of faith, likewise the very inward disposition to beleeue, whereby to beleeue in him, that iustifieth the vngodly, is not giuen vs by grace, and the inspiration of the holy Ghost, which conuerteth our will from infidelitie to faith, but that it is naturally in vs, is contrary to the Apostle, who saith, We trust that he which hath begun this worke in you, will finish it vntill the day of the Lord. This decree maketh both against those, that affirme faith to be naturally in vs, as *Pucksius*, as also against them which ascribe either the beginning of faith or the increase, or the disposition to freewill, and not all to grace, as *Hemingius*. The absurditie of which opinion, we further declare thus.

1. If it be in mans power to beleeue, whether do you vnderstand man regenerate, or vnregenerate: Man vnregenerate is not able to beleeue, for the naturall man perceiueth not the things of the spirit of God, 1.Cor.2.14. And this is partly confessed by *Hemingius* and *Snecanus*, as wee haue seene before. If man must first be regenerate before he can beleeue, how commeth it to passe, that seeing an equall measure of faith, and grace is offered on Gods behalfe vnto all, that all men are not regenerate? You will say, some are regenerate by grace: But why do some apprehend the grace of regeneration more then other? there is no power yet in their will, because it is vnregenerate: must it not then be needes confessed, that God giueth a greater measure of grace to some, whom he hath elected, then to other? And this the Apostle notably prooueth, where he saith: *God is the Saiour of all men, especially of those which beleeue*, 1.Timoth.4.10. But if God for his parte offer grace no more to beleeuers, then vnbeleeuers, but in that they accept of grace offered themselues, how is he after a more especial sort the Sauiour of beleeuers, more then of others? This place therefore inferreth of necessity a more speciall grace and fauour of God toward them that beleeue.

2. That all cannot haue faith, but such as are ordained and elected thereunto: these Scriptures are our warrant: Iohn 10.26. *Ye beleeue not, for ye are not of my sheepe:* Iohn.12.39. *They could not beleeue, because God had blinded their eies:* Act.13.48. *As many as were ordayned to eternall life, beleeued.* Their answers to these places wee haue seene before, that wee neede not to repeate them againe.

3. That faith and euery good gift, the beginning, perfection and end, is onely of God, thus also it is testified in the word of God: *It is not of him that willeth, or runneth, but of God that sheweth mercie*, Rom.9.16. *It is God that worketh both the will and the deed*, Phil.2.13. *Without me you can do nothing*, Iohn 15.5. *No man can come vnto me, except my father draw him*, Iohn 6.44. *Hemingius* answereth, that God draweth, by setting before vs the promises of eternall life, and by ministring so excellent an obiect: *pag.* 57. But after this manner God (you say) draweth all men: and such drawing men may resist, for all that are thus drawne by this common grace, follow not: But they that are drawne of God, as here our Sauiour speaketh, must needes come vnto Christ, vers. 37. *All that the father giueth me, shall come to me.*

To conclude this place, these patrones of common grace do fall into a flat point of Pelagianisme, whose assertion was this: *Vitam æternam omnibus paratam esse, quantum ad Deum, quantum ad diuinæ libertatem, ab eis eam apprehendi, qui sponte Deo crediderunt*: That life eternall, on Gods behalfe is prepared for all, and as for the libertie of freewill, they lay hold of eternall life, that of themselues beleeue God: *In epistol. Prosper. ad Augustinum.* This did the old Pelagians hold, this do the new vniuersalists affirme.

Now to requite vs againe, for this charge, they accuse vs of Manicheisme, the Manichees tooke away the vse of freewill altogether, and affirmed all things to bee done of necessitie, and consequently made God the author of sinne: to this opinion they say, we come neere. Hemingius pag.109.

Contra. We defie the monstrous sect of the Manichees and all Manicheisme. First we affirme, that all things to be done of absolute necessitie: for though God haue decreed the ende of euery man, yet this no more bringeth a stoicall and fatall necessitie, then to say that God hath foreseene all things (which they themselues affirme:) for whether God onely foreseeth, or beside predestinateth, things cannot otherwise fall out, then hee hath foreseene or appointed: yet it followeth not, that the yoke of absolute necessitie is therefore layd vpon vs: for neither Gods prescience nor predestination taketh away second meanes and causes, as the libertie of mans will, and such like, but rather establisheth them: for as God did foreknow and ordaine things to be done, so he willed and decreed, and foresaw the meanes whereby they should be done.

2. We make not God the author of sinne, though he haue not elected all: for the not elected, being left to themselues by the corruption of their owne will, fall into sinne, which God foresaw, but willed not, but the punishment of sinne, he decreed before, and in his time will see executed.

3. Neither do we take away freewill: which we say is the beginning and fountaine of sinne in man: so man hath a freewill, that is without constraint to do euill. And in good things wee exclude not the will of man: but man (we say) willeth, and by grace his will is reformed to will that that is good: So grace worketh, the wil of man is wrought: Man then hath a wil in good things, but altogether passiue: yet God otherwise worketh in man, then in bruite beastes, for they haue no will

will or vnderstanding at all, man hath, though corrupted. Hence are all those precepts, and exhortations in Scripture, not that man of his owne accord is able to receiue them: but God speaketh to men as a reasonable creature, that naturally doth will, and vnderstand, that they should be stirred vp by such exhortations, to seeke for further grace at Gods hand, to reforme and regenerate their wils to the obedience of his holy precepts. Thus then it appeareth, that wee are no Manichees. Other obiections concerning freewill, because they are common to the Papists, and these new freewill men (which differ not much in this matter) I will reserue to the treatise of freewill, which followeth. And yet, what said I? that they much differ not? Nay, of the two these vniuersall freemen are more erronious concerning this point of freewill, than the Papists.

1. The Papists make a distinction of sufficient and effectuall grace on Gods behalfe, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de grat. cap. 2.* But these Vniuersalists say that, on Gods behalfe, like effectuall grace is giuen to all, but their freewill maketh the difference, whereby some beleeuing, make this common grace to themselues more effectuall: So they ascribe more to freewill, namely, to make grace effectuall, than the Papists doe. 2. The Papists say, we haue freewill (yet ayded and assisted by God) to doe good workes: these Vniuersalists say, wee haue freewill to beleeue, which is a greater gift, than to doe good works, which are a necessarie consequent of faith. 3. The Papists say, that the first grace whereby we are iustified, that is the beginning of iustification, is meerely of grace both in the giuer and receiuer: these Vniuersalists say, that God indeede offereth grace, by moouing, and stirring the heart, but man by his freewill giueth consent to his calling: so that the beginning of their calling is but free in behalfe of the caller, but it is of themselues, that they are effectually called. And thus much of this third inconuenience.

That it is not in a mans power to beleeue, Saint *Ambrose* thus further witnesseth, *in 4. ad Galat.* vpon these words of the Apostle: *Seeing ye know God, or rather are knowne of God: Cum enim hi non quærerent Deum, aduocauit eos ad suam gratiam:* For when they did not seeke God, hee called them to his grace. *Lib. 1. de vocat. Gentium cap. 9. Licet insit homini bonum nolle, tamen nisi donetur ei non habet bonum velle: illud contraxit natura per culpam, hoc recipit natura per gratiam:* Although it be in man to nill that is good, yet he cannot will that is good, vnlesse it be giuen him.

THE FOVRTH INCONVENIENCE or absurditie.

Absurd. 4. Another consequent of their opinion is, that as it is in mans power to beleeue, and obey his effectuall calling, so may he resist it if he will. So *Heminginus pag. 117. lin. 17. The will of man being moued by the word of God, and the holy Ghost, may both obey and resist the same.* The same is affirmed by *Suecanus de libero arbitrio pag. 405.* for they say, that the cause why all beleeue not that are called, is not at all for any want of grace on Gods behalfe, but it is onely in themselues, that refuse grace offered: *Suecan. pag. 919.*

Argum. Our Sauiour saith, *O Ierusalem, &c. how often would I haue gathered thy children together, &c. and thou wouldest not?* Matth. 23. Wherefore if they would, they might haue been saued: it is therefore in mans power to resist his vocation: *sic Heming. pag. 117.*

Contra. 1. True it is, that it is not for any defect or want of grace on Gods behalfe, that many being called, beleeue not, but the defect is in themselues: there is no defect properly in God: his calling is sufficient vnto all; but that it is effectuall to some and not to others, it commeth of their owne corruption, and euilnes of nature, which God taketh away and healeth in whom he pleaseth, and suffereth the rest to remaine in their hardnes of heart.

2. There is a sufficient calling for all, when God offereth the externall meanes of saluation, whereby all might come to saluation, if they had grace to apprehend: this calling may be resisted by men, whom God iustly leaueth to themselues. There is also an effectuall calling, when as God worketh inwardly by the efficacie of his spirit, and draweth his elect, of vnwilling making them willing, to obey their calling: and thus are the elected onely called, and this calling cannot be resisted. So saith our Sauiour, *Many are called*, namely, sufficiently on Gods behalfe, *but few are chosen*, that is, effectuallie called, as the elect onely are: The first calling was offered to Ierusalem.

Here it will be obiected: first, This generall calling of God, if it be not effectuall to all, how is not God to be charged with the perishing of those, to whom it is not effectuall?

Answ. God in no wise is chargeable therewith: for Gods calling in it selfe is sufficient to all, it is for want of grace in themselues, that it is not effectuall to them.

Obiect. 2. But why doth not God by the powerfull operation of grace, make it effectuall to all as to some? is he not now partiall?

Ans. God is a debter to none: but whereas all by nature haue made themselues the seruants of sinne, if God in his iustice should leaue them all to themselues, he were not therefore to be iudged vniust

...ment. But now seeing hee of his infinite mercie saueth some, and giueth them his grace, it is not ...itie in him, who findeth nothing in man to be respected, but a work of his meere grace and ...: for, as the Apostle saith, hee hath mercie on whom hee will, and whom hee will hee harde-...

That Gods effectuall and gracious calling of election cannot be resisted, thus the Scripture ...eth witnesse: Rom. 9. 19. *No man hath resisted Gods will:* But as the Psalme saith, *Whatsoeuer he ...d him, that did he in heauen and earth.* Whom it pleased God therefore to saue, and call by his ..., they shall be saued and called.

Ioh. 6. 37. *All that my father giueth me, shall come vnto me.* And vers. 45. *Euery man that hath heard, and hath learned of the father, commeth vnto me:* Not that God saueth any man against his will, but, as *Augustine* saith, *Ex volentibus volentes facit:* Of vnwilling he maketh them willing. *Augustine* the father also writeth notably of this matter: *Non potest effectus misericordiæ Dei esse in hominis potestate, vt frustra ille misereatur, si homo nolit: quia si vellet etiam relictis aliquantum misereri, posset ita vocare, quando illis aptum esset, &c. Illi ergo electi, qui sic vocati, vt vocanti non resistant: Ceteri non electi, quia non secuti, quantumuis vocati: ad Simplician. lib. 1. quæst. 2.* It cannot bee in mans power to frustrate the efficacie of Gods mercie, if man will not: for if God also would haue mercie of those, that striue against his mercie, he could also call them, as it were meete for them: They therfore are elected of God, who are so called, that they refuse not their calling: the rest are not elected, which are called, but obey not. And thus much also of this inconuenience, that if man may frustrate Gods effectuall calling, that God shall not haue mercie, vnlesse man will; then is the will of man strong and of greater power, than Gods will is.

Lastly, concerning these three points: first, that there is a generall calling which is sufficient to all, and beside that a speciall calling effectuall only in some. Secondly, that the generall calling by the hardnes of mans heart may be made frustrate. Thirdly, that the effectuall calling of God can not be resisted. Saint *Ambrose* doth thus witnesse euidently.

First, he saith, *lib. 1. de vocat. Gent. c. 2. Credimus secundum scripturas, &c.* We beleeue according to the Scriptures, that Gods prouidence was neuer wanting to the vniuersall companie of men: *quæ licet exceptum sibi populum specialibus ad pietatem direxerit institutis, &c.* which prouidence of God did yet giue speciall directions vnto godlinesse to his people, which hee had excepted from the rest.

For the second he thus testifieth: *Si quis non credit in Christum, generali beneficio ipse se fraudat, vt si quis clausis fenestris radios solis excludat:* If any man beleeue not in Christ, he doth defraud himself, as if a man should shut the windowes to keepe out the Sunne-beames: *lib. 2. cap. 2.*

Thirdly, *lib. 1. de vocat. Gent. cap. 10. Nihil obsistere diuinæ gratiæ potest, quo minus id quod voluerit impleat:* Nothing can resist the diuine grace, that it should not fulfill whatsoeuer it would. And againe, *cap. 9. Quantumlibet impiorum malignitas accusetur resistens gratiæ, &c.* Although the malignitie of the wicked be accused, as resisting grace; shall it be thought, that they deserued grace, vpon whom it was conferred, or that grace, which subdued whom she would, could not conuert those, which remaine vnconuerted? they which were called, were the same, which they are that remaine in their hardnes of heart: *sed illis tribuit gratia secunda, quod voluit; istis retribuit veritas iustum quod debuit:* but grace gaue vnto them, what she would; and iustice rendred to the other, what was due.

Augustine also thus witnesseth: *Voluisti salutem facere nullum hominum resistit arbitrium:* Mans will is not able to resist God, being willing, or purposed to saue: *De corrept. & grat. cap. 14. ibid. Non est dubitandum voluntati Dei voluntates humanas resistere non posse:* It is not to be doubted, but that mans will cannot resist Gods will.

THE FIFT ABSVRDITIE.

Absurd. 5. These patrones of vniuersall and conditionall election and grace, which affirme that men are no otherwise elected, but with condition if they beleeue, and so long are they elected, as they continue in faith, doe consequently also hold, that men may both lose their election, and lose their faith: and of the vessels of honour, if they fall from faith, become vessels of wrath: *Heming. pag. 30.* And they which are written in the booke of life may be rased out of it: *Huber. thes. 757.* The same also is maintained by *Socinus*, that the elect may finally fall away from Christ *pag. 976.*

Arg. 1. That election may be lost, they would thus proue it out of Scripture: Exod. 32. 32. *Moses returned vnto God: If thou wilt not pardon them, rase me out of the booke which thou hast written:* The Lord answered, *Him that sinneth will I put out of my booke.* Neither would *Moses* would haue asked an impossible thing, neither would God haue so answered, if that they could not be rased out of the booke of life that are written there: *Huber. thes. 766.*

Anſw. 1. *Moſes* being carried away with an extraordinarie zeale of Gods glory, and loue to the people, forgetting himſelfe and his owne eſtate, wiſheth, that himſelfe ſhould periſh, rather then the people: yet it followeth not, that he could periſh: For after the ſame maner S. *Paul* with the like zeale wiſheth he were accurſed, ſo the Iewes might be ſaued, Rom. 9. 3. yet the Apoſtle was ſure that he could not periſh, nor be ſeparated from the loue of God, Rom. 8. 38. And he knew there was a crowne of glorie laide vp for him, 2. Tim. 4. 8. No ſuch thing therefore can be inferred vpon theſe extraordinarie examples of zeale. 2. But the Lord anſwering *Moſes*, ſaith, he will put out, &c. though *Moſes* might be carried away in zeale ſo to ſpeake, yet the Lord ſpeaketh aduiſedly. *Anſw.* Firſt, the Lord applieth his ſpeech vnto *Moſes* infirmitie at this time, and by way of conceſſion, ſaith vnto him, that if it were ſo, that ſome were to be put out of his booke, yet *Moſes* ſhould not, but they rather that ſinned. Againe, it is a metaphoricall ſpeech, for God hath indeede no ſuch booke, ſuch putting in or putting out: but by writing in that booke, the decree of ſaluation is ſignified; by not writing or blotting out, the decree of damnation: God will put them out that ſinne, that is, hath decreed their iuſt damnation: for otherwiſe to ſpeake properly they were neuer written in the booke of life, Apoca. 17. 8. Here we haue a direct teſtimony, that ſuch as are loſt, were neuer written in the booke of life; how dare then any man wreſt the Scripture to a contrary ſenſe, and ſo make it ſpeake contrary things? Or as *Auguſtine* interpreteth, *Non ſic accipere debemus, quòd quenquam Deus ſcribat in libro vitæ & deleat illum, ſi homo dixit, quod ſcripſit, ſcripſit Deus quenquam ſcripſit & delet? quomodo ergo ibi delentur? hoc dictum eſt ſecundum eorum ſpem, quia ibi ſe ſcriptos putabant:* We muſt not ſo take it, as though God writeth any in the booke of life, and blotteth them out again: for if a man ſaid, what I haue written, I haue written (ſo *Pilate* ſaid concerning the inſcription of the Croſſe) doth God write any, and blot out againe? how are they then blotted out? It is ſo ſaid in reſpect of their hope, becauſe they thought they were written there.

They alſo obiect that place, 1. Cor. 9. 27. *I beate downe my bodie, leaſt, &c. I my ſelfe ſhould be reprobate: Ergo*, the elect may become a reprobate: *Pucks rat.* 77.

Anſw. 1. That *Paul* was aſſured he could not be a reprobate, we haue ſhewed before, for he knew that there was a crowne of righteouſnes laid vp for him. 2. It is not then to be referred to the perſon of *Paul*, as though he feared any reprobation before God, but to his miniſterie, leaſt, if he ſhould doe himſelfe otherwiſe then he preached to others, his miniſterie ſhould be diſgraced, and reproued.

Argum. 2. Now that faith alſo may be loſt, they ſhew it thus: 1. Corin. 8. 11. *Through thy knowledge ſhall the weake brother periſh for whom Chriſt dyed: Ergo*, a man may loſe his faith and ſo periſh: *Heming. pag.* 24.

Anſw. 1. None can finally or eternally periſh, whom Chriſt hath redeemed by his death: for Chriſt cannot loſe any thing of that which is giuen him, Ioh. 6. 39. 17. 12. 2. Therefore the Apoſtle here by periſhing vnderſtandeth not a finall deſtruction, but a ſhaking or weakning of their faith, which verſe 12. he calleth a wounding of their conſcience: now it is one thing to wound another to ſlay: that this is the meaning, it may appeare by comparing this place with the like, Rom. 14. 15. *Deſtroy not him with thy meate for whom Chriſt dyed*: where the ſame word is vſed, μὴ ἀπόλλυε, deſtroy not: that is, thy brother is grieued, verſ. 15. he ſtumbleth, is offended, or made weake, verſ. 21. And againe, verſ. 20. *Deſtroy not the worke of God for meates ſake*: the word is, καταλύε: ſo then, οἰκοδόμει, and καταλύε, deſtroy not, with the Apoſtle are all one: and to build vp is contrarie to deſtroy, as they are oppoſed, Gal 2. 18. *If I build againe the things that are deſtroyed*: So then, as to build vp and edifie our brother, is nothing elſe but to inſtruct and confirme his faith, ſo to deſtroy, is not to periſh his perſon, but to empaire his faith. 3. Or thus we may reade, *Through thy knowledge thy weake brother ſhall periſh*: that is, as much as in thee lyeth, by thy meanes thy weake brother might periſh, not that ſimplie or abſolutely he doth periſh. 4. Laſtly, S. *Paul* ſpeaketh not here of the eternall purpoſe of God, in them for whom he hath giuen Chriſt to die, but that, as he himſelfe giueth the rule, *Loue hopeth all things*, 1. Cor. 13. 7. ſo we ſhould thinke none other of our weake brother that beleeueth, but that Chriſt dyed for him: And that the Apoſtle thus ſpeaketh, not in reſpect of Gods ſecret decree in the death of Chriſt, but of that hope and opinion, that we ought one to haue of another, it appeareth, Rom. 14. 4. where the Apoſtle ſpeaking of Gods ſecret decree, ſayth, *Euery man ſtandeth or falleth to his owne maſter*: euery man ſtandeth not, but ſome ſtand, ſome fall: But in reſpect of the iudgement and charitable opinion of men, he ſaith, verſ. 3. God hath receiued him: verſ. 4. *He ſhall be eſtabliſhed: for God is able to make him ſtande*: yet in the ſame verſe, he ſaith, before God he ſtandeth, or falleth: but in the iudgement of men, euery beleeuer ſtandeth, is eſtabliſhed, and receiued: and ſo conſequently for him Chriſt dyed, verſ. 15.

Contra. Now on the contrarie ſide, that both our election is ſure before God, neither that the faith of the elect, though it may fayle, and empayre, yet cannot vtterly be loſt, thus we are aſſured by the euident teſtimonie of Scripture.

Argum.

Argum. 2. Rom. 11.29. *The gifts and calling of God, are without repentance:* Ioh. 13.1. *Whom God loueth he loueth to the end:* Ioh. 10.29. *My father is greater then all, and none is able to take them out of my fathers hand: Ergo*, the elect cannot perish,

Bellarmine pag. 65. answereth, that no man by violence can plucke the elect from God, yet they willingly may fall away: *Suarez* also graunteth, that on Gods behalfe our election is sure and vnmoueable, but not on mens behalfe, vnlesse they continue, and hold fast their faith to the end: *pag.* 976.

Contra. 1. The text is, *My father is stronger then all:* he is then stronger then our selues, that neither willingly nor vnwillingly the elect cannot depart from God: *For I giue vnto them eternall life, saith Christ, and they shall neuer perish:* Iohn 10. vers. 28. They can in no wise perish, neither by force, nor by voluntarie declining from God: Ierem. 32.40. *I will put my feare into their hearts, that they shall neuer depart from me:* Hosh. 2.19. *I will marrie thee for euer vnto me in righteousnesse.*

2. That Gods election is absolutely sure both on his owne behalfe, and on their part that are elected: our Sauiour testifieth, Iohn 6.39. *This is my fathers will, that of all which he hath giuen me, I should loose nothing, but should raise it vp at the last day.* All that are elected, shall be assuredly raised vp vnto eternall: And God, to such, as he hath chosen, will giue grace to continue. They therefore that finally fall away, were not elected in the beginning: And that faith, which some haue made shipwracke of, 1. Timoth. 1.19. is not the iustifying faith of the elect, but a temporarie, or historicall faith. Mens falling away from faith then, cannot make Gods election voyd: as the Apostle saith: *Shall their vnbeleefe make the faith of God without effect?* Rom. 3.3.

3. We notwithstanding confesse, that Gods election standeth fast, and is immutable in them that are elected, not by their owne strength, but by the grace and gift of God, for of our selues we are mutable and changeable, readie to fall away, but that we stand by grace, as *Ambrose* saith, *lib. 2. de vocat. gentium. c. 9. Si defectura erat fides tanti Apostoli, nisi pro eo Christus oraret, orat et pro fide mutabilium, &c.* If the faith of so great an Apostle should haue fayled, if Christ had not prayed for him, there was mutabilitie in him, for the vnchangeable firmenes of the minde is not to be found here.

Obiect. If they, whom the Apostle speaketh of, made shipwracke onely of a temporarie faith, that is faith in shew, or imagined, then they lost nothing: And is it a sinne worthie of eternall punishment, to lose the image onely, and shew of faith? Againe, where S. *Paul* sayth, *In the latter times some shall depart from the faith:* they may as well here also vnderstand, a dissembled and imagined faith: *Huber. thes.* 243.

Solu. First, though those, which the Apostle speaketh of, had not a true iustifying faith, and therefore could not make shipwracke of that which they had not, yet had they more then a bare image of faith: for they had a forme of knowledge, and the profession of the trueth. Men also in some sort may be lightened, *taste of the heauenly gift, be partakers of some gifts of the holy Ghost, taste of the word of God, and of the powers of the world to come:* Hebr. 6 4,5. And these things not in shew onely, but in their kinde and measure in some sort indeed, for it is but a taste (as the Apostle saith) that is it were a full draught: and yet for all this they haue not a iustifying faith, which if they had, they could not finally fall away. Therefore though they haue but an image or shew of the lively iustifying faith, which they indeed haue not, but seeme onely to haue, Luk. 8.18. yet a kind of faith they haue indeed, which they make shipwracke of. Secondly, the Apostle here vnderstandeth not a right iustifying faith, which worketh alwaies by loue, Galath. 5.6. and is ioyned with a good conscience, Rom. 5.1. 1. Timoth. 1.19. But these first had put away a good conscience, and then made shipwracke of their faith. To this purpose S. *Ambrose lib. 2. de vocat Gentium c. 1. Ingratus erat perdere inutilem fidem qui non exercuerat charitatem:* He was worthie to loose an vnprofitable faith, which did not exercise charitie: such a fruitlesse faith then may be lost. Thirdly, by faith in the place alleaged, the Apostle vnderstandeth the forme of true doctrine, as it appeareth by the opposite member, they shall depart from the faith, that is, from the doctrine of the truth, and giue heede to the doctrine of diuels: So in this place *Hymenaus* maketh shipwracke of faith, that is, concerning the truth hath erred, 2. Timoth. 2.18. And the Apostle sheweth wherein he erred, saying, the resurrection is past alreadie. Thus by making shipwracke of faith, the Apostle vnderstandeth, the leauing of the trueth, and falling into error. Fourthly, and for this Apostasie from the trueth, they deserued eternall punishmene, without their repentance: although the Apostle speake not here of eternall damnation, but saith onely he had deliuered them to Sathan, that is, excommunicated them, for their amendment, to learne not to blaspheme: as he decreed concerning the incestuous young man, 1. Corinth. 5.5. who notwithstanding afterward repented, and was restored.

Argum. 2. 2. Timoth. 2.19. *The foundation of God remaineth sure, the Lord knoweth who are his.* We then thus reason: Gods prescience cannot be deceiued: but God foreknew in the beginning not onely in generall, but in particular, who should be saued: *Ergo*, the same, and no other shall

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Lib. de correp. & grat. cap. 7.

be saued: therefore none of the elect can perish. So *Augustine* writeth: *Horum, qui electi sunt, si quisquam perit, fallitur Deus, sed nemo eorum perit, quia non fallitur Deus: horum si quisquam peccatis humanis vitio vincitur Deus, sed nemo eorum perit, quia nullo vitio vincitur Deus:* If any of the elect should perish, God is deceiued, but none of them perisheth, because God is not deceiued: if any of them perish, God is ouercome by the infirmitie of man; but nothing can ouercome God: therefore none of them perisheth. This argument drawne from the definite certaintie of Gods prescience, hath not yet been answered by any of these Vniuersalists: neither shall they euer be able to answer it.

Obiect. Doe we not see by experience, that many which beleeued, fall away; how is not faith then lost, and election withall? We answere with *Augustine:* First, they that finally fall away, neuer were endued with a right faith, nor elected of God: *Quibusdam filijs suis Deus non dat perseuerantiam, quia non sunt de illis predestinatis, qui verè sunt filij promissionis:* Vnto some, which appeared to be Gods children, God giueth not grace to perseuere, because they are not of the number of the predestinate, which are the true children of promise. Secondly, but concerning the elect he saith: *Horum fides aut omnino non deficit, aut si deficit, reparatur, antequam vita ista finiatur:* Their faith either faileth not at all; or if it doe, it is restored before their life be ended: *Lib. de correp. & grat. cap. 7. 8.*

Saint *Ambrose* also saith, *in 8. ad Romanos. Qui credere videntur & non permanent in fide, à Deo electi negantur:* They which seeme to beleeue, and continue not in faith, are not elected of God: *Est qui ad tempus eligitur, sicut Saul & Iudas, non de præscientia, sed de præsenti iustitia:* there is, that is chosen for a time, as *Saul* and *Iudas*, not of prescience, but according to their present iustice.

Obiect. If then the elect cannot finally perish, nor be depriued of their faith, to what end are all those admonitions in Scripture, *Let him that standeth take heed least he fall: to him that ouercometh will I giue a crowne &c. Suecanus* to this answereth well, that these exhortations doe serue as meanes to preserue our faith, and doe stirre vp in vs a care of godlines, whereby we may ratify our assurance daily of our election: pag. 470. for though our election be alwaies sure before God, yet is it not otherwise assured to vs, but by the effects and workes of our calling, 2. Pet. 1. 10. And though our saluation be certainely decreed before God, yet is it by meanes, such as he hath appointed, accomplished toward vs. As Saint *Ambrose* witnesseth, *lib. 2. de vocat. gent. cap. 10. Quamuis quod statuit Deus, nulla possit ratione non fieri, studia tamen non tolluntur orandi, nec per obsequentis propositum liberi arbitrij deuotio relaxatur:* Although that which God appointeth cannot be but done, yet the studie or desire of prayer is not taken away, nor the deuotion of mans free will released by election.

And for the certaintie of election he further thus testifieth: *Lib. 2. de vocat. gent. c. 9. Sicut nullus infidelium in hac sorte numeratus, ita nullus piorum ab hac sorte discretus: de plenitudine quippe membrorum corporis Christi, præscientia Dei, quæ falli non potest nihil perdit, &c.* As no vnbeleeuer is numbred in this lotte, so none of the godlie is separated from it; for the prescience of God, which cannot be deceiued, doth loose nothing of the fulnes of the members of Christ.

Hierome Epist. ad Pammach. & Ocean. rehearseth this to be one of the errors of *Origen*; that in the ende after diuers worldes, *Idipsum fore Gabrielem, quod diabolum; Paulum, quod Caiphan: Gabriel* shall be the same, that the diuell; and *Paul*, that *Caiphas: Huberus* hath the like saying, as I haue shewed before, that *Paul* and *Peter* were no more elected, then *Iudas*.

And thus much of this inconuenience, which they are driuen to confesse, namely, that election and faith may be lost: whereupon follow many absurdities, as we haue seene: First, that by this meanes the prescience and foreknowledge of God may be deceiued, if election, which he both foresaw and decreed, may be altered. Secondly, Gods purpose of saluation is by mans infirmitie ouerthrowne: that if he hold not, neither doth the decree holde. Thirdly, it breedeth vncertaintie of saluation, and so despayre: for by this meanes the strength of our hope is stayed vpon mans freewill: a miserable hold for a distressed conscience to stay vpon. Fourthly, the Vniuersalists herein are more erroneous then the Papists: for they confesse an absolute and determinate certaintie of our election before God, though they deny a full perswasion and assurance thereof vnto men: but these deny both: Let vs now finish the rest.

THE SIXT INCONVENIENCE.

Absurd. 6. In saying that God onely purposed to saue those that should beleeue, and to condemne all vnbeleeuers, they consequently affirme, that, *Incredulitas sit vnica causa condemnationis* that incredulitie is the onely cause of condemnation: *Huber. thes. 187.* And so they extenuate other sinnes, as *Pucksius: In simplici ignorantia, aut incredulitate nullum est scelus:* In simple ignorance and vnbeleefe, there is no sinne, *ration. 56.* And againe, *Reatum peccati originalis, nemini æterna morte plecti:* That no man is punished eternally for originall sinne; *ration. 13.* That mortalitie

and other miseries of this life, are onely the punishment of originall sinne: *vrsin. q. 61.* Stecanus also saith, that the originall corruption of mans nature, is not the foundation of reall reprobation, but the contempt of the grace of God; His reason is, because no infancy man should be reiected, because there remaineth originall corruption in all: *De praedest. pag. 655.*

Contra. 1. That simple ignorance or incredulitie excuseth not, S. *Paul* sheweth, Rom. 2. 12. *As many as haue sinned without the lawe, shall perish without the lawe.* And verse 14. *They hauing not the lawe, are a lawe to themselues.* Here the Gentiles are not accused of wilfull contempt of grace, because not preached vnto them, but onely of simple ignorance, yet are they worthie of condemnation. Secondly, that originall sinne in it selfe deserueth eternall death, it is at large declared by the Apostle, Rom. 5. 12. *By one man sinne entred into the world, and death by sinne.* And afterward he saith what death, *The fault came of one offence to condemnation*, verse 16. Thirdly, that originall sinne is not the ground or cause of reall reprobation, and actuall condemnation, in part true, in part false: It is true, because by the mercie of God it is not imputed to those which are saued by Christ, as no other sinnes are: It is false, first, because, though originall sinne be not imputed by grace, yet in it selfe it hath sufficient matter of condemnation: againe, it is the ground of all actuall sinne, and sinne is the ground or cause of damnation: thirdly, vnto him as the ground of reprobation, as vnto such children of infidels, as are not saued by election of grace.

That concerning wilfull incredulitie, and contempt of grace, that it is not the only cause of reprobation, I will briefly shew by these two arguments, *ab incommodo*, which follow.

First, it will follow vpon this opinion, that all those nations of the Gentiles, which had no knowledge of God, were freed from damnation, because the Gospell was not preached vnto them. Act. 14. 16. *In times past God suffered the Gentiles to walke in their owne wayes*, verse 17. *he neuertheless left not himselfe without witnesse, in that he gaue them rayne from heauen, &c.* They had neither witnesse but the testimonie of the creatures: the word they had not, Act. 17. 30. *The times of this ignorance God regarded not:* Seeing therefore that grace was not offered them, they could not bee contemners of grace, and so consequently by their opinion, were free from damnation.

Answ. goeth about here rather to make an answere, then indeed answereth: All these nations which were strangers from Israel, and from the promise, in the beginning contemned the grace of redemption offered, and refused the promise, and therefore were worthilie reiected: *De praedest. pag. 665.*

Cont. Let it be graunted, that all nations at the first despised the promise (yet shall he neuer be able to proue, that in the time of the lawe, grace was vniuersally offered to all people) how could their posteritie after them be counted contemners of grace, which they neuer heard of? The parents actuall sinnes, though they may be the cause of temporall punishment vpon the children, yet can they not, in the iustice of God, be the ground of their eternall reiection. And as for their originall corruption, it is confessed already, that it cannot be the foundation of reall reprobation. To this obiection therefore we expect a more sufficient answere.

This obiection is strongly vrged and enforced by Saint *Ambrose: lib. 1. de vocat. gent. cap. 5. Liberatur pars hominum parte pereunte, &c.* Part of mankinde is deliuered, the rest perisheth; and if we will ascribe this to the wils of men, that grace neglected the euill, and did chuse the good: *Defendi nobis innumerabilium causa populorum:* The condition of innumerable people will gainesay vs, vnto whom for many ages no light of heauenly doctrine did shine: neither can we say, that their posteritie was better, of whom it is said, the people that sate in darkenes, saw great light. As *Ambrose* concludeth, that the Gentiles were not called for their merites, because they sate in darkenes, and had no heauenly light: so it may be inferred, that they could not contemne or despise that light which did not shine vnto them.

Secondly we obiect, concerning the infants both of the faithfull and infidels, that if vnbeleefe only exclude from election, then are they not excluded, for they are not capable of faith, and therefore cannot despise faith and grace. To this obiection diuers answers haue been deuised, but none of them sufficient.

First it may be, and is answered of some, that infants are iudged according to the foresight of their beleefe or vnbeleefe, if they had lined.

Contra. *Augustine* confuteth this, by that place of S. *Paul*, 2. Cor. 5. 10. *That euery man shall receiue according to the things done in the bodie:* he saith not, which were foreseene should be done, but which were verely done. Againe, Christ vpbraiding the vnthankfull cities that saw his workes, and repented not, saith, *If the great workes which haue been done in them, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they had repented, &c.* By this reason Tyrus and Sidon should not haue been iudged, because of the foresight of their repentance. De praedestinat. Sanctor. cap. 12.

Secondly,

Secondly, It may be sayd, that infants dying, though they be not saued, because they haue no faith, yet are they not damned, but they shall haue a certaine kinde of beatitude, though not in the kingdome of heauen.

Contra. But this also is ouerthrowne by S. *Paul*, Rom. 5. where he sheweth, that by one mans sinne, death came vpon all to condemnation: and therefore children, if they be not saued, are necessarily damned. This also is confuted by *Augustine lib. de bon. perseuer. cap* 12.

Thirdly, *Suecanus* answereth concerning the children of the faithfull, that they are all elected, and belong vnto the promise, Gen. 17.7. *I will be thy God, and the God of thy seede*: S. *Paul* calleth them holy, 1. Cor. 7. 14. p. 667. As for the children of infidels, he leaueth them vnto God, who may deale with them (he saith) extraordinarily, and further he defineth not their state: pag. 677.

Contra. 1. Concerning the children of the faithfull that dye in their infancie, we affirme that they all by nature are subiect to eternall damnation, and if God adiudge any of them to condemnation he doth it iustly: which we leaue vnto Gods secret iudgement: yet we are to deeme rather to iudge, that the infants, whom God calleth to himselfe, and so preuent the curse of sinne, are saued, because they are vnder the couenant. And here we vnderstand not onely the children to be vnder the couenant, whose immediate parents were beleeuers, but if any of their predecessors in former times beleeued, for the promise of grace is made to a thousand generations, Exod. 20. But whereas *Suecanus* holdeth all the children of the faithfull, both those that dye, and they that remaine, that they are elected; whereas we see, that many righteous mens children do fall away from God: how can it be? vnles they will affirme, that men may fall away from election, which how absurd it is, we haue shewed before. Againe, though the children of the faithfull be saued by the couenant of grace, yet are they not by faith: faith then alone is not the obiect of election, as they affirme.

2 Concerning Infidels children, it is strange that *Suecanus* so much forgetteth himselfe, as to send vs to Gods extraordinarie and secret working; whereas he telleth vs, I am sure about an hundred times in his booke, *De praedestinatione*; that God dealeth not with vs in the matter of predestination, *Secundum absolutam suam, aut extraordinariam potentiam*, according to his extraordinarie power, *pag. 677. aut occulta sua voluntate*, or after his secret will, *sed ex lege sui foederis & sacra scriptura patefacti, pag. 633.* but after the lawe of his couenant set forth in Scripture: What meaneth he then in the predestination of infidels children to send vs to Gods extraordinarie power, and secret will? he should haue shewed vs somewhat reuealed in Scripture.

But to helpe him a little: we affirme, that euen children of Infidels, whom it pleaseth God, may ordinarily be elected: first, such children of Infidels, whose immediate parents were vnbeleeuers, but their former ancestors were faithfull, may be saued by the couenant of grace, which is made to a thousand generations: the rest that are saued, whose progenitors were altogether Infidels, are saued by Gods secret election: vnto the which *Suecanus* is faine to flye for the resolution of this question. And thus much also of this inconuenience.

Saint *Ambrose* thus enforceth this obiection concerning infants: *Lib. 1. de vocat. Gent. cap. 5. Respice ad vniuersalem multitudinem parvulorum, &c.* Looke vnto the vniuersall multitude of little ones, which all before the vse of vnderstanding and freewill, some goe vnto eternall happines being regenerate, others to perpetuall miserie being not borne againe: If you confesse originall sinne, they are all guiltie: if you seeke for innocencie, they are all without fault: *non inuenit quod discernat humana iustitia, sed habet, quod eligat inenarrabilis gratia*: Humane iustice can find nothing, to discerne or make difference, but the vnspeakable grace findeth somewhat to elect. The election of children is grounded onely vpon the grace of God, here is no foresight, or respect had vnto faith.

THE SEVENTH INCONVENIENCE.

Absurd. 7. If it were so, that God elected so many, as he foresaw should beleeue, and vpon this foresight caused the Gospell to be preached vnto them, and that God reiected those whom he foresawe would not beleeue, and therefore suffered them to abide in ignorance still, it were no mysterie or secret at all in our faith, why God hath chosen some, and refused others: for the reason is apparant, because some beleeue, and others doe not. But Saint *Paul* acknowledgeth here a great & vnsearchable mysterie, that seeing al are shut vp in vnbeliefe, and so are in the same common case, yet God hath mercie onely on whom he will. Whereupon the Apostle in admiration of this great secret, crieth out, *O the deepnes of the riches of the wisedome and knowledge of God! how vnsearchable are his iudgements, and his waies past finding out?* Rom. 11. 33. To this place our aduersaries answere diuersly.

First *Pucketus* saith, that the Apostle crieth not out in admiration, as not finding a solution concerning the question, why some were chosen, others refused: for it had been a thing vnworthie so great an Apostle, so to leaue his disputation imperfect: but that is rather, hauing fully discussed

of this doubt, that the cause why some are refused, is their diffidence onely and distrust, he giueth thankes to God for the finding out of this solution, from whose wisedome hee had learned it.

Cont. 1. The Apostle bringeth no such solution heere, as he dreameth of, as though the cause were in the beleefe or vnbeleefe of men, why God had mercie on some, and not on others: nay rather the contrarie appeareth, because the Apostle saith, *All are shut vp in vnbeleefe*: they are all by nature alike, none in themselues more worthie of fauour then other: And therefore all is ascribed to Gods mercie: but mercie is free, and therfore not caused by any desert of faith, or workes. Then the Apostle falleth into an admiration, the manner of his speech declareth: and he plainly confesseth this doctrine farre to exceede all humane reach: *Gods wayes* (he saith) *are vnsearchable, and his finding out*: Is not this cauiller therefore ashamed, to confesse that doctrine to be easie and plaine, which the Apostle calleth deepe, profound, and vnsearchable? 3. Neither doth the Apostle haue his disputation imperfect, but it is perfect and absolute: (if we vnderstand such perfection, as man in this life may attaine vnto) for otherwise if the knowledge of the greatest Prophets and Apostles in this life be compared with the reuelations of the life to come, it is imperfect: *We know in part, and prophesie in part, when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away*, 1. Cor. 13. 9, 10. Neither doth Saint *Paul* commit any thing vnworthie his Apostleship, in abasing himselfe to the depth of Gods iudgements: but here sheweth himselfe an example of that which hee teacheth others, *That no man presume to vnderstand aboue that, which is meete to vnderstand, but that he vnderstand according to sobrietie*, Rom. 12. 3. Neither was it a disgrace to the Apostle to be ignorant of some part of Gods counsell, no more, then where elsehe saith, he *heard words which cannot be spoken, which are not possible for man to vtter*, 2. Cor. 12. 4. If he could not vtter that which hee heard and sawe, how much more that, which was not at all reuealed vnto him, but kept secret in Gods counsell?

Secondly, *Hemingius* saith, The waies of God are here said to be vnsearchable, because they can not be found out by the wit of man: *For the naturall man perceiueth not the things that are of God*: But he followeth not, but that in the word of God, whatsoeuer is necessarie to saluation to be knowne, is reuealed: as Saint *Paul* saith, *We haue the minde of Christ*, 1. Corinth. 2. 16. *See Hemingius pag. 760. before pag. 762.*

Cont. First, that all things necessarie to saluation are reuealed in the Scriptures, we graunt, *for they are able to make vs wise to saluation, and perfect to all good workes*, 2. Tim. 3. 15. 17. But to know the cause why God electeth some, and not others, is not any part of this necessarie knowledge, but rather a point of curiositie. Secondly, that the mysterie of saluation, though not reuealed to flesh and blood, yet is discerned by the spirituall man in the Scriptures we graunt, as the Apostle speaketh, 1. Cor. 2. 10. 16. yet are there some secrets of God which are not reuealed in this life, neither to regenerate, nor vnregenerate, of the which sort this is, whereof the Apostle here speaketh: howbeit that these waies of God, concerning the secrecie of election, are simply vnsearchable of all, is may appeare by that which followeth: *Who hath known the minde of God, or who was his counseller, or who hath giuen vnto him first? &c.* But no man either naturall or spirituall hath been Gods counseller, to know his minde, or hath giuen vnto him first: where the Apostle secretly excludeth all manner foresight in our election, of faith or workes in men; for then they should haue giuen vnto God first, which here is denied. Lastly, the Apostle breaketh out into this admiration, not in the person of the carnall man, but in his owne person as spirituall, and confesseth, that euen vnto himselfe the waies of God herein were vnsearchable.

Thirdly, *Haberus* answereth first, after a scoffing manner, that wee may as well in other questions concerning faith and the Sacraments, shew by all men proue not by hearing the Gospell preached, why all that are baptized, are not sanctified, why all doe not receiue the Eucharist worthily, wee may answere in these questions, as in this of election, very compendiously, *O altitudo! O depth!* but afterward he giueth vs a more sober answere: There be, saith he, two sort of profound things in the workes of God. Some things so profound, that God hath kept the knowledge of to himselfe, whereof there is nothing reuealed in Scripture. Another sort of profound things there is, when as we know that God hath done this or that, but the cause thereof we know not, neither are able to search out: we know them, in that they are, but not why they are: As for example whereof the Apostle intreateth, that the Gentiles were first reiected, and the Iewes called, and afterward the Gentiles chosen and the other refused, wee know this to be done, but wherefore we know not, the cause thereof is vnsearchable, *Haberus thes. 59. pag. 948.* So *Suarez* saith, that the Apostle here doth restraine humane rashnes, that we should not be too bold in searching out the cause of Gods workes. Pag. 761.

Cont. 2. *Haberus* scorneth not vs, but scorneth the Apostle, who though in all other questions in religion, he were able to giue a diuine answere, as appeareth notably in the heauenly mysteries, yet in the case of Gods secret iudgements, giueth no other answere but this, *O the deepe!* We in like manner,

ner, in other matters concerning our faith, where the word of God goeth before vs, we trust by Gods grace, are able to frame some reasonable answere, and neede not to say *abyssus*: (as to the questions proposed) the effect of preaching, the efficacie of Baptisme, the sacramentall grace, are extinguished in vnworthie men through their vnbeleefe and other sinnes, whereof they haue not repented, which although they be not the chiefe cause of their reiection, yet are they of their actuall condemnation; yet in this profound matter, why God hath mercie on some, and not on other some, we are not ashamed to answere with the Apostle, *ô abyssus*? Secondly, their distinction we mislike not: it maketh for vs, and against them: for vs, wee acknowledge in the worke of election, *ὅτι* that God hath in his eternall counsell elected some, and not others, but *διότι* why and for what cause God hath so done, we know not, but hold it to be vnsearchable: And particularly who are damned, who are saued, it is simply a profound secret: we neither know, *ὅτι*, that this man, or that, is saued or damned (though there be a meanes for euery man to know it in himselfe) much lesse doe wee know, *διότι*, the cause or reason thereof. It maketh against them, for they take vpon them to set downe the cause of the election of the Gentiles, and reiection of the Iewes, and generally of all men, the foresight of faith in the one; and vnbeleefe or contempt of grace in the other: And so they make the iudgements of God easie and plaine, and not vnsearchable at all.

2 I will conclude this place with that saying of *Ambrose*, or who else was the author of that booke,

De vocat. gent. lib. 2. c. 3.

Altitudo diuitiarum sapientia & scientia Dei, cuius inperuestigabiles via, sic semper misericordiam & iudicium temperauit, vt secretissima aterni consilij voluntate noluerit in omnibus, super omnes [illegible], aut super omnes homines, aquales donorum suorum esse mensuras. Qua autem causa sint [illegible] diuinis sanctis scripturis non loquentibus quis loquetur? patienter & aquanimiter ignoretur [illegible] tum ab humana cogitatione secretum, in quo scientia Pauli Apostoli, à disputatione transijt ad stuporem. The depth of the riches of the knowledge and wisedome of God, whose wayes are vnsearchable, hath so tempered his mercie and iudgement, that in the secret will of his eternall counsell, hee would not haue an equall measure of his gifts to be bestowed vpon all men: but what might be the cause of this difference, the Scriptures not saying any thing, who can speake? Let vs with patience be content to be ignorant of so great a secret: wherein the knowledge of the Apostle *Paul* giueth place, and leauing to dispute beginneth to wonder. Thus doth this father expound this place of the Apostle.

Saint *Augustine* likewise counteth the doctrine of predestination a great secret: *de corrept. & grat. cap. 16. Cur hunc retineat, non illum, nec possibile est comprehendere, nec licitum inuestigare:* Why God doth keepe one from falling, and not another, it is not possible to comprehend, nor lawfull to enquire. And againe, *Cur hunc potius quam illum liberet, scrutetur qui potest iudiciorum eius tam magnum profundum, sed caueat pracipitium:* Why God doth deliuer one and not another, let him search out, that can, so great a depth of Gods iudgements; but let him take heede of a downfall, *ad Simplician. lib. 1. qu. 6.*

Saint *Hierome* also thus writeth: *ad Ctesiphont. Quam quidem quastionem Apostolus ad Romanos scribens ventilat, ignorans hac, & Dei concedens scientia, &c.* Which question the Apostle handleth to the Romanes, being ignorant of this secret, and giuing place to the knowledge of God.

Origen hom. 12. in Genes. Cur antequam ex vtero procederent, &c. Why it is said by the Prophet, *Esau* haue I hated, *Iacob* haue I loued, before they came out of their mothers wombe? *Hac super nostram linguam sunt, & super auditum vestrum, &c.* These things exceede my tongue, and your hearing.

Gonf. 33. dist. [illegible] 4. c. Sicut Augustin. in talibus rebus exclamamus, quam inscrutabilia sunt iudicia eius, &c. In these matters, we crie out, How vnsearchable are his iudgements: &c.

Magist. lib. 1. dist. 40. d. Non aperit, sed miratur Apostolus dicens, ô altitudo, &c. The Apostle doth not open this matter, but wondreth at it, and crieth out, O the depth of the riches of the wisedome of God! &c.

Lastly, Saint *Ambrose* thus most excellently writeth: *Cum Apostolus hac [illegible] mysteria quodam mentis sua profundissima excessu, &c.* When the Apostle had in the excesse of his minde or meditation vttered these mysteries, he endeth his exposition with astonishment, and wondring at that he had said, he exclaimed, O the depth, &c. omitting nothing of these things, whereof wee must not be ignorant, and handling nothing, which it is not lawfull to know: for there are many things in the administration of Gods workes, whose effects only are shewed, the causes lying hid, *vt cum pateat quid geritur, non pateat cur geratur*, that when it is apparant what is done, yet it appeareth not wherefore it is done, &c.

And thus hitherto in the Church of God, hath the doctrine of predestination been taken for a great secret, and hidden mysterie; which now in the opinion of these men, is an easie, plaine and common point of religion: and thus by humane reason they will comprehend the deepe things of God, and therefore because with the Apostle, wee say that Gods iudgements in electing whom he

he will, and refusing as it pleaseth him, are vnsearchable, they scorne and deride both vs and our faith. But we hold this in religion to be a great absurditie, to measure diuine mysteries by humane wit, and by reason to vnderstand that which is by faith to be beleeued. Thus farre of the absurdities, and strange conclusions, which the patrons of vniuersall sauing grace doe maintaine.

2 That God hath created men without any particular knowledge or determination of their ende.

3 That God electeth vpon the foresight and foreknowledge of faith.

4 That it is partly in mans power by the strength of his freewill to beleeue.

5 That a man may resist the effectuall calling of God.

6 That the elect may become reprobates, and so lose both their election and faith.

7 That contempt of grace is the onely cause of reprobation, whereas many nations neuer had grace offered, and so could not contemne it: and infants beside are not capable of faith, which therefore they cannot despise.

8 They affirme the doctrine of Predestination to be easie and plaine, and within the compasse of mans vnderstanding: All these inconueniences they are forced to graunt, who affirme that Christ died effectuallie for all men vniuersallie, and not for those onely whom he ordayned to life.

To these we may adioyne other absurdities: first, that if Christ died for all, and yet all be not saued by Christ, it followeth, that Christ for some dyed in vaine: this *Haberus* willingly granteth, *thes.* 1123. But the Scripture saith, that Christ loseth nothing of all, that is giuen him, Iohn 6. 39. but all that he gaue himselfe for, are giuen vnto him. Secondly, that the efficacie of Christs death may be made frustrate by man: confessed by *Haberus thes.* 1124. denied by Saint *Paul, shall their vnbelefe make the faith of God without effect?* Rom. 3. 3. Thirdly, that in respect of Christ there is no difference betweene the reprobate and the elect, seeing he died effectually for both, graunted by *Haberus pag.* 1127. denied by the Apostle, *God is the Sauiour of all men* (for he saueth both men and beasts as being the preseruer of that which he hath made) *specially of those that beleeue*, 1. Tim. 4. 10. Tossan. thes 21
Ergo, God hath done somewhat more specially for beleeuers as their Redeemer, then for other men as their Creator.

I will then conclude this place with that saying of *Augustine, Quemadmodum ille dixit, non estis ex ouibus meis? quia videbat eos ad sempiternum exitium praparatos, non ad vitam eternam sui sanguinis pretio comparatos:* How did our Sauiour say vnto some, you are not of my sheepe? because he saw, they were prepared to euerlasting destruction, not appoynted to life eternall by the price of his blood: *Tractat. in Iohan.* 48. Here *Augustine* testifieth two things, both that the wicked and vnbeleeuers are ordayned to euerlasting death, and that the blood of Christ was onely shed for the sons of saluation.

Lastly, I will adioyne the seale of this doctrine, that is the testimonie of the holy martyrs: *Iohn Careles* thus professeth his faith, *I beleeue that Christ did effectuallie dye for all those that effectually beleeue, and repent, and for none other*, *Fox.* pag. 1920. col. 1.

Thus haue I sufficiently (I trust) maintained this auncient truth concerning the efficacie and benefit of Christs death ordained onely for the elect: wherein (I doubt not) but that they which are somewhat wauering, and not yet setled in iudgement, may soone be resolued, if on the one side they doe consider the substantiall grounds, and euident demonstration of the truth, and on the other the weakenes of their proofes, the diuersitie of opinion in themselues, and the necessary consequence of so many absurdities, that follow vpon the opinion of vniuersall or common grace. Wherefore I wonder, that some heretofore thoroughly perswaded of the trueth, should now begin to stagger in opinion: to whom may be applyed that saying of the Apostle, *I marueil that ye are so soone removed away to another Gospell*, Galath. 1. 6. Againe, *Who hath bewitched you that you should not obey the trueth, to whom Iesus Christ was before described in your sight?* Galath. 3. vers. 1. Wherefore the death of Christ being so euidently described vnto vs in Scripture, to appertaine onely to the elect: let vs therein rest, and leauing all other strange and new opinions, which may disturbe our peace, and distract simple mindes, let vs from henceforth follow the truth in loue; which God graunt.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE cause of Predestination.

The Papists.

OVr aduersaries are not all of one opinion concerning this matter. The Rhemists affirme, that God doth neither elect nor reprobate any, but in respect of their workes either good or euill: Concerning election thus they write, *Christ doth not appoynt any by his absolute and eternall decree to be partakers of the fruite of his redemption*, without any respect or condition of their owne 24. Error.

workes, obedience or freewill. *Rhem. Heb.* 5. *fol.* 9. Concerning reprobation also, thus they say: *God doth not hate or reprobate any man, but for sinne, or the foresight thereof, Rhem. Rom.* 9. *fol.* 2.

Bellarmine is of a contrarie iudgement to the Rhemists, so well they agree together: for he confesseth that the election of Gods Children dependeth onely of the gracious will of God without any respect to their workes: he graunteth, *electos esse gratis, ante omnem operum praeuisionem*, that they are elected freely, before any foresight of their workes, *lib.* 2. *de grat. cap.* 10. And he doth not onely affirme it, but proueth it by many arguments, and at large confuteth the contrarie opinion. But for reprobation, his sentence is this, *Partim ad solam Dei voluntatem, partim ad peccata praeuisa referendam esse*: That is partly to be referred to the will of God, partly to the foresight of sinne: not wholy to either, but in part to both. *cap.* 16.

And further he explaineth his mind thus: there is, saith he, *reprobatio negatiua*, a negatiue reprobation; as thus, God hath no will or purpose to saue the wicked: There is also *reprobatio positiua*, a positiue reprobation, as when God doth ordaine some, not onely not to be saued, but to be condemned: the first act of reprobation dependeth onely of the will of God, without any respect had vnto men: the second is caused by the foresight of sinne, *ibid.*

And here we doe not much mislike the Iesuites opinion in this matter as agreeable to ours, and not much differing from the trueth, as euen now shall be seene: so that in this place we haue no great cause to contend with *Bellarmine*: but our whole businesse is with the Rhemists.

First, for their sentence concerning election, that it ariseth onely from the foresight of our workes, they reason thus, the Apostle saith, *He is made the author of saluation, to all that obey him* Heb. 5. 9. They are not elected we see, without condition of obedience: To the same purpose also is alleaged by some that place of the Apostle, 2. Tim. 2. 20. *In a great house, &c. and some vessels are for honour, some for dishonour, if any man purge himselfe from these, he shall be a vessell of honour*: here we see, that by free will and good works a man is made a vessell of honour.

Answ. First, God in deede electeth all that shall be saued, not with any condition on their own behalfe, but on his owne behalfe, for vnto them; whom he chuseth he will giue grace to obey, will to beleeue, and power to doe that he appointeth.

Secondly, good workes are the effects and fruites that follow Predestination, Rom. 8. 30. *Whom he hath predestinate he hath called, whom he hath called, he hath iustified, &c.* Therefore they can be no cause of election.

Bellarm. cap. 13. respons. ad 2. testimon.

Thirdly, a better answere cannot be found, then that which *Bellarmine* maketh: the Apostle saith not, that a man by purging himselfe from vice is made a vessell of honour, but onely that he is, or shall be: that is, is knowne so to be, for our faith and obedience are no cause why the Lord elected vs: but they are meanes certificatorie, and infallible arguments to assure vs of our election: as S. *Peter* saith, *Make your election sure, &c.* Epist. 1. 10.

Argum. 2. Rom. 8. 29. *Those which he knew before, he predestinate to be made like to the image of his sonne, &c. Ergo*, Gods prescience is the cause of predestination.

Answ. First, God in deede doth know in his prescience all those, which are predestinate to life: for how can they be predestinate, if they be not knowne. Secondly, the Apostle saith not he knew them before to be like, &c. but he did predestinate them to be like his sonne: this conformitie then is an effect of their Predestination, not a cause. Thirdly, Gods prescience here may be taken for the knowledge of approbation: as Iohn 10. Christ is said to know his sheepe, that is to loue them, approue them: So Psalm. 1. God is said to know the way of the righteous.

Argum. 3. Matth. 20. *Call the labourers, and giue them their reward, Ergo*, heauen is ordayned for mens good workes.

Answ. First, this place sheweth that good workes are the way vnto heauen, wherein we must walke, but not, that the decree of life hath respect to good workes: There is difference then betweene the decree of predestination, and the execution thereof: good workes goe before the possession of heauen, but not before the decree and ordination.

Secondly, S. *Ambrose* out of this place frameth a contrary argument, prouing thereby, that election is altogether of grace without any respect to workes. *Lib.* 1. *de vocat. gentium. c.* 3. *Hora undecima intromissis in vineam, &c.* They which were sent into the vineyard at the eleuenth houre, by the diuine indulgence were made equall to the labourers of the whole day, not paying the price of their labour, but shewing the riches of his goodnes to those, whom he chose without workes. Let vs now see on the other side, what they can say concerning reprobation.

Argum. 1. The Apostle saith, *Wrath, and indignation shall be vpon the soule of euery man, that doth euill*, Rom. 2. 9. therefore the reprobation of the wicked hath relation to their euill workes.

Answ. S. *Paul* speaketh not in this place of the decree of reprobation made against the wicked, but of the execution rather of that decree: the euill workes then of wicked men, are not the onely cause of their reiection, which is an absolute acte of Gods owne will, yet are they a iust cause of their damnation: that although wrath and indignation be decreed against them from the beginning,

yet this sentence is not executed vpon them, before by their euill workes comming between, they haue worthilie deserued the damnation decreed against them.

Argum. 2. To condemne a man without cause, is an vniust thing, and therefore it is farre off from God who is most iust, to condemne the wicked without respect to their sinnes.

Sol. First, there is great difference betweene damnation it selfe, and the decree or sentence of damnation: God indeede condemneth none without their deserts: for there is no man which is condemned in hell, but by his euill life before worthily deserued it: and so it is most true, which *Augustine* saith: *Bonus est Deus, iustus est Deus, potest aliquos sine bonis meritis liberare, quia bonus est, nequit quenquam sine malis meritis damnare quia iustus est*: God is good, and God is iust, he may saue a man without any good workes of his, because he is good; but he cannot condemne any man without his euill deserts, because he is iust: *ergo. Talia* 3. 18. Secondly, but as for the decree and sentence of condemnation, it is no vniust thing for God, as it pleaseth him to dispose of his creature, whether to honour, or dishonour: as the potter hath right and power to make of the same clay vessels either to honorable, or vile vses, Rom. 9. 21.

The Protestants.

That the election of the faithfull proceedeth onely from the mercifull and gracious will of God without any foresight of their good workes as any cause thereof: we proue it thus.

Argum. 1. That which is the effect of our election, cannot be the cause thereof: but good workes are the fruites and effects of our election: *Ergo.* This is proued by Saint *Paule*: *God hath chosen vs in Christ before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy*: Ephes. 1. 4. vpon the which words *Augustine* writeth vs, *Elegit nos vt essemus sancti, non quia futuri eramus, sed vt essemus, & secundum suam voluntatem suam, non nostram, quæ bonæ esse non possit, nisi ipse secundum bonam voluntatem suam bona fieret, subuueniret*: He hath chosen vs, saith the Apostle, that we should be holy, not because he saw we should be holy, but to the end we might be holy, and according to his good pleasure, not after our owne will, which could not be good vnlesse he according to his good will should helpe vs to make it good. So then our holines and obedience is a fruite and effect of our election, not a cause thereof, neither is there any freewill or good disposition in man, till God make it to be good.

Argum. 2. The Apostle saith, Our election, *is not of the willer, or of the runner, but of God that sheweth mercie*, Rom. 9. 16. *Ergo*, the mercie of God is the only ground of our election: for if our holie workes should be for any such end or purpose foreseene, it should be of the willer, and runner, which the Apostle denieth. *Augustine* also saith: *Quia per gratiam liberantur, non vitæ meritis inueniuntur, sed vasa misericordiæ nominantur*: Because they are saued or deliuered by grace, they should not vessels of their owne merites, but vessels of grace, *de nat. & grat. lib.* 1. 5. Yea the Rhemists confesse against themselues, that Gods meere mercie is seen in the elect: *Rom.* 9. *sect.* 22. *Ergo*, election is a worke of Gods meere mercie: there is then no respect be all had to our works, for then were not of Gods meere and sole mercy.

Argum. 3. Luke 12. *It is your Fathers pleasure to giue you a kingdome*: John 15. *You haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you*: but if men be chosen for their good workes, then they should chuse God: Rom. 11. 4. *I haue reserued or left to my selfe seuen thousand, &c.* Here saith not, they are reserued, but haue reserued: so then saith the Apostle, *there is a remnant, through the election of grace*: if of grace, then not of workes.

Likewise Rom. 9. 11. the Apostle propoundeth the examples of *Iacob* and *Esau*, of whom it was said, *Iacob haue I loued, Esau haue I hated, before they were borne, and before they had done good or euill, that the purpose of God might remaine according to election, not by workes*: *Ergo*, Gods election is not vpon the foresight of any mans workes.

Obiect. These are examples of temporall, not spirituall blessings, and *Iacob* and *Esau* signifie two people, the Apostle speaketh not of the election or reprobation of any in particular.

Contra. It is euident, that the Apostle speaketh of election, not in temporall things, but to euerlasting glory: vers. 23. *That he might shew the riches of his glory vpon the vessels of mercie, prepared vnto glory*. 2. So likewise he entreateth of particular election, and reprobation, as may appeare by the example of *Pharao*, who is brought in as an instance of particular reiection.

Argum. 4. *Bellarmine* that mightily impugneth this opinion, vseth diuers effectuall reasons out of Scripture, to proue election to proceed onely of grace: I will briefly repeate them.

1. None can be saued without faith: but faith is the gift of God: *Ergo*, election is the free gift of God. It will be answered, that faith is not giuen to all, because all will not receiue it, but they which do obey their calling (for God calleth all, and giueth all sufficient helpe to beleeue, if they will) are foreseene that they will beleeue, and so predestinate. *Contra.* Though God do offer vnto all generall and sufficient meanes of their calling, yet none can beleeue, vnlesse God effectually worke in them: Iohn 10. *Ye beleeue not, because ye are not of my sheepe.*

2. Without the gift of perseuerance, none can be saued, Matth. 10. *He that endureth to the end*

shall be saued: but perseuerance is the free gift of God, of grace, not of workes: nor yet giuen to all: Iohn 13.17. *If yee know these things, blessed are yee, if yee do them: I speake not of you all, I know whom I haue chosen: Ergo*, election vnto life is of grace.

3. Infants dying, some are saued, some condemned, hauing done yet neither good nor bad: *Ergo*, election is not of workes: it will be answered, that Infants are predestinate according to the foresight of their workes, which they should haue done, if they had liued: and beside, Infants are not condemned to hell, but haue a place of rest appointed for them, though they be not saued. *Contra.* 1. The Apostle saith, Euery man must receiue according to the things done in the flesh, 2. Cor. 5.10. not foreseene to be done. 2. Againe S. *Paul* sheweth, that death and condemnation are the reward of originall sinne, Rom. 5.16. vnto which Infants are subiect being borne in originall sinne: if then they are not saued, they are condemned.

4. Christ as he was man was freely predestinate to be the Sonne of God Rom. 1.4. now Christ could not deserue by any workes to be the Sonne of God: *Ergo*, his members also are freely predestinate.

5. If men were elected by the foresight of their works, then it should be no mysterie nor matter of admiration as the Apostle maketh it, Rom. 11.33. for the reason is euident, why God electeth some and not others, namely because of their workes that are foreseene. *Bellarmine de grat. cap.* 12.

Secondly, concerning the decree of reprobation, our sentence is this: first, that as eternall saluation is from the beginning ordained for the elect, so eternall destruction is decreed for the reprobate: for we can not but affirme, that God both our first Creator, and last Iudge, did beforesee and appoint the end of euery creature. Secondly, God doth reiect the wicked two wayes, *sibi*, in his eternall counsell, and *facto*, by the execution of his counsell and decree, which shall be in their actuall damnation: his counsell or decree of reiection is also twofold, it is either *decretum praeteritionis*, the absolute decree in passing by or not choosing some, but leauing them in their owne nature: And this is called reprobation in two respects: first, by way of comparison, because he that is not loued or lesse loued, is said to be hated, as Gen. 29.31. *Iacob* is said to *despise Lea*, that is, he loued her not as he did *Rachel*: and Deut. 21.15. if a man haue two wiues, *one beloued, the other hated &c.* that is, not so much loued: secondly, it is so called because of the euent, because reprobation and damnation followeth vpon the decree of preterition. Then is *decretum ex praescientia*, the decree of reprobation issuing out of Gods prescience and foreknowledge: who as he did foresee in the beginning the obstinacie and wickednesse of men, so he preordayned in his iustice the same to be punished: as a Iudge foreknowing and vnderstanding the wickednesse of a malefactor, may iustly with himselfe ordaine his punishment, before he be brought forth in open iudgement. From hence wee obserue these three things: first, the difference betweene those two decrees: the decree of preterition or omission is not the efficient cause of damnation, but onely an antecedent or forerunner to it: the proper cause of damnation is the sinne of the creature: the externall or accidentall cause is the iustice of God, that must otherwise chuse, but punish sinne: but the decree of prescience, according to the foresight of their sinnes, that are reiected, doth ordaine and procure vnto them most iustly eternal damnation. *Quum Deus decreuit, & ordinauit efficienter vt iustus iudex*: God as a iust Iudge, is the efficient cause by his decree of the punishment, *Iun. respons. ad ration.* 72. Secondly, we must note the difference betweene the decree of election and reprobation: for men are elected without any foresight of their works, but they are not reiected without respect to their workes: God did both foresee and ordayne both the godly life and glorious saluation of the elect, as the proper cause of them both; but as for the sinnes of the reprobate, God foresaw them onely: their iust and deserued punishment, he both foresaw, and did ordaine: so that, *causa perditionis ab hominibus interna, subsidiaria a Deo externa est*: the cause of mens perdition is inward in themselues, the cause of their saluation is externall from God, *Iun. respons. ad ration.* 16. Thirdly, the decree of preterition, that is, of not chusing some, which *Bellarmine* calleth negatiue reprobation, is a free act of Gods will, without respect had to the creature; but the decree according to Gods foreknowledge, hath relation vnto their workes: so that the decree of reprobation, as it dependeth not absolutely alogether vpon Gods will, without respect had vnto the sinne and rebellion of the reprobate, so neither doth it spring onely from the foresight of sinne, as the *Rhemists* affirme, that God doth not reprobate any but for sinne.

Argum. The Lord saith, I haue loued *Iacob* and hated *Esau, before that the children were borne, or had done either good or euill*, Rom. 9. vers. 11. As God loued *Iacob*, so he hated *Esau*: but he loued *Iacob* freely, without respect to his good workes: *Ergo*, *Esau* was hated, that is, not loued or chosen of God, without any foresight of his euill works. This place then is as strong to proue the free and voluntary act of reprobation, as it is for free election.

Augustine putteth the case of two twinnes: *Quorum vnus assumitur, alius relinquitur, differt est exitus,*

[illegible] *merita communia*: One of them is receiued, the other forsaken, their end is farre vnlike, and yet the works of them both are the same. Two Infantes die in their infancie, one before Baptisme, and so as the Papists hold, is damned; another after Baptisme, and is saued: the workes of them both are alike: if therefore their predestination should depend of the foresight of their works [illegible], good or euill, they should both haue the same end.

And as we see it to be in children, so saith Augustine: *Hoc & in maioribus fieri nequaquam [illegible]*: We neede not to doubt, but that God euen so dealeth with men of greater yeeres: therefore [illegible] concludeth: *Inuestigabilis ergo est Dei misericordia, qua cuius vult miseretur, nullis eius praecedentibus meritis: & inuestigabilis veritas, qua quem vult obdurat, eius praecedentibus meritis, sed cum eo [illegible], plerunque communibus*: Therefore vnsearchable is the mercie of God, whereby hee hath mercie on whom he will, no merites of his going afore: and vnsearchable is his trueth, whereby he hardneth whom he will, his deserts going before, but the very same with his, vpon whom [illegible] hath mercy, *de perseuerant. lib. 2. cap. 12.* It remaineth then, that neither election, nor reprobation are decreed, because of mens workes that are foreseene, but do proceede from the free will and Counsell of God.

Lastly, I will adde one other reason out of *Augustine*, to shut vp this place withall: *Si humanum genus, quod creatum primitus constat ex nihilo, non cum debito mortis & peccati origine nasceretur, & tamen [illegible] creator omnipotens in aeternum nonnullos damnare voluit interitum, quis omnipotenti Creatori [illegible] cur fecisti sic?* If that mankind, which in the beginning God created of nothing, were not by nature subiect both to sin, and death, and yet the almighty Creator would condemne some to [illegible] destruction, who would say vnto him, Lorde why hast thou done so? His opinion is [illegible], that though there were no matter of condemnation naturally in man, yet God by the right of his Creatorship, might dispose of his creature as hee thought best, whether vnto death or life: therefore the decree of reprobation is not caused onely by the foresight of mens works: but issu[eth im]mediatly from the eternall will and counsell of God.

Lastly, that election is onely of grace, S. *Ambrose* is a notable witnesse, *lib. 1. de vocat. Gentium*, [illegible] speaking of Infants, of whom some are saued and elected, others refused, he thus conclu[deth]: *[illegible] inuenit, quod discernat humana iusticia, sed habet, quod eligat inenarrabilis gratia*: Humane iustice can finde nothing whereby to discerne them, but vnspeakable grace findeth how to elect [illegible] and againe, *Omnibus hominibus cuiuslibet generis &c. causa percipiendae gratiae voluntas Dei est, [illegible] ratio electionis abscondita est, &c.* The cause of receiuing grace vnto all men, of what [soeuer], is the will of God, with whom the reason of election is hidde and secrete, their [merits] beginning from that grace, which they receiued without merites. — De praedest. lib. 1. cap. 16.

[illegible] c. 3. *Datur ante vllum laborem, vnde quisq; mercedem accipiat, secundum suum laborem, &c.* [Grace is gi]uen before any labour, whereby according to their labour euery man shall receiue reward. [Au]gustine, *lib. 1. c. 3. Tales fuerunt, qui sunt attracti, &c.* They which are called, are the same, that they which remaine in their hardnesse: *Illis tribuit gratia stupenda quod voluit; istis retribuit veritas [quod] debuit: vt iudicium Dei magis inscrutabile sit in electione gratiae, quam in retributione iustitiae*: [Grace] giueth to them, as she would; Iustice rendreth to the other, that which is due: that the iudgement of God should be more vnsearchable in the election of grace, then in the retribution of iustice.

Secondly, that actuall reprobation is decreed to none without their deserts: that although election cannot be merited, yet that damnation is deserued, the same father thus witnesseth, *lib. 2. de [vocat.] Gent. c. 1. Nec damnati iusta est querimonia, nec iustificati verax est arrogantia, si vel ille dicat non meruisse se poenam, vel ille asserat meruisse se gratiam, &c.* Neyther can the damned iustly complaine, nor the iustified truely boast; if either he say he hath not deserued punishment, or the other, that he hath deserued grace: *& cap. 9. Cum illos propria nequitia demergat ad poenam, istos Dei gratia perducat ad gloriam*: Seeing their wickednesse doth cast them downe into paine, and grace bringeth the other to glorie.

Likewise Augustine, as he is alleaged, *caus. 23. qu. 4. c. 24. Nec de iudicio Dei querimur, quo deserit [me]ritos deseri, & misericordiae eius gratias agimus, qua liberat non meritos liberari*: Neyther do we complaine of the iudgement of God, whereby he forsaketh those that deserued to be forsaken, and we giue thankes to his mercie, whereby he deliuereth those, which deserued not to be deliuered.

Thus we conclude, that actual reprobation is not decreed to any, nor executed without respect to their deserts; yet the electing of some, and the not electing of others dependeth onely of the absolute will and purpose of God, as I haue shewed.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, OF THE CERtaintie of Predestination.

The Papists.

25. Error. 1. THere are two parts of this question: first, whether Gods decree, concerning the election of men, be certaine and vnchangeable: Secondly, whether a man in this life may in himselfe be assured of his election. The first our aduersaries dare not plainly affirme: for it were great blasphemie openly to say, that Gods decree may be changed: yet they do in circumstances of speech affirme it: as *Rhemist. Act. 27. sect. 3.* (*Men cannot be saued, though they be predestinate, vnlesse they keepe Gods commandements.*) As though it were possible for men predestinate, not to keepe the commandements of God, or in the end not to be saued. Likewise it was concluded in the Counsel of Trent, *sess. 6 can. 23.* that the grace of iustification may be lost, which is as much to say, that a man may lose his predestination: for none are iustified, but whom God before hath predestinate, Roman. 8.30. They cannot therefore fall away from the grace of iustification, vnlesse they fall away from predestination.

The Protestants.

THat the decree of God, concerning such as shall be saued, remaineth sure and certaine, and that it is impossible for any of the Elect to fall away, the Scripture euery where proueth.

Argum. Whom God loueth, he loueth to the end, Iohn 13.1. The gifts and calling of God are without repentance, Rom. 11.29. *My Father is greater then all, and no man is able to take them out of his hand,* Iohn 10.29. *Ergo,* our election is certaine, for with God there is not so much as any shadow of change, Iam. 1.17.

Augustine saith, *Horum qui electi sunt, si quisquam perit, fallitur Deus, sed nemo eorum perit, quia non fallitur Deus:* Of the Elect, if any perish, God is deceiued: but none of them can perish, because God cannot be deceiued, *De correp. & grat. cap. 7.* This sentence is repeated in the decrees, *can. 33. dist. 2. de penit. c. 25.*

Many other places to this purpose are cited out of *Augustine* by *Esprencus* a popish writer, *in commentar. in 2. Timoth. pag. 51.* as *lib. 18 de ciuitat. Dei. c. 51. Ex eis quos præscius Deus, perire non potest:* None can perish of those, whom God hath foreknowne: *lib. 20. c. 8. Nunquam aliud ecclesia seducetur prædestinata & electa ante mundi constitutionem:* The Church predestinate and elected before the constitution of the world, shall neuer be seduced from God: *de cat. rud. c. 11. Satis fixum cor de debet retinere, nullum ex Ierusalem illa periturum esse, quia qui perierat, ex illa non erat:* It must be held as fixed in the heart, that none of that Ierusalem can perish, because he that perisheth, was not of it.

Aquinas is very sound in this matter: *part. 1. qu. 23. artic. 3. ad 2. & 3. Prædestinatus absolute quidem, & secundum se consideratus, potest in peccato mortali decedere, &c.* That he, which is predestinate being absolutely and in himselfe considered, may die in mortall sinne, and perish, *non tamen ex suppositione, sed in sensu composito;* but not by way of supposition, or in the compound sense, that is, Gods euerlasting will and decree being presupposed: For certaine it is, that the predestinate of themselues are subiect to fall; but Gods decree of their saluation considered, they can neuer fall.

The same *Aquinas, qu. 24. artic. 3. Simpliciter in libro vitæ scriptos nunquam deleri, &c.* That simply, they which are written in the booke of life, cannot be blotted out: but they are said to be blotted or rased out, which are written there not by predestination, but in respect of their present iustice: that this blotting out is to be referred to the opinion of men, not to the verite it selfe and knowledge of God.

Their owne Decrees agree: *Caus. 23. qu. 4. c. 24. Essent prædestinati si essent reuersuri:* They should be predestinate, if they were to returne: *Ergo,* because they returne not, they are not predestinate. *Caus. 33. dist. 2. de pœnitent. Nullus eorum ex bono in malum mutatus finit hanc vitam:* None of them being changed from good to euill, endeth his life: *dist. 4. c. 10. Ex his nemo seducitur:* None of those which are elected, are seduced.

The Master of Sentences euidently concludeth, for the certaintie of predestination, *lib. 1. distinct. 40. Non potest verum, simul esse, vt aliquis sit prædestinatus & non saluetur, &c.* Both of these cannot be together, that one should be saued, and not predestinate; or one to be predestinate, and yet damned: *ibid. C. Non potest esse vt ab æterno sit prædestinatus, & modo non sit prædestinatus:* it cannot be, that one should from euerlasting be predestinate, and yet now not be predestinate. Thus I trust this point is euery way cleared as touching the certaintie of the decree of predestination.

The Papists.

FOr euery man to be assured infallible that hee shall be saued without speciall reuelation, is a most damnable, false illusion, and presumption, *Rom. 8. sect. 9.* They call it a faithlesse perswa-

sion

sion of salvation, to be confident of Gods grace and saluation, and *fides dæmoniorum*, not *Apostolorum*, the faith of diuels, not of Apostles, *Rhemist. 1. Corin. 9. sect. 9.* So the Tridentine Councell calleth *certitudinem remissionis peccatorum, vanam, & ab omni pietate remotam fiduciam*, the certaintie of remission of sinnes, a vaine and faithlesse persuasion. And therefore euery man, *De gratia formidare & timere potest*, may stand in doubt, and be afraide, whether he be in the state of grace, *sess. 6. cap. 9.*

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* saith: I know nothing by my selfe, yet am I not thereby iustified: *Paul* durst not assure himselfe, whether he were iustified, *Rhemist.*

Answ. Paul was most sure of Gods grace, and his iustification through faith, Rom. 8. 38. He is perswaded that nothing can separate him from the loue of God in Christ: but hee doth acknowledge, that he is not iustified by his faithfull labours in the Gospell, or any other works of his own, although he were cleere in conscience.

Argum. 2. Philip. 2. 12. *Worke your saluation with feare and trembling: Ergo*, men must not be secure of their saluation.

Answ. We doe not teach men to walke securely, or presume of their election, but wee protest vnto them, that seeing men are predestinate vnto good workes, that vnlesse they be carefull to leade an holie life, they cannot assure themselues to haue part in predestination: yet wee teach men notwithstanding, assuredly to beleeue the promises of God made to all those that beleeue, to be saued. And this confidence doth very well agree with the feare of God. See these arguments answered more at large in the second part of iustification, quest. 2. argum. 3. and 4. Then as *Prosper* well saith: *sententi. 6. ad capitul. Gallor. Gratia non abolet arbitrium, sed adolet:* Grace doth not abolish mans will and endeuour, but cherish it. So predestination doth not make men more secure, but more carefull.

The Protestants.

OVr securitie of saluation is no vaine presumption, but an assurance vpon the word of God, that through faith in God, and walking in that way which God hath appointed vs, wee shall vndoubtedly come in the end to eternall life.

Argum. 1. As our election is certaine, sure, and vndoubted before God: so it is the Lords pleasure, that euery Christian while hee liueth, may and ought in himselfe to be assured thereof by a liuely faith: as Saint *Peter* teacheth vs to labour and giue our diligence to make our calling and election sure, 2. Pet. 1. 10.

Argum. 2. Rom. 8. 38. Saint *Paul* saith, *I am sure, that neither death nor life, &c. shall separate vs from the loue of God in Christ Iesus: Ergo*, the Apostle was certaine of his saluation.

Rhemist. First, the Apostle speaketh onely in generall: as if he should haue said, So many as are elected, cannot certainly perish.

Answ. It is false, for the Apostle pronounceth particularly of himselfe: as more plainly, 2. Timoth. 4. 8. *From henceforth there is laid vp for me a crowne of righteousnes.*

Rhemist. Secondly, Saint *Paul* might haue this persuasion by some especiall reuelation.

Answ. The ground of the Apostles persuasion is none other, but that which is common to all the faithfull, the loue of God in Christ. And so *Augustine* interpreteth this place, writing thus: *Isti, qui scripti sunt ad Timotheum, &c.* These, of whom the Apostle speaketh, are signified in another place to Timoth. 2. 2. 19. The foundation of God remaineth sure, the Lord knoweth who are his: *Ergo*, this assurance and confidence is common, though not in the like measure to all faithfull Christians. So the Apostle saith, 2. Tim. 4. 8. that there was a crowne of righteousnesse laid vp not onely for him, but for all those which loue his appearing. De corrept. & grat. cap. 7.

Bernard also telleth vs, what this reuelation is: *Hoc non fit, nisi reuelante spiritu per fidem homini aeternum dei propositum super sua salute futura: qua sane reuelatio non est aliud, quam infusio gratiæ spiritualis, per quam facta carnis mortificantur:* This is not brought to passe, but by the spirit of God reuealing vnto a man by faith, the eternall purpose of God concerning his saluation: which reuelation is nothing else but the spirituall infusion of grace, whereby the deedes of the flesh are mortified, &c. *Epistol.* 108. So then a man by reuelation of the spirit commeth to the knowledge of his saluation: but not by any speciall or extraordinarie reuelation, but that which is by faith, and worketh mortification, which is common to all the faithfull. See more of this, part. 2. of Iustification, quest. 2.

Augustine also saith: *Quia non secundum merita nostra sed illius misericordiam firma est promissio, vere dicet cum trepidatione prædicare, vnde non potest dubitare:* Because the promise remaineth stedfast, not by our workes, but his mercie: we must not with trembling and fearefulnes pronounce that, whereof we cannot doubt. No marueile then if Papists doubt of their saluation, because their confidence is built vpon their workes: but if they would with the faithfull of God, renounce their owne workes, and be content to submit themselues to the faith of Christ, they would not thinke it so straunge a thing, for Christians to haue a full and stedfast persuasion of their saluation.

Bernard

Bernard also saith: *Pignus salutis donat spiritus, reddens testimonium spiritui tuo quod filius Dei sis: qui certissima signa praedestinationis tua cordi tuo imprimat & ostendat serm. 2. in die Pentecost.* The holie spirit giueth vs a pledge of our saluation, giuing testimonie to thy spirit, that thou art the sonne of God: which doth imprint, and shew to thy heart most sure signes of thy predestination. If a man may haue sure signes of his predestination, how is hee not sure and certaine of his predestination?

Saint *Ambrose* also thus testifieth *de obit. Theodos. Fidelis Deus, qua seruis semel praparat, non subtrahit, &c.* God is faithfull, what he once prepareth for his seruants he taketh not away: if our faith remaine, the promise also holdeth: See O man the grace of God toward thee, *in terris quaeris & in cœlo possides:* thou art shaken, or tost in earth, and hast a possession in heauen, let thy heart be where thy possession is.

See this truth sealed by the holie Martyrs: Master *Tyndal* saith thus: *Christ is thine, and all his deedes are thy deedes: neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee: neither can Christ be saued, except he be saued with thee: Fox pag.* 1248.

Master *Bradford: Know for a certaine, that as the diuell goeth about nothing so much, as to bring you in doubt, whether you be Gods childe: so what soeuer shall moue you to admit that dubitation, be assured, is sent to come of the diuell: Fox pag.* 1640.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS CONTROuersie, of the grace and gifts of God.

THe seuerall questions handled in this part, are these: first, whether the grace of God, whereby we are made acceptable vnto him, be a qualitie inherent in vs. Secondly, of the distinction of sufficient and effectuall grace, and wherein the efficacie of grace consisteth. Thirdly, of the distinction of grace *operantis, cooperantis,* helping and working grace.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER Grace be a qualitie inherent.

The Papists.

THe Iesuite setteth downe this distinction of grace: There is *gratia gratis data, & gratia gratum faciens:* Grace freely giuen, and they are such spirituall gifts of wisedome, knowledge, vnderstanding, and such like, which are giuen rather for the benefit of others: there is also grace, whereby we are made acceptable vnto God, the grace of iustification; which grace *Bellarmine* defendeth to be, *qualitatem per modum habitus in homine permanentem,* a qualitie, in manner of an habite, resiant and permanent in man, *de grat. lib. 1. cap. 3.* 37. Error.

Argum. 1. The Apostle saith, *As by one mans disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous,* Rom. 5. 19. But wee are made sinners, not by the imputation of *Adams* vnrighteousnes, but by sinne inherent, and permanent in vs: *Ergo,* we are iustified, not by the imputation of the righteousnes of Christ, but by iustice or righteousnes inherent in vs, *Bellarm. cap. 4.*

Answ. First, I marueile that the Iesuite hath so soone forgotten himselfe: for before he denied, that originall sinne is a politiue qualitie in man: *lib. 5. de amiss. grat. cap.* 15. Here he affirmeth the contrarie, that it is a qualitie or habite inherent in vs, which is all one, as if he had said, it is a politiue qualitie: for what is it to be inherent, or permanent in vs, but the same, which he calleth politiue? Secondly, Saint *Paul* in this place compareth the things themselues together, that as by *Adam* we are made sinners, so we are iustified by Christ: not the manner how they are done. This note of similitude then, *so by the obedience of one man,* doth not inferre a likenes or equalitie in euerie respect, but wherein they are compared. The Iesuite therefore can no more gather vpon this (*so*) as hee doth, that our righteousnes by Christ must be inherent, as our sinne by *Adam* is, then that naturally we should be iust by Christ, as we are euill naturally by *Adam:* or that vniuersally all men should be saued by Christ, as all are dead in *Adam:* or that Christ should free vs from the mortalitie of bodie, as *Adams* sinne hath made vs subiect to death, and corruption. As this (*so*) doth not enforce a necessitie of these things, so neither of that instance, which the Iesuite vrgeth. Thirdly, that the Iesuite may more fully vnderstand our minde, euen in this point also, in some sort, the similitude may hold: for as in originall sinne there are two things, the guilt of *Adams* sin, which though it were not by vs actually committed, yet is ours by propagation, and the corruption or deprauation of nature, which is the fruit of *Adams* disobedience, verily and really graft in vs: so in our iustification are two things; first, the imputation of the righteousnes of Christ, which answereth to the propagation of *Adams* sinne, and the effects or fruits of this righteousnes, that is, holines and sanctification; which is an imperfect iustice inherent in vs: yet not by this, but by Christs

the fift iustice imputed, are we made iust before God: 2. by the propagation of *Adams* sinne wee are properly made sinners, Rom.5.12. The corruption of our nature being the fruite and effect, or punishment rather of *Adams* disobedience in his posteritie.

*Argum.*2. Our Saviour saith, Ioh.7.38. *He that beleeueth, out of his belly shall flow riuers of waters of life.* The Apostle saith, Rom.5.5. *The loue of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghost, &c.* 1 Ioh.2.20. *To haue an oyntment from him that is holie, &c.* 1.Ioh 3.9. *His seede remaineth in him.* This fountaine, oyntment, seede, what is it else, but an habite of grace inherent, whereby wee are made acceptable to God? *Bellarm.cap.*2.

Solu. In those places the Scripture speaketh not of the first grace of iustification, whereby we are accepted before God, but of the second grace of sanctification, whereby we are approoued vnto men, which is a consequent of our iustification by faith: as Ioh.7.39. *This spake he of the spirit, which they that beleeue in him should receiue.* And Rom.5.1. *We are first iustified by faith in Christ, then the loue of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the holie Ghost,* vers.5. So then the fountaine, oyntment, seede, that is in the regenerate, doth signifie their spirituall state and strength wrought in them by the iustification of faith: so that they are first iustified by faith, and then these graces are conferred and bestowed vpon them.

The Protestants.

That grace whereby we are iustified, and made acceptable before God, is not a qualitie inherent or dwelling in vs, but we are made iust by the imputation of the righteousnes of Christ: that righteousnes which is in vs, is imperfect, and not able to iustifie vs before God.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* saith, *He hath made him to be sinne for vs, that knew no sinne, that wee should be made the righteousnes of God in him,* 2.Cor.5.21. Out of this place this argument may be drawne: As our sinnes were made Christs, so is his righteousnes made ours: but our sinnes were not habitually inherent in him, but onely imputed: *Ergo* his righteousnes, and the grace whereby wee are iustified, is not inherent in vs, but imputed onely.

*Argum.*2. If wee are iustified by faith onely, then this iustifying grace is by imputation only, not inherent in vs: but faith onely iustifieth: *Ergo.* The proposition is thus prooued: Faith iustifieth either formally and actually as a qualitie inherent, or instrumentally or passiuely, as it apprehendeth the iustice of Christ: but it doth not iustifie, as it is a qualitie or grace wrought in vs, for the Apostle saith, *not of workes,* Ephes.2.9. Therefore faith, as a worke in vs iustifieth not: for then other spirituall graces, as loue, hope, should iustifie as well as faith: if faith then onely iustifie instrumentally, as it apprehendeth Christ, then doth the proposition follow, that the grace, whereby we are iustified, is not inherent in vs, but in Christ apprehended.

That faith onely iustifieth, the Apostle euidently proueth, Rom.3.28. *We conclude that a man is iustified by faith without the workes of the law.* And if they answere, that the workes of the lawe are here excluded, not the workes of grace: Saint *Paul* elsewhere doth also exclude such workes: *By grace are ye saued through faith, not of workes, &c.* And afterward hee sheweth what workes: *Euen good workes, which God hath ordained vs to walke in: these are workes of grace.* But of this matter, wee shall entreate (God willing) more at large, when we come to handle that waighty controuersie of Iustification by faith. Other arguments also for this matter which wee haue in hand, wee will bring forth, in the question of inherent iustice.

We will conclude here with that sentence of *Augustine: Iustitia sit, sed ex gratia sit, & Dei tibi sit, tua sit: sacerdotes (inquit) tui induantur iustitia: vestis accipitur, non cum capillis nascitur, pecora de suo vestiuntur.* Let there be righteousnes, but let it be of grace, let it be of God, let it not be thine owne: Let thy Priests (saith the Psalmist) be cloathed with righteousnes: cloathing is receiued outwardly, it groweth not in vs, as our haire, nor as the sheepe are cloathed of their owne: *De verb. Apost. Serm.*15. So then iustifying grace is no more ours or inherent in vs, than the vesture or garment, which wee are cloathed with, which is not in vs, but onely adhereth, and is applied to vs.

We want not here the testimonie of some of their owne writers, as *Albertus Pighius* thus teacheth, *lib.*5. *de liber. arbitrio. Nec sibi imaginantur gratiam dei qualitatem aliquam increatam animæ, &c.* In the schooles they thinke that the grace of God is a qualitie created in the soule, either the same with the habite of charitie, or diuerse from it: *quæ commentitia vniuersa exilissimo, &c.* which I thinke all to be but fained, and to haue no warrant or authoritie from the Scriptures.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE DISTINction or difference of sufficient and effectuall grace.

The Papists.

Bellarmine thus distinguisheth them: *gratia sufficiens,* sufficient grace, is when God doth so call and stirre vp a man, aydung and assisting him by his direction and protection, and working 18.Error

together

together with him, that the man thus called, hath power to will that which is good, but yet in deede willeth it not: *gratia efficax*, effectuall grace is that, whereby a man so ayded, assisted, and called, doth will indeed and performe that which is good, *lib. 1. de grat. cap. 2.* This then is the Iesuites opinion, that Gods internall vocation, and his speciall grace inwardly working, is not to all effectuall, but sufficient onely: being sufficient for their conuersion, but yet not in deede effecting it.

Argum. The Lord saith thus by the Prophet *Isay: What could I haue done any more to my vineyard, that I haue not done vnto it? I looked that it should bring forth grapes & it bringeth forth wilde grapes,* Isay 5.4. The like place we haue Matth. 23.37. *O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, which killest, &c. how often would I haue gathered thy children together, as the Henne, &c. and thou wouldest not:* These had grace necessarie and sufficient to their conuersion, for the Lord saith, *What could I haue done more,* and I would haue gathered them together; yet were they not converted: this grace then, whereby they were called, was sufficient; yet not effectuall, *Bellarm. cap. 11.*

Answ. These places alleaged are not vnderstoode, of the internall calling, or of grace inwardly working, but onely of the externall calling, and oblation of grace, and the supplie of all necessarie outward meanes to saluation. As the Prophet *Isay* speaketh of hedging the vineyard, casting out the stones, planting it with the best plants, setting vp a watch tower: that is, they had the watchmen the Prophets, also the best plants, the true worship and seruice of God, they had the law and the Prophets, and all stones, that is externall impediments, which might hinder them, were remoued: So our Sauiour saith, that he would haue gathered them together by his preaching, and by the voice of the Gospell, as the Henne by her clocking doth call her chickens, but they refused, and resisted, as they likewise serued the Prophets, and other messengers of God, sent vnto them.

We graunt then, that the externall meanes of saluation in themselues may be and are sufficient to all, but effectuall onely to those, to whome God giueth his especiall grace: and in this sense we doe not much mislike this distinction: but we deny any such difference of the internall grace, whereby God calleth, stirreth vp, assisteth, moueth, directeth the hearts of men: this grace cannot be sufficient in any, but it must needes also be effectuall. Yet here we desire not to be mistaken, but further doe enlarge our meaning thus: First, we denie not altogether this distinction of sufficiencie and efficacie: it hath place in the externall calling, and common grace offered to all, which is sufficient to many, but effectuall onely to the elect: but not in the inward spirituall calling. Secondly, we graunt a diuers measure of inward grace in the effectuall calling of the elect, and admit some degree in their spirituall calling, which though it be not alike effectuall in all that are so called, yet is it effectuall. Thirdly, we confesse, that somewhat may be inwardly wrought by Gods spirite euen in hypocrites: but we affirme, that no inward temporarie gift wrought in them is sufficient to their saluation; for hereupon it would follow, that they might resist their inward powerfull, sufficient calling, and that the absence of their owne will onely maketh it without effect: that therefore there is no such powerfull inward working grace sufficient onely, but that the same is effectuall also, we shew it thus.

The Protestants.

Argum. 1. THe Prophet *Dauid* saith, *I will runne the way of thy commandements, when thou hast enlarged my heart,* Psalm. 119.32. *Draw me, and we will runne after thee,* Cantic. 1.3. And S. *Paul* saith, *Whom he hath predestinate, he hath called, whom he hath called, he hath iustified,* Rom. 8.30. All these places proue that the internall calling of God is alwaies effectuall: After drawing and enlarging the heart, followeth running, after vocation, immediatly ensueth iustification.

Argum. 2. The grace of God is not in vaine in any: as S. *Paul* saith, *His grace that was in me, was not in vaine,* 1. Corinth. 15.10. But if so that the grace of God inwardly moouing and calling men, should fayle in the effect, then should it be in vaine: *Ergo*, it is effectuall in all the children of God, in whom it so worketh.

Let *Augustine* speake: *Lex extra hominem scripta vt eum terrificet, gratia in homine est, vt eum intrinsecus iustificet:* The lawe is written without man to terrifie him, grace is within man inwardly to iustifie him, *de spirit. & liter. cap. 17.* As terror then outwardly followeth the knowledge of the Lawe, so iustification alwaies followeth grace inwardly working: it is therefore alwaies effectuall where it is sufficient, speaking of the inward and spirituall calling. Also in another place he saith: *Quando Deus docet, sic docet, vt scienda sciamus, aperiendo veritatem, sic docet vt faciendo sciamus, inspirando suauitatem:* When God teacheth, he so teacheth, that things which are to be knowne we doe know, God opening the trueth to vs, and things which are to be done, we doe, by inspiring a desire into vs, Psalme 118. con. 17. Gods inward teaching then by his holy spirite is alwaies effectuall in his children, and in none of them it is sufficient, but together also effectuall.

Magister sentent. lib. 1. dist. 17. liter. K. thus testifieth, *Spiritus sanctus non solum non habenti, verum etiam habenti non ineassum permittitur, non habenti quidem, vt habeatur, habenti, vt amplius habeatur:*

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The holy spirit is not giuen in vaine neyther to him, that hath it not; nor to him, that hath: to him that hath not, that he may haue him, to him that hath him, that he may haue him in greater measure: Wherefore the inward calling of the spirit is alwayes effectuall.

AN APPENDIX OR SECOND PART OF THIS question, wherein the efficacie of grace consisteth.

The Papists.

Bellarmine dare not attribute the efficacie of grace onely to free will, that this should be the cause, why that grace in some worketh effectually, in some others it doth not, because some giue their free assent vnto grace working in them, other withhold it: for then (saith he) it should rest in mans power, whether Grace should be effectuall or not: Neither doth he thinke, that God onely is the cause of this efficacie, by drawing and framing our willes to consent to his grace: but this efficacie, he saith, partly dependeth of Gods inward perswasion, partly of the free assent of the will. *Deus*, (saith the Iesuite) *quos efficaciter trahere decreuit, eam suasionem adhibet, quam videt congruere ingenio eorum*: God doth vse that perswasion to those, whom he purposeth effectually to call, which he knoweth best to fit their humour, and which it is most like they will agree vnto, *Bellarmin. cap.* 12. So thus in the Iesuites opinion, God is not a drawer, or worker of mans will, but a mouer, and perswader onely. 20. Error.

Argum. If God should not onely moue and perswade men by his spirite, but also produce and worke in them the very act of willing: then should there be no freewill in man to doe any thing: and so no action in man should be voluntarie, but of necessitie and constraint, because man is not left to himselfe, to giue his assent freely, but his will is determined of God, *Bellarmin. ibid.*

Answ. First, it is no absurditie at all, to say that in man by nature there remaineth no freewill at all, to that which is good: For our Sauiour saith, *Without me you can doe nothing*, Iohn 15.5. but to giue our consent or will vnto good is somewhat, therefore of our selues without Christ we cannot doe it. *Augustine* saith, *Cum de libera hominis voluntate loquimur, de illa scilicet, in qua homo factus est, loquimur*: When we speake of mans freewill, we meane that, wherein man was created; *de natur. grat. cap.* 57. He graunteth no other freewill to good, but that, which was once in *Adam*, and is now vtterly lost. But of this more, by Gods grace, in the question of Freewill.

Secondly, although God onely doth conuert and incline the will of man to goodnes, yet for all this, man worketh willingly, not of necessitie or constraint: for our Sauiour saith, *If the Sonne make you free, ye shall be free indeede*, Iohn 8.36. God of vnwilling maketh vs willing.

And here we refuse not the distinction of their owne glosse, *Caus.* 23. *qu.* 4. *c.* 24. There are two kindes of necessitie: *Simplex vna, altera conditionalis*: A simple necessitie, as it is necessarie that all men be mortall; conditionall, as when I see a man walke, it is necessarie he should walke, not necessarie by the nature of the thing, for simplie it is not necessarie to walke, but in respect of the condition, because I see him or know him to walke: so in respect of Gods knowledge, and working grace, there is a conditionall necessitie, but no simple or absolute necessitie in the things themselues, which yet doe retaine their owne libertie: Thus farre, and to this purpose the Glosse.

The Protestants.

God onely is the cause, that his grace worketh effectually, and is not in vaine in vs: neither doth he onely moue and perswade, but actually worketh the assent and inclination of the will.

Argum. 1. It is *God that worketh in vs, the will and the deede*, Philip. 2.13. God worketh: this is more then to moue or perswade: *Deus operatur in nobis velle*: God worketh in vs to will; what is this else, but, *producere ipsum actum volendi*: To bring forth the very act of willing, which the Iesuite denyeth, *cap.* 12. So the Scripture saith, that God opened the heart of *Lydia, that she attended to those things that Paul spake*, Act. 16.14. To open the heart, is more then to moue, or stir the heart, it betokeneth rather an actuall operation, and inclination of it. Further, those places which are alledged to proue that the efficacie of grace doth not depend wholy vpon the assent of our will, doe likewise shew, that mans will herein worketh not at all, but the whole worke in making grace effectuall, is to bee ascribed to the spirite of God: as Iohn 6.45. *Euery man that hath heard and hath learned of the Father, commeth to me*, Psalm. 94.12. *Beatus homo, quem tu erudieris*, &c. *Blessed is the man, whom thou teachest O Lord*: 1. Cor. 4.7. *Who separateth thee, what hast thou, that thou hast not receiued?* These texts doe as well proue that no part of the diuine worke is to be imputed to mans will, as that the whole is not: for if Gods teaching onely cause vs to come vnto him, and make vs blessed, if God onely separate vs, &c. then it is of Gods spirit onely, that grace worketh in vs effectually.

Argum. 2. We will desire no better proofe, then the Iesuites owne confession: who being pressed with that place, Iohn 6. *Euery one, that hath heard, and learned of my father, commeth vnto me*, verse 45. thus answereth, *Infallibilitas effectus, non habet pro causa studium discipuli, sed excellentiam magistri, sicut allegat dominus ibidem prophetiam Isaiæ, erunt omnes docibiles Dei:* The infallibilitie or certaintie of the effect, ariseth not of the desire and studie of him that is taught, as the cause thereof, but of the excellencie of the teacher, as in the same place our Lord Christ alleageth the Prophesie of *Isay*, *They shall be all taught of God*, Iohn 6.45. *Bellarmin. cap.* 12. And againe he saith: *Si eadem motione accepta vnus credit, alter non credit, longe maiorem habuit Dei gratiam, is qui credit, quam qui non credit:* If by one, and the selfe same motion inwardly receiued, one man beleeue, another doth not, surely he that beleeueth hath a greater grace of God, then he which beleeueth not: *de grat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 13. *respons. ad obiect.* 3. Here *Bellarmine* ascribeth the efficacie of grace, to the excellencie of the teacher, and to the greatnes of grace, which some haue, and others haue not: it is then of God onely, nothing of our selues, that grace worketh effectually in vs.

Augustine also saith: *Alia est causa iam credentis in Deo, alia non credentis, qui enim non credit, verum lumen videre non potest, nisi Deus prius in corde eius spiritu suo illuxerit: atque ipsum & velintis, aut currentis, sed miserentis Dei:* There is another reason of him, that beleeueth, in God, and of him, that beleeueth not: for hee that beleeueth not, cannot see the true light, vnlesse God first doe lighten his heart with his spirit: and so it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercie: *cont. Pelagian. art.* 3. The cause then of beleefe, is onely the illumination of Gods spirit: for if any thing were to bee ascribed to man, it should not be wholy of him that sheweth mercie, but somewhat also of the willer, and the runner, which the Apostle denieth.

Concil. Arausican. 2. *can.* 2. *Si quis sine gratia Dei, credentibus, volentibus, desiderantibus, studentibus misericordiam dicit conferri, non autem diuinitus per inspirationem spiritus in nobis fieri, resistit Apostolo qui dicit, quid habes, quod non accepisti?* If any man say that mercie is conferred vpon those that beleeue, desire, studie, &c. of themselues without the grace of God, and not rather wrought in vs by the inspiration of the spirit, resisteth the Apostle which saith, what hast thou, which thou hast not receiued? It is the inward inspiration then of God, not our voluntarie consenting, that grace is effected in vs.

Their owne decrees also thus testifie: *Part.* 3. *dist.* 42. 154. *Quidiuerit gratiam Dei, qua iustificamur, &c.* Hee that saith, that the grace of God, wherewith wee are iustified by Iesus Christ, is onely of force to forgiue vs our sinnes, not that we should not commit them afterward, let him be accursed. If it be the grace of God, that both taketh away our sinnes already done, and keepeth vs from committing the like, what is left vnto mans will? *Ibid. c.* 155. *Qui dixerit, &c.* Hee that saith the grace of God doth helpe onely to reueale vnto vs the will of God, whereby wee knowe what to desire, and what to shunne, and that thereby we are not enabled to doe that wee knowe, let him be accursed. Grace then doth not onely moue or perswade, or reueale vnto the will what is to be done, but giueth power to doe it.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE DISTINCTION of Grace into *gratiam operantem, & cooperantem, vel adiuuantem*: grace-working, and grace-helping.

The Papists.

30. Error. *Bellarmine* thus doth define and distinguish them: *Gratia operans est, qua facit vt velimus:* It is the working grace, which maketh vs to will, that which is good: *Gratia cooperans, qua facit, vt quæ volumus, implemus:* Helping grace, or grace working together with vs, is that, which causeth vs to fulfill, or doe that, which wee will or desire: *Bellarmine cap.* 2. This then is his minde, that God onely worketh the beginning of euery good action; that is, the consent of the will: but the accomplishment of the action is not onely of God, but he worketh together with man.

Illustrum. The Iesuite would illustrate his matter by this similitude: As if it were expedient for a man to saile into the East countries, and yet hee is vnwilling, his friend commeth, and perswadeth with him, and prouideth things needfull for the nauigation, as money, victuals, and such like: though his friend may say, I onely was the cause, that hee tooke this nauigation in hand, yet can hee not say, that I onely caried or conueyed him vnto that place, but helped him onely: So saith hee, God onely worketh the beginning of any action by perswading the will, but hee is helping onely and assistant to man in the finishing thereof, *lib.* 1. *de grat. cap.* 13.

Answ. First, this similitude is very insufficient, and the things here compared are altogether vnlike:

vnlike: for what preſumption is it, to match the doing of man with the power of God? Firſt, man draweth onely by perſwaſion, he hath no power ouer an others heart: but God is greater then our heart, he doth not onely applie perſwaſion to it, but bendeth and turneth it: as *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Deus magis habet in poteſtate hominum voluntates, quam ipſi ſuas:* God hath greater power ouer the willes of men, then they haue themſelues. Secondly, all the helpes that man prouideth, or miniſtreth for any action, are externall: But God is ayding and aſſiſting euery where by his power, and worketh mightily in the inward man. We ſee then the inſufficiencie of this ſimilitude. De coffept & grat. cap. 14.

Anſw. 2. Though it were a fit and meete compariſon, yet we know that ſimilitudes proue not, no more doth this: it needeth not therefore any large confutation.

The Proteſtants.

THis diſtinction of grace, that it ſhould be ſometime the principall, chiefe, and onely working cauſe in man, and another while but ayding, and aſſiſting onely, and that man ſhould bee ioyned with God as a fellow worker in any good action, wee holde it to bee a blaſphemous doctrine: that the will of man worketh together with grace, as it is, *cauſa phyſica*, a naturall cauſe of ſuch actions as are wrought by man, not reſpecting the qualitie and goodnes of them, but the worke onely, we deny not: but the grace of God onely is, *cauſa moralis*, the morall cauſe of euery good action. As they are but actions and operations, ſo they proceede from the will of man: but as they are good or commendable, they are the workes onely of grace.

Argum. God worketh the will and the deede, Philip. 2. 13. As he worketh the will, ſo alſo he worketh the deede; the will of God alone worketh: *Ergo*. Againe, That God may be all in all, ſaith the Apoſtle, 1. Corinth. 15. 28. But God ſhould not bee all in all in euery good action, if man ſhould be ioyned as a fellow worker. S. *Iames* ſaith, *Euery good and perfect gift is from aboue:* 1. 17. therefore no good gift, or worke is from below, that is of man, either in part, or in whole. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *Sine me nihil poteſtis facere:* Without me, you can doe nothing: of the which words *Auguſtine* writeth thus: *Non ait ſine me difficile poteſtis facere, aut ſine me nihil poteſtis perficere, ſed ne facere quidem:* Hee ſaith not, without me you can hardlie doe any thing, or without me, you cannot finiſh any thing, but you are not able to doe it at all: *cont. 2. Epiſtol. Pelag. lib. 2. cap. 8.*

But if ſo that in any good action God ſhould worke part, and man part; then might man worke ſomewhat, that is his part, without Gods helpe: And if God doe but helpe to worke, what is that elſe, but to giue power more eaſilie onely to worke; as though man, without that helpe, yet more hardly and difficultlie of himſelfe might doe it? But all this is contrarie to that ſaying of our Sauiour, *Without me you can doe not bing.*

Saint *Ambroſe* here hath an excellent teſtimonie, *Epiſt. 84. Gratia Dei tota repellitur, niſi tota ſuſcipitur, &c.* The grace of God is wholy refuſed, if it bee not wholy receiued: and as hee is no faithfull man which in any one poynt diſſenteth from the catholike veritie; *Sic extra gratiam eſſe ſtatur, qui aliquid de eius plenitudine diffitetur*; So hee is without grace, which doth deny any thing of the fulnes thereof: Grace then worketh fullie, and not in part onely.

Decret. part. 2. diſtinct. 4. c. 156. Quicunque dixerit, &c. Whoſoeuer ſaith, that the grace of iuſtification is giuen, that, what we are bid to doe by freewill, *Facilius impleamus per gratiam*, we ſhould doe more eaſilie by grace; let him bee accurſed. If Gods grace doe but helpe to worke, what doth it elſe but onely make vs more eaſilie to worke, which this canon condemneth.

The Maſter of ſentences maketh both theſe, the working grace and helping grace, all one grace and gift, *Lib. 2. diſt. 26. liter. 1.* I then reaſon thus: if it be all one grace, it worketh alwaies alike: but it worketh alone in preparing the will; as the Maſter alleageth out of *Auguſtine: Per ſolam gratiam, quæ eſt in fide Chriſti poſita, præparatur voluntas, &c.* The will is prepared by grace alone, which conſiſteth in the faith of Chriſt: *Ibid. diſt. 26. liter. d. Ergo*, it alſo worketh alone in helping and aſſiſting the will. Therefore both the firſt worke in preparing the will, and the ſecond in enabling the will, is onely of grace.

THE THIRD PART OF THIS CONTROVERSIE OF FREEWILL.

THe ſeuerall queſtions are theſe. Firſt, of the nature, condition and qualitie of freewill. Secondly, of the power of freewill. Firſt, in naturall things. Secondly, in morall duties. Thirdly, in ſpirituall.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE NATVRE and definition of freewill.

Bellarmine defineth freewill after this manner: *Est libera potestas vnum præ alijs eligendi, vel respuendi, intelligenti naturæ attributa, &c.* It is a free or absolute power, to chuse, or refuse one thing before another, giuen of God vnto a reasonable and vnderstanding nature, or creature. We mislike these poyntes in this definition: first, concerning the power of freewill, as well in chusing, as refusing: secondly, of the obiect of freewill, that it is naturally, as it is now to be found in man, inclined as well to good as euill: thirdly, concerning the qualitie and condition of freewill, that it is actiue, and not passiue: fourthly, of the subiect of freewill. Of these in their order.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE POWer of freewill.

The Papists.

31. Error. THere is, *duplex libertas*, a double kinde of libertie: *libertas à necessitate*, a libertie or freedome from necessitie, as when it is in our power to will, or not to will, indifferently to chuse, or refuse this or that, as to walke, to sitte, to goe, none of all these being necessary, but subiect to our will and choice: *libertas à coactione*, a freedome from coaction, or constraint, is when, that we doe is of necessitie, and we cannot chuse but doe it, yet we doe it willingly. As a man cannot chuse but sinne, yet he sinneth voluntarily, he is not constrained thereunto: *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that in the freewill of man, there must be a freedome not onely from coaction, but from necessitie: *lib. 3. de grat. cap. 4.*

Argum. Eccles. 15. 14. *God made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his counsell. he hath set water and fire before thee, streteh out thy hand, to which thou wilt: before man is life and death, good and euill, what him liketh, shall be giuen him: Ergo*, the freedome of mans wil, is not onely not constrained, but hath no necessitie, seeing it is in his power, to chuse or refuse what him liketh, *Bellarmin. cap. 5.*

Answ. 1. We graunt such a free will to haue been giuen to man in his creation, but is now lost by his fall: as *Augustine* saith: *Lex in Paradiso non poneretur seruanda, nisi liber esset eam tam velle, quam nolle seruare, sed sicut per se lapsus est, non continuò per se, i. propriam voluntatem, resurgere potest:* A law should not haue bin giuen man in Paradise to keepe, vnlesse he had been free, eyther to wil, or nil to keepe it: but as man did fall of himselfe, so he cannot rise of himselfe, that is, by his owne will, *Cont. Pelag. articul. 3.*

2. You must presse vs with more waightie authorities, then those out of Apocryphal scriptures, such as the booke of Ecclesiasticus is, if you would winne any credite to your cause: for the authoritie of such bookes bindeth vs not.

Whereas *Bellarmine* alleageth diuers Fathers to proue the libertie of free will, not onely from coaction and constraint, but from necessitie, eyther to good or euill: they are so to be vnderstood, that they eyther speake of the state of man in his perfection, or of the will of man, as it is by regeneration of grace, not by corruption of nature, or els by necessitie vnderstand coaction and compulsion, as *Augustine* saith, *Liberum hominis arbitrium ab omni necessitatis vinculo vindicamus, &c.* Wee do redeeme mans will from all bond of necessitie: that is, as he expoundeth it, *sub fatis stellarum, &c.* We place no mans birth vnder the fatall destinie of the starres, *lib. 2. cont. Faustum c. 5.* By necessitie he vnderstandeth a fatall destinie and compulsion: from such necessitie we also free the will of man.

The Protestants.

A Freedome of will from necessitie we graunt to haue been in our first parents, whereby it was in their power, to haue chosen eyther the good, or the euill way: But since that by *Adams* transgression the whole power of nature was shaken, and all the gifts and graces of creation decayed; there remaineth no freenes of will vnto good in man, but onely a voluntary promptnesse and inclination to euill without constraint.

Argum. This *haue I found*, saith the Preacher, *That God hath made man righteous, but hee hath sought many inuentions.* Eccle. 7. 31. I know, saith Saint *Paul*, that in me, that is, my flesh, dwelleth no good thing, Rom. 7. 18. These places proue, that, howsoeuer it was with man in his creation, now by nature there remaineth no good thing in him: and therefore no inclination to that which is good.

We are not able, saith the Apostle, *to thinke any thing of our selues, but our abilitie or sufficiencie is of God*, 2. Cor. 3. 5. Vpon the which wordes *Augustine* writeth thus, *Non idonei sumus cogitare aliquid*

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(dicit Paulus:) multus autem est cogitare quam cupere: neque ait non sumus idonei, aliquid magnum, aut Cont. 2. epist. Pelag. 2. 8.
perfectum cogitare, sed ne aliquid, cui contrarium est nihil: Wee are not fit, to thinke any thing saith the Apostle, but it is farre lesse to thinke, then to desire: neither saith he, we are not fit to thinke any great matter, but not any thing, the contrary whereof is nothing. If we are not then by nature able to thinke any good, much lesse to will it.

Bernard thus writeth: *Nemo putet ideo dictum liberum arbitrium &c.* Let no man thinke it is called free will, because it hath equall power to good and euill; for then neither God, which cannot be euill, nor the diuell, which cannot be good, should haue free will: but therefore it is called free, because none can be good or euill, *nisi volens*, but willingly, *lib. de liber. arbit.*

S. *Ambrose* also is an euident witnesse: *lib. 1. de vocat. Gent. c. 19. Licet insit homini bonum velle, tamen nisi donatum, non habet bonum velle:* Although it be in mans power to nill that is good; yet hee cannot will that is good, vnlesse it be giuen him: the one he hath by corruption of nature, the other he receiueth by the operation of grace. Againe, *Non in potestate nostra est cor nostrum & nostræ cogitationes:* Our heart and our thoughtes are not in our owne power: *de fug. secul. c. 1. Voluntas mutabilis, quæ non ab immutabili voluntate regitur, tanto citius proximat iniquitati, quanto acrius intenditur actioni:* The mutable wil, vnlesse it be gouerned of the immutable will, doth so much nearer approch to iniquitie, as it worketh more intendedly: *Cui committi nihil aliud quam dimitti:* For a man to be committed to his will, is all one, as to be dimitted or forsaken: *Nihil in suis viribus habet, nisi periculi facilitatem:* Mans will hath nothing of it owne power, but the facilitie of daunger: *de vocat. Gent. lib. 1. c. 2.* Then it followeth, that the will of man, by nature cannot choose but to do euill: What is this else but a necessitie not of coaction, but of depraiation?

Bernard yet speaketh more euidently: *Serm. 81. in Cantic. Anima mala libera necessitate & ancilla maetur et libera; ancilla propter necessitatem, libera propter voluntatem, &c.* The soule is by an vnhappy free necessitie, both bond and free; bond because of necessitie, (it cannot otherwise choose) free, because it is voluntary.

Peter Lombard lib. 2. dist. 25. liter. c. Liberum videtur dici arbitrium, quia sine coactione & necessitate vult appetere &c. It seemeth that free will is so called, because without coaction and necessitie it doth desire, &c. He taketh coaction and necessitie for all one, and so affirmeth the will to be free from coaction; which wee also graunt.

Thomas 1. part. qu. 83. art. 2. ad 3. saith, *Per peccatum periisse libertatem gratiæ, non libertatem naturæ, quæ est à coactione:* By sinne the libertie of grace is lost, not the libertie of nature, which is from coaction.

Alphons. de castro lib. 9. Libertas, quæ opponitur necessitati, seu, vt verius dicam, coactioni: That is libertie, which is opposed against necessitie, or more truely coaction. These popish writers seeme to affirme a libertie onely in the will from coaction and compulsion.

THE SECOND PART, OF the obiect of Free will.

The Papists.

BEllarmine saith, *Voluntatis proprium & primarium obiectum bonum esse, sive aliquid apprehensum sub ratione boni*, that the proper and principall obiect of the will of man, is that which is good, or that appeareth, or is so taken to be: and so he determineth, *Per arbitrium non expeti mala, sed bona:* That by free will not euill things, but good are desired, *lib. de grat. 3. cap. 12.* 1. Error.

Argum. The inclination of the will vnto his obiect is naturall, and therefore God is the author thereof: If God be the author, then it is good: the will of man then is not naturally enclined to euill, for so the inclination thereof should be euill, which God hath made, *Bellarm. ibid.* .1

Answ. That naturall power which God hath giuen to men, generally to will, to thinke, to desire, to hate, to loue, must needs be good, because it is of God; but the execution of this power in the abuse thereof, by willing and chusing euill, and refusing and hating good, ariseth of the corruption of our nature, and is euill; neither is God to be charged with it. We distinguish then betweene the naturall gift, and the vse thereof, betweene the nature of man, as it was created of God, and the corruption thereof: to haue power to will, is a naturall gift giuen of God; but to will that is euill, is an abuse of that power, caused in vs by the corruption of our nature. .2

Argum. 2. The obiect of the appetite or desire, is that, which is desireable; but that which is good, is onely appetible or desireable: *Ergo*, onely *bonum*, that which is good is the obiect of the will or desire, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. 1. The proposition is partly true, partly false: for if by (desireable) that is vnderstood which ought to be desired in right, it is false; if that which is (*de facto*) desired, we graunt it. Secondly, for the assumption; if it be vnderstood of that which is naturally good: so it is true, that by the instinct of nature, euery creature desireth that, which maketh for the conseruation there- .2

of; but this is not to the point in question: But if he meane that which is morally, and verily, and truely good, the assumption is false; for that which is good in this sense is not onely, nor yet at all by nature desired.

The Protestants.

THat man by freewill may chuse things naturally good, as for the preseruation of his life, and maintenance of his ciuill estate, and shun the contrarie, that is, things hurtfull vnto his life, we doe easily grant; seeing it is a general gift of nature, euen bestowed vpon vnreasonable creatures, to discerne what is good, and what hurtfull vnto them: and in this sense wee denie not, but that the proper obiect of the will, namely in naturall and ciuill matters, is to couet good, or at the least, which appeare so to be: But yet concerning things morally good, that is, vertuous and godly acts, the will of man hath no inclination thereunto naturally, but is prone to euill onely: Neither is the will deceiued in taking vice for vertue, and following euill, in the name of good. Some indeede may pretend some naturall or ciuill good, as profit, or pleasure, but not that which is morally, that is verily & truly good: As he that stealeth, is perswaded it is for his profit, which is a ciuill good; but he cannot think, that therein he doth iustly, which is the morall good. An adulterer propoundeth to himselfe pleasure in that sinne: but he doth not so much as imagine, that hee can be chast in committing adulterie, which is the morall vertue. Wherefore wee doubt not to conclude, both that mans freewill naturally hath no inclination to that which is truly good. And againe, *Malum, etiam sub ratione mali, proprium obiectum voluntatis esse*: That euill, that is, sinne, euen as it sinne, is the proper obiect of the will, by reason of the corruption of nature.

Argum. 1. That the wicked are naturally inclined to euill, euen as it is euill, the Scripture teacheth vs: *It is a pastime to a foole to doe wickedly*, Prou. 10.23. *A foole maketh a mocke of sin*, Prou. 14.9. The wicked person is not deceiued in taking vice for vertue, but doth naturally as verily loue vice, as by grace the righteous embraceth vertue: *Woe vnto them* (saith the Prophet) *that speake good of euill, and euill of good, which put darknes for light, and light for darknes*, Isai. 5.20. The Prophet cryeth not out against those, which sinne of ignorance and simplicitie, taking euill for good: but against such, which doe sinne of malice, and willingly and wittingly commend euill, euen because it is euill, and hate that is good, for the goodnes sake; *Which draw iniquitie with cordes of vanitie*: but if they were seduced by error in taking one thing for another, they should be led themselues, and drawne into sinne: but now the Prophet saith, They doe hale and draw sin to themselues, as with cart-ropes.

Argum. 2. *Augustine* in his booke of Confessions, is not ashamed to confesse how that he was accustomed to steale apples in his childhood and yonger yeeres, when as he both might haue had better at home, and hauing stolen them, he cast them to the hogges: so that (saith hee) whereas theeues, adulterers, and the like, doe propound to themselues in their euill doing, some end or other: *Ego nihil hic amani praeter furtum*: I loued nothing else but theft it selfe, *lib. confess. cap.* 4. For *Augustine* neither did it for pleasure, for he had better fruite at home; nor for profit, for hee cast them to the swine. Wherefore sinne, euen as it is sinne, is naturally the obiect of the will.

Likewise the diuell loueth euill because it is euill: the wicked hate and detest God, who is good: *Ergo*, the will may both desire that which is euill, and hate and detest that which is good.

1. *Bellarmine* answereth: First, *Augustine* in his theft loued the sinne, but vnder the shew of some delectable good, because hee reioyced to deceiue his neighbour with the rest of his companions.
2. Secondly, the diuell loueth our sinne, but vnder the shew of some good to himselfe, thinking it
3. profitable to himselfe, that many perish. Thirdly, the wicked hate God, but vnder the shew or colour of euill, because they hold him a seuere Iudge, *Bellarm. cap.* 12. *resp. ad* 2.4 *argum.*

1. *Contra.* First, *Augustine* saith, *Nihil amaui*: I loued nothing but the theft it selfe. He could best expresse his owne meaning, wherefore hee simply loued and desired that which was euill: if hee made a sport to deceiue his neighbours, this was no morall good thing, but a carnall and sensuall delight onely: and so wee denie not, but euen in sinne there is a shew of sensuall delight and pleasure, but not of any morall or true vertue.

2. Secondly: First, the diuell procureth our euill, not for hope of any ease to himselfe, for hee is past all hope of ease or release, but to doe vs hurt. It is said, that *death came into the world through the enuie of the diuell* vnto vs, Wisd. 2.24. not through selfeloue to himselfe. Secondly, this were to extenuate the malice of Sathan, as though he sought not our destruction so much to doe vs hurt, as to benefit himselfe. Thirdly, this good which Sathan is said to ayme at, is not any morall good, or true vertue, but a malitious and Sathanicall delight. Fourthly, but if in our euill Sathan pretend good, what good can he imagine in his owne desperate sinne? The Scripture saith, *he is a lyar, and the father thereof*, Ioh. 8.44. Then as the father in his childe, so he delighteth in sin as his owne, and desireth it, euen as it is euill.

3. Thirdly: first, the wickedest man, that liueth, is by nature perswaded, that God is good, and therefore cannot hate him, as euill: but their wicked nature abhorreth God, as good. So the Scripture

ture ſaith, that *the iuſt man is an abomination to the wicked*, Prou. 29. 27. he hateth him for his vertue ſake: And the Lord himſelfe thus ſaith to the wicked: *Is thine eye euill, becauſe I am good?* Mat. 20. verſ. 15. Here goodnes it ſelfe is hated of the wicked.

Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith: *Homo niſi donatum non habet bonum velle:* Man cannot deſire that is good, vnleſſe it be giuen him: *de vocat. Gent. lib. 2. cap. 9. Nulla ſpecies cuiuſquam virtutis occurrit, quæ ſine dono diuinæ gratiæ, &c.* There is no ſhew of any vertue occurrent, which is deſired without the gift of the diuine grace, *ibid.* Therfore morall goodnes is not the proper obiect of the will by nature.

Peter Lombard: Eſt libertas non vera, &c. There is a libertie not good to doe euill, when reaſon diſſenteth from the will, iudging that not to be done, which the will deſireth: *lib. 2. diſt. 25. liter k.* How can that ſeeme good to the will, which reaſon iudgeth to be euill?

Guiliel. Ockam (one of their ſchoolemen) affirmeth with vs, that the wil may be carried to deſire euill, *ſub ratione mali*, as it is euill: *in lib. 3. ſenten. qu. 13. diſt. 3.*

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER THE END IT SELFE be the obiect of the will, and whence the will is moued to deſire the end.

The Papiſts.

Firſt, *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that the end, as eternall life, is not properly the obiect of the will, but the meanes tending to the end. His beſt reaſon is out of *Ariſtotle* his Ethikes, *lib. 3. cap. 2.* No man conſulteth to be happie, but of the meanes how he may be happie. 33. Error.

Secondly, the loue or deſire to the end (he ſaith) is a naturall act of the will, not infuſed or inſpired of God, but naturally imprinted in the will. His reaſon is this, becauſe if this deſire be an act of the will, then it muſt proceede actiuely: but if it ſhould be inſpired or added beſide the naturall inclination, it ſhould be paſſiue: *Bellarm. lib. 3. de grat. cap. 14.* 34. Error.

The Proteſtants.

Firſt, 1. We ſay that the end is the firſt and chiefeſt thing in the deſire and intention. 2. There is difference betweene the deſire and deliberation, betweene will and counſell. Conſultations of the meanes to effect that which the will intendeth, or deſireth: and ſo your Philoſopher is to bee vnderſtoode. 3. The Scripture teſtifieth with vs: Saint *Paul* ſaith, *I deſire to be diſſolued, and to be with Chriſt*, Philip. 1. 23. *which is beſt of all.* What is the end, but that, which is beſt of all, to be with Chriſt, which here is the obiect of the Apoſtles deſire? Your owne Scripture alſo ſaith, Eccleſiaſtic. 15. 14. *Before man is life and death, good and euill, what him liketh ſhall be giuen him.* Life and death are ſet before man, as the obiect of his will: which are the very ends themſelues. 4. We reade in the Goſpell, how *Thomas* ſaid vnto our Sauiour, Ioh. 14. 5. *We know not whither thou goeſt, how then can we know the way?* We ſee then, that firſt the end is to be knowne and deſired, and then the way. Our Sauiour anſwereth, *I am the way, the truth, and the life:* whereby is ſignified, that Chriſt is to be deſired, not onely as the way, but as the end, which is life. As *Ambroſe* vpon theſe words, *Sequimur te Domine, ſed vt ſequamur accerſi, &c.* We follow thee Lord, but fetch vs, that wee may follow thee: no man doth aſcend without thee, thou art the way, the truth, the life, the poſſibilitie, faith, reward: *de bon. mort. c. 12.* Chriſt then is to be followed, as the way and the life, as both the truth, and faith, and reward.

Secondly, 1. The will is actiue in reſpect of his proper obiect: but it is paſſiue, as it is moued and ſtirred of God. 2. The Scripture is euident, that the deſire of comming to, and being with Chriſt, both of the way and end, is not naturall, but aboue nature, from God. Iohn 6. 44. *No man commeth to me, vnleſſe the father draw him:* The loue of Chriſts appearing is rewarded with a crowne of glorie, 2. Tim. 4. 8. but no naturall gift is ſo rewarded. 3. Saint *Ambroſe: Nulla ſpecies cuiuſquam virtutis occurrit, quæ ſine dono diuinæ gratiæ habetur:* There is no ſhew of any vertue, which is had or deſired without the gift of the heauenly grace: *Ergo*, the end, which is ſaluation, which is not without a ſhew of vertue, is not deſired without grace. 4. *Capreolus* (one of their ſchoolemen) thinketh, that this deſire of the will is wrought onely by God, and is altogether paſſiue in that reſpect: *in 2. ſent. diſt. 24. qu. 1.*

THE THIRD PART, OF THE QVALITIE AND condition of freewill, whether it be actiue or paſſiue.

The Papiſts.

Bellarmine affirmeth, that the will of man is neither paſſiue onely, nor partly actiue, and partly paſſiue: *ſed ſimpliciter & abſolutè actiuum:* but ſimply and abſolutely actiue. Of the ſame opinion are diuers of the Schoolemen, as *Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Henricus, Capreolus, Ferrarius*, as they are cited and alleaged by *Bellarmine, lib. 3. de grat. cap. 10.* 35. Error.

Argum. If freewill should be passiue, and not actiue, that is, if it be not a perpetuall agent and working cause, but should it selfe suffer, and receiue, and be wrought vpon by other causes: then can it not be free, for it is not in the power of the patient, or of that which suffereth, to doe this, or that, but in the power of the agent, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, wee graunt, that in what things soeuer the will of man naturally is free, there it worketh freely, and so actiuely, as namely in all euill actions: But vnto good things, it hath naturally no freedome at all, but is made free onely by grace: and therefore we denie, that in this case, it is either free by nature, or of any actiue power. Secondly, not onely grace worketh vpon the will of man, but naturally also the vnderstanding moueth the will actiuely, vnlesse (contrarie to nature) the will rebell against the reason and vnderstanding.

The Protestants.

THe will of man we cannot absolutely determine to be either actiue or passiue in working: for as the obiect of the will is, and the thing that is willed, so is the will it selfe affected: for in euery thing which is willed, or desired, wee are to respect two things: the generall power of willing and desiring, without any respect vnto good, or euill; and the qualitie of the obiect, the goodnes, or euilnes thereof. If we consider the generall power, whereby we thinke, wee will, we desire this, or that; so is the will of man free and actiue, whether it be good or euill, that is so willed: if we respect the qualitie of the obiect, as if it be euill, which is desired, here also is the will of man both free, and actiue: But if it be good, the will is onely passiue: it hath no naturall inclination vnto good things, vnlesse it be drawne by the spirit of God working in vs. So then, *velle in nobis est*, to will is in our owne power, *bene velle à Deo*, to will as we should, is of God.

Argum. Iohn 8.36. *If the Sonne make you free, then are you free indeed.* Philip. 2. 13. *It is God, which worketh in you both the will, and the deede.* The will of man then in good things worketh not, but is wrought; it maketh not it selfe free, but is made free: *Ergo*, it is not in this case actiue, but onely passiue, receiuing power from another cause.

Augustine saith: *Voluntas humana non libertate consequitur gratiam, sed gratia potius libertatem:* The will of man doth not by the freenesse therof obtaine grace, but by grace obtaineth freedome, *de correption & grat. cap.* 8. The freedome then of the will, is the worke and effect of grace: *Ergo*, it is passiue, for the effect, or the thing wrought or caused, doth suffer in respect of the efficient and working cause.

Petrus Lombard compareth freewill to the ground, grace vnto raine: *Terræ mentis nostræ, libero arbitrio voluntatis, infunditur pluuia diuinæ benedictionis:* The raine of the heauenly blessing is infused into the ground of the minde, that is, freewill: But the earth in respect of the raine that falleth, is passiue, and not actiue.

Espenc. in 2. ad Timoth. p. 40. b. Passiua promissi expectatio hominum est: The passiue expectation of the promise is of men. Faith then, which is the act of the will and vnderstanding, is passiue.

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER THE VNDERstanding or intelligence doe worke actiuely vpon the will of man.

The Papists.

36. Error. BEllarmine to maintaine his owne conceite, that the will of man is onely actiue, not passiue, doubteth not to denie, *voluntatem moueri à ratione*, that the will is moued by reason: or that the intelligent part doth *actum voluntatis effectiue producere*, produce and effect the act of the will: *lib. 3. de grat. cap.* 10.

Argum. The intelligent part worketh necessarily, or is a necessary cause, then it would follow, that to will is necessarie, not free, if the vnderstanding moue the will necessarily, as it doth: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, the vnderstanding doth not alwaies worke necessarily: for the will and desire many times rebelleth against reason, and is not alwaies moued or perswaded by the vnderstanding. Secondly, though it should worke necessarily, yet the will may retaine the freedome still: for not necessitie, but coaction and compulsion take away libertie: as grace worketh necessarily vpon the will, that is, surely effectually, yet grace taketh not away freewill.

The Protestants.

THat the vnderstanding or intelligent part mooueth the will of man actiuely, it is euident.

Argum. That which is the life of man is the agent and actiue worker in mans will: for all actions proceede from the life: but the reason and vnderstanding is the life, because it is the light: for *the life is the light of man*, Iohn 1. 4. *Ergo.*

Againe, that wherein Gods image properly consisteth, is the chiefe agent and mouer: but the

image

image of God is in the minde the seate of knowledge: and *the renewing of the minde is in knowledge after the image of him, that created him*, Coloss.3.10. *Ergo*, the vnderstanding is the mouer of the will.

Augustine resembleth the vnderstanding to the man, the will to the woman: *Mulier dicitur mater viuorum, id est, animalis pars est mater rectè factorum, cum conuersa fuerit ad mentem*: The woman is said to be the mother of all liuing, that is, the naturall or sensuall part, is the mother of all good acts, being conuerted to the soule: *lib.2. de Genes. cap.21.* The minde then worketh actiuely vpon the will, which is the sensuall part.

Diuers of the Schoolemen hold the will to be passiue in respect of the vnderstanding that moueth it, though it be actiue in respect of the obiect which is wished or desired: *sic Gabriel in 2. sent. dist.25. qu.vnic. Petrus Paludan in 4. sent. dist.49. qu.3.*

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE subiect of freewill.

The Papists.

Bellarmine affirmeth, that freewill is incident onely to reasonable creatures, which no man denieth, and hee confesseth that there is freewill in God and in the Angels: and to this purpose alleageth these places, Psalm.135.6. *Whatsoeuer pleased the Lord, that did he in heauen and earth.* Ephes.1.11 *Which worketh all things, according to the counsell of his owne will: cap.16.* Hence hee concludeth, that the will of God is most free not onely from coaction and compulsion, but from all kind of necessitie: and he blameth *Bucer* and *Caluin* for ascribing a necessitie to the will or works of God: *lib.3. de grat. cap.15.16.* 37.Error.

Answ. First, wee willingly affirme, that Gods will worketh most freely, that is, without any constraint, and this out of these places is concluded, but not that Gods will is free from all necessitie: for it is necessary that God should not will any thing that is euill. Secondly, *Bellarmine* alloweth *Lombards* definition of freewill: *Liberum est ad vtrumlibet*: It is free to either part, *cap.5.* And in the same place he proueth, that it is not sufficient for the will to be free from coaction, but from *necessit* also: then it must follow in their sense, that Gods will must be free to either part, both to good and euill, which were blasphemie to affirme.

The Protestants.

WE neither tie God to a fatall necessitie, as the Heathen Philosophers did: neither doe wee affirme, as he slandereth *Caluin* to say, that God can doe no more, than he doth: for as *Iohn* saith, *he could of stones raise vp children to Abraham*, Matth.3. Neither doe wee denie, that God hath a freewill, but not such a freewill as the Papists define: which is free to either part, free both from coaction, and from all necessitie: free to good and euill.

Argum. That which is impossible to God is necessarie, *It is impossible for God to lye*, Hebr.6.18. *Ergo*, it is necessarie that he should not lye. That which God doth not, neither can doe, hee willeth not: *God tempteth no man to euill*, Iam.1.13. he neither doth nor can: *Ergo*, his will here is not *libera ad vtrumlibet*, free vnto each part. From this necessitie of not willing or doing euill, Gods will then is not free. Wherefore let them chuse which they will, that either God hath no freewill, or that freewill is not free from necessitie, though it be from compulsion or coaction.

Augustine saith, *Si illa definitur necessitas, &c.* If we define that to be necessitie, as when wee say it is necessarie, that this thing should be so, we neede not feare least this necessitie should take away the freedome of will: for neither doe we put Gods foreknowlege vnder necessitie, when we say, it is necessarie God should know all things afore: *lib.5. de ciuitat. Dei cap.10. Augustine* denieth not, but that there is a kinde of necessitie in God; a necessitie determined, not constrained; implied, not enforced. So the fathers, when they exclude necessitie from God, they meane a fatall and prescribed or naturall necessitie, not otherwise: as *Gregor. Nyssen. lib. de fat. cap. vlt. Omnipotentis neq; naturæ necessitate, neque legis præscripto operatur*: The Omnipotent worketh neither by necessitie of nature, nor prescript of law. *Ambr. Operatur pro libero voluntatis arbitrio, non pro necessitatis obsequio*: He worketh according to the freedome of will, not thraldome of necessitie.

Pet. Lombard. in the same sense saith: *Deus non necessitate, sed libera voluntate omnia facit, &c.* God not of necessitie, but of his freewill worketh all things. By necessitie hee vnderstandeth coaction. *Liberum arbitrium dicitur, quia sine coactione & necessitate*: It is called freewill, because without coaction and necessitie it willeth: *lib.2. dist.25.* Wherefore seeing God truly hath freewill, and the elect Angels haue freewill; as in the same place *Lombar. Multo liberius erit arbitrium, quod non potest seruire peccato*; Will shall be much more free, when it cannot serue sinne: It followeth, that necessitie onely, where no coaction or compulsion is, doth not take away the libertie and freedome of the will.

THE

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE power of freewill.

THere are three kindes of humane actions; Some are naturall, and ciuill, as to walke, to sit, to sow, to plant, to make warre & such like: Some are moral, such are the actions which appertaine to vertue, or vice; as to giue almes, to liue chastly, contrarie to the which are these, to steale, to commit adulterie; with the like: Some are diuine and supernaturall, as to beleeue, to hope, to loue, &c. This question then hath according to this diuision three parts: first, of the power of freewill in naturall and ciuill actions: secondly, in morall: thirdly, in diuine and supernaturall.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE POWER of freewill in naturall things.

THis part of the question is diuided into other particulars: as first, whether the deitie and power of God may be knowne by the light of nature. Secondly, whether man haue freewill in naturall things.

THE FIRST POINT, WHETHER THE GODhead may be knowne by the light of nature.

The Papists.

38. Error. BEllarmine not contented with *Caluine* his iudgement of this matter, who graunteth that by the light of nature generally the Godhead may be knowne, addeth further, *Verum & vnum deum naturaliter posse cognosci, & non solum deum in communi, &c.* That the true and onely God naturally may be knowne, and not onely after a common and generall manner. And likewise hee saith yet furthermore, that to this naturall knowledge and demonstration of God, a man may *vllo labore assentiri*, giue his assent without any labour, and neede not, *auxilio gratiæ speciali*, any speciall helpe or assistance of grace thereunto, *Bellarm. lib. 4 de grat. cap. 2.*

Argum. S. *Paul* saith, that the Gentiles euen *by the light of nature might haue groped after God, and found him*, Act. 17. 28. The knowledge of God is so easie, and readie at hand, to be found euen in the creatures, as a thing that may be groped, and felt. Also the same Apostle saith, *that the inuisible things of God, as his power, eternitie, are seene by the creation of the world: Ergo*, God is knowne by his creatures, to be iust, good, almightie, &c. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. These places proue a generall and confused knowledge of God by the creatures, which we graunt, but such a particular, and manifest light of knowledge, which the Iesuite striueth for, they proue not: *they might* (saith the Apostle) *haue groped after God:* but men vse to grope and feele in the night, and in the darke: and this naturall light serueth onely to make men without excuse. Rom. 1. 20. *Ad hoc*, saith the Apostle, *vt sint ipsi inexcusabiles:* It cannot bring them to any cleere, or perfect knowledge of God. So we reade in the booke of *Iob: All men see it, and behold it a farre off.* Iob. 36. 25. that is, the light of nature is but a dimme and obscure light, as when a man beholdeth a thing a farre off.

The Protestants.

IMarueile much, that the Iesuite here dealeth against vs, as enemies to the light of nature; seeing they themselues, if they be constant in their doctrine, and agree in iudgement one with another, in this matter haue been more straite-laced, than we. This question is at large discoursed betweene D. *Harding*, and that reuerend learned father Bishop *Iewel*: who hauing affirmed, *That men, euen by the light of nature, though they are not able to be led thereby to the perfection of faith, yet may discerne oftentimes betweene truth and falsehood in religion.* *Harding* thereupon openeth his mouth wide, and crieth aloude, *This is his heathenish heart, what could Porphyrie, or Iulian, or Celsus say more?*

Defens. Apol. pag. 42. But Bishop *Iewel* in defence of the light of nature, alleageth that place of the Apostle, Rom. 1. 20. which the Iesuite obiected, *How that the power of God is knowne by the creatures: And the Heathen, that haue not the law, yet by nature know the things, that pertaine to the law*, Rom. 2. 14. Hee also citeth the testimonie of *Hierome* to the same purpose: *Homo naturaliter potest scire de Deo, & quod sit, & quod iustus sit:* Man may naturally know of God, both that he is, and that he is iust.

This then is our opinion, that by the light of nature it may be knowne, both that God is, and that he is almightie, iust, eternall, &c. For otherwise he should not be knowne to be God: See the iudgement of *Beza. annot. Rom. 1. 20.* With what face then can the Iesuite open his mouth against vs, as though we condemned the light of nature, and knowledge of the creatures?

But such a naturall knowledge, that is, a particular, speciall, manifest, direct knowledge of God, which

which the Iesuite vrgeth, we cannot approue, nor yet that a man, without speciall grace, can giue his assent vnto such naturall knowledge, and come to know his Creator thereby.

Argum. 1. First, that the light of nature is not so full, cleare, and perfect, that it is able to bring vs to the true knowledge of God, we learne out of the Scripture: Our Sauiour Christ saith, *No man commeth to the Father but by me.* Iohn chap. 14. vers. 6. The true knowledge of God is not reuealed vnto vs, but by Christ: the light of nature leadeth vs not to Christ, therefore not to the true knowledge of God.

Argum. 2. Secondly, that man of himselfe, without Gods speciall gift, cannot make vse of this naturall knowledge of God, and subscribe to the same, and giue assent in his heart, it is cleare also out of the word of God: he was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not, Ioh. 1. 10.

Bellarmine answereth: 1. This place is vnderstood of the sonne of God the second person of the Trinitie: which mysterie of the Trinitie, we graunt, cannot be knowne by the light of nature, *Bellarm. cap.* 3.

Contra. The Euangelist speaketh here of the creation of the world: *The world was made by him:* and yet they knew not their Creator: this notwithstanding is a point of naturall knowledge, to confesse God to be the Creator and Gouernour of the world: *for the power of God is seene by the creation of the world,* Rom. 1. 20.

Bellarm. 2. The light appeared in darknesse, that is, the wisedome of God is seene euen in the senselesse creatures, as in trees and stones, which are called darknesse, because they want reason: and therefore it is true of these creatures, that they comprehended not the light.

Contra. The Euangelist in very direct termes speaketh of that light of nature, which is in men, vers. 4. *The life was the light of men,* and *This is the true light that lighteneth euery man that commeth into the world,* vers. 9. The Iesuite then doth shamefully abuse this place, in applying it vnto vnreasonable creatures.

Bellarm. 3. Last of all, the Iesuite thus playeth the interpreter, by the darknesse we vnderstand, *homines ignorantes, & peccatores,* sinfull and ignorant men, which perceiued not this light, not because they could not, but because they would not.

Contra. Neither can this exposition hold: for the Euangelist sheweth the condition of all men, what they are by nature, euen full of darknesse and ignorance, as it may appeare by comparing the tenth verse, *This is the light that lighteth euery man:* he meaneth then not some, but all. Secondly, not to comprehend, noteth a want of power, not of will; as to comprehend, sheweth a presence of abilitie or power: *That ye may be able to comprehend,* Ephes. chap. 3. vers. 18. *vt possitis,* saith the Apostle, that ye may; not, *vt velitis,* that you will. Lastly, we graunt also that it is true, *noluerunt comprehendere,* they would not comprehend: but that is not all: for the Euangelist declareth two things, wherein the miserable estate of man by nature is seene; both that men are vnable though they would to comprehend, and vnwilling though they could, to receiue the light: for the first, hee saith, *comprehenderunt,* They comprehended not; that is, they could not, vers. 5. and for the other, *receperunt,* they receiued not, that is, they would not, vers. 11. As not to comprehend sheweth a defect of power; so not to receiue, importeth a want of will. Thus, notwithstanding this smoake and mist, which the Iesuite raiseth, this place remaineth cleere both against the sufficiencie of naturall light in it selfe, and the voluntary assenting thereunto on mans behalfe.

Augustine thus writeth vpon these wordes in the Gospell: *No man knoweth the Sonne, but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father, but the Sonne, and he to whom the Sonne will reueale him,* Matthew 11. 27. Which must not be so vnderstood, as though no man knew the Sonne but the Father; but the Father was both knowne of the Sonne, and of those to whom the Sonne reuealed him, because it is not sayd of the Father concerning his Sonne, To whom the Father will reueale him: as it is said of the Sonne, concerning the Father, To whom the Sonne shall reueale him: then it followeth, *Sic potius dictum est, vt intelligamus, & patrem & ipsum filium per filium reuelari, quia ipse est mentis nostræ lumen:* But it is set downe in this maner, that we should vnderstand, that both the Father and the Sonne are reuealed by the Sonne, because he is the light of our minds: *Augustin. serm.* 48. We see then that God is knowne onely by Christ, he is shadowed forth in the creatures, rather then knowne: And that Christ is that naturall light whereby euery man is lightned comming into the world; that is, the light of nature, is to small vse or purpose, but to those that receiue grace by Christ.

Eſmc. a learned popish writer, vrgeth that place of S. *Paul* to this purpose, 2. Timoth. 2. 7. *The Lord giue thee vnderstanding in all things. In omnibus humanis rebus scilicet, maximis & minimis:* in all humane matters great and small. And he further thus alleageth out of *Lactantius; Falsum intelligere sapientiæ est, sed humanæ, &c.* To vnderstand that is false, is a point of wisedome, but humane; beyond this degree man cannot proceed: to know the trueth is a point of diuine wisedom,

to

to the which a man cannot attaine of himselfe, vnlesse he be taught. The Philosophers attained that which was the highest point of humane wisedome, to vndeastand, what God was not, but yet attained not to say, what God was: *ex citat. Estens. comment. in 2. Timoth. p. 26. liter. f.* Wherefore the knowledge of nature concerning God, is obscure, doubtfull, imperfect, not able to giue direction to the mind, without instinct of grace.

THE SECOND POINT, WHETHER MAN HAVE freewill in ciuill and naturall things.

The Papists.

39. Error. THis the Iesuite affirmeth, and it is the common opinion of that side, that in naturall and ciuill actions man hath a free and absolute will, whether to good or euill, they reason thus:

Argum. 1. It is in mans power to do some things, which he doth not, and againe to leaue some things vndone in ciuill matters, which he doth: *Ergo*, there is freewill in such things: God saith to *Salomon, Because thou hast asked wisedome, and hast not asked long life, &c.* 1. King. 3. 11. S. *Peter* saith to *Ananias, After it was sold, was it not in thine owne power?* Act. 5. 4. Here we see *Salomon* might haue done that which hee did not, that is, asked riches, and long life, and not wisedome: and *Ananias* might haue left that vndone which he did, as to haue sold his possessions, and to bring the money to the Apostles: *Bellar. in lib. 4. de grat. cap. 7.*

Answ. First, though in ciuill indifferent matters to will and purpose, be in mans power, yet to doe or not to doe, to execute what he hath purposed, is not so in his power: for the Wiseman maketh a manifest difference betweene these two: *The thoughts of the heart are in man, but the answer of the tongue is of God*, Prou. 16. 1. Man purposeth, but God disposeth.

Secondly, it was not in *Salomons* power of himselfe to aske wisedome of God, rather then any other thing: but his will and desire was thereto directed of God: for if the Lord put into *Salomons* minde to aske, who said vnto *Salomon*, appearing to him in a dreame, *Aske what I shall giue thee*, 1. King. 3. 5. much more was it inspired into him, what he should aske. And concerning the other example: for a man to sell or not to sell, being a meere ciuill and indifferent action, it is freely in his power: but to sell to good and godly vses, to helpe the necessitie of others, as the brethren did in the Apostles time, was in them a worke of grace: *All that beleeued were in one place, and had all things common*, Act. 2. vers. 44. They were beleeuers that did so, faith wrought it in them. And againe, Act. 4. vers. 33. *Great grace was vpon them all, neither was there any among them that lacked.* It was a worke of grace then, that men sold their lands, to relieue the wants of others.

Argum. 2. The Scripture giueth vnto man free election and choise of things, which cannot be without freewill. First, Iosh. 24. 15. *Choose you this day whom ye will serue.* Secondly, 2. Sam. 24. 12. *I offer three things vnto thee, chuse of them which I shall doe vnto thee.* Thirdly, Matth. 19. *If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the commandements.* Luk. 19. *if any man will follow me let him denie himselfe.*

1. *Answ.* First, 1. The people had not power of themselues to chuse the way of the Lord: but God had first chosen them. Deut. 4. 37. *Because he loued the fathers he chose their seede:* and here the people answere, *We will serue the Lord, for he is our God*, vers. 18. First, hee was their God in choosing them, and giuing grace; and then they chose the Lorde. Secondly, this place otherwise would enforce an absolute election in diuine matters, and not in ciuill onely, which were a grosse error: for this choise of the people was of the seruice and religion of God.

2. Secondly, *Dauids* will is directed by faith to make choise to fall into Gods hands: for (saith he) *his mercies are great*, vers. 14. His faith and confidence in Gods mercies directeth his choise.

3. Thirdly, 1. Those places are vnproperly alleaged to proue freewill in ciuill matters: to *enter into life*, and *to follow Christ*, are not ciuill, but spirituall and diuine: will hee then conclude that a man hath power of himselfe to follow Christ, and enter into heauen? blasphemous is the mouth, that so affirmeth. 2. Why the precepts of Scripture are thus set forth vnto man, Saint *Ambrose* excellently sheweth: *Non ob aliud vnquam datur praceptum, nisi vt quaratur præcipientis auxilium, vocet docentium, lector a paginarum Deo seruiunt, non curent eius virtute cui seruiunt: & quando id quod iubetur ab obediente perficitur, tunc effectus diuini operis declaratur:* The precept is giuen, that the helpe of the precept giuer may be sought; the voyce of the teacher, the letters of Scripture doe minister vnto God; neither doe they want his vertue, whom they serue: and when that is fulfilled, which is commaunded, the operation of the diuine worke is declared, *epist.* 84. The precepts then of Scripture proue not a freewill in man, but onely stirre vs vp to seeke for his helpe to performe the precept, that giueth it.

Argum. 3. Here a great troupe of both Greeke and Latine fathers is brought in for the proofe of freewill. I answere; first, it is certaine that some of the Greeke fathers ascribed too much to freewill, more I thinke than the Papists dare acknowledge: as in the Homilie vnder *Chrysostomes* name vpon the storie of *Zacheus: Iussit est vt possis, quia in te est vt velis, &c.* It is in thy selfe to be able to

to doe, because it is in thee to will to doe. If it be in vs, what neede grace? Secondly, the fathers extoll freewill, hauing to deale with the contrarie hereſie of the Manichees, who imputed ſin vnto nature, and not to mans will. Thirdly, the fathers affirming freewill, either ſpeake of the ſtate of man in his firſt creation: as *Baſile* alleaged ſaith, *Animam voluntarium adepta vitam, &c.* The ſoule hauing obtained a voluntarie life, was created according to the image of God. Or elſe they meane the freedome of will by grace: as *Epiphan. hæreſ. 16. Liberum arbitrium concedit nobis Deus, &c.* God hath giuen vnto vs a freewill, ſaying, If ye will obey and heare, ye ſhall eate the good things of the land. This libertie or freedome, as I ſhewed before out of *Ambroſe*, is wrought in vs by grace. Or laſtly, they ſpeake of a libertie of will free from compulſion or violence, as *Chryſoſtome ſerm. 2. de ſtat: Dæmon dicit, Non eſt in te, quod extendas manum, ſed neceſſitate & vi id agis.* The deuell ſaith, It is not in thee to extend thy hand, but thou doeſt it of neceſſitie and force. And S. *Hierome* cited in 16. *Ieremi. Liberum homini ſeruatur arbitrium vt ex præſcientia eius, quaſi ex neceſſitate cogatur, &c.* Mans freewill is reſerued, ſo that he is not conſtrained as of neceſſitie by Gods preſcience to doe this or that. In any of theſe three ſenſes if the fathers be vnderſtood, according to their owne minde, we doe willingly conſent: that man in his creation had freewill; that by grace now alſo mans will is made free; and that by nature mans will is free from compulſion or conſtraint.

The Proteſtants.

WE here diſſent from our aduerſaries in two points: Firſt, wee graunt, that in ciuill matters, being in themſelues indifferent, there is a freewill in man, as to eate, to labour, to ſit, to goe, to plant, to build: but to doe any of theſe to any good, or godly end, as to labour, thereby to auoide ſtealing, to goe vnto prayer, to build houſes for poore people onely of charitie, without opinion of merit, theſe godly actions are not of our ſelues, but wrought in vs by the ſpirit.

Secondly, wee affirme, that although in ſuch things mens thoughts or deuiſes, are free; yet ſo are not their actions: it is not as free for men to doe, or not to doe, as to will, or not to will.

Argum. 1. *The heart of man purpoſeth his way, but the Lord doth direct his ſteps*, Prou. 16. 8. *Many deuiſes are in mans heart, but the counſell of the Lord ſhall ſtand*, Prou. 19. verſ. 21. *I know, that the way of man is not in himſelfe, neither is it in man to direct his ſteps*, Iere. 10. 23. S. *Iames* alſo reproueth them which ſay, to morrow I will goe into the citie: *Ye ought to ſay, if the Lorde will, I will doe this or that*, Iam. 4. 14. By theſe places we gather, that it is not in mans power to doe what himſelfe willeth, or purpoſeth, and therefore he hath not a free and abſolute will in theſe things.

Anſw. It is one thing to haue *liberam electionem*, a free choiſe of things, another to haue *liberam executionem*, freely to execute that which a man willeth: theſe places ſhew, that man hath not power freely to execute his will: his will or purpoſe may be free notwithſtanding in it ſelfe, *Bellar. cap.* 11.

Contra. The Ieſuite hath made here an answere contrarie to himſelfe: for before hee thus defined *liberum hominem*, a freeman, or a man of freewill, *qui pro arbitrio facit, vel non facit*, which doth or not doth, this or that, according to his owne pleaſure, *cap. 7. argum.* 2. But here forgetting what he ſaid before, he limiteth freewill within the compaſſe of the minde and purpoſe, not extending it to the action or execution: ſaying to this effect, that the purpoſe of man is free; but to accompliſh or execute his purpoſe he hath not free or abſolute power: which is the very ſame, that wee affirmed before: that howſoeuer mens thoughts in meere ciuill and naturall things are left vnto them free, yet ſo are not their actions.

Argum. 2. Iſay. 26. 12. *Thou haſt wrought all our workes for vs*, Rom. 11. 36. *Of him, through him, and for him are all things.* 1. Corin. 12. 6. *God worketh all in all: Ergo*, the diſpoſition of the will is of God.

Bellarm. Mans freewill, and Gods grace doe worke together: like as without the light a man cannot ſee, yet the light being preſent, it is in a mans power to open his eyes and ſee, or to ſhut his eyes and not ſee: ſo the grace of God preſuppoſed, yet it is in mans will to chuſe or refuſe: *Bellarm. cap.* 11. *obſerv.* 2.

Contra. Firſt, this gloſſe is contrarie to the text: for if God worke all our workes for vs, if hee worke all in all, then our will worketh nothing: how worketh God all, if hee worke not all, but with a fellow helper? Secondly, the reaſon is not alike betweene the gifts of nature, and the gifts of grace: for the power to ſee, to heare, is once giuen in the nature of man, and to the execution thereof, there needs no ſpeciall direction, but the generall aſſiſtance of Gods prouidence: but in the workes of grace, as in the diſpoſing of the will to good, the ſpeciall aſſiſtance of Gods ſpirit is neceſſarie: a man may ſhut his eyes againſt the light, but a man cannot ſhut his heart againſt the effectuall working of grace. Thirdly, this was the hereſie of the Pelagians: *Ita dei gratiam ponunt, vt non per ſingula opera eius vitamur auxilio.* They did ſo affirme the grace of God, that wee needs not for euery worke Gods aſſiſtance: but referred themſelues to freewill, which was once giuen them. Their ſentence was this, that it was the grace and gift of God, that they had freewill: but after this gift once giuen, the execution and diſpoſition of it was in themſelues: *Hieron. epiſt. ad*

Ctesiphont. *Bellarmine* seemeth not to be farre off from this heresie, that matcheth the naturall faculties of the sense, and the spirituall disposition of the will together: as though a general assistance of Gods power and prouidence sufficed to the one, as well as to the other.

Aug. artic. 3. contr. Pelag.

Lastly, *Augustine* saith: *Fatemur quidem liberum esse in omnibus hominibus arbitrium, habens quidem iudicium rationis, non per quod sit idoneum, quo ad Deum perueniant, siue Deo aut incipere, aut perficere, sed tantum in operibus vitæ præsentis, tam bonis quam malis: bonis dico, quæ bono naturæ oriuntur, vt velle manducare, laborare, domũ fabricare, &c.* We confesse a kind of freewill to be in all men, which hath the iudgement of reason, not by the which it is fit either to begin, or to finish without Gods helpe, things appertaining to God, but only in the workes of this life present, both good and euill; such good things I meane, as haue a naturall or ciuill goodnes, as to will or purpose to eate, to labour, to build an house. With this testimonie, both these points are confirmed, which we haue now alreadie sufficiently proued out of Scripture. First, *Augustine* graunteth a freewill in naturall things, so farre onely as they are naturally or ciuilly good, not as they are referred vnto God or any godly worke. Secondly, the execution of these naturall actions he doth not attribute to mans freewill, but the purpose onely and desire, as *velle laborare, manducare*, to will to labour, to will to eate, and so of the rest.

Saint *Hierome epist. ad Ctesiphont.* sheweth what the power of mans will is in naturall things: the Pelagian obiected thus: *Si voluero curuare digitum, stare, sedere, &c. semper mihi dei auxilium necessarium est?* If I will bow my finger, stand, sit, &c. is the helpe of God alwaies necessarie? He answereth thus: *Audi ingrate, immo sacrilege, Apostolum prædicantem:* Heare thou vngratefull man, &c. the Apostle thus preaching, *Whether we eate or drinke, or whatsoeuer we doe, doe all to the glorie of God.* So then euen in these ciuill workes Gods assistance is necessarie.

Ambrose also thus testifieth, *epist. 84. Quasi homo auxilio dei in quadam actionum suarum pergens, in quadam non egeat, &c.* As though man needed Gods helpe in some part of his actions, in some not: or that there were any time, or moment, wherein it were not pernicious and hurtfull to him, if the spirit of God were wanting: *Ergo*, euen in the direction of ciuill actions the presence of the spirit is necessarie, if in no action, nor any time he can be wanting.

AN APPENDIX, AS TOVCHING THE NAME and difference of freewill before mans fall and after.

The Papists.

40. Error.

FIrst, concerning the name of freewill, *Bellarmine* greatly complaineth, that some haue very boldly chaunged the name of freewill, calling it *seruum arbitrium*, bond will: his reason is, because the fathers haue alwaies vsed the name of freewill in the defence of the faith; but it is not like, that the Church would haue vsed it, if it had been an offensiue and vnfit name, *Bellar. lib. 4. cap. 6.*

41. Error.

Secondly, hee doubteth not to affirme, *Post lapsum hominem esse liberi arbitrij si fuit ante lapsum*: That man hath freewill after the fall, as well as he had it before. His reason is this, because the prouidence of God is alleaged by *Caluine* to be the onely impediment of freewill: but Gods prouidence was as well before mans fall as after: *Bellar. lib. 4. cap. 8. argum. 6.* Thus in *Bellarmines* opinion, man hath freewill as well after his fall, as before.

The Protestants.

FIrst, 1. That the name of freewill was very much vsed of ancient time by the fathers we grant, for they had to deale with the wicked Manichees, & other heretikes, who made the beginning of sin in the euilnes of nature, not in the corruption of mans will; therfore against the they maintained the name and nature of freewill, so long this name had not only a tolerable, but a necessary vse: but now seeing it is abused to signifie an aptnes and libertie in mans will by nature to doe good, we may deale with it, as *Hezekiah* did with the brasen Serpent, which though it had a good beginning, yet because in processe of time it was abused to superstition, hee caused it to be broken downe. By the same example we may leaue and chaunge the vse of this name of freewill.

2. The Scripture doth call mans will, and man himselfe by nature *bond*, and speaketh of no freedome or libertie but by grace: Rom. 6. 20. *Ye were the seruants of sinne: Serui peccati*: What is this else but to say, *seruum arbitrium*, your will was bond, or seruant to sinne.

3. *Concil. Arausican. 2. c. 13. Quod amissum est, &c.* That which is lost cannot be restored, but by him, that first gaue it, as the truth saith: *If the Sonne make you free, ye are free indeede*, Ioh. 8. 36. The Scripture acknowledgeth no libertie of the will but by grace: wherefore the name of freewill by nature, is contrarie both to the sense and phrase of Scripture, and in that vnderstanding may be refrained, and discontinued.

Secondly, 1. That man after his fall enioyeth freewill as he did before, is contrarie to the Scripture: Eccles. 7. 31. *God hath made man righteous, but he hath added many inuentions.* And the image of

of God, after the which man was created, whereof his holie and freewill was a part, is by *Adams* fall decayed, and renewed in Christ, Colos. 3. 18.

2. Neither doth *Caluine* or any other say, that Gods prescience or prouidence is an hindrance to the libertie of mans will: but we confesse with *Ambrose*: *Æterna dei, & semper tranquilla cognitio nulla nos vrget necessitate peccandi, nec inde manat iniquitas, vnde iustitia*; Gods eternall and stayed knowledge, doth not vrge vs with any necessitie to sinne, neither doth iniquitie proceede from whence iustice commeth, *lib. 2. de vocat. Gent. cap. 10.* It is not then Gods prescience, but mans own corruption, that hath spoyled him of the libertie of will giuen in the creation: that which God foreknoweth, must necessarily come to passe, for otherwise it should not haue been foreknowne: but his foreknowledge is not the cause thereof.

3. That *Adams* freewill by his fall is lost, and that man hath not the same libertie of will before and after his fall, it is plentifully testified, by Councels and Fathers. *Arausican. 2. c. 8. Liberum arbitrium per peccatum primi hominis infirmatum & læsum*: Freewill by the sinne of the first man is weakened and wounded. *Can. 25. Per peccatum primi hominis ita inclinatum & attenuatum fuit liberum arbitrium*: Freewill is so attenuate and degenerate by the sinne of the first man, that no man can loue God, or beleeue in God, as hee ought, vnlesse grace preuent him. S. *Ambrose in Luc. 15. Prodigus viuendo luxuriosè consumpsit omnia ornamenta naturæ*: The prodigall childe by liuing riotously hath consumed all the ornaments of nature. *Peter Lombard.* rehearseth this sentence out of *Augustine*, and giueth consent to it: *Liberum arbitrium malè vtendo homo & se perdidit & ipsum*: Man vsing euill freewill, hath lost both it and himselfe: *lib. 2. dist. 25. later. H.* Wherfore *Bellarmine* most absurdly insinuateth, that man after his fall may haue freewill as well as before.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE POWER OF the minde naturally in morall duties.

First, of the vnderstanding and knowledge, which man hath by nature of these things: secondly, of the power of his will.

THE FIRST POINT, WHETHER MAN NATVrally doth vnderstand what is true or false, good, or euill, in morall duties.

The Papist.

The Iesuite affirmeth, that a man by his naturall strength may know, vnderstand and iudge, *aliquod verũ morale*, what is true, at sometimes, in morall duties, and to be followed, and ỹ not only generally, but in particular, as when and how to do iustly, how to giue alms: And further he addeth, *Actio voluntatis ei vere conformis, erit actio virtutis*: That if the will do follow the vnderstanding, in this naturall iudgement of the truth, it will bring forth a vertuous action. This then is his opinion, ỹ naturally the mind of mã vnderstandeth, which are true vertuous actions, *lib. 5. de grat.* 42. Error.

Argum. 1. The Apostle saith, *When they knew God, they did not glorifie him as God*, Rom. 1. 21. Ergo, the Gentiles had the knowledge of God naturally by the creatures, and might thereby haue been preserued from idolatrie, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, a knowledge of the Creator by the creatures, we graunt, but an obscure, imperfect, a generall and confused knowledge onely, seruing to make men inexcusable, as the Apostle saith, vers. 20. but not able to bring them to the right worship of God, as the Iesuite supposeth: for the Gospell onely, as S. *Paul* defineth, *is the power of God to saluation*: that is, the only effectuall meanes to bring vs to know God vnto saluation. This naturall knowledge of God, though the Gentiles had consented to it, could neuer of it selfe haue brought forth a vertuous act.

2. *Bellarmine* confesseth himselfe, that a man cannot beleeue in God, *sine speciali gratiæ auxilio*, without speciall assistance of grace: *lib. 6. cap. 1.* nor yet so much as thinke, much lesse doe of himselfe any thing, *quod ad pietatem pertinet*, which belongeth to godlines, *cap. 3. lib. 5. respons. ad arg. 1.* but so to know God, as thereby to be able to abstaine from Idolatrie, belongeth to godlines, and is a fruit issuing from beleefe: therefore it is not in mans power: And yet the contrary is here affirmed by the Iesuite, *Potuisse Gentiles per cognitionem vnius Dei ex creaturis acceptam abstinere à cultu Idolorum*: That the Gentiles by the naturall knowledge of God in the creatures, might haue abstained from the worship of Images. Bellarmine 1. gainst himself.

Arg. 2. The Gentiles which haue not the Law, do by nature the things contained in the Law, they hauing not the Law, are a Law to themselues, which shew the effect of the Law written in their harts, their conscience also bearing witnesse, &c. Rom. 2. 14. 15. Here the Apostle sheweth, that the Gentiles, hauing not the law written, yet by the naturall light of reason did know some thinges, which appertained to honest liuing, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. First, wee denie not, as wee haue alreadie declared, but that the Gentiles naturally had some knowledge of right, and wrong, of good and euill; and did naturally such thinges: but this knowledge and practise of theirs was farre from bringing forth any vertuous action, or good acceptable worke (which is the thing the Iesuite should haue prooued) because they had no faith, without the which it is not possible to doe any acceptable worke, Hebr. 11. verse. 6.

Secondly, this place as well sheweth, that the Gentiles had power naturally as well to doe, as to know such things: but it is impossible to performe the workes of the law naturally, as *Bellarmine* himselfe sheweth: *Non posse solis naturæ viribus adimpleri præcepta moralia omnia, secundum substantiam operis*: That by the power only of nature, the morall precepts cannot be kept, as touching the substantiall, that is, the externall worke, *cap. 5. Ergo*, neither the knowledge of morall precepts is obtained onely by the instinct of nature.

The Protestants.

A Light of nature wee acknowledge, whereby naturally men, after a darke and obscure manner, may vnderstand, in morall actions, some resemblance and likelihoode of equitie and truth: And the Gentiles directed by these naturall principles, were able to prouide by their lawes against adulterie, murther, theft, and such notorious dishonestie of life: But that there is any such naturall distinct or effectuall power or knowledge in man, whereby he is able to bring foorth any good or vertuous act, we hold it as a great vntruth.

Argum. 1. The Apostle saith, *We are not sufficient of our selues to thinke any thing, but our sufficiencie is of God*, 2. Cor. 3. 5. Therefore it is not in mans power naturally to thinke or conceiue that which is good.

Answ. Saint *Paul* speaketh of such thoughts as concerne godlines, and appertaine to life eternall, which we graunt, are not in mans power: not of morall duties, *Bellarm. cap.* 3.

Contra. 1. Saint *Paul* vnderstandeth all good thoughts whatsoeuer are in man, that they are of God: for elsewhere he saith, *that euery thought must be brought into captiuitie to the obedience of Christ*, 2. Cor. 10. 5. But if man had any good thought of himselfe, what neede it be subdued to the obedience of Christ? In saying (*euery thought*) hee sheweth, that without Christ, all our thoughts and motions are rebellious.

2. As though morall duties doe not appertaine also to godlines of life: as the Apostle saith, *Godlines is great gaine, if a man be content, &c.* Contentment of minde, and auoiding of couetousnes, which the Apostle treateth of here, is a morall vertue, yet Saint *Paul* calleth it godlines.

3. What if we graunt, that godly workes, and morall duties are two distinct things: yet they are both of God: *for euery good giuing is from aboue*, Iam. 1. 17. And *Paul* among the fruits of the spirit, reckoneth vp goodnesse as well as faith, Galath. 5. verse. 22. that is, the goodnesse and honestie of life, in thought, will or deede, is as well wrought in vs by the spirit, as faith in religion.

Argum. 2. *The imaginations of the thoughts of mens hearts, are only euill continually*, Gen. 6. 5. *Ergo*, man hath by nature no good thoughts.

Answ. The thoughts of mens hearts are said to be euill, because *vt plurimùm sunt malæ*, they are for the most part euill, *Bellar. cap.* 3.

Contra. 1. If it had been written in generall termes thus; the thoughts of mans heart are euill, the Iesuites answere would haue seemed more probable: but seeing the Scripture saith, *they are onely euill*, and that continually, they cannot be partly good and partly euill, or good at one time, and euill at another, but wholy and onely euill, and alwaies. Wherefore if this scripture be true, then is his answere false, and impertinent to this place.

2. We haue other testimonies of scripture, that doe witnesse with this text, which wee haue alleadged: *God hath made man righteous, but they haue sought many inuentions*, Eccles. 7. 31. All righteousnes then is of God, the inuentions which man followeth are vaine. The Gospell saith, *The light shineth in darknes, and the darknes comprehended it not*, Ioh. 1. 5. The trueth is the light, the minde of man by nature is darknes: if the minde naturally vnderstandeth the truth, then should darknes comprehend the light.

Lastly, the Psalme saith, *There is none, that would vnderstand and seeke God*, Psal. 14. 2. *Ergo*, man hath no vnderstanding of good things by nature.

Augustine saith: *Nemo rectè sapit, rectè intelligit, nisi acceperit spiritum sapientiæ & intellectus*: No man can vnderstand aright, or truely be wise, vnlesse he haue receiued the spirit of wisdome, and vnderstanding, *Epist.* 105. Therefore true and right vnderstanding is not ingraft by nature, but wrought by grace.

S. *Ambrose, serm.* 10. *in Psal.* 119. vpon these wordes, Giue me vnderstanding, that I may learne thy commandements: *Si Propheta intellectum sibi dari postulat, quis tam arrogans qui profiteatur in sua potestate esse intelligentiam, &c.* If the Prophet desire vnderstanding to be giuen him, who is so arrogant, as to professe that intelligence or vnderstanding is in his owne power?

Pet.

Pet. Lombard. Recte dicitur homo naturaliter velle bonum, quia in recta & bona voluntate conditus est; A man is well said naturally to will that is good, because he was created in a good and right will: the naturall will and knowledge of that is good, he referreth to the state of man in creation, not to his present condition of corruption.

Many of the Schoolemen are of this iudgement, that no morall trueth can be knowne of humane vnderstanding now in the state of nature corrupted, without Gods speciall helpe: *sic Gregor. Ariminens. in 2. sen. dist. 26 qu. 1. art. 1 conclus. 2. Capreol. in 2. distinct. 28 qu. vnic. artic. 3. Gaspar Cassalus, lib. 1 de quadripar. institia, c. 32.* So that for this trueth we want not euidence from our aduersaries themselues.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE POWER OF FREE-will in morall dueties, two Questions.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER A MAN without faith and speciall helpe from God may performe any thing morally good, if no tentation assault him.

The Papists.

Bellarmine doubteth not so to affirme that a man naturally without faith, both with speciall assistance from God, and without it, can performe some morall good worke, if no tentation let: for a man by nature alone without Gods helpe cannot resist tentation, *c. 9.* 43. Errot.

Argum. 1. God doth reward morall workes done without faith; as the Ægyptian Midwiues are rewarded for sauing the male children of the Hebrewes, Exod. 1. 21. 1. 2. *Nabuchadnezzar* is recompensed for his seruice done vnto God, in the besieging and ouerthrow of Tyrus, Ezech. 29. vers. 20. *I haue giuen him the land of Egypt for his labour, because he wrought for me.* 2. 3. Dan. 4. 24. *Redeeme thy sinnes by mercie to the poore*: Here the almes of an Infidell doth auert the temporall punishment: *Ergo*, it was a good worke. 3. 4. Rom. 2. 14. *The Gentiles hauing not the Law, do by nature the things contayned in the law*: the Gentiles by the light of nature did the workes of the law: *Ergo*, without faith, some morall workes of the law may be performed, *Bellarm. lib. 5. de grat. c. 9.*

Answ. First, 1. They were not the Ægyptian Midwiues, but the Midwiues of the Hebrew women, vers. 15. *Bellarm.* therefore is herein grosse deceiued. 2. This worke of theirs was not without faith, vers. 21. *They feared God*: wherefore it is impertinently alleaged, for the probation of morall good workes without faith. 1.

Secondly, 1. It may wel be, that *Nabuchadnezzar* went against Tyrus, by the secret instinct of God, as *Necho* king of Egypt, (whom *Iosias* vnaduisedly went against) going vp against Carchomis, was commanded of God to make haste, 2. Chron. 35. 21. Then this example is vnfitly alleaged for morall workes done by nature. 2. It followeth not, that because hee wrought for God, that it was a good seruice: so Sathan did execute Gods will vpon *Iob*, and the Iewes in putting Christ to death, yet neyther I trust did well. 3. Neyther doth the temporall reward proue it to be a good worke: seeing that the wicked are temporally recompensed without desert, with raine and Sunshine, Matth. 5. 45. and *Ahab* by his temporarie and worldly repentance deferred Gods wrath, 1. King. 21. 29. but it was no good worke, being but *a worldly sorrow*, rising rather from the feare of Gods iudgments vpon his house, then from the detestation of sinne: and *worldly sorrow* (saith the Apostle) *causeth death*, 2. Cor. 7. 10. that is, helpeth not to saluation, but tendeth rather vnto perishing. 4. Such a seruice, such a reward; a bloodie seruice in sacking of Tyre, is rewarded with a bloodie victorie in ouercomming Egypt. 5. *Augustine* saith, *Non officijs sed finibus virtutes à vitijs discernendæ sunt, si enim non propter hoc facit homo bonum, &c.* Vertue is to be discerned from vice, not by the officious act, but by the vertuous end: if then a man doth good not for that end he should, he sinneth, *cont. Iulian.* 43. Therefore vnlesse it can be proued, that *Nabuchadnezzar* sacked Tyrus for obedience to Gods will, not for reuenge of his owne malice, or of an ambitious desire to enlarge his kingdome, it was no good worke. 2.

Thirdly, 1. the text is to be read, *breake off*, not *redeeme*, for so is the hebrue word פרק *parach* taken, Genes. 27. 40. where *Isaack* saith to *Esau*, Thou shalt breake his yoke from thy necke. 2. We confesse, that in the Infidels, their almes, and such like good woorkes in shew, were much better then their manifest sinnes, and that to breake off such sinnes, by such workes, it was commendable; yet it followeth not, that they were good. 3. These almes deedes, in that *Daniel* by the spirit of God gaue this counsell, should also haue proceeded, not from his naturall inclination, but from the instinct of the spirit: as *Augustine* well saith, *Colligitur ipsa bona opera, quæ faciunt, non ipsorum esse, sed illius, qui bene vtitur malis; ipsorum esse peccata, quibus bona male faciunt*: It is gathered, that good workes, which Infidels do, are not theirs, but his, which well vseth that, which is euill, but 3.

the sinne is theirs, whereby they do good things euill, *cont. Iulian lib.4.cap.3.* 4. Hee saith againe, *Nec misericordia semper est bona, propter quam meruit Saul à Domino misericorde damnari:* Neyther is mercie or almes alwayes good, for the which *Saul* deserued of the mercifull Lord to be damned, *ibid.* 5. The auerting of a temporall punishment, doth not proue it simplie to be good: as *Augustine* saith, *Cui non datur semper viuere, quid prodest bene viuere?* What doth it profite a man to liue well, if he liue not euer? *in Iohan.45.* Wherefore these temporall works profited not infidels, and consequently were not good, because they auayled not to euerlasting life.

4. Fourthly, 1. Some of the fathers expound that place of the Apostle, of such of the Gentiles aswere conuerted to the faith: As *Origen, Si videris Gentes ad Iesum venire & credere ei, &c.* If thou seest the Gentiles come vnto Christ and beleeue in him, and fulfill the worke of the law, &c. doubt not to say that Iesus hath written the law in these stones, *hom.9 in Iosua.* So also *Augustine* answereth the Pelagians; they are said to do the things of the law, *Quia ex Gentibus venerunt ad Euangelium:* Because they came from among the Gentiles to the Gospell, *cont. Iulian.4.3.* But I do not greatly vrge this interpretation. 2. We say, that they among the Gentiles, that followed the light of nature, wanted not some speciall helpe, though they had not faith, which helpe others among them had not: So S. *Ambrose* saith, *Quod illuminante gratia inuenerunt, obcecatio superbia perdiderunt:* That which they found by illuminating grace, they lost by blind pride, *de vocat. Gent lib.2.c.2.* The better sort then among them, had a certaine measure of illumination, which all had not, which they by the pride of their heartes corrupted. 3. But our more full answere is this, that it followeth not, because the Gentiles did by nature some thinges agreeable to the law, as appertaining to iustice, temperance, mercie, therefore their workes were good: they did things that had a shew of goodnesse, but not with a good minde: they were not then good workes, no more then the almes, fasting, prayer of the Pharisees, were good workes; which were not done of conscience, but for the praise of men: and as *Augustine* saith, *Tolerabilius in die iudicij punientur &c.* They shall be more easily punished in the day of iudgement, because naturally, they did the things of the law: *cont. Iulian. lib.4.c.3.* And this is that the Apostle saith, Rom.2.15. *Their thoughts accusing one another or excusing:* not excusing from the whole punishment, but in making their punishment lesse or more easie, as *Augustine* expoundeth.

The Protestants.

THat a man without faith and grace, by the instinct of nature onely, cannot do any thing that is good before God, whether he be assaulted by any speciall temptation or not: it is thus euident out of Scripture.

1. *Argum.* 1. Pro.15.8. *The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord.* 2. Gen.6.5. *The*
2. *imaginations of the thoughtes of mans heart are onely euill continually.* 3. Psal.13.3. *All are gone out of*
3. *the way, there is none that doth good, no not one.*
4. 4. Ierem.17.9. *The heart is wicked and deceitfull aboue all thinges.*
5. 5. Matth.7.18. *A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruite:* but euery man by nature is a corrupt tree. Likewise Luke 6.45.
6. 6. Iohn 3.6. *That which is borne of the flesh is flesh.*
7. 7. Iohn 15.5. *Without me yee can doe nothing.*
8. 8. Rom.14.23. *Whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne.*
9. 9. Hebr.11.6. *Without faith it is impossible to please God.*
10. 10. Tit.1.15. *To the vnbeleeuing nothing is pure.* 1.Iohn 2.16. *All that is in the world, is the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, the pride of life.* All these places do strongly conclude, that man by nature without fayth, is apt to doe nothing but euill: I will examine *Bellarmines* answere to these Scriptures.

1. 1. *Bellarm.* The argument followeth not, The sacrifices of the wicked are an abomination: *Ergo*, their morall workes: For there is great difference betweene the one and the other. Sacrifices must be offered with a pure conscience, and to this end, to please God; but to morall workes neyther is required: not the puritie of conscience; neyther in their almes is there any other end, but to helpe the needie: *Bellarm.c.10.resp.ad loc.1.*

Contra. 1. Betweene sacrifices and almes deedes, there is no difference in this behalfe, for the Apostle calleth *distribution* to the poore a Sacrifice, Hebr.13.16. 2. Hee saith, To do good and distribute forget not, *for with such sacrifices God is pleased:* wherefore such almes deedes as God is not pleased with, as was the almes of the Pharisees, are no good workes: for, if *they do good*, they are acceptable to God. 3. Neyther can the worke be good, where the conscience is defiled: as S. *Paul* sheweth, Tit.1.15. that nothing is pure to vnbeleeuers, because their conscience is defiled.

2. 2. *Bellarm.* The meaning of the place is, that the most part of their thoughtes were euill, not all: for it followeth, vers.9. that *Noe* was a iust and vpright man, *resp.ad loc.2.*

Contra. 1. The text is, all the *imaginations* of mans heart are euill; how then is he not ashamed

to

to contradict Scripture, and say, *not all.* 2. This place may be expounded by that, Psal. 14.3. *There is none that doth good, no not one:* Here I trust there is no exception of any, as they are by nature. 3. *Noe* was iust, but not by nature, vers. 8. *Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord:* he was by nature the same that others, but changed by grace. 4. So notwithstanding this, all the imaginations of mans heart are euill by nature, as it is so expounded, c. 8. 21. *Mans thoughtes are euill from his youth.*

3. *Bellarm.* This place concludeth not, that there is no man that doth any good morall worke; but none, that is iust: for one or two good workes make not a iust man, that hath many sinnes beside, *respons. ad loc.* 3. 3.

Contra. 1. The words are very direct, there is *none that doth good,* and with a repetition, *no not one:* doth he not most impiously now contradict Scripture, in saying; Yes, *some do good* by nature? 2. If they be not iust nor righteous, how can they bring forth any righteous or good worke; for an euill or corrupt tree cannot send forth any good fruite, Matth. 7.18. 3. S. *Paul* is the best expounder of this place, Rom. 3.12. they are become *altogether* vnprofitable, ἅμα ἠχρεώθησαν, if they bee wholy or altogether vnprofitable, how can they bring forth any good or profitable worke?

4. *Bellar.* Mans heart is said to be euill or wicked, not because it can do no good moral worke, but for that it is the fountaine and originall of euill: as Christ saith, Matth. 15.19. Out of the heart come euill thoughts, murders, &c. *respons. ad argum.* 6. 4.

Contra. 1. If the heart be the fountaine of euill, it can bring forth no good: Iob. 14.4. *Who can bring a cleane thing out of filthinesse, no not one:* Iam. 3.12. *The same fountaine cannot bring forth bitter water and sweete:* but if mans heart being the fountaine of euill, as he confesseth, should worke any good thing, the same fountaine, contrary to the Apostle, should send out bitter and sweet water. 2. In the same place our Sauiour sayth, *these are the thinges which defile a man:* if then an euill heart defile a man, how can that be cleane which commeth from him? Our Sauiour sayth againe, *Cleanse first the inside of the cup, that the outside may be cleane,* Matth. 23.26. The inside is the heart, the outside are the workes, which cannot be cleane, as long as the heart is vncleane: and the heart is not cleansed or purified, but by faith, Act. 15.9.

5. *Bellar.* 1. Christs meaning is, not that an euill tree can bring forth no good fruite at all, but for the most part and ordinarily it bringeth forth euill fruite. 2. The euill tree is the euilnesse of nature, the good tree is the goodnesse of nature: When a naturall man doth good, it is not of the concupiscence or corruption of nature, which is the euill tree, but *ex bono naturæ,* of the goodnesse of nature, which is the good tree. 3. An euill tree can bring forth no good fruit, that is, an euill man can doe no good worke meritorious of life and saluation, *Bellar. resp. ad arg.* 7. 5.

Contra. First, Christs meaning is that an euill tree, that is an euill man, can bring forth no good fruit at all: First, Matt. 12.33. *Make the tree good, and his fruit good:* the tree then must first be made good, before the fruit can be good. Secondly, *How can ye speake good things* (saith Christ) *when ye are euill* vers. 34. If an euill man can speake any good thinges, our Sauiour had not reasoned well. Thirdly, Luk. 6.44. *Neither of thornes gather men figs, nor of bushes grapes.* Like as then a thorne doth not ordinarily, but not at all bring forth figs, nor a bush grapes: so an euill heart cannot moue any thing that is good. Fourthly, thus *Augustine* expoundeth: When *Iulian* the Pelagian, had propounded this example, whether it be sinne in an Infidell to clothe the naked? *Augustine* answereth thus: *Vtrum hoc male facit, vel bene? &c.* Whether doth he this well, or euill? If you say euill, you cannot denie, but he sinneth: if well, then an euill tree bringeth forth good fruit: *cont. Iulia.* 4.3. In *Augustines* iudgement then an euill tree cannot bring forth any good fruit at all.

Secondly, 1. It is a most grosse answere and contrarie to Scripture, that a mans will or heart by nature is both a good and euill tree: for the good tree is expounded to be the good treasure of the heart, Matth. 12.35. And Saint *Paul* saith, that this good treasure, which we carrie in earthen vessels, is *the light of the knowledge of God in Christ,* 2. Cor. 4.6. Say if you dare also that this treasure of knowledge is in man by nature. 2. That the good tree is not by nature, but planted by grace, the Scripture euery where testifieth, Matth. 15.13. *Euery plant, which God hath not planted, shall be rooted out.* God pulleth not vp good trees, but he pulleth vp whatsoeuer is not planted by grace: for that is Gods planting: *Ergo,* the plant of nature is not a good plant. Iohn 15.3. You are cleane, that is, good branches by the word, *Ergo,* not by nature: vers. 16. *I haue ordained, that ye goe and bring forth fruit: Ergo,* they are not so ordained by nature.

Thirdly, no good worke is meritorious of life and saluation, yet euery good worke is rewarded euerlastingly: Matth. 10.42. *He that giueth a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple, shall not lose his reward.* Iohn 15.16. *I haue ordained, that you goe and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit remaine.* The fruit then that remaineth not, and shall not be rewarded of Christ, is no good fruit.

6. *Bellarmine,* a naturall man, doth not alwaies in euery worke obey the flesh, but he may doe something of his naturall propension to good, not of his vitious concupiscence: *resp. ad arg.* 8. 6.

Contra. First, whatsoeuer is in man, is either of the flesh, or of the spirit, the carnall part or regenerate: I aske then, whether a naturall man can worke by the spirite? I thinke they are not so absurd: for then, if a man be by nature borne of the spirite, regeneration or second birth were not necessary, contrary to our Sauiour, Iohn 3.5. *Except a man be borne againe, &c.* Then it followeth, that a naturall man working by the flesh, doth nothing but that which is carnall and euill: *for the flesh lusteth against the spirit, the spirit against the flesh, and these are contrarie one to the other*, Galat. 5. vers. 17. but good is not contrarie to good: therefore of the flesh there is nothing good. 2. S. *Paul* saith, that in the flesh there dwelleth nothing that is good, Rom. 7. 18. and euery man doth eyther sow to his flesh, or sow to the spirite: but hee that soweth to the flesh, *shall of the flesh reape corruption*, Galath. 6. 8. a naturall man cannot sow to the spirite; therefore sowing onely to the flesh, he reapeth nothing but corruption.

7. 7. *Bellar.* Without Christ we can do no good worke tending to saluation; but morall good workes we can, *respons. ad loc. 9.*

Contra. This answere S. *Paul* quite ouerthroweth, in the place euen now alleaged, Galath. 6. 8. *He that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reape corruption; he that soweth to the spirit, shall of the spirit reape life euerlasting.* The workes then of nature, if they be of the spirite, are tending to euerlasting life; if of the flesh, they are tending to corruption: but a good worke is not a corrupt worke or tending to corruption; therefore the works of the flesh, are no good workes: neither are there any good fruites, which remaine not vnto life, Iohn. 15. 16.

8. 8. *Bellarm.* The Apostle by faith, vnderstandeth not here that faith, whereby wee beleeue in Christ, but a perswasion of the conscience, whereby wee are perswaded a thing to be lawfull, *resp. ad argum.* 10.

Contra. Augustine answereth; for after this manner the Pelagians obiected, *Si hoc de cibis intelligendum putes, &c.* If you thinke this is to be vnderstood of meates: yet the Apostle by this generall sentence, would proue this speciall sinne concerning meates, as it is elsewhere written, *without faith it is impossible to please God*, Hebr. 11. 6. *cont. Iulian.* 4. 3.

9. 9. *Bellarm.* Without faith it is impossible to please God to eternall saluation; but yet the goodnesse of mans nature, and the workes proceeding from it, doe also please God, *resp. ad argument.* 15.

Contra. 1. He is contrarie to himselfe, for he graunted before, *resp. ad 1. argum.* that the sacrifice and other morall workes of a naturall man, *Deo non placeant*, do not please God, and yet here hee saith; God by them may be pleased. 2. That God is not any way pleased with vs, without Christ, the Scripture is euident, Rom. 5. 9. *We shall be saued from wrath by him*: Ephes. 2. 2. *We were by nature the children of wrath*: Can the children of wrath please God? 3. If he speake of the naturall goodnesse of the creature, as it is created of God, I answere with *Augustine*, that if in this sense man is good: so the diuell also, as he is an Angell, is good, and consequently doth please God.

10. 10. *Bellarm.* 1. The Apostle speaketh of meates, which are vncleane to those that haue an vncleane conscience, and are not wel perswaded of them. 2. Or if it be taken generally, then this is the sense, that all the works of Infidels are vncleane, namely, such which proceede from their infidelitie. 3. S. *Iohn* speaketh of man, not as he is Gods creature, but as he is a sinner and louer of the world; for in man as he is Gods creature, there be many good things, as his will, vnderstanding, *resp. ad loc.* 14. 16.

Contra. 1. The Apostle speaketh generally of all the workes of infidels, vers. 16. They are abominable, disobedient, to *euery good worke reprobate.* 2. All the works of Infidels must needs proceede from their infidelitie, seeing their mindes *and consciences are defiled*, which is the reason the Apostle giueth, that nothing is pure vnto the impure. 3. We speake not of the substance of nature and naturall faculties, which are good as created of God, not onely in men, but in diuels; therefore this answere is not to the purpose: the Apostles argument is very firme and strong: That euery man is eyther a louer of the worlde, or a louer of God; a naturall man, cannot loue God, *which is the fruite of the spirite*, Galath. 5. 22. and hee that loueth the worlde, loueth that which is in it, and nothing else, as the concupiscence of the eye, of the flesh, *the pride of life*: Ergo, a naturall man neyther loueth, nor followeth any thing els. Thus notwithstanding all these popish glosses, and hereticall shiftes, the trueth confirmed by Scripture remayneth, that a man by nature hath no inclination to good, neyther without faith can perfourme any thing acceptable to God.

Augustines iudgement, I haue dispersedly shewed in these seuerall answeres: S. *Ambrose* thus testifieth vpon these words, Act. 3. 16. *Faith which is by him, hath giuen vnto this man, ὁλοκληρίαν, integram sanitatem*, perfite health: *Totum ergo, siue palam per cooperatoris gratia, siue occulte per subministrationem spiritus, &c.* The whole therefore, whether outwardly by the fellow-worker of grace, or secretly by the ministration of the spirite, he beginneth, encreaseth, finisheth, whose husbandrie

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and building we are, *de vocat. Gent. lib. 1. c. 8.* If Christ then worke all in vs by faith, then nature is able to worke no good thing at all.

Hieron. dialog. 3. aduers. Pelagian. vpon these wordes, *I am the vine*: Like as the braunches doe wither, being cut off from the roote: *Ita omnis fortitudo marcescit, si à dei auxilio deseratur*: So all mans strength withereth and perisheth, if it be forsaken of Gods helpe: *Ergo*, nature (without Gods helpe) can doe nothing.

Their owne Canons thus testifie: *Caus. 1. qu. 1. c. 26. Vbi Christus non est fundamentum, frustum boni operis est superaedificium*: Where Christ is not the foundation, there is no building of any good worke.

Pet. Lombard. agreeth: *Quae sine fide fiunt, bona non sunt, quia omne bonum placet Deo*: Thinges done without faith are not good, because euery good thing pleaseth God: but without faith God is not pleased, *lib. 2. dist. 41. liter. A.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE POWER of freewill in morall duties.

The Papists.

MAn, eüen as it now standeth with him in the state of corruption, hath freewill in morall duties, to chuse the good, and refuse the euill, that is, to embrace vertue, and eschue vice, *Bellarm. lib. 5. cap. 14.* Wee will first examine their arguments, whereby they vrge certaine absurdities and impossibilities, which would follow, as they think, if there should be no freewill, and then we will answere their allegations out of Scripture. 44. Haref.

Argum. 1. Sinne is either necessarie or voluntarie: if the first, it cannot be auoided, and so consequently is no sinne: if the second, it may be auoided: *Ergo*, man hath freewill, he may auoide sin if he will, *Bellarm. cap. 14.*

Answ. This was the very same obiection, which the Pelagians, and freewill-men vrged *Augustine* withall many yeeres agoe: *Si peccata caueri non possunt, peccata non sunt*: If sinnes cannot be auoided, they are no sinnes. And againe *Iniustè iudicarentur homines, si ea non faciunt, quae inuenitur impossibilia*: Men should be vniustly condemned, if they doe not these things which are commaunded being impossible. To this obiection, we neede no better answere, than *Augustine* himselfe maketh.

1 *Possibile & facile praeceptum fuit Adamo datum, ex quo contempto omnes ex eo peccatum traxerunt*: *Adam* receiued both an easie and possible commaundement, by the contempt and disobedience whereof, all men are become sinners: *cont. Iulian. 3. 18.* And againe he saith, *Arbitrij libertas semel data est homini, sed quia peccauit voluntas, sequuta est peccantem, peccatum habendi necessitas*: Man had once freewill giuen him, but because he sinned willingly, there followed as a reward of his sinne, a necessitie of sinning, *cont. Celestinum de perfect. iustit.* *Augustine* therefore teacheth vs to denie this consequent: Sinne is necessarie: *Ergo*, it is no sinne. Because that this necessitie of sinne is not by creation, but commeth by the corruption of nature, and proceedeth from *Adams* voluntarie transgression.

2 *Potest caueri peccatum, potest resisti, sed opitulante illo, qui non potest falli*: Sinne may be resisted, it may be auoyded, but by his helpe and assistance, who cannot be deceiued. *Duobus modis cauetur corporis malum, vt non accidat, & si acciderit, cito sanetur: sic vt non accidat peccatum cauemus dicendo, ne nos inferas in tentationem; vt cito sanetur, dicimus, dimitte nobis*: Two waies we take heede of the bodily diseases, that neither we fall into them; and if we doe, eftsoone to be healed: so that we fall not into sinne, we take heede in saying, leade vs not into temptation; that we may be healed from our sinne, we pray, forgiue vs our sinnes, &c. *de natur. grat. cap. 67.* Thus also we learne out of *Augustine* to deny this other consequent, sinne may be auoided: *Ergo*, we haue freewill: for sinne is shunned by grace working in vs, not by our owne power.

3 A third consequent also in this argument fayleth: Sinne is voluntarie, therefore it is not necessarie; say they, it may be auoided. It followeth not: for our will is free, not *à necessitate*, from necessitie, but *à coactione*, from constraint or compulsion: Men sinne voluntarilie, that is, willingly of their owne accorde, not so voluntarily as that they may chuse whether they will sinne or no.

4 The diuels and damned spirites cannot but doe euill, and wickedly, it is therefore in them of necessitie, yet they doe verily and truly sinne: It is then no good consequent, if men doe euill of necessitie, they in so doing sinne not, because they can no otherwise chuse. To this *Bellarmine* answereth, that it is true in generall, that the diuels doe euill necessarily; it is false in particular, because all the euill which they doe, they doe not of necessitie: for it is in their power not to doe many things which they doe, *Bellarm. cap. 14.*

Contra. First, if it be not true in particular, that diuels doe euill of necessitie, neither is it true

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of men, for they haue greater power to leaue some sinne vndone, which they doe, then the euill spirits haue, because their nature is not so corrupt, neither are they so voyde of all goodnes, as the diuels are. Secondly, if it be true but in generall, that the diuell sinneth of necessitie, and yet is properly sayd to sinne, it is sufficient for our purpose; for then that proposition is not true in generall, *Si necessarium est, non est peccatum.* If it be necessarie, it is no sinne: for it may be necessarie in generall saith the Iesuite, and yet shall be sinne.

Bellarmine further would make vs beleeue, that in defending of freewill they are farre off notwithstanding from the heresie of the Pelagians: I pray you let vs see how?

The Pelagians affirmed, that a man by freewill might, *vitare omnia peccata*, auoide and eschew all sinnes: but they holde, *vitari posse singula peccata, non omnia*, that not all sinnes, but that euery sinne may be auoided.

Contra. I pray you, what great difference is there now betweene these two? The Pelagians say, that all sinnes in all men by freewill may be auoided: the Papists holde, that euery sinne in euery man, may by freewill be auoyded? Euery man hath not all sinnes, but euery man hath some sinnes: which some notwithstanding to him, that hath no more, are all his sinnes. If euery man then may by his freewill take heede of euery his owne sinnes, then of all his sinnes: for if there bee any one sinne, which it is not in his power to eschew, by the Iesuites rule, it is no sinne. Therefore vntill the Iesuite can better discharge himselfe, we must needes tell him, that there is not one haires breadth betweene the Pelagian and popish heresie about freewill.

Argum. 2. If there were not in man freewill, there should be no place left for reward or punishment: for if a man doe euill of necessitie, he deserueth no punishment, and if he doe well vnwillingly, he is worthie no rewarde: *Bellarm. cap.* 15.

Answ. The very same obiection was moued to *Augustine*: *Vbi necessitas, ibi non est corona*: Where there is necessitie, there is no crowne, or reward. He answereth: 1. *In recte faciendo ideo nullum est vinculum necessitatis, quia libertas est charitatis, quæ diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum*: In well doing there is no bond of necessitie, because freedome or libertie commeth of loue, which is shed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghost: *August. de natur. grat. cap.* 67. that is, God of vnwilling maketh vs willing, and inspireth a loue and desire of good things into our hearts: and thus the reward is giuen to those that worke willingly, yet of grace. 2. Also punishment is due vnto sinne, though men by nature cannot chuse but sinne: the Apostle sheweth the reason: *By one man sinne entred into the world, and death by sinne*, Rom. 5. 12. *Adams* sinne was voluntarie, and therefore worthie of punishment: the same sinne, with death, the reward thereof, *Adam* hath propagated to his posteritie: so that wee are both partakers of the sinne, and the punishment.

Argum. 3. If there be no freewill, then all men should either be good or euill; and if they be good, none should be better then other; if they be euill, none should be worse then other: whereof then is this difference that some are good, some euill; and some are euill in the meane, some in the extreame, but from the libertie of mans will. Gods election is not the cause: for without freewill election maketh none good? for then infants and mad men might be good by election without freewill, *Bellarmin. c.* 16.

Answ. First, the difference and separation of men, the Apostle sheweth to proceede onely from God, and not from the will of man, 1. Cor. 4. 7. *Who separateth thee, what hast thou, which thou hast not receiued?* Secondly, it is true that election requireth freewill to make men good: but then will is first made free by grace; as *Ambros. Virtus nolentium nulla est, ipsa gratia hoc agit, vt in eo, quem vocat primam sibi famulam præparet voluntatem*: Indeede vertue in those that are vnwilling there is none, but grace first of all maketh the will an obedient seruant in them which are called: *lib.* 2. *de vocat. gent. c.* 9. Thirdly, and in that infants hauing no freewill yet are saued by election, it sheweth, that not freewill maketh the difference, but election. Fourthly, the cause then why some are good, some euill, is because all haue not grace, the reason why some are better then others, is, that all haue not the same measure of grace, as *Ambrose* excellently saith, *Præter illam generalem gratiam parcius & occultius hominum corda pulsantem, excellentiore opere, largiore munere, potentiore virtute vocatio specialis exeritur*: Beside that generall calling, more sparingly beating vpon mens hearts, the speciall calling sheweth it selfe by a more excellent operation, a larger gift, a stronger power, *lib.* 2. *de vocat. gent. c.* 8. There is then a generall calling and a speciall, a more excellent worke of the spirite, and a lesse excellent, a larger gift, and a smaller: as is the difference of the grace that worketh, so is the difference in them vpon whom it worketh. Now let vs see what places of Scripture they obiect against vs.

Argum. 1. The lawe saith, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vaine: Honor thy father and mother, &c.* and many other precepts there are in the word of God, which were giuen in vaine, if man had not freewill to chuse or refuse them: *Bellarm. cap.* 18.

Answ. First, the precepts of the law are not giuen in vaine, though it lye not in mans power to

to keepe them: for the vse and end of the law is as a Schoolemaster to bring vs to Christ, Galat. 3. vers. 24. So *Augustine* saith, *Ad hoc lex præcipit ista, vt cum in his implendis homo deficeret, non se extolleret superbia tumidus, sed ad gratiam confugiat fatigatus*: For this cause did the law commaund these things, that man seeing himselfe to faile in the fulfilling thereof, should haue no cause to swell in pride, but being wearied in himselfe, to flye to grace for succour: *cont. Celest. de perfect. institu.* Secondly, againe he saith, *Homo gratia iuuatur, ne sine causa voluntati eius iubeatur*: Man is assisted by grace, lest his will should be commaunded in vaine. Man hath not freewill of himselfe, but is enabled by grace to doe that is commaunded. De grat. & libert. arbit. c. 6.

Argum. 2. The Scripture offereth diuers promises vnder certaine conditions: as Isay. 1. 19. *If ye consent and obey, ye shall eate the good things of the land.* Matth. 19. *If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the commandements.* If it be in our power to performe these conditions, then haue we freewill: if not, to what end are they propounded? *Bellarm. cap.* 19.

Answ. First, if these conditions be possible, then it is possible to keepe the commanndements, which the Apostle denieth: for therefore is euery one that is of the workes of the lawe vnder the curse, because they cannot keepe it, Galath. 3. 10. Secondly, by this argument, a mans freewill is sufficient to performe these conditions without grace: for if man cannot performe them of himselfe, the same question remaineth, why they are propounded to him, that cannot keepe them. Thirdly, *Augustine* sheweth the reason of these conditionall precepts: *Vt esset vbi homo suæ infirmitatis &c.* That man might therein behold himselfe, and know which way to turne himselfe, *quæ gemiaretur, quid precaretur*, for what to giue thankes, and what to pray for, or begge, *epist. ad Hieron.* These are sufficient causes of these precepts, that man may see his owne infirmitie and weakenes, and pray for grace to assist him, and giue thankes for the same receiued. Fourthly, againe, whereas the Pelagians obiected this very place vrged, Isay. 1. 19. Saint *Augustine* maketh this answere: *Non ob aliud superbis data illa præcepta sunt, quam vt in suis viribus deficientes in quibus confidebant, liberatorem requirerent*: These precepts were for no other cause giuen to the proude Iewes, then that failing in their owne strength, wherein they trusted, they should seeke for an helper or deliuerer, *cont. Celestin. de perfect. institu.*

Argum. 3. The Lord said to *Cain*: *Vnto thee his desire shall be subiect, and thou shalt rule ouer him*, Genes. 4. 7. This the Iesuite saith must bee vnderstoode of sinne, that it should be in his power, and if hee would, hee might subdue and ouercome it: *Ergo*, there is freewill in man, *cap.* 22. *Bellarm.*

Answ. First, this place cannot in any good sense be applied to sinne, but is more fitly and properly referred to *Abel*, ouer whom the Lord giueth vnto *Cain* the dominion of the birthright: for first, the text is, *his desire, &c.* which very improperly should be spoken of sinne, which is a thing defired, it hath no desire: secondly, because this promise made to *Cain* (if we vnderstand it of sin) was neuer accomplished, *Thou shalt rule ouer it*: and so God should be found vntrue of his promise. Secondly, if we should admit the Iesuites exposition, that the Lord here meaneth sin, *Augustines* interpretation commeth neerer the truth, who readeth thus: *Ad te conuersio eius, i. nulli alij tribuat peccatum, quam sibi & tum quisque dominatur peccato, cum id sibi non defendendo præposuerit, sed pœnitendo subiecerit*: The conuersion, or the turning thereof, shall be towards thee: that is, let him attribute his sinne to none else, but to himselfe: and then euery man ruleth ouer sinne, when he doth not preferre it, by defending it, but by repentance doth bring it vnder: *De ciuitat. Dei. lib.* 15. *cap.* 7.

Argum. 4. Euery where in the Scripture God complaineth of the stubbornes and wickednes of men: Ierem. 32. 23. *They obeyed not thy voyce, nor hearkened to thy law.* Matth. 23. 37. *How often would I haue gathered thy children together, and thou wouldest not?* Act. 7. 51. *O ye of vncircumcised hearts and eares.* If it be in a mans power not to sinne, then hath he freewill; if it be not, God complaineth in vaine, seeing man cannot otherwise chuse. 2. Againe, Deuter. 30. 14. *This commaundement is not hid from thee, neither farre off, it is in thy mouth and in thy heart to doe it*: *Ergo*, man hath freewill to keepe Gods commaundements, *Bellarm. lib.* 5. *de grat. cap.* 20.

Answ. First, God iustly complaineth of the wickednes of men, because, though it be not in their power to beleeue without grace, yet it is in their power to resist grace: as *Ambrose* saith, *Qui veniunt de auxilio diriguntur; qui non veniunt, sua potestate reluctantur*: They that come, are directed by Gods helpe; they that come not, resist by their owne power, *lib.* 2. *de vocat. Gent. cap.* 9. Secondly, though now *Adams* posteritie be yoked with a necessarie bondage of sinne, yet in him that first transgressed it was voluntarie, and therefore they are iustly blamed. So *Bernard* saith, *serm.* 81. *in Cantic. Nescio quo miro modo ipsa sibi voluntas in deterius mutata necessitatem facit, &c.* I cannot tell how it commeth to passe, that the will being corrupted by sinne, doth make a necessitie to it selfe, that neither necessitie, seeing it is voluntarie, can excuse the will, nor the will being excused, can exclude necessitie. And Saint *Augustine* saith, *Conueniens fuit, vt malum meritum prioris esset naturæ sequentis, &c.* It is most conuenient, that the euill merit of the first should be the natural

turt of the next: *de liber. arbit. lib. 3. cap. 10.* So there is a voluntarie necessitie wherewith *Adam* seede is enwrapped: and therefore is iustly blamed. Thirdly, Saint *Paul* expoundeth that place in Deuter. of the worde of faith, Rom. 10. 8. *This is the word of faith, which we preache.* If then obedience of the law be by faith, it is of grace, and not of mans freewill.

1. *Argum.* 5. First, Deuter. 30. 19. *I haue set before you life and death, therefore chuse life, &c.* Iosh. 24.
2. vers. 15. *Chuse you this day whom ye will serue.* Secondly, 2. Cor. 9. 7. *As euery man purposeth in his hart,*
3. *let him giue not grudgingly, or as of necessitie:* Almes then proceedeth from a mans freewill. Thirdly, 1. Corin. 7. 37. *He that standeth firme in his heart, that he hath no neede, but hath power ouer his owne will, and hath so decreed in his heart, that hee will keepe his virgine, &c. Ergo,* it is in a mans power to keepe his virginitie, *Bellarm. cap. 23.*

Anſw. First, this choise and election was not in their owne power: 1. but as the Apostle expoundeth this place, *the word is in thy heart,* that is the word of faith, Rom. 10. 8. By the word of faith then they made this choise. 2. The people also answere, *God forbid,* or farre be it from vs, *that we should forsake the Lord,* vers. 16. which is a secret inuocation, and a calling for grace to be directed in their choise. 3. If *Abrahams* seruant praieth to be directed to make a good choise of a wife to his masters sonne, Genes. 24. how much more haue wee neede to be directed by grace in the heauenly choise? 4. How else should that Scripture be true: *It is not in man to direct his way,* Iere. 10. vers. 23. if the choise were in a mans freewill.

Secondly, almes must proceede from a willing and cheerefull heart: but it is God which first maketh the heart willing by his grace: as the Apostle sheweth in the same place, vers. 8. *God is able to make all grace abound towards you:* Vers. 15. *Thankes be vnto God for his vnspeakable gift:* which he expoundeth, vers. 13. to be their liberall distribution.

This very answere S. *Augustine* made to the Pelagians, vrging that place to *Philemon,* vers. 14. *That it be not as it were of necessitie, but willingly: Quasi aliter sit voluntarium, &c.* As though it is otherwise become willing, or voluntarie, but that God doth worke in vs the will and deede, according to his good pleasure: *cont. Celestin. de perfect. iustic.*

Thirdly, 1. The place is not to be vnderstood of keeping or not keeping a mans virginitie: but the Apostle giueth a rule for parents when to keep their virgines and daughters vnmaried, when to bestow them in mariage. Thus *Augustine* expoundeth this place, shewing that it is vnusuall in the scripture to take a *virgine* for *virginitie,* 57. *quæst. super Numer.* So also *Theophylact. Primasius, Sedulius,* with others, expound it; as *Estius.* sheweth, *de cland. matrim. cap. 7.*

2. The circumstance of the place giueth this sense: first, *If it be vncomely that his virgine passe the flower of her age,* 36. this should be improperly spoken of a mans virginitie, which is not so limited to the flower of age. Secondly, the Syriake translation readeth, *Si non tradiderit eam viro,* if he hath not giuen her to a husband: But how can a mans virginitie be giuen to a husband? Thirdly, the Arabian translation, vers. 37. readeth in stead of *virgine, daughter,* to put all out of doubt.

3. If it should be so vnderstood of a mans virginitie, it maketh more against freewill, than for it: for euery man hath his proper gift, vers. 7. and here his will dependeth vpon his owne neede or necessitie: vers. 36. *If neede so require* let them be married: vers. 37. *If hee hath no neede, but hath power ouer his owne will,* he may keepe his virgine. So then, whether it be referred to the neede of his virgine, that is daughter, or to his own necessitie, his will is not absolutely to dispose, but as his occasion and neede is. This text then is improperly alleaged for freewill.

4. Thus also *Augustine* answereth the Pelagias, obiecting the very same place, 1. Cor. 7. 36. *Quod vult faciat,* Let him doe what hee will, 1. *Quasi pro magno habendum sit velle nubere, &c.* As though it were so great a matter to haue a will to marrie, where the question is of the assistance of the diuine mercie. 2. *Aut prodest aliquid velle, &c.* Or as though it profited any thing hereto will, vnlesse God by his prouidence, whereby he gouerneth all things, do ioyne the man and the woman: *cont. Celestin. de perfect. iustic.*

Lastly, *Bellarmine* heapeth vp a great companie of fathers as witnesses for freewill: to whom I make this generall answere: First, that some of them are counterfeit authors, as *Clemens,* alleaged *c.* 25. 3. Secondly, some had their notable errors, as *Origen, Tertullian.* Thirdly, some were led with the error of their time, as *Chrysostome,* and some other Greeke fathers, which attributed too much to mans freewill. And hereof *Estius* a learned Papist doth well admonish vs: *Hic & pui vbique Græci* [illegible] *cautè legendi:* Heere and almost euery where the Greekes of freewill must be cautelously read, that it is no marueile, that in their catalogues of heresie *Pelagius* is not reckoned. Fourthly, some of them extoll freewill, hauing to deale with the contrarie heresie of the Manichees, who altogether tooke away the vse of mans will, imputing sin to the necessitie of nature. Thus *Augustine* is to be taken in his bookes against the Manichees: as he confesseth himselfe *lib. 1. retract.* that in his booke against *Adamantius,* he affirmed, *In hominis esse potestate,* That it is in mans power to chaunge his will: whereas (saith he) this power is of God. So *Hierome* excuseth himself for enueying so much against mariage in his booke against *Iouinian. Aliud est* [illegible] *scribere,*

scribere, aliud disputare, aliud docere discipulum, aliud vincere aduersarium: It is one thing to write of strife, another for instruction; one thing to teach a learner, another to confute a gainsayer, *apolog. ad Pammach.* Fiftly, some haue retracted afterward, which before they had written of freewill: as *Augustine* retracteth that saying in his bookes *ad Simplician. Quamuis sit in voluntate omnium potestate vt velit, non tamen vt possit.* Though it be in euery mans power to will, yet not to doe, or be able: for (saith he) the will also must be prepared of God, *lib. 2. retract.* Sixtly, the rest of the fathers speake of freewill: first, either as it was giuen to *Adam* in the creation. Secondly, or as it is made free by grace. Thirdly, or as it is free onely from compulsion and constraint; all which we graunt.

The Protestants.

THat man hath no freewill of himselfe in morall duties, to chuse the good, and refuse the euill, to embrace vertue, and decline from vice, but as he is wholy directed and gouerned by the spirit of God: and that not only the beginning of our calling is of God, but that the drawing and inclining of the will and consent thereunto, is a worke also of the spirit: thus we make it euident by the word of God.

Argum. 1. Psalm. 119.36. *Incline mine heart vnto thy testimonies, and not to couetousnes: Ergo,* it is God that inclineth the heart.

Answ. 1. God inclineth the heart, by inward perswasion, and inuiting, so that notwithstanding it is left in the power of the will to consent vnto Gods calling: *Bellarm. cap. 29. respons. ad test. 3.*

Contra. 1. The Prophet *Dauid* in the same place saith, *Deduc me in semita:* Leade me in the path of thy commaundements, vers. 35. And our Sauiour saith, that his father must draw vs, or else we cannot come vnto him, Iohn 6.44. These phrases of Scripture, to incline, to leade, to draw, doe signifie a more forcible and powerfull calling, than is found in the bare act of perswading, inuiting, alluring, &c. 2. If God should onely call vs by perswasion, he should haue no greater power in mouing vnto good, then Sathan hath in tempting to euill: for Sathan also dealeth by perswasion: *Suadere & sollicitare potest diabolus, cogere non potest, non extorquet à nobis consensum, sed petit:* The diuell doth sollicite and perswade, he cannot constraine vs, he doth not extort or wring from vs our consent, but craueth it: *August. homil. 12.* 3. If God onely moue the heart by entising and alluring it, not by an actuall drawing and enforcing, then man should haue greater power ouer his will, than God hath: for many times the will of man without perswasion, of it voluntarie motion is inclined to euill: but God is greater than the heart. And *Augustine* saith, *Deus magis habet in sua potestate hominum voluntates, quam ipsi suas:* God hath greater power ouer the wils of men, then they haue themselues: *de corrept. & grat. cap. 14. Ergo,* God worketh otherwise in the will than by perswasion.

Answ. 2. God indeede doth worke in vs by his grace to giue our consent to his calling: *Sed hoc facit adiuuando infirmitatem, non tollendo libertatem:* But in thus doing, he helpeth our infirmitie, he taketh not away our freedome or libertie, *Bellarm. ibid.* So his opinion is, that grace and our freewill worke together.

Contra. 1. One of the Iesuites answers ouerthroweth the other: for before he said, *Inclinat Deus corda nostra non regendo, sed suadendo:* God inclineth the heart, not by enforcing it, but by perswading: but here he saith, *Quid aliud facit Deus, cum nos inclinat, quam operari vt consentiamus?* What else doth God, what he inclineth vs, then so worke, that we giue our consent? To worke then and to doe, is more than to moue and perswade. 2 Our Sauiour Christ saith, *Without me you can doe nothing:* as a braunch cut off from the stocke withereth, and is altogether fruitlesse, Iohn 15.5,6. And Saint *Paul* saith, *That in his flesh dwelleth no good thing,* Rom. 7.18. that is, in the naturall man: *Ergo,* there is no good motion in the wil of it selfe, but all goodnes is wrought in vs wholy by grace: it is not then partly of our selues, and partly of grace. So *Augustine* saith, *Laborant homines inuenire in voluntate quid boni sit nostrum, quod non sit ex Deo; quod quomodo inueniri possit ignoro:* Men doe labour to finde some goodnes in the will, that should be of our selues, and not of God: but I am altogether ignorant how any such thing should be found: *lib. 1. cont. Pelag. cap. 18.*

Argum. 2. The seruants of sinne are not free, but by nature we are all the seruants of sinne, Rom. 6.17. *Ergo,* we are not free, and so consequently by nature haue no freewill.

Bellarmine: The seruice of sinne is contrarie to the libertie from sinne, but it taketh not away the libertie of nature, but that notwithstanding a man by his freewill, assisted by Gods helpe, may shake off the seruitude of sinne, *respons. ad 4. testim. cap. 29.*

Answ. 1. Neither doe wee conclude from this place, that the libertie of nature is taken away from freewill: for as your Master distinguisheth, there is *libertas gratiæ à peccato, libertas naturæ à necessitate: lib. 2. dist. 25. q.* There is a libertie of grace from sinne, and a libertie of nature from necessitie, coaction or constraint. Wee graunt that mans will worketh freely, that is without constraint, but not freely, that is without sinne.

2. That mans will is a seruant to sinne the Apostle sheweth, vers. 19, because all our members

were seruants to iniquitie: if all, then the will also, which is a member and facultie of the soule. And vers. 20. *When ye were seruants to sinne, ye were freed from righteousnes:* If then the mans will by nature be sinfull and so voide of righteousnes, how can it haue any inclination at all vnto it?

3. If the will cannot rise from sinne vnlesse it be ayded by grace, then is it not free. A prisoner, though he be not fettered, yet if the prison doores be shut, so that he cannot come forth, vnlesse the doores be opened, is notwithstanding a prisoner still.

Argument. Ioh. 15. 3. *As the branch cannot beare fruite of it selfe, vnlesse it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me: Ergo,* without the grace of Christ mans will can doe nothing.

Bellarm. This place sheweth the necessitie of grace, that mans will can doe nothing without it, but it excludeth not freewill, *respons. ad argum. 5.*

Answ. First, if the branch can bring forth no fruit at all without the vine, nor mans will do nothing without Christ, as he saith, vers. 5 *Without me ye can doe nothing*; then the whole actiuitie of our will is of grace. Secondly, the braunch indeede is as a trunke, wherein the iuyce of the vine runneth; it hath of it selfe rine and barke, but no life or growth without the sappe of the stocke: so man hath power by nature to will, to moue, to affect, desire, but a disposition to goodnes it hath none at all without grace. This place taketh not away the naturall power of mans will, but the actiuitie there of vnto goodnesse it vtterly excludeth.

Argum. 4. Saint *Paul* saith, *What hast thou that thou hast not received?* 1 Corinth. 4. 7. Wee haue then no good thing of our selues: *Ergo,* neither haue wee any freewill or inclination to that is good.

Answ. Habemus donu Dei liberum arbitrium, sed hoc dono accepto Domini sumus actionum, &c. Wee haue freewill by the gift of God, and hauing receiued this gift, then we work freely, and are Lords and commaunders of our actions: *Bellarm. ibid. resp. ad sextum testimon.*

Contra. The Iesuites answere in effect is this, that to haue a desire and inclination to good things, is of God, because freewill, from whence commeth this desire, is the gift of God: so that this receiuing, which the Apostle speaketh of, hee would haue referred to the creation, when God bestowed this gift of freewill generally vpon all. This answere is easily ouerthrowne: first, S. *Paul* speaketh of such gifts as are receiued by grace, and not such as were bestowed in the creation: for the benefits of creation are generall, and indifferently distributed to all: but the Apostle speaketh of such graces, as were diuerslly bestowed vpon men, wherein one excelled another, *one foulded against another,* vers. 6. one was discerned, that is, *preferred before another.* Therefore the Apostle cannot vnderstand the gift of freewill, as it was conferred vpon all in the creation, but as it is giuen vnto some by grace.

Secondly, the Pelagians did expound this place also, euen as the Iesuite doth, *de bonis naturæ,* of the gifts of nature: whom *Augustine* confuteth thus: *Nunquid per hæc dona communia homines discernuntur ab hominibus?* Men are not separated or discerned one from another by these common gifts of nature: but the Apostle saith, *Who hath separated thee?* Againe, *Non dicit Apostolus, quid potes habere, quod non accepisti vt possis habere, sed nunquid habes? possibilitatem habendi fidē non discernit, &c.* The Apostle saith not, what canst thou haue, which thou didst not receiue a possibilitie by nature to haue? but what hast thou alreadie? for it is not the possibilitie to haue faith, or any other grace, which doth discerne men, but the hauing of faith it selfe: *de prædestinat. lib. 1. cap. 5.* This place then cannot bee vnderstoode of the possibilitie of freewill, which should bee in euery man by nature: but of those good thinges that are really and actually in vs: all which wee doe receiue of God.

Thirdly, the Iesuite is driuen to borrow an answere from the old heretikes the Pelagians: for thus they said: *Non contra gratiam disputo, (inquit Pelagianus) quia liberum arbitrium defendo: si enim hominem creauit Deus, & illi liberū arbitrium donauit, quicquid homo potest de libero arbitrio, cuius gratia debetur, nisi eius, qui eum condidit cum libero arbitrio?* I doe not reason against grace (saith the Pelagian) while I defend freewill: for if God created man, and gaue him freewill, whatsoeuer a man is able to do by his freewill, to whose grace is he indebted, but to his, who made him with freewill? The very same answere doth the Iesuite giue vs here, that whatsoeuer a man doth by vertue of his freewill, it is by the gift of God, because freewill is his gift. *Et nos istam, qua conditi sumus, quamquam hoc nomine appellatam minime legerimus, tamen quia gratis data est, gratiam fatemur, sed ostendimus maiorem esse istam, qua Christiani sumus:* And we also doe acknowledge the grace of creation, whereby we were made, because it is freely giuen, though we finde it no where called by the name of grace, but yet there is a greater grace, and more properly so called, by the which grace we are made Christians: *August. de verbis Apostol. serm. 11.*

Celestin. epistol. decretal. 1. cap. 9. Ita Deus in cordibus hominum, atque in ipso libero operatur arbitrio, vt sancta cogitatio, pium consilium omnisq; motus bonæ voluntatis ex Deo sit, quia per illum aliquid boni possumus, sine quo nihil possumus: quod igitur tempus intercessit, in quo eius non egeamus auxilio: So God worketh in the hearts of men, and in freewill, that euery holie thought, godly counsell, good motion

tion of the will is of God: so by him wee are able to doe some good, without whom wee can nothing: there can be therefore no time, when we stand not in neede of his helpe.

Further, Saint *Augustine* thus testifieth: *Liberum arbitrium & ad malum & bonum nos habere confitendum est, &c.* We must confesse that we haue freewill both to good, and euill: but in doing of euill euery man is free from righteousnes, and the seruant of sinne; but in doing of good no man is free, vnlesse he be freed by him, that said, If the sonne make you free, then are you free indeed, *lib. de corrept. & grat. cap.* 1.

Againe, *Voluntas humana non libertate consequitur gratiam, sed gratia potius libertatem:* Mans will by libertie obtaineth not grace, but by grace libertie or freedome, *cap.* 8. *Ergo*, the libertie of the will is wholy of grace.

To this purpose, *Augustine* fitly compareth *liberum arbitrium iumento, gratiam sessori:* freewill to the beast, grace to the rider: like as the beast is guided by the riders hand to goe straight in the way, *sic liberum arbitrium gratia regimine regitur:* so freewill is directed by grace, &c. *cont. Pelagian. artic.* 3. Like as the rider then giueth all the direction and regiment to the beast; which indeede goeth, and trauaileth, but cannot goe right in the way without the rider: so mans will hath no inclination to the right way, without the illumination of grace.

Bernard vseth this similitude: *Quis cum ad ignem venerit algens, &c.* Like as a man comming frozen and cold to the fire, doubteth not, but he had his heate from the fire: *sic spiritus in nobis operatur omnia:* so the spirit worketh all in vs: *in die Pentecost. serm.* 1. Like as then there is no heate but from the fire, when a man is starke with colde; so there is no goodnesse in mans will, but from grace.

Saint *Ambrose*, vpon these words, 1. Corinth. 2. 12. *We haue receiued, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit of God, that wee might know the things that are giuen vs of God: Vnde si quis est, qui aliqua se existimat habere bona, quorum non deus largitor est, &c.* If therefore there be any man, which thinketh he hath any good thing, whereof God is not the giuer, but himselfe the author, he hath not the spirit of God, but of the world, *epist.* 84. The Papists then haue not the spirit of God, who ascribe part of the good worke vnto grace, part vnto freewill, but not all vnto grace.

Saint *Hierome* vpon these words, Iohn 6. *No man can come vnto me, except my father draw him: Qui trahitur, non sponte currit, &c.* He that is drawne, doth not runne of himselfe, *sed aut tardus, aut inuitus adducitur*, but is brought either slowly, or vnwillingly: *lib.* 3. *aduers. Pelagian.* Mans will then hath no aptnes or inclination of it selfe at all to come vnto God.

Peter Lombard. out of *Augustine* alleageth, *Iustitiam in homine Deus solus operatur:* God onely worketh vertue and righteousnesse in man, *lib.* 2. *distinct.* 28. *a. Ibid. liter. d.* It is in mans power to chaunge his will to the better: *sed ea potestas nulla est, nisi à Deo detur:* but that is no power at all, vnlesse it be giuen of God: *Ergo*, in mans will, without grace, there is no power at all.

Lastly, this doctrine, that man hath no freewill by nature to doe that which is good, hath been sealed by the blood of Martyrs: *Richard Woodman* Martyr, against mans freewill, alleadged these places of Scripture: *Euery good gift commeth from aboue*, Iam. 1. 17. *Of his owne will begate he vs: Ibid.* vers. 18. *It is God which worketh in vs the will and the deede*, Philip. 2. 13. *Ergo*, mans owne will in good things is little worth, *Fox* pag. 1995. For this truth, agreeable to the Scripture, suffered also *Thomas Spicer, Iohn Deny, Edmund Poole*, because they affirmed no mortall man to haue freewill in himselfe to doe good or euill: *Fox* pag. 1912. articul. 7.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE POWER OF freewill in diuine and supernaturall things.

HEre wee are to handle these two seuerall poynts: first, whether the strength of freewill be vtterlie lost by the transgression of *Adam*. Secondly, what power it hath in spirituall matters.

The Papists.

FReewill, they say, is not vtterly extinguished, but onely abated in strength, and attenuated: *Bellarm. de grat. lib.* 5. *cap.* 30. *Concil. Trident. sess.* 6. *cap.* 1. 45. Error.

Further, *Bellarmine* thus explaneth his minde, that *Adams* freewill in two things was stronger than ours: first, *Adam* was free not onely in the very act of willing, but in the execution also, so are not wee: for though we haue libertie to will, yet wee are hindred by the corruption of nature from executing our will. Secondly, wee haue neede of Gods speciall assistance against temptation, so had not *Adam*, but was able by the strength of his freewill, without further helpe, to resist temptation, *lib.* 5. *de grat. cap.* 27. So his opinion is, that in the act of willing good or euill, we are as free as *Adam* was.

Argum. The Rhemists gather by the parable of the man in the Gospell, that fell among theeues, and was left for halfe dead, Luk. 10. vers. 30. that neither vnderstanding, nor freewill, nor other

powers of the soule, are vtterly extinguished and taken away, but onely wounded by the sinne of *Adam*.

Ans. 1. It is but a feeble collection, and of small force, which they do draw from this allegorie: for allegories and similitudes doe not hold in all things, but wherein onely they are compared: for our Sauiour Christ alleaged not this parable to any such end, but onely to shew, that we ought to doe good vnto all, and that they are our neighbours which doe vs good, though they be strangers and vnknowne vnto vs.

2. We denie not, that the powers of the soule, yea and freewill also in substance remaine still, but that the propertie and qualitie of them is extinguished, that they haue now no naturall inclination vnto good. *Augustine* saith well of this matter: *Semper est in nobis voluntas libera, sed non est semper bona: gratia autem Dei semper est bona, & per hanc fit, vt homo sit bona voluntatis, qui prius fuit mala:* There is alwaies in vs freewill, but it is not alwaies good: but the grace of God is alwaies good, and by this grace it commeth to passe, that man, who had before an euill will, hath now a good will: *de grat. & liber. arbit. cap.* 15.

The Protestants.

THat the strength of freewill in good things is vtterly decayed in man, not wounded and maimed onely, but wholy lost, till it be restored by grace: and that we haue not the like libertie in the act of willing as *Adam* had in his creation, thus we shew it.

Argum. S. *Paul* saith, *When we were dead by our sinnes, he hath quickened vs in Christ*, Ephes. 2. 5. *Ye which were dead in your sinnes, hath he quickened together with him*, Coloss. 2. 13. He saith not, as in the Parable, ἡμιθανῆ, they left him for halfe dead, but νεκρούς, plaine dead men indeede: As *Augustine* also saith, *Vt homo redeat ad iustitiam, opus habet medico, quia sanus non est; opus habet vinificatore, qui mortuus est*: Man before hee can returne to doe righteously, hath neede of a Phisition, because hee is sicke; had neede of a quickener and reuiuer, because hee is dead: *de natur. grat. cap.* 23. Man then is not onely sicke and wounded, but plaine dead, and voide of all life, quicknes or agilitie in good things.

Augustine saith yet more plainly: *Cum peccauit primus homo, non in parte aliqua, sed in tota, quam conditus est natura deliquit:* When the first man sinned, he did not offend in any one part, but wholy in that nature wherein he was created: *Contr. Pelag. articul.* 3. And in another place, *Naturalia sua per liberum arbitrium in ipsa radice vitiata:* Our nature was wholy corrupted by freewill, in the verie roote or originall, that is in *Adam: in Ioan. tract.* 87. *Ergo*, all the powers both of bodie and soule, are wholy corrupt and decaied in spirituall things.

Innocentius epist. ol. decretal. 25. *Liberum arbitrium Adam perpessus, dum suis inconsultius vtitur bonis, in prauaricationis profundo demersus est, & nihil quomodo inde surgere possit, inuenit: Adam* suffering his freewill, while he vnaduisedly vseth his gifts, was drowned in transgression, and found (nothing) in himselfe whereby to rise from thence againe: *Ergo*, there remaineth in our freewill by nature no abilitie at all to that which is good.

Concil. Arausican. 2. *can.* 25. *Per peccatum primi hominis ita inclinatum & attenuatum fuit liberum arbitrium, vt nullus postea aut diligere Deum sicut oportuit, aut credere in Deum, aut operari propter Deum possit, nisi gratia eum praeuenerit:* By the sinne of the first man freewill is so turned and empayred, that none since can loue God, as they ought, beleeue in God, or worke according to God, vnlesse grace preuent them.

Bernard hath this saying: *Homo non omnino amisit arbitrium, i. iudicium rationis, in iudicando & discernendo, quanquam libertatem suam amiserit, in eligendo & agendo, &c.* Man hath not altogether lost his will, that is, iudgement of reason in iudging and discerning, although he hath lost his libertie in chusing and working: for a punishment of his sinne, and a testimonie of his naturall dignitie lost, his will is set for a signe, but captiued: *de vit. solitar.* So his sentence is, that man hath altogether lost the libertie of his will, though the facultie of his will doe still remaine.

THE SECOND POINT OR ARTICLE, OF the strength and power of freewill in spirituall things.

The Papists.

46. Error. THey say not, that a man by his freewill onely is able to liue well, or to obtaine eternall life: for *Bellarmine* prooueth at large, that a man hath no power of himselfe, without the especiall assistance of grace, either to beleeue, *lib. 6. cap.* 2. or to prepare himselfe to receiue grace, *cap.* 5. or to loue God, *cap.* 7. or to will any thing appertaining to saluation, without the helpe of Gods grace, *cap.* 4. This then is their opinion, that though the will of man be not able of it selfe only to do any thing in spiritual actions, yet being aided & assisted by grace, it may: so that they attribute part to grace, part to freewill: the first motion and stirring of the heart they say is onely of God: and here

here the will worketh nothing at all: then it is the part of freewill to apprehend grace offered, to giue conſent vnto it, and to worke together with it: *Trident. Concil. ſeſſ.6. cap.5. canon.4.* The Rhemiſts alſo thus define the matter: *Though our election, calling, firſt comming to God, be not wholy or principally vpon our will or worke, yet our willing and working of any good to our ſaluation, is the ſecondarie cauſe: Gods ſpeciall motion, grace, aſſiſtance is the principall. Rom.9 ſect.4.* This then is their meaning, that Gods grace and mans freewill doe worke actiuely together: as the Rhemiſts note, *The Gentiles, though they beleeued ſpecially by Gods grace and preordination, yet they beleeued alſo by their owne freewill. Rhem. Act.13.ſect.2.*

Bellarmine more particularly doth thus determine: firſt the grace, whereby men are firſt ſtirred and moued vnto any good thing, worketh alone without the helpe of our will: *Nihil omnino in hoc genere ex ſe facere homo poteſt:* Man in this caſe worketh nothing of himſelfe, *Lib.6 cap.15 propoſ.3.* Secondly, that we may giue our aſſent, *gratia excitanti*, to grace mouing and ſtirring of vs, *requiritur neceſſario gratia adiuuans*, the helping or aſſiſting grace is requiſite and neceſſarie: *Ibid propoſ.7.* ſo here grace worketh, and mans will worketh. Thirdly this grace that helpeth mans will to giue aſſent, doth onely deale by perſwaſion, it inforceth not, nor draweth it: but it remayneth for all this in mans power freely to giue or withhold his conſent: *propoſ.8.* And hereupon it commeth, that by the ſame grace and inward motion, one is conuerted, and another is not, becauſe it is in mans power to reiect grace: *propoſ.9.* And ſo he concludeth: *Poteſt homo abſolutè per liberum arbitrium bene facere, ſi velit; & non facere, ſi non velit:* That a man, notwithſtanding the firſt ſtirring, as alſo the helping and aſſiſting grace, abſolutely by his freewill may doe well if he will, and not doe well, if he will not: *Lib.5.cap.29.reſpond.ad teſtimon.2.* Thus the Ieſuite maketh the will of man the principall, not the ſecondarie cauſe, (wherein the Rhemiſts are more reaſonable, as we haue ſeene, that make it onely the inferiour cauſe:) for the will of man may make grace fruſtrate, but grace cannot make freewill fruſtrate, by the Ieſuites doctrine: let vs ſee ſome of their arguments, whereby they would proue the fellow-working of grace and freewill together.

Argum.1. Caſt off the olde man, put on the new, Epheſ.4.22.24. *Worke out your ſaluation with feare and trembling*, Philip.2.12. *Ergo*, man together with God worketh his ſaluation: *Bellarm lib.6 de grat.cap.10.*

Anſw. The Scripture thus vſeth to ſpeake vnto men, becauſe they are not as ſtockes and ſtones voyd of ſenſe, but reaſonable creatures, indued with naturall gifes of will and vnderſtanding: not becauſe men haue power to will or worke any good thing of themſelues: *Worke your ſaluation*, ſaith the Apoſtle, then it followeth: *for it is God that worketh in you the will and the deede.* So then man worketh, and God worketh: Man hath a naturall power generally to worke, to will: but to will or worke that which is good, is onely of God. *Certum eſt*, ſaith *Auguſtine*, *Nos velle, cum volumus, ſed ille facit, vt velimus bonum; certum eſt nos facere, cum facimus, ſed ille facit, vt faciamus:* It is certaine that it is man which willeth, whatſoeuer is willed, but God is the cauſe that he willeth that which is good: it is certaine that we worke whatſoeuer is wrought, but God is the cauſe that we do that is good: *De bono perſeuerant. cap.16.* God only then is the agent and working cauſe, man is the inſtrument.

Arg.2. The Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, *Make haſte to helpe me O, Lord*, Pſal.70.1. *He helpeth our infirmities*, Rom.8.26. But how can man be ſaid properly to be helped, vnleſſe he laboured? *Bellar. ibid.*

Anſw.1. Bellarmine himſelfe doth here furniſh vs with an anſwere: a better we cannot deſire: *Opus pium, quatenus opus, à libero arbitrio eſt tantum, non tamen ſeclusò auxilio generali; quatenus pium, à ſola gratia eſt; quatenus opus pium, à libero arbitrio, & gratia ſimul:* Euery godly worke as it is a worke, proceedeth onely from freewill, with the generall helpe of Gods prouidence; as it is good and godly, it is onely of grace; as it ioyntly is a good worke, it is of grace and freewill together: *Lib.6. de grat. cap.15. propoſ.10.* This is the ſame thing, that we ſaid from the beginning, that we deny not a naturall power in man ſimply to will this or that, but to will that is good, we hold it a worke onely of grace: and herein *Bellarmine* agreeth with vs in this place, howſoeuer elſewhere he diſſent from himſelfe in this poynt and vs. By this poſition of his, we may eaſily anſwere the argument: for if the good worke be ioyntly conſidered, as it is a worke, and beſides that, good; ſo grace onely helpeth the will: both of them ioyne together, the will to worke, and grace to make it good: but as the worke is good, it is onely of grace, and ſo grace helpeth not onely, but doth alone make the worke good. 2. So where the Apoſtle ſaith, *The ſpirit helpeth our infirmities*: we are to vnderſtand, that in the godly action of prayer, the ſpirit, and our ſoule worke together: we worke as it is an action proceeding from the will, the ſpirit as it is a godly action: and in this reſpect as the prayer is a godly and holy action, the ſpirit worketh onely, our infirmities nothing at all: And therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, *The ſpirit it ſelfe maketh requeſt for vs: for we know not what to pray, as we ought*: that is the goodnes of the action, and the gift to pray a right, is only of the ſpirit. Hauing now examined ſuch places of Scripture as are alleaged by our aduerſaries: let vs ſee ſome other of their obiections.

*Obiect.*1. If that man by his freewill hath no inclination vnto that which is good and godly, then belike men are compelled against their willes to the kingdome of God: *See Rhemist. Iohn 6. sect.3.*

Answ. Indeede, man by nature is vnwilling to any good thing, but God reformeth our willes, and giueth vs grace most gladly to embrace Christ. Thus *Augustine* saith, *Trahit Deus miris modis, vt homo velit, non vt homines, quod fieri non potest, nolentes credant, sed vt volentes ex nolentibus fiant:* God draweth a man diuers wayes to make him willing: for men, which were impossible, doe not beleeue against their will, but of vnwilling are made willing: *Cont. 2 epistol. Pelag. lib.1. cap.20.*

*Obiect.*2. If man haue no good motion of himselfe, nor no desire or will to good things: what is he better then a stone, or a piece of clay, being altogether destitute of freewill? *Rhemist. Rom.9. sect.7.*

Contr. Pelag. l.5. *Answ.* We say with *Augustine: Non sicut in lapidibus insensatis, aut in his quæ rationem non habent, Deus salutem vestram operatur:* God worketh not our saluation in vs, as in senseleſſe stones, or vnreasonable creatures: So we doe not take away mans proper motions, and thoughts, as the Rhemists accuse vs: 2. Corinth. 3. sect. 2. God giueth not a new minde, soule, will, or vnderstanding to the regenerate, but onely altereth and changeth it: Man by nature hath power to will, to thinke, to vnderstand: so cannot a stone or a piece of clay, or any brutish creature: but to will, or thinke that which is good, is onely a worke of grace.

*Obiect.*3. If God worke all, then man worketh nothing; what then can good workes profit him, seeing he worketh not?

Answ. God by his speciall grace worketh onely that which is good in man: man himselfe is by nature hath a generall power to will and worke, yet not any good thing, but of grace: so God worketh, not without man, but in man and by man, as his instrument, which receiueth the whole actiuitie in good things from the first mouer and principal efficient. *Augustine* also thus answereth the like obiection: *Ergo agimur (inquies) non agimus:* Thou wilt say then, that we our selues are wrought to good things, we worke not: *Immo & agis, & ageris, & tum bene agis, si à bono ageris:* Yea rather, thou art both wrought thy selfe, and worke'st: and then thou worke'st well, and that which is good, when thou art first wrought and made good: *De verb. Apostol. serm.*13.

*Obiect.*4. Thus also the Pelagians, and freewill men obiected: if man haue no freewill in good things: *Tale ergo hominibus datum est arbitrium, quale in dæmonibus, quod nihil aliud possit, vel velle quam malum:* Then such a will is giuen to men, as diuels haue, which neither can, nor will doe any thing but euill.

Answ. *Augustine* answereth: First, *Talis est multorum malitia, qualis dæmonum, vt Dominus ex patre diabolo essis:* The like malice is in many wicked men, as is in the diuels themselues, otherwise our Sauiour Christ would not haue said to some, you are of your father the diuell. Secondly, *Sed hoc inter homines malos & diabolum distat, quod hominibus etiam valde malis, superest etiam, si Deus voluerit, reconciliatio: dæmonibus nulla seruata est conuersio:* But this difference there is betweene wicked men and the diuell, that there remaineth hope of reconciliation, if God will, euen for the most wicked men: but no conuersion or amendment is kept in store for the damned spirits: *Lib. articul. cont. August. articul.6.* The same difference there is betweene the corrupt will of men, and the malice of diuels: that the will of men, though it be presently euill, by grace may be made good: but the malice of the diuell can neuer be changed to the better.

The Protestants.

THere are two things to be considered in our will and thoughts, the naturall power of willing, and thinking, and the goodnesse and holinesse of our thoughts: the first is in vs, and is properly ours by the generall gift of God, but the other commeth onely of God, by his grace. The will, the vnderstanding, the thoughts are ours, but the goodnesse is meerely, and entirely wrought by the spirit of God: So that in respect of the goodnesse inspired into our mindes, our willes are altogether passiue: in respect of the generall power, and naturall faculties, of willing, thinking, vnderstanding, they are also actiue.

One very fitly compareth mans freewill in good actions, vnto *materia*; the grace working, vnto *forma*: that as the said *materia*, without *forma*, the matter without the forme is rude, and shapelesse; so freewill is a thing altogether rude and deformed, if it be not framed and fashioned by grace comming thereunto: *Ex epistol. Volusian. Episcop. Carthag. ad Nicolaum Papam.*

Augustine saith, *Recte comparari arbitrer liberum arbitrium iumento, gratiam sessori:* I thinke mans freewill may very fitly be compared to ỹ beast which a man rideth vpon, grace to the rider or sitter: *Sicut iumentum illud dum in via dirigitur sessoris manu regitur, vt iter rectum secundum sedentis in se voluntatem possit incedere; sic liberum arbitrium gratia regimine regitur, vt possit in semitis Domini rectè ambulare:* And as the beast is guided by the hand of the rider, that it may goe right in the way, according to the riders pleasure: so freewill is gouerned by grace, to walke aright in the wayes of God:

Cont.

Cont. Pelag. articul. 3. Mans freewill therefore is no more able without grace, to doe any good thing, then the horse is to goe the right way without a guide.

Argum. 1. The Prophet *Dauid* saith, *Create in me a cleane heart, O God*, Psal. 51. 10. Mans will therefore doth no more worke with grace, then the creature doth with the creator, when it is created. And therefore the Prophet elsewhere saith: *He hath made vs, and not we our selues*, Psal. 100. which is spoken of the regeneration of men, rather then of the first creation; because it followeth, *We are his people, and the sheepe of his pasture.*

Answ. There is not a new substance of the heart created in our regeneration: *sed ipsa mundities efficitur*: but the pureness or cleanness of the heart is onely wrought, the same substance remayneth, which worketh together with grace: *Bellarm. cap.* 13. *respons. ad loc.* 2.

Contra. The Iesuite by thus answering, confirmeth our argument rather then refuteth it: for he also affirme, and graunt, that the naturall power of the will and affections remayne still, and worke together in the naturall action of willing, or thinking: but the supernaturall goodnesse and pureness of our heart, our will, our thoughts, we holde onely to be wrought by grace, and that the will of man doth not helpe any thing thereunto. And thus much the Iesuite graunteth, and so he confesseth against himselfe, that the supernaturall pureness of mans will, is onely wrought by grace, though the naturall substance of the will remaine still.

Argum. 2. God worketh in vs both the will and the deede, Phil. 2. 13. he helpeth not onely but wholly worketh himselfe.

Answ. God indeede worketh our will, but not without vs: for the Apostle in the same place saith, *Worke your saluation with feare and trembling*, vers. 14. *Ergo*, man worketh together with God: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. Gods working is the cause why man worketh: Worke out your saluation, saith the Apostle: and then he rendreth the reason or cause thereof; For it is God which worketh, &c. So that man worketh not any thing of himselfe, but as his will is moued and wrought by the spirit of God: for if all were not of God, how then saith the Apostle, *That God may be all in all.* 1. Cor. 15. 28. and that *euery good gift is of God*, Iam. 1. 17. *Augustine* saith, *Sicut homo sedens in iumento dicit, feci hodie, vepote* 30. *millia, cum iumentum illo sedente cucurrerit, sed rector dicitur facere, quia iumentum facere fecit: sic liberum arbitrium fidei iter peragit, sed non sine gratia dirigente & gubernante:* As a man sitting vpon his beast, saith, I haue gone to day thirtie miles, or there about, when as not he, but his beast hath gone it; but the rider is said to doe it, because he maketh his beast doe it: so it is freewill that runneth the race of faith, but grace directeth and gouerneth it: *Cont. Pelagian. articul.* 3. Man then as Gods instrument worketh, but God giueth him the whole actiuitie and power to worke.

Argum. 3. Saint *Paul* saith: *I laboured more abundantly, then they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which is with mee*, 1. Corinthian. 15. 10. By this correction of his speech, the Apostle sheweth, that of himselfe he was not able to worke any good thing, but it was the grace of God in him.

Answ. He saith, *Gratia Dei mecum*, The grace of God with him: so that the Apostle wrought not alone, but he, and grace together *Bellarm. cap.* 10.

Contra. Nay, the Apostle ascribeth all to grace: and by saying, The grace of God with me, he meaneth the grace that wrought in him, and was present with him: As elsewhere he saith, *Yet I liue, not I now, but Christ liueth in me:* Galath. 2. 20. So that whether he say, Grace with me, or in me, it is all one: his meaning is, that grace onely worketh in him, and he by grace. And so *Augustine* expoundeth it: *Quicquid vult bonum, quicquid potest, à Domino est, quia sine me, ait Dominus, nihil potes facere:* What good soeuer a man either willeth, or is able to doe, it is of God: because the Lord saith in the Gospell, *Without me you can doe nothing: Hypognost. cont. Pelagian. articul.* 2. Beside these places of Scripture, which are manifest against this popish error of freewill, we haue also certaine obiections to appose them with.

Obiect. 1. If the spirit of God doe not draw and enforce the will of man, but onely moue it by perswasion, then should wee haue no more forcible meanes to leade vs to good, then wee haue to seduce vs to euill: for sathan dealeth onely by intisement, and perswasion: *Euerie man is tempted, when hee is withdrawne by his concupiscence, and entised:* Iames 1. 14. *Augustine* saith: *Satanas non cogit inuitum:* Sathan compelleth none against his will: *In Psalm.* 91. But it is certaine, that the spirite of God worketh more strongly in vs vnto life, then the tempter doth vnto destruction: for our Sauiour Christ saith, *The kingdome of God suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force:* Matth. 11. 12. This spirituall violence and force is not wrought onely by perswasion: But Hell suffereth not violence, many there be that goe in thereat, that is, willingly, and of their owne accord, Matth. 7. 13. *Augustine* saith well: *Virtus est vitio potentior, & anima virtute prædita animo vitioso potentior:* Vertue is mightier then vice, and a vertuous minde stronger then a vitious: *De liber. arbitr. cap.* 12. This strength is wrought by more effectuall meanes, then by perswasion:

for the will of man naturally is more prone to euill, that to good. And if it were on the one side entised to euill, on the other but perswaded and moued onely to good, it would more easily be swayed that way, then this.

*Obiect.*2. *Bellarmine* saith: *Habemus donо Dei liberum arbitrium, & hoc dono accepto Domini sumus actionum:* Freewill is the gift of God, and by this gift once receiued, we are made Lords of our owne actions: so that it is in our power to doe well or no: *Bellarm. lib.*5. *de grat. cap.*29. *respons. ad argum.*6. So belike, freewill is from God, but man himselfe maketh it good: for then is the will of man good, when it willeth good things: but it is in mans power, as they say, to incline his will to good: *Ergo*, also to make the will it selfe. Marke then what followeth hereupon: as *Augustine* very well gathereth: *Si libera voluntas à Deo est, bona autem ex nobis, melius est id, quod à nobis, quam quod à Deo; quod si absurdissimum sit dicere, oportet fateamur, & bonam voluntatem nos à Deo adipisci:* If freewill be of God, and good will of our selues, that is better which is of vs, then that which is of God: which if it be most absurd to say, we must needes confesse, that our good will is also of God: *Cont. Pelag. lib.*1. *cap.*18.

*Obiect.*3. *Bellarmine* againe thus writeth, that God inclineth our hearts, *Non cogendo, sed suadendo, & inuitando,* not by enforcing, but by mouing and inuiting it: *ita vt in potestate voluntatis relinquatur consentire vocanti:* so that it is left in the power of the will to consent to him that moueth, and calleth: *Lib.*5. *cap.*29. *respons. ad testimon.*3. And againe hee saith, it is in mans power, whether he will bee perswaded or not, *potest non persuaderi: Lib.*6. *cap.*13. *respons. ad loc.*4.

Who seeth not now how neere the Iesuite commeth to that old Pelagian heresie: *Hominem tantum à Deo adiuuari, reuelando tantum, quod fieri debeat:* That man is helped only of God, by reuealing only what is to be done. Which heresie *Augustine* confuteth thus: *Nos eam gratiam volumus, qua non solum reuelatur sapientia, sed amatur: nec suadetur solum omne bonum, sed persuadetur:* We vnderstand such a grace, whereby wisedome is not onely reuealed, but loued; not propounded, but perswaded. He then that confesseth not such a grace of God, whereby we are made to loue that is good, and are throughly perswaded thereunto, thinketh not as *Augustine* thought, but as the old Pelagians: But thus doth *Bellarmine*: he saith, that, *Gratia suadendo inclinat,* grace doth onely moue; but, *homo potest non persuaderi,* it is in mans power whether he will be perswaded: So then, *gratia* doth *suadere, non persuadere,* moue, but not perswade, by his opinion: which is the very position of the Pelagians.

August. lib. 1. de grat. Christian. cap. 14.

*Obiect.*4. It was another heresie of the Pelagians: that God to this end gaue his grace to men, *Vt quod facere iubentur per liberum arbitrium, facilius implere possint per gratiam:* That, what they are commaunded to doe by their freewill, they may more easily accomplish by grace. What els now doe the Rhemists say giuing this note: *That although the Gentiles doe especially beleeue by Gods grace, yet they do beleeue by their freewill: annot. Act.*13.2. And againe, *Man was neuer without freewill, but it is made more free by grace: Rhemist. Iohn.*8. *sect.*2. So then grace in their iudgement, helpeth man onely more especially, fully, freely, that is, more easily to beleeue: Whereupon it followeth, that they may beleeue without grace, though not so especially.

This heresie *Augustine* confuteth thus: *Velo facilius, remo difficilius, tamen & remo itur: inuento facilius, pedibus difficilius, sed tamen & pedibus peruenitur: Non est sic, (verus magister ait) sine me nihil potestis facere:* As if you should say: the vessell goeth more easily with the sayle, more hardly with the oares, yet it goeth with the oares: A man trauelleth better by horse, not so easily a foote, yet he trauelleth: It is nothing so (saith *Augustine*) as our master witnesseth, who is true, and cannot lye, *Without me you can doe nothing: De verb. Apost. serm.*13.

Thus was it also concluded, *Concil. Mileuitan. cap.*5. *Quicunque dixerit ideo nobis gratiam iustificationis dari, vt quod facere per liberum iubemur arbitrium, facilius impleamus per gratiam; tanquam nisi gratia non daretur, non quidem facile, sed tamen possemus sine illa implere diuina mandata, anathema sit: Dixit enim Christus, sine me nihil potestis facere, non dixit, sine me difficilius potestis facere:* Whosoeuer saith that the grace of iustification is therefore giuen vs, that, what we are commaunded to doe by freewill, we may more easily doe by grace: as though if grace were not giuen, we might, though not easily, keepe the commaundements, let him be accursed: for Christ said, *Without me you can doe nothing:* he said not, without me you can hardly doe.

Man therefore of himselfe is vnable, not onely to sayle, but to rowe; not onely to ride, but to goe in the way of righteousnesse: But euery good desire, will, and thought, is wrought in vs by grace. Thus, I trust, we haue requited our aduersaries, and answered their obiections; and repayed them againe with as many in number, but in waight greater.

Now lastly, the holy Martyrs haue sealed this doctrine with their bloud: That blessed man Master *Bradford* confesseth beleefe onely to be Gods gift: whereas Frier *Alphonso*, disputing with him, held on the other side, that the act of beleeuing is in mans power: *Fox* pag.1619. There were diuers persons to the number of twentie persecuted in the townes of *Winson* and *Mendlesam* in

in Suffolke, *anno* 1556. for maintaining this article with others, That man had no freewill of himſelfe vnto good, *Fox* pag. 1913.

See alſo for this matter, *Araſican. Concil. 2. can. 7. Si quis per naturæ vigorem bonum aliquod, quod ad ſalutem pertinet vitæ æternæ, cogitare, eligere, prædicationi ſalutari conſentire poſſe dicit abſque illuminatione ſpiritus, hæretico fallitur ſpiritu; cum Dominus ait, Sine me nihil poteſtis facere.* If any man ſay, that by the ſtrength of nature man can thinke or chooſe any thing, that appertaineth to eternall life, or conſent vnto the preaching of ſaluation, without the illumination of the ſpirit, is ſeduced with the ſpirit of hereſie: for Chriſt ſaith, Without me you can do nothing.

S. *Ambroſe: Voluntas nihil habet in ſuis viribus, niſi periculi facilitatem:* The will of man hath no power in it ſelfe, but onely a facilitie of ſinning: *de vocat. Gent. lib. 2. c. 2. epiſtol. 84. Gratia tota repellitur, niſi tota ſuſcipitur:* Grace is wholy refuſed, if it be not wholy receiued. Grace then worketh wholy, not grace and mans will together.

Decret. p. 2. cauſ. 33. diſtinct. 1. c. 35. Reſuſcitatus corpore vivit, abſente ſuſcitatore, non autem ſic reſuſcitatus in anima: He that is rayſed in his body liueth, though he be ablent, that rayſed him; but he that is rayſed in his ſoule cannot: *Ergo*, without grace the ſoule can do nothing.

Pet. Lombard. vpon theſe words. *It is not in him that runneth, or willeth, but in God that ſheweth mercie, &c.* reproueth their interpretation that ſay, It is not in mans will onely: and further reaſoneth thus, That if it be not onely in the will, nor onely of mercie, the Apoſtles wordes might be turned thus, It is not in him that ſheweth mercie, but in him, that willeth, &c. ſo he concludeth, *ideo reſtat dictum intelligatur, vt totum detur Deo*, therefore this is ſo to be vnderſtood, that the whole may be giuen vnto God: *lib. 2. diſt. 26. liter. b. Ergo*, if all be of grace, nothing remayneth by mans will to be performed.

AN APPENDIX OF *AVGVSTINES* IVDGEMENT, throughly diſcuſſed concerning Freewill.

BEcauſe this learned Father, and in his time the moſt zealous defender of the grace of God againſt the power of freewill, and the mightieſt impugner of the hereſie of the Pelagians, hath written at large of this matter; and more without all queſtion, then any of the fathers beſide: I I will therefore produce the teſtimonies alleaged on both ſides, that in the ende it may appeare, which way the iudgement of this father enclined.

The Papiſts.

THe places of *Auguſtine* vrged by *Bellarmine* for the proofe of freewill, are theſe. 47. Error.

1. *Lib. de quantit. anima, cap. 36. Datum eſt animæ liberum arbitrium, &c.* There is giuen to the ſoule of man freewill, &c. which they that denie, are ſo blind, &c. The ſame is repeated by *Bellarmine lib. 5. de grat. c. 27.*

2. *Lib. 5. de ciuitat. Dei, cap. 10. Nullo modo cogimur, &c.* Wee are not conſtrayned, retayning Gods preſcience, to take away *voluntatis arbitrium*, the iudgement of the will.

3. *Hypognoſtic. lib. 3. Quiſquis negauerit liberum arbitrium, &c.* Whoſoeuer denieth freewill, is no Catholike: *Bellarm. lib. 4. de grat. c. 9.*

Anſw. 1. *Auguſtine* vnderſtandeth freewill from coaction or compulſion: as *lib. 5. de ciuitat. dei. c. 10. Nec ideo peccat homo, &c.* Man doth not ſinne, becauſe God foreſaw he ſhould ſinne: Gods preſcience doth not force or compell mans will to do any thing. 2. Likewiſe elſewhere *Auguſtine*, ſaith, *Liberum arbitrium nos habere, &c.* It muſt be confeſſed, that we haue freewil to do both good and euill, &c. *Sed in bono faciendo, liber nullus eſſe poteſt*, but in doing of good no man is free, except he be freed by him, that ſaith; If the Sonne make you free, then are you free indeed, *lib. de corrept. & grat. c. 1.* In this ſenſe wee confeſſe freewill with *Auguſtine*, free to euill without conſtraint, free alſo vnto good, but by grace.

4. *Lib. 4. contr. Iulian. c. 3. Tolerabilius illas, quas in impijs dicis eſſe virtutes, &c.* More tolerably thoſe vertues, which you ſay are in the wicked, you ſhould rather aſcribe *diuino muneri*, to the diuine gift, then to their will, though they know it not, *Bellarm. lib. 5. de grat. c. 9.*

Anſw. This place maketh againſt *Bellarmine*, for *Auguſtine* would haue the vertues euen in Infidels, aſcribed in ſome ſort to the gift of God, rather then to their owne will.

5. *Lib. de perfect. iuſtit. contr. Celeſtin.* That place being obiected out of S. *Paul*, *Quod vult faciat*, let him do what he will: *Auguſtine* anſwereth thus; *quaſi pro magno habendum ſit, velle nubere* as though it were ſuch a great matter, to haue a will to marrie: where wee reaſon of the aſſiſtance of Gods mercie; hence *Bellarmine* concludeth a free will in morall workes without grace. *obiect.*

Anſw. This place alſo maketh againſt him: for to haue a wil to marrie, is natural, neither good nor euill: but to marrie to ſuch end as God hath appointed marriage, is a good worke, and is not in mans will without Gods helpe: as it followeth in the ſame place, *Quaſi prodeſt aliquid velle, &c.*

As

As though in this case it auailed to will, vnlesse God by his prouidence do ioyne the man and the woman.

6. *Hypognostic lib.3. Esse fatemur liberum arbitrium,&c.* Wee confesse a freewill, not by the which it is fitte to beginne or finish things appertaining to God, *sed tantum in operibus vitæ præsentis, tam bonis quam malis*, but onely in the workes of this present life, eyther good, or euill: *Bona dico, quæ de bono naturæ oriuntur, &c.* I call those good things, which do come of the goodnesse of nature, as to worke in the field, to eate, to drinke, &c. *Bellarm. ibid.* 2.

Answ. All this we graunt, that naturall and ciuill workes are in mans power, as to worke, to eate, to drinke: but to do these things well, and to referre them to the glory of God, which is the morall goodnesse of these actions, is from God, and not from mans will.

7. *Augustin. lib.1. de liber. arbitrio, c.12. Vides in voluntate nostra esse constitutum, &c.* You see it is in our will, whether we enioy so great a good, or want it, &c. Againe, *Quis peccat in eo quod nullo modo cauere potest, &c.* Who sinneth in that, which cannot be shunned: but we sinne, *Ergo* it may be shunned, *Bellarm. lib.5. c.27.*

8. *Lib.2. de anim. ab.12. Peccatorum reum quenquam:* For a man to be held guiltie of sin, because he did not that, which he could not do, *summa insania est*, is great madnesse: wherefore the soules, that which they do, if they do it of nature, not of will, if they want a free motion to do or not to do, &c. they can not be held guiltie of sinne, *Bellarm. ibid.*

9. *Lib.2. actor. cum Felice. Manich. c.3. Esse liberum arbitrium, & inde peccare quemq; si velit, &c.* That there is a free will, and thereby euery one may sinne if he will, and not sinne if he will not, is euident in the Scripture: Againe, *Habet vnusquisq; in voluntate, aut eligere, quæ bona sunt, &.* Euery man hath in his will, eyther to choose the good, and so to be a good tree, or to choose the euill, and to be an euil tree, *ibid.*

Answ. 1. I answere here for *Augustine*, as *Hierome* for himselfe, who disputing against *Iouinian*, who seemed to extenuate Virginitie, falleth into the other extreame to be thought to condemne Mariage; saith he, *Debuerat prudens lector, ea, quæ videntur duriora, æstimare de cæteris, &c.* The discreet Reader should esteeme and measure the hard sayings by the rest, and not to accuse me, in one and the same booke to bring forth contrarie sentences: *Quis enim ita hebes, &c.* Who is so blockish to prayse and condemne the same thing? Againe, *Aliud est docere discipulum, aliud aduersarium vincere.* It is one thing to teach a disciple; another to confute an aduersarie: are yee angrie with me, *quia Iouinianum non docuerim, sed vicerim*, because I did not teach *Iouinian*, but confute him? *Apolog. ad Pammach.* The like may be said for *Augustine:* Do we thinke he was so forgetfull or vnskilfull, as one while to extoll freewill, another to depraue and empayre it? we must consider against whom he writeth, namely the Manichees, who imputed sinne to the necessitie of nature: *Augustine* dealing against them, when he speaketh of freewill, doth conuince rather then teach them.

2. Let vs giue *Augustine* leaue to expound himselfe: Who *Lib.1. retract. c.9.* thus sayth, *Cum de libera voluntate rectè faciendi loquimur, de illa, in qua homo factus est, loquimur:* When wee speake of the free will of doing well, we speake of that will, wherein man was made: Thus if we vnderstand *Augustine* speaking of free will, we willingly graunt all. *Bellarmines* exception is a meere cauill, that *Augustine* should affirme the same will to choose good or euill to be in vs, that was in *Adam*, but not the same power of execution. *Contra.* 1. He speaketh directly, *de voluntate, non potestate rectè faciendi*, of the will not the power of doing well, which he saith was in *Adam*, and not in vs. 3.

Secondly, he elsewhere saith, *Vitiato libero arbitrio, totus homo vitiatus est:* That free will being corrupt, man wholy was corrupted. *Hypognostic. c.3.* If man wholy, then his will also wholy was corrupt; then consequently the freedome of his will to good and euill was corrupted. 4.

3. *Augustine* further expoundeth himselfe, and *lib.1. retract.* treating of his bookes *De libero arbitrio*, he retracteth this very sentence vrged before, *loc.7.* as that sinne may be shunned, that a man may liue well if he will: he thus explaineth himselfe, *Voluntatem bene non velle, nisi à Deo liberetur*, That the will cannot will well, vnlesse God make it free: *Et nihil posse sentienti, intelligenti bonum occurrere, &c.* And that nothing that is good, can come into the sense or vnderstanding, but from God: thus if we will giue *Augustine* leaue to expound himselfe; where he treateth of free will to do good, he must be vnderstood to include a necessarie sense of Gods grace, whereby it is made free, and not by nature. 5.

10. *Lib. de ver. religion. c.14. Non dubitandum video, &c.* It is not to be doubted, that the minde hath freewill: for God would haue his seruants to serue him freely, which cannot be, *si non voluntate sed necessitate seruirent*, if they should serue him not willingly, but of necessitie, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. 1. By necessitie *Augustine* vnderstandeth the forcing and constrayning of the will: as before *loc.2. Non cogimur tollere*, We are not compelled to take away free will, because of Gods prescience: likewise such a necessitie, as the heathen ascribed to the starres, and fatall destinie; in freewill he denieth, *lib. de incarnat. verbi c.2.* but such a voluntary necessitie, whereby the will cannot now choose, but willingly sinne, *Augustine* affirmeth, *Lib.1. retract.* treating of his bookes *de libero*

libero arbitrio: Quod homo non poſſit, &c. That man cannot now refraine from luſtful concupiſcence, *Non natura eſt primò inſtituti hominis ſed pœna damnati*, it is not the nature of the man firſt created, but the puniſhment of him being condemned: if *homo non poteſt*, if a man cannot abſtaine, how is there not a neceſſitie laid vpon him? 2. God indeed will haue vs to ſerue him willingly and freely, but as *Auguſtine* elſewhere ſaith, *Ex nolentibus, volentes facit*, of nilling hee maketh vs willing: and as S. *Ambroſe*; *Virtus nulla nolentium eſt, ſed ipſa gratia hoc agit*: There is no vertue, where vnwillingneſſe; but grace it ſelfe worketh this: that is, that we are willing, *lib. 2. de vocat. Gent. c. 9.* Hitherto then *Auguſtines* ſenſe is maintained to be ſound and good.

11. *Lib. de grat. & liber. arbit. c. 1. Reuelauit Deus per Scripturas, eſſe in homine liberum arbitrium*: God hath reueiled by the Scriptures, that there is a freewill in man, *Bellarm. c. 28.*

12. *Epiſt. 46. Catholica fides neque negat liberum arbitrium*: The Catholike faith neither denyeth freewill in man, *neq; tantum ei tribuit, vt ſine gratia valeat aliquid*, neyther doth it attribute ſo much vnto it, as though it could do any thing without grace, *Bellarm. c. 28.* 8.

13. *Lib. 2. de nupt. & concupiſc. Non negamus liberum arbitrium*: We denie not free will: *lib. 1. ad Bonif. c. 2. Quis noſtrum dicit?* Which of vs ſaith? That by the ſinne of the firſt man free will is loſt from mankind, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. 1. *Auguſtine* expoundeth himſelfe, *loc. 12.* how he vnderſtandeth freewill, that it cannot do any thing at all that is good, without grace: and elſewhere, he calleth it *liberam voluntatem, propter gratiam Dei*, a free will becauſe of Gods grace, which doth free it from the law of ſinne, *aſſert. Fortunat. 2. diſer.* 2. In that he ſaith, the freewill, which *Adam* had is not loſt, hee vnderſtandeth a libertie from coaction, and forcing: 1. as thus he defineth the will, *Voluntas eſt motus ad aliquid faciendum nullo cogente*: The will is a motion to do any thing without forcing: this libertie of will remayneth ſtill. 2. Yet *Auguſtine* acknowledgeth that our will by nature is not free from neceſſitie: *Poſt quam ille libera voluntate peccauit, non in neceſſitatem præcipitati ſumus*: After *Adam* had ſinned by his freewill, we were precipitate into neceſſitie; and he grieth this example: as before a man is accuſtomed to a thing, he hath free will to do it, or not to do it; but afterward, *cum conſuetudine implicatur voluntas, vincere non poteſt, quod ſua libertate fabricata eſt*: When the will is entangled with cuſtome, it cannot ouercome that, which firſt it willingly deuiſed: As many would not ſweare, yet by cuſtome they cannot forbeare: *aſſ. 2. diſer. cont. Fortunat.* Such a voluntary neceſſitie *Adam* by his ſinne hath brought vpon his poſteritie. 3. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Liberum ſanctos in vita futura habituros arbitrium, ſed ita liberum, vt non poſſit iam peccare*: The Saints ſhall haue freewil in the next life, but ſo free, that it cannot ſinne, *lib. 22. de ciuit. Dei, c. 30.* As they ſhal haue a free will with a neceſſitie of not ſinning, ſo we by nature haue a freewill with neceſſitie of ſinning. 9.

14. *Auguſtine lib. de grat. & liber. arbit. c. 2. Illa præcepta diuina homini non prodeſſent, &c.* The diuine precepts ſhould not profite a man, vnleſſe he had freewill: *quomodo iubet*, how doth God command, if there be no freewill, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Auguſtine ſhall expound himſelfe, who thus anſwereth the like obiection of the Pelagians, taken from the precepts of Scripture: *Spiritu dei aguntur filij dei vt agant, non vt ipſi nihil agant, & ad hoc eis oſtenditur quid agere debeant*: The children of God are wrought by the ſpirite, that they ſhould worke, not that they ſhould do nothing, and therefore it is ſhewed them, what they ſhould do: And againe, *O homo in præceptione cognoſce, quid debeas habere, in correptione cognoſce tuo te vitio non habere; in oratione cognoſce, vnde accipias, quod vis habere*: O man, in the precept know what thou oughteſt to haue; in the rebuke, that by thine owne fault thou haſt it not; in prayer acknowledge, whence thou muſt receiue that thou wouldeſt haue: *de cor. & grat. c. 3.* Wherefore then the precepts of Scripture are to this end, to ſhew man, what hee ſhould do, and to driue him to ſeeke that at Gods hands, which is commanded; they demonſtrate a freewill in man, but to be wrought and directed by the ſpirite.

15. *Auguſt. epiſt. 89. qu. 2. Neq; voluntatis arbitrium ideo tollitur, quia iuuatur, &c.* Neyther is free will taken away, becauſe it is helped; but therefore it is helped, becauſe it is not taken away, *Bellarm. ibid.* That is not helped, that is not; therefore there is freewill in man, becauſe it is helped, *Bellarm. rurſus, lib 6. c. 11. art. 2.*

Anſw. Auguſtine ſhall here alſo expound himſelfe: *Adiutor noſter Deus eſt, nec adiuuari poteſt, niſi qui ſponte aliquid conatur*: God is our helper, neyther can a man be helped, vnleſſe he do ſomewhat of himſelfe: then it followeth, *Quia non ſicut in lapidibus inſenſatis, &c.* Becauſe God worketh not ſaluation in vs as in ſenceleſſe ſtones, or as in vnreaſonable creatures, *cont. Pelag. lib. 2. c. 5.* His opinion then is, that God is ſaid to helpe our will, in reſpect of the natural faculties of willing, becauſe man hath reaſon, will, and vnderſtanding by nature: but to will that which is good, man is not onely helped, but altogether guided and directed by grace: as he ſaith in another place, *Laborant homines inuenire in voluntate, quid boni ſit noſtrum, &c.* Men do labour to finde in the will ſome goodneſſe, which is not of God, which how it can be found, I am vtterly ignorant, *ibid. c. 18.* 10.

Bernard hath the like ſaying, *Liberum arbitrium nos facit volentes, gratia bene volentes, ex ipſo nobis*

eſt

est velle, ex ipsa bonum velle: Freewill maketh vs willing, grace well willing; from that wee haue power to will, from the other power to will that is good: *lib. de liber. arbitr.* Thus then mans will and grace worke together, man by nature willeth, by grace he willeth that is good.

16. *August. in Psal. 7. Diabolo non consentire in potestate nostra esse voluit:* Not to consent to the diuell God would haue it in our power: *de spirit. & liter. c.* 34. *Consentire vocationi dei, vel ab ea dissentire propria voluntatis est:* To consent to Gods calling, or dissent from it, it is in mans owne will; *Bellar. ibid. cap.* 28. *& lib.* 6. *cap.* 11. *Tom.* 3.

Answ. Augustine saith, that it is in the will of man to consent, &c. but this will must be prepared, and wrought of God: first, thus hee expoundeth himselfe, *lib.* 1 *retract.* making mention of his book against *Adimant.* he had affirmed, that it was in mans power to chaunge his will: *Sed potestas illa nulla est, nisi à Deo data:* But this is no power, vnlesse it be giuen of God. And againe, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. he correcteth that saying in his booke *ad Simplician.* that it is *in vnius cuiusque potestate, ut velit,* in euery mans power to will: *nam à Deo etiam voluntas præparanda est,* for the will also must be prepared of God. Secondly, he further thus explaneth himselfe: *Sive iniquitas, sive iustitia:* Whether iniquitie or righteousnes, vnlesse they were in our will, they could not be in our power, being not in our power, there should be neither iust reward, nor punishment: *Ignorantia verò & infirmitas, &c.* But this ignorance and infirmitie, that either man knoweth not, what he ought to will, or cannot doe that which he willeth, *ex occulto pœnarũ ordine venit,* proceedeth from the secret order of punishment: *cont. Faust. lib.* 22. *cap.* 78. Here hee affirmeth, that both good and euill is in mans will and power, and yet that mans will by nature is so blind and weake, as that it can neither will, nor worke that, which it ought: wherefore the power of the will to good is not of it selfe, but of grace. Thirdly, so then as *Bernard* saith, *Nec bonus nec malus est quispiam nisi volens:* No man is either good or euill against his will: but (saith he) *Deus facit voluntarios, vt non saluet inuitos,* God maketh them willing, that they be not saued vnwilling, *lib. de liber. arbit.* Wherefore it is mans will that consenteth to God, and consenteth not to the diuell, but his will reformed and made free or willing by grace. Those places are alleaged by *Bellarmine,* to proue the power of mans will in morall duties: these following are produced to set forth the cooperation or ioynt working of Gods grace, and mans will in spirituall workes.

17. *August. lib.* 1 *retract. cap.* 22. *In nostra potestate positum, &c.* It is in our owne power to change our will, &c. *sed ea potestas nulla est nisi detur à Deo:* but that is no power, vnlesse it be giuen of God: *Præparatur voluntas à Deo,* The will is prepared of God: *Bellarm. lib.* 6. *cap.* 11. The will then being prepared of God, obeyeth, &c.

Answ. Augustine saith in direct termes, *Potestas nulla est, &c.* That mans will hath no power at all, vnlesse it be giuen of God: *Ergo,* if all the power be of God, there is no power in mans will.

17. Many other places are heaped vp to the like purpose: *Tom.* 4. *lib.* 1. *ad Simplician. Voluntatem suam esse voluit & nostram:* To will he would haue it both his and ours; his in calling, ours in obeying, *Bellarm. ibid.*

18. *Tom.* 5. *lib.* 5. *de ciuitat. cap.* 10. *Multa facimus, quæ si nollemus, non faceremus:* Wee doe many things, which if we would not, we should not doe them.

19. *Tom.* 6. *lib.* 2. *actor. contr. Felicem: Habet vnusquisque in voluntate:* Euery man hath it in his owne will to chuse the good, and so become a good tree; or the euill, and so be made an euill tree: *Nemo nisi deus, facere arbores potest,* None but God can make trees.

20. *Tom.* 7. *lib.* 2. *de remiss. peccat. cap.* 5. *Adiutor Deus, &c.* God is the helper, neither can hee be helped, which doth not somewhat of himselfe, *Bellarm. ibid.*

21. *Lib. de natur. grat. cap.* 32. *Illo operante cooperamur:* He working we worke together, because his mercie doth preuent vs.

22. *Lib. de prædest. cap.* 3. *Vtrumque nostrum est:* Both are ours, to loue and beleeue, because of freewill, and both are giuen by the spirit of faith.

23. *De grat. & liber. arbit. cap.* 15. *Ne autem putetur, nihil ibi facere homines per liberum, &c.* Least it should be thought, that man doth nothing by his freewill, it is said, *Harden not your heart.*

24. *Lib. de grat. c.* 14. *Arbitrium nisi adiutum, &c.* No man commeth, vnlesse his will be helped. *Lib.* 2. *cont.* 2. *epist. Pelag. c.* 8. *Nisi adiuuante illo:* Vnlesse he helpe, we can doe nothing.

25. *Tom.* 8. *in titul. Psal.* 71. *Non erat in potestate tua, &c.* It was not in thy power to be borne of *Adam,* it is in thy power to beleeue in Christ.

26. *Tom.* 9. *tract.* 72. *in Ioann. Credere in Christum, &c.* To beleeue in Christ, is the worke of Christ: this hee worketh in vs, but not without vs: With Christ working iustification, man worketh together.

27. *Tom.* 10. *serm.* 15. *de verb. Apostol. Totum ex Deo, &c.* All is of God: but wee must not be as asleepe to doe nothing, to will nothing: *Sine voluntate tua, non erit in te iustitia dei:* Without thy will the righteousnes of God shall not be in thee: he that made thee without thee, doth not iustifie thee without thee: *Bellarm. lib.* 6. *cap.* 11.

Answ.

Anſw. Firſt, in all theſe places, where we are ſaid to worke together with grace, and to be helped by grace, *loc.*20.21.24. and that God doth not iuſtifie vs without vs, 27. *Auguſtine* vnderſtandeth onely the naturall power and actiuitie of the will, which as it willeth; ſo it is actiue, and worketh together with grace, and is helped and aſſiſted: but as it willeth that which is good, it is altogether paſſiue, and worketh not, but is wrought vpon: 1. How elſe ſhould all be of God, as hee ſaith, *loc.*27. and wee muſt onely not be as men aſleepe: and as elſewhere he ſaith; *Neque ſic templum ſuum de vobis aedificat Deus, quaſi de lapidibus, qui non habent motum ſuum:* Neither doth God ſo build his temple of you, as of ſtones, that haue no motion: *ſerm.*13. *de tempore.* Mans naturall power then of willing muſt be added to Gods grace that maketh it to will well. 2. This is further teſtified by *Auguſtine*, that our actiuitie to goodneſſe is altogether of Gods grace, and the mouing of his ſpirit: *Ergo agimur (inquies) non agimus:* therefore you will ſay we are done to, wee doe not. The anſwere followeth: *Immo & agis & ageris, & tum bene agis, cum a bono ageris:* Yea thou art both done to, and thou doeſt, and then thou doeſt well, when thou art done to, and art driuen of that, which is good: *ſerm.*13. *de tempor.* The will then cannot doe well, but as it is driuen: See our anſwere before *ad loc.*14.15.

Secondly, concerning the precepts in ſcripture, whereby *Auguſtine* inſinuateth freewill, *loc.*23. His further iudgement of that matter is this: *Ad hoc lex praecepit iſta, vt cum in his impleendis homo deſiceret non ſe extollat ſuperbiendo tumidus, ſed ad gratiam confugiat fatigatus:* To this end hath the lawe commanded theſe things, that when man ſeeth himſelfe to faile in the fulfilling thereof, he ſhould not by pride be lifted vp: but being wearied in himſelfe, haue recourſe to grace: *cont. Celeſtin. de perfect. iuſtic.* We ſee he confeſſeth, that without grace man hath no power to performe the precepts enioyned.

Thirdly, where *Auguſtine* ſaith, it is in a mans will to chuſe good or euill, *loc.*19. to *beleeue in Chriſt, loc.*25.26. he before expounded himſelfe, *loc.*19. *Deus ſolum facit arbores, &c.* God only maketh good trees: The will then of man hath this power, but not from it ſelfe, but from God: *Poteſtas nulla eſt, &c.* It is no power, vnleſſe it be giuen of God: as before I alleaged out of *Auguſtine* in our anſwere *ad loc.*16. And that this is the reſolute iudgement of *Auguſtine*, that man hath no power of will by nature to any good thing, it euery where appeareth in his workes: *Arbitrij libertas ſemel data eſt homini, ſed quia peccauit voluntas, ſequuta eſt peccantem peccatum habendi neceſſitas:* 12.
Libertie of will was once giuen vnto man, but becauſe his will ſinned, there followed and fell vpon the ſinner a neceſſitie of ſinning; *cont. Celeſtin. de perfect. iuſtic.* Here *Auguſtine* ſaith, that there is in the will by nature a neceſſitie to ſinne; how then can it haue any inclination to good?

Againe, *Vt homo in peccatum iret, &c.* For a man to runne into ſinne his owne freewill ſufficeth, whereby he corrupted himſelfe; *vt autem rediret ad iuſticiam*, but to returne to righteouſneſſe, he ſaith he needeth a Phiſition, becauſe he is not ſound, *qui habet vinificatore, quia mortuus*, he had needed 13.
a reuiuer, becauſe he is dead: *lib.*1. *cont. Pelag. cap.*23. If mans will be then dead by nature, it hath no life, nor actiuitie at all.

And to conclude, he thus teſtifieth, *lib.*1. *de praedeſtinat. cap.*9. *Liberum, quod a Deo habemus arbitrium &c.* The freewill, which we haue of God, is prone to wickednes, *& cum ad virtutis indolem deo deſerente nihil poſſit, ad genus omne peccati idonea ſultum virtute ſubſiſtit*: and hauing no power, or being able to doe nothing vnto vertue, it hath ſufficient ſtrength of it ſelfe to all kinde of ſinne. Here is an euident teſtimonie, that the will, *nihil poſſit*, can doe nothing of it ſelfe to attaine vnto vertue.

Thus (I truſt) I haue ſufficiently anſwered the obiections out of *Auguſtine*, now I will proceede to alleage ſuch euident and cleere teſtimonies out of his workes, whereby it may appeare, that he was an vtter enemie to the naturall power of freewill to good.

The Proteſtants.

THe teſtimonies out of *Auguſtine* againſt the power or abilitie of freewill naturally vnto good, are theſe.

1. *Epiſtol.*106. *Sine gratia ad non peccandum nihil voluntatis arbitrium valere:* The will without grace hath no power at all not to ſinne.

Anſw. Firſt, his meaning is, that the will without grace hath no power to liue altogether without ſinne, not to abſtaine from ſome one ſinne: for *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Si ita eſt, nullus locus adiutorio gratiae reſeruatur:* If it be ſo, there is no place left for the helpe of grace. Grace is not excluded, if ſomething be left to the will, but if all be aſcribed to it. Secondly, by not ſinning he may vnderſtand, the reſiſting of temptation, which the will cannot doe without grace: *Bellarm. lib.*5. *cap.*11. *reſpond. ad arg.*2.

Contra. Firſt, if *ad non peccandum*, not to ſinne, were *ad viuendum ſine peccato*, all one, as to liue without ſinne, *Auguſtine* had ſaid iuſt nothing: for euen with grace the will of man hath no power to liue altogether without ſinne: He ſpeaketh then of that which is poſſible in this life, to abſtaine from ſome ſinne, not of that which is impoſſible to liue without any ſinne.

Secondly, the consequent is good, that grace must be either wholy admitted, or wholy refused: Saint *Paul* so reasoneth, Rom. 11.6. *If of grace, it is no more of works: for grace were no grace &c.* The grace then of God and the worke of mans will cannot stand together. *Ambrose* likewise saith, *epist.* 84. *Gratia dei tota repellitur, nisi tota recipitur*: Grace is wholy refused, if it be not wholy receiued.

Thirdly, it is well you confesse, that a mans will without grace cannot resist temptation: for thus you confesse the cause, that sinne cannot be auoided without grace: for there is no sinne, which commeth not by temptation: Iam. 1.14. *Euery man is tempted, when he is drawne by his owne concupiscence:* therefore if the will cannot resist temptation without grace, it cannot resist sin, and consequently not doe any good without grace.

2. *Enchirid. cap.* 30. *Quid boni operari potest perditus, nisi in quantum à perditione liberatus?* What good can a man of perdition doe, but as he is freed from perdition? Now euery one by nature is the childe of wrath and perdition: therefore by nature no good can be done.

Answ. *Augustine* speaketh of such good workes as tend to saluation, which indeede cannot be done without grace: *ibid. resp. ad* 3. *loc.*

Contra. First, the Scripture counteth no workes good, but corrupt and euill, which are not reaped of the spirit to life euerlasting: Galath. 6.8. *He that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reape corruption*, and nothing else: *He that soweth to the spirit, shall of the spirit reape life euerlasting.* Secondly, *Augustine* saith directly: *Scio nos illum bonum hominem dicere, illam voluntatem bonam, illud opus bonum, per quod solum homo potest ad aeternum dei regnum perduci*: Know this, that I call him a good man, and that a good will, and that a good worke, by the which onely a man may be brought to Gods euerlasting kingdome, *lib.* 4. *cont. Iulian. c.* 3. *Ergo*, in *Augustines* iudgement those are not to be counted good workes at all, which tend not to saluation. Thirdly, *Augustine* affirmeth, *Virtutes illas, quas dicis in impijs esse diuino munere potius, quam eorum voluntati, &c.* That euen the vertues, which are in the wicked, must rather be attributed to the diuine gift, than to their will: *cont. Iulian lib.* 4. *cap.* 3. Euen these workes, though they be not perfectly good, are of the diuine gift rather, than of mans will.

Loc. 3. *August. lib.* 2 *de remiss. peccat. cap.* 18. *Si voluntas aut bona est, aut mala, & vtiq; malam non habemus ex deo, restat vt bonam voluntatem habeamus ex deo*: If the will be either good, or euill, and we haue not an euill will from God; it remaineth, that we haue a good will from God.

Answ. By a good will here is vnderstood the power of the will, and not the act: for a will that is not good may bring forth some good act, as the good will of a righteous man may bring forth sinne, *Bellarm. ibid. resp. ad arg.* 4.

Contra. First, that a good act can proceede from a will that is not good, is contrary to the Scripture: Matth. 7.18. *A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit.* Secondly, if a righteous man bring forth an euill worke, it commeth not from his regenerate will, but from his sinfull and corrupt will: Rom. 7.20. *It is not I, but the sinne that dwelleth in me.* Thirdly, whereas he saith, the good act of the euill will, is *ex bono naturae*, of the naturall goodnesse: he speaketh contraries: for how can there be any good thing in an euill will or minde? As *Augustine* saith, *Laborant homines mentis in ipsa voluntate, quid boni sit nostrum, &c.* Men doe labour to finde somewhat in the will that is good, which is not of God; which how it can be found, or shewed, I am vtterly ignorant: *cont. Pelag. c.* 18.

Loc. 4. 5. *Augustine lib.* 1. *cont.* 2 *epist. Pelag. cap. vltim.* affirmeth, *Bonum vsum liberi arbitrij esse ex Deo*: That the good vse of the freewill is of God; *Lib.* 3. *cont.* 2 *epist. Pelag. cap.* 8. *Liberum arbitrium captiuatum non nisi ad peccatum valet*: Freewill being captiued by sinne, cannot doe any thing but sinne.

Answ. He is said to vse freewill well, not that doth one or two good morall workes, but that liueth well, and this is of grace; as hee is not said to write well, that can make two or three letters well: so the freewill by nature is said to haue no power but to sin, because for the most part it sinneth: *Bellarm. ibid. resp. ad loc.* 5. 6.

Contr. First, yet he that can make 2. or 3. letters well, can write somewhat well; but the will of it selfe can do nothing well: as our Sauiour saith, Ioh. 15.5. *Without me you can do nothing.* And *Aug.* before, *loc.* 1. *Nihil valet*: The will can do nothing at all. And *lib.* 1. *de praedest. c.* 9. *Adiuuante deo deserente nihil potest*: If God do leaue, that is, not assist the wil, it can do nothing to the attaining of vertue. And againe, *Nulla potestas nisi ex deo data*: There is no power at all, but giuen of God: *lib.* 1. *retract. cap.* 22. If there be no power in the will, then at no time, neither to doe any good thing: wherefore *Bellarmine* doth very fondly wrest *Augustines* words against his owne sense.

Loc. 6. *Enchirid. c.* 30. *Liberum arbitrium malè vtendo homo, & se perdidit & ipsum, &c.* Man vsing free will euill, lost himselfe, and it. *Vitiosa peccato, amissum est liberum arbitrium*: Sinne being conqueror, freewill was lost.

Answ. He meaneth not, that freewill is vtterly extinct, as man himselfe is not, but onely made worse;

sence; as things are not perished, but lost, that are taken by the enemie in battell: so the libertie of grace onely is lost, not the libertie of nature: *Bellarm. c. 30. lib. 4. respons. ad obj.* 1.

Contra. 1. Neyther do we say, that freewill or the nature of man is wholy extinct, but there remaineth a freenesse in the will still, a freedome from coaction or constraint, which is the libertie of nature, but there is no freedome to good without Gods assistance, which is the libertie of grace: so *Augustine* saith; *Natura tota fuit per liberum arbitrium in ipsa radice vitiata.* The whole nature of man was corrupted in the roote by freewill, *tract. 87. in Ioan.* If the whole be corrupted, then no part thereof remaineth vncorrupt. 2. This the similitude of captiuitie sheweth: for like as he that is a prisoner, or taken captive, walketh not whither he would, but is led whither he would not, as Christ saith to *Peter*, Iohn 21.18. so the will of man being captiued to sinne, becommeth wholy the seruant thereof, Rom. 6. 16. *Know yee not, that to whomsoeuer you giue your selues as seruants to obey, his seruants ye are, to whom ye obey?*

Loc. 7. Epist. 144. Sine gratia Dei non potest liberum esse volumus, &c. Without grace the will cannot be free, being subiect to the concupiscence ouercomming it.

Loc. 8. De spirit. & liter. c. 30. Per gratiam sanatio animæ à vitio peccati, per animæ sanitatem libertas arbitrij, per arbitrij libertatem dilectio iustitiæ: By grace, the healing of the soule commeth from the corruption of sinne; by the health of the soule, the libertie of the will; by the libertie of the will the loue of righteousnesse.

Loc. 9. Lib. de corrept. & grat. c. 12. Peccant per liberum arbitrium, non liberatum: They sinne by freewill, but not yet freed, that is, by grace: *Ergo*, there is no libertie or freedome of the will to good, without grace.

Answ. *Bellarmine* answereth to all these places, that *Augustine* speaketh of the libertie of grace, not of the libertie of nature: for although the will be the seruant of sin without grace, yet it is free *secundum necessitatem*, from naturall necessitie: as the eye, though it cannot exercise the sight without light; yet simply it can see of it selfe, *ibid. respons. ad 4. 5. 7. &c.*

Contra. He hath granted as much as we desire: for like as there is in the eye a possibilitie of seeing; but yee without the light it cannot discerne this or that: so we say that it is in mans power by nature to will without constraint; but it cannot will any thing that is good, without the illumination of grace: as *Bernard* saith, *Ex ipso nobis est velle, ex ipso bonum velle:* Of the will it is that we do will, of grace, that we will that is good. A libertie then of the will simply and absolutely wee haue not by nature; but to will that which is good, proceedeth from the libertie of grace: All this seemeth by *Bellarmine* to be acknowledged, which we willingly condescend vnto.

Loc. 10. Lib. 1. retract. c. 1. Qui cupiditati bonæ voluntati ejus resistere non potest, tam hoc ipso peccatum est, vt sit etiam pœna peccati: He that cannot resist his forcing concupiscence by a good will, it is so sinne in him, that it is also the punishment of sinne.

Loc. 11. Lib. de corrept. & grat. c. 12. Si relinqueretur ipsis sua voluntas, vt in adiutorio Dei manerent sponte, &c. If they should be left to their owne will, to continue in Gods helpe, if they would, through so many and great temptations, their will through infirmitie would giue place: *Et ideo perseuerare non possunt, quia deficientes infirmitate non valent:* And therefore they cannot persuere or continue; because fayling by infirmitie, they will not.

Loc. 12. Ex libro de perfect. iustit. respons. 9. Quia peccauit voluntas, secuta est peccantem peccatum libenter dira necessitas: Because the will sinned, there followed vpon the partie sinning, a necessitie of hauing sinne. Here it is confessed by *Augustine*, that by nature the will cannot otherwise doe but sinne, and therefore hath no power of it selfe to do any thing, that is good.

Answ. The summe of *Bellarmines* answere to all these places is this; that this necessitie or impotencie of the will, is conditionall, not absolute, *quia potest auxilium Dei implorare*, because man may sue for Gods helpe; which if he do not, it is his owne fault: so then there is no such necessitie affirmed by *Augustine*, in any of these places, that taketh away the libertie of the will, *Bellarm. ibid. respons. ad 3. 6. 8. &c. item.*

Contra. 1. Thus *Bellarmine* fighteth with himselfe, affirming, that without the inuocation of Gods helpe, the will hath no power to resist the concupiscence, and consequently not to do any thing that is good: if it be then of grace, how can it be of nature? 2. Wee affirme that this necessitie of nature is not so absolute, but by the condition of Gods grace and assistance it may be loosed: but it is not in euery mans power by nature, to receiue this condition, and to sue vnto God for his helpe. 1. The Apostle saith, Rom. 8. 26. *We know not what to pray as we ought, but the spirit helpeth our infirmities:* it is then of the spirite, that we haue a minde to pray not by nature. 2. *Augustine* saith, *Quantum est quod valet voluntas, nisi fortè si pia est, et ardet auxilium?* What is it, that the will can do, vnlesse it being godly, do pray for helpe? *lib. 1. retract. c. 19.* It must first then be godly, before it can sue for grace; but godlinesse is not by nature: and againe, *absque adiutorio gratiæ, quod Deo placeat, non valet incipere:* without the helpe of grace it is notable to begin any thing, that doth please God: *Hypognostic. 3. Ergo*, without grace a man cannot pray.

3. This necessitie of nature, which cannot but sinne, taketh not away the libertie of the will: as *Bernard* saith, *Nemo nec malus nec bonus est, nisi volens:* No man is eyther good or euill against his will: so he, that doth that which is good willingly, is made willing by grace; and hee that doth euill, is thereto made willing by the corruption of his owne nature.

Loc. 13. *Lib. 2. de peccat. remiss. c.* 18. *Laborant homines inuenire in nostra voluntate, quid boni sit nostrum, quod non sit ex Deo:* Men do labour to finde some good thing in the will, which is ours, and not of God, which I am vtterly ignorant, how it can be found.

Answ. *Augustines* meaning is, that freewill of it selfe doth not worke together with God, but by the gift of preuenting grace, *Bellarm. lib. 6 c.* 14. *resp. ad argum.* 1.

Contra. 1. If it be by the gift and working of grace, that the will worketh with grace, it is that which we affirme, that the will worketh not vnto good, but by the efficacie of grace. 2. If hee say, that Grace doth but giue the hint, as it were, and the beginning, and the will followeth then of it owne accord; then is there some good to be found in the will, which is not of grace, which *Augustine* here denieth: Thus then we enforce this testimonie: If will worke any thing of it selfe without grace, then *Augustine* is found to be a lyar, which he denieth; if it do not, that is confessed, which we conclude.

Loc. 14. *Lib. de grat. Christi. c.* 14. *Arbitrium sic adiuuatur, vt non solum quid faciendum sciat, sed quod scierit, etiam faciat, &c.* The will is so helped, that it onely doth not know, what is to be done, but doth also that which it knoweth: and when God teacheth, he so teacheth by the grace of his spirite, that what any man learneth, he doth not onely see it by knowing, but doth desire it by willing, and perfite it by doing.

Answ. This place maketh for vs, for if the will be helped in knowing and doing, then consequently there is a freewill in these thinges, which is helped, *Bellarm. third. respons. ad argum.* 2.

Contra. 1. Mans will worketh together with grace, in respect of the naturall actiuitie and power thereof to will, and so in his sense it may be said to be helped onely; but as it willeth that which is good, it is not in part helped, but wholy directed. 2. Yet it is no vnusuall phrase to say, one is helped, when he can do nothing of himselfe: as Mark. 9. 24. *Lord I beleeue, helpe my vnbelefe.* will he therefore inferre that a man is but helped in part to faith, and that part is of himselfe: contrarie to the Scriptures which saith, that faith is Gods worke, Iohn 6. 29. that is onely and wholy his. 3. As the will is helped to know, so it is helped to do, but God onely doth illuminate the soule, it cannot lighten it selfe; for *Christ is the light, that lighteth euery man,* Iohn 1. 9. *Ergo,* he only helpeth the will to worke. 4. The similitude of the teacher sheweth the same; for how doth he that is taught helpe toward his teaching, but onely in the vse of his naturall wit; but the forme and qualifying of the wit and the instruction is onely of the teacher: so when God teacheth, the naturall willing is in man by gift of his creation; but the spirituall instruction, direction, inclination to grace, is onely of God.

Loc. 15. *De bon. perseuer. c.* 9. *Hoc nobis expedit credere, dicere, &c. vt totum detur.* Hee behoueth vs thus to beleeue, and say, that the whole may be giuen to God.

Answ. *Nos tamen totum Deo, &c.* We do ascribe all vnto God, neyther do we part workes with him, neyther do we attribute any thing to our selues, which is not of God, *Bellarmine c.* 14. *resp. ad 3. testim.*

Contra. 1. If you in truth ascribe the whole worke of the will to the grace of God, then is no question betweene vs: for this is that, which we vrge according to the Scripture, Philip. 2. 13. that *God worketh in vs both the will and deede of his good pleasure.* 2. But if you vse this euasion, that all is of God and of grace, because he first gaue vs freewill, and so by grace vnderstand a gift of creation; this is but an old shift of the Pelagians, who did also affirme freewill to be of grace, *quia nos tales condiderit Deus,* because God made vs such, &c. *Hieron. ad Ctesiphont.* But wee vnderstand by grace, not the standing gifts of the creation; but the continuall influence of the spirite in our regeneration.

Loc. 16. *De correp. & grat. c.* 14. *Volenti saluum facere nullum hominum resistit arbitrium:* Mans will cannot resist God being willing to saue vs: *Ergo,* mans will is not free, as he will himselfe, to good or euill.

Answ. Effectuall grace doth no more induce a necessitie, or take away the libertie of the will, then prescience: and whereas it is said that effectual grace cannot be resisted; it is not to be vnderstood absolutely, but by way of an *hypothesis,* or supposition, that it is impossible that a man should not follow or obey God calling in that manner, &c. *resp. ad argum.* 4.

Contra. 1. Neyther do we affirme, that effectuall grace doth preiudice freewill: for as *Augustine* saith, *Deus ex nolentibus volentes facit,* God of nilling maketh vs willing, and so willing, that when God draweth, we cannot choose but obey. 2. Neither doe wee make an absolute necessitie, as though mans will of it selfe could not resist Gods calling, being of it selfe mutable and flexible, but Gods grace presupposed, whereby it is made firme and stable.

Loc. 17.

Loc.17. De grat. & liber. arbitr.c.17. Vt velimus, sine nobis operatur; cum autem sic volumus vt operemur, nobiscum cooperatur: That we will he worketh without vs; but when we so will, that we work, he worketh with vs.

Loc.18. Totum Deo dandum est, qui hominis voluntatem bonam & præparat adiuuandam, & adiuuat præparatam: All is to be giuen to God, which doth prepare mans good will to be helped, and doth helpe it being prepared.

Assu. God one way worketh the will without vs, that is by perswasion: but we also worke by consenting: and therefore here he saith, wee doe *cooperari*, we doe worke together with God in the outward act, *Bellar. ad loc.5.*

Contra. First, God doth not onely perswade, but causeth the will also to consent: for otherwise God should doe no more, than man doth, who may minister counsell and perswasion, but cannot worke the heart: so the scripture saith, *that God draweth vs*, Ioh.6.44. but to draw is more than to perswade. And *Augustine* said before, *that mans will cannot resist Gods calling*: therefore it is not in mans will to consent or not to consent. Secondly, we graunt, that mans will worketh with God, *vt naturale instrumentum ab alio motum*, as a natural instrument moued or stirred by another, which are *Bellarmines* owne words: then like as the instrument in the workmans hand hath no cunning in it selfe to fashion or frame the worke, but is directed by the workman; so the will is but as a naturall instrument working naturally to will: but to will that which is good, it is directed by grace, as the workmaster vnto it.

Thus notwithstanding these cauillous and sophisticall answers, I trust it is euident to any indifferent eye, not obscured with wilfull darknes, that *Augustine* is a resolute patrone of Gods grace against mans freewill, as it is now by nature subiect and subdued vnto sinne.

Beside these places alleaged, many other also may be produced out of *Augustine*: as these that follow.

Loc.19. De corrept. & grat.c.8. Voluntas humana non libertate consequitur gratiam, sed gratia libertatem: Mans will doth not by it freenes obtaine grace, but by grace freedome.

20. *Ibid.c.11. Liberum arbitrium ad malum sufficit, ad bonum parum est, nisi adiuuetur, &c.* Freewill is sufficient to euill: but little or of small force to doe good, vnlesse it be helped.

21. *Artic.3. contr. Pelag. Non est idoneum, qua ad deum pertinent, sine deo & c.* It is not fit without God to begin any thing, that appertaineth to God.

22. *Ibid. Homo est tanquam ouis errans libero arbitrio in operibus diaboli, &c.* Man is as a sheep going astray by freewill in the workes of the diuell, whom Christ taketh vpon his shoulders, &c. Like as a stray sheepe cannot returne, vnlesse she be carried: so freewill is drawne vnto that which is good, by grace; it hath no power of it selfe thereunto.

23. *In Psal.26. Dic illi, voluntatem liberam mihi dedisti, sed sine te nihil est mihi conatus meus:* Saye vnto GOD, thou hast giuen mee freewill: but without thee mine endeuour is nothing.

24. *In Psal.133. Tu in teipso non facis, quod vis, sed ipse tibi dat gratiam, vt faciat in teipso, quod vis:* Thou canst not doe in thy selfe, what thou wouldest, but he giueth thee grace, to doe in thy selfe, as thou wouldest.

25. *Epist.88. ex Sapient.8.21. Scimi, quod nemo est continens, nisi deus det; non ex libero arbitrio est, sed dono dei:* I know that none can haue continencie, vnlesse God giue it. It is not then of freewill, but of Gods gift.

26. *De ciuitat. dei. lib.13. cap.15. Ad malum hominis prior est voluntas, ad bonum prior est voluntas creatoris, sine vt eam faceret, qua nulla erat, sine vt lapsam reficiat, qua perierat:* To euill mans will is first, to good the Creators will is first, either to make the will, which was not; or to restore it, which was lost.

27. *De ciuitat. lib.14. cap.11. Arbitrium voluntatis proprio vitio amissum, nisi à quo dari potuit, reddi non potest:* The iudgement of the will cannot be restored, but by him, that first gaue it. Like as then we wought not with God in the first creation of the will, so neither in the reparation thereof, but all is of God.

28. *Cont. Pelag.1.3. Vt oculus vt videat adiuuatur à luce, neque hoc omnino nisi illa adiuuerit, potest, &c.* As the eye that it may see is helped of the light, neither can it see any thing at all, vnlesse it be so helped: so God, which is the light of the inward man, doth helpe the sight of the minde, that not according to ours, but his righteousnesse, *boni aliquid operemur*, wee may worke some good thing. Thus then as the eye without the light seeth nothing at all: so the will without grace willeth no good thing at all.

29. *Cont. Pelag.1. cap.18. Si libera voluntas à deo est, bona ex nobis melius est id, quod in nobis, quam quod à deo, &c.* If freewill be of God, a good will of our selues, then that is better which is of vs, than that which is of God: which if it be most absurd, *oportet fateamur & bonam voluntatem nos à deo adipisci*: we must confesse, that we haue our good will from God.

30. *Lib.8.de Geneſ.c.11.* The queſtion being propounded, why *Adam* is ſaid to labour in Paradiſe, *Id dicitur, vt intelligamus & operari hominem vt ſit, & cuſtodire vt iuſtus ſit:* This is ſaid, that we may vnderſtand, that God both worketh man to haue a being, and keepeth him, that he may be iuſt: both the one then, as well as the other, are wholy of God.

31. *Soliloqua.15.16. Credebam me aliquid fore ex me, exiſtimabam me ſufficere per me, nec participabam, quoniam tu regebas me, &c.* I beleeued, that I was ſomewhat of my ſelfe, I thought I ſufficed by my ſelfe, neyther did I perceiue that thou diddeſt gouerne me: *Si quid boni eſt, magnum vel parui, donum tuum eſt, noſtrum non eſt niſi malum; ſiquid boni vnquam habui, ate recepi; ſiquando ſtetigi te ſteti, ſiquando cecidi, per me cecidi:* If there be any good in me, great or little, it is thy gift, ours is nothing but euill: if euer I had any good thing, I receiued it of thee; if I ſtand, I ſtand by thee; if I fall, I fall by mee, &c. Hee proceedeth, *Tentator defuit, & vt deeſſet tu feciſti,* &c. The tempter was wanting, and that it ſhould ſo be, thou waſt the cauſe: place and time were wanting, thou alſo diddeſt cauſe it, *Affuit tentator, non defuit locus, &c.* There was a Tempter, and there wanted neither place nor time, *ſed vt non conſentirem, tu feciſti,* that I ſhould not conſent, the cauſe was in thee, &c. Thus *Auguſtine* leaueth no power at all to the will of man without grace, no not where temptation is wanting.

32. *Soliloq.c.25. Non eſt hominis velle, quod poſſit; aut poſſe quod velit, vel ſcire quid poſſit & velit, ſed potius à te greſſus hominis diriguntur:* It is not in mans power to will that he can, or to can that he will, or to know what he can or will, but mans wayes are directed by thee.

33. *In c.7. Matth. Totum reputa, quod iuſtus es pietati, quod autem peccator es, tuæ iniquitati aſcribe: omne enim crimen, facinus, peccatum noſtræ eſt negligentiæ; omnis virtus, ſanctitas, Dei indulgentiæ* Aſcribe the whole that thou art iuſt, to pietie; that thou art a ſinner, to iniquitie: euery crime and ſinne is of our negligence; euery vertue, of the diuine indulgence, &c. Here all is aſcribed to grace.

34. *Tom.10 de verb. Apoſtol. ſerm.6. Ideò mens humana ne tibi tribuas, ne multum ſuperbias, imò, ne omnino ſuperbias, &c.* Wherefore O thou mind of man, attribute nothing to thy ſelfe, be not ouer proud, nay be not proud at all: for that thou doſt not conſent to the deſires of the fleſh, the law of the ſpirite of life in Ieſus Chriſt doth free thee.

35. *In Pſal.91. Vt cum lapidem calori ſubtraxeris, frigeſcet, &c. ſic tu, ſi à Deo receſſeris, frigeſcis:* As when thou takeſt a ſtone from the heate of the fire or Sunne, it waxeth cold: ſo thou, if thou departeſt from God, &c. the will then of man hath no more goodnes of it ſelfe without God, than a ſtone hath heate.

36. *De patient.c.22. Homo non poteſt eligere aut diligere, niſi prius electus dilectuſq; curetur, qui ad electate eligenda non cernit, & languore diligenda faſtidit:* Man cannot elect, or affect, vnleſſe he be elected, and affected of God, and ſo healed: who by his blindnes ſeeth not things to be elected, and by his weaknes doth loathe things to be deſired and affected.

37. *De penitent.cap.6. Noſtrum eſt velle, ſed voluntas ipſa monetur, vt ſurgat, ſanatur, vt valeat, dilatatur, vt capiat, & impletur, vt habeat:* To will is ours, but the will is ſtirred, that it may riſe; it is healed, that it may haue ſtrength; it is enlarged, to receiue; and filled, that it may retaine or haue, &c. Thus the will can doe nothing of it ſelfe.

38. *Epiſt.107. Neque fideles ſiunt ſine libero arbitrio, & tamen illius gratia fideles ſiunt, qui illud poteſtate tenebrarum liberauit arbitrium:* They are not made beleeuers without freewill, and yet by his grace they are become beleeuers, which hath deliuered their freewill from the power of darknes, &c. God onely then deliuereth our will from the power of darknes and captiuitie of ſinne.

39. *De natur.grat.cap.67. Cum de libera hominis voluntate loquimur, de illa ſcilicet, in qua homo factus eſt loquimur, nunc ſunt omni animæ peccanti duo iſta pœnalia, ignorantia, difficultas, &c.* When wee ſpeake of mans freewill, we ſpeake of that, wherein he was made: but now theſe two penall things are laid vpon euery ſoule that ſinneth, ignorance and difficultie: ignorance bringeth error, difficultie ſorrow, &c.

40. *De bono perſeuerant.c.13. Cogitantes credimus, cogitantes loquimur, &c.* We thinking beleeue, we thinke, when wee ſpeake, and when wee doe any other thing: *ſed tamen quod attinet ad pietatis viam, non ſumus idonei cogitare aliquid ex nobis, &c.* But as touching the way of godlines, we are not fit to thinke any thing of our ſelues, but our ſufficiencie is of God, &c. Wee are not able to thinke any thing, how much leſſe to will that is good?

Many ſuch like places beſide might be alleaged out of *Auguſtine*: but theſe (I truſt) may ſuffice to cleare this point, that this learned father aſcribed no power at all to mans will by nature, but referred all to grace. In other controuerſies the like might be ſhewed: but that it were neither conuenient at large on both ſides to diſcuſſe the ſentences of the fathers, whereby this volume might grow to be too large; nor yet ſo profitable in this worke, which is intended chiefly for their vſe that are not profeſſed in theſe ſtudies; nor yet ſo agreeable to my purpoſe and ſcope in this treatiſe, which haue chiefly propounded to my ſelfe to decide theſe controuerſies by Scripture.

THE

THE FOVRTH PART OF THIS CONtrouersie, concerning Iustification.

The seuerall questions that are handled are these: first of faith: secondly, of iustification it selfe.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF FAITH.

The parts of this question: first, what faith is. Secondly, of the diuers kindes of faith. Thirdly, whether faith may be separated from charitie. Fourthly, of the validitie of faith. First, after what manner faith iustifieth. Secondly, whether faith onely iustifie.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE NATVRE and definition of faith.

WE define iustifying faith, to be an vndoubted confidence, ioyned with a certaine knowledge, whereby we both vnderstand, and are perswaded, euery man in, and for himselfe, that the promises of God made vnto vs in Christ, are verily ours, and we made partakers of them in him.

The Iesuite taketh exception against three points of this definition: first, he denieth faith to be a confident or sure perswasion. Secondly, that it is not necessarily ioyned with knowledge. Thirdly, he affirmeth, that the promises of God in Christ, are not the proper obiect of faith: Of these then in their order.

THE FIRST POINT, WHETHER FAITH, whereby we are iustified, be a sure confidence of the heart.

The Papists.

48. Error.

Bellarmine holdeth, that faith hath the proper seate and place onely in the vnderstanding, not in the heart or affections; and therefore denieth, that it is any such assurance or confidence: *lib. 1. de iustificat. cap. 6* The Councel of Trent likewise determineth, that iustifying faith, is no confidence of the heart: *sess. 6. can. 13.* The Rhemists affirme it, to be an act onely of vnderstanding: *Annot. 2. Cor. 13 fol. 1.*

Argum. 1. Confidence is the effect of faith, and faith the cause thereof: *We haue entrance with confidence by faith in him*, Ephes. 3. 12. faith worketh confidence: *Ergo*, it is no confidence, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. 1. Saint *Iohn* saith, *God is loue*, 1. Epist. 4. 8. yet it is no good consequent, that God therefore worketh not loue in vs: for Saint *Paul* saith, *That the loue of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghost*, Rom. 5. 5. God is loue one way, that is, essentially, and originally; and hee worketh loue another way in vs, or rather another kinde of loue, which is an image, and effect of his loue: So faith worketh confidence, and it selfe neuertheless, is a kinde of confidence. 2. As the effect is, so is the cause: can the waters be sweete, if the fountaine be bitter? It is the propertie of fire to giue heate, therefore it must it selfe also be hot: so faith worketh confidence, therefore it must needes be much more confident it selfe. 3. We say not, that *fides*, and *fiducia*, faith and fiducie, or confidence, are all one: for this confidence is a common qualitie both to faith and hope: but this we say, that faith is alwaies ioyned with confidence. Now betweene this confidence, that accompanieth faith, and that confidence, which is wrought by faith, we make this difference: faith hath a generall confidence and assurance of all the promises of God, and it is the fountaine and storehouse from whence issueth out all our assurance and confidence in particular: As faith maketh vs to pray confidently, *Aske in faith, and waver not*, Iam. 1. 6. which is the same which the Apostle saith here, *We haue entrance with confidence*, Ephes. 3. 12. Faith also worketh confidence, and reioycing in tribulation, Rom. 5. 3. This confidence and assurance in these Christian exercises, is nothing else but the particular vse and application of that generall confidence in the promises of God, which we say is necessarily required in faith.

Argum. 2. First, faith and hope are two diuers things: 1. Cor. 13. 13. *Now abideth faith hope and loue, these three*: but hope is nothing else but confidence: *Ergo*, faith is not. Secondly, againe 2. Cor. 10. 5. *Bringing into captiuitie euery thought to the obedience of Christ*: faith then doth captiuate the vnderstanding, and subdueth it to Christ: *Ergo*, not the will: *Bellarm. lib. 1. de iustificat. cap. 6.*

Anſw. Firſt, fiduce or confidence is a common qualitie both to faith and hope, and as the genus to them both: therefore it is abſurdly reaſoned, hope hath confidence: *Ergo*, faith not: as if he ſhould haue argued thus: A beaſt hath ſenſe: *Ergo*, man hath not. Who would not hiſſe ſuch a diſputer out of the ſchooles?

Secondly, 1. It followeth not, faith doth captiuate the vnderſtanding: *Ergo*, not the will: it doth not captiuate the thoughts onely, but *euery high thing that is exalted againſt the knowledge of God*; and ſo alſo the rebellious will of man. 2. Obedience is properly in the will, and not in the vnderſtanding, therefore it working obedience to Chriſt, worketh alſo vpon the will and affections of man: and ſo the Scripture ſpeaketh directly, that the heart, which is the ſeate of the affections, is purified by faith, Act. 15.9.

The Proteſtants.

WE affirme not, that faith only is an aſſurance of the hart, but that the light of vnderſtanding, and knowledge of the minde, is requiſite thereunto. As faith is deſcribed, Hebr. 11. ver. 6. *He that commeth vnto God, muſt beleeue that God is*: Here is the certaine knowledge, that God is, and that he is holie, iuſt and true: *And that he is a rewarder of thoſe that ſeeke him*: Here is the aſſured perſwaſion and confidence of the heart. That faith then is inſeparablie ioyned with this aſſured confidence, it is thus warranted by the word of God.

Argum. 1. Rom. 4. 19. 20. *Abraham was not weake in faith, &c. neither did he doubt of the promiſe of God through vnbeleefe, but was ſtrengthened in faith, being fully aſſured, &c.* Here firſt the Apoſtle ſaith, *he doubted not through vnbeleefe*: As vnbeleefe then is ioyned with doubting, ſo faith hath confidence: and this it is to be ſtrong, and not weake in faith. Secondly, *being fully aſſured*: therefore the aſſured perſwaſion of the heart doth perpetually accompanie faith.

Anſw. The text is rather thus to be read, after the Latine tranſlation, *plenißimè ſciens*, moſt fully knowing, not fully perſwaded. And by this the Ieſuite would prooue, that faith conſiſteth rather in knowledge, than perſwaſion, *Bellarm. cap. 6. loc.* 1.

Contra. The word in the originall is, πληροφορηθεὶς, which muſt be tranſlated *perſuaſus*, or *perſuaſum habens*, being perſwaded, or aſſured, not *plenißimè ſciens* fully knowing: Firſt, it being a participle of the paſſiue, cannot properly be tranſlated by an actiue. Secondly, there is not a letter or ſillable in this word included, whereby knowledge is ſignified or expreſſed in the Greeke tongue. Thirdly, the vulgar tranſlator doth reade otherwiſe in other places, tranſlating this word πληροφορεῖν and the deriuatiues thereof by theſe Latine words, *implere, complere*, to fill, or fulfill: as Luk. 1. 1. 2. 1. Tim. 4. 5. In which places, though the tranſlator expreſſe not the full meaning of the word, as we will now proue, yet he varieth from his reading in this place: which ſheweth the imperfection of the tranſlation agreeing not with it ſelfe. Fourthly, this tranſlation, *plenißimè ſciens*, fully knowing, which ſeemeth to define faith by the fulnes of knowledge, impugneth the Ieſuites opinion, who denieth, as wel that *fides*, is *notitia*, faith is a knowledge, as that it is *fiducia*, fiduce or aſſurance: therefore he ſhould not gaine much by this reading. Fiftly, that this word πληροφορεῖν, ſignifieth, as we reade, to perſwade, *plenam fidem facere*, to make a thing certaine or aſſured, it may appeare by comparing other places of ſcripture, where this word is vſed: as Luk. 1. 1. the Euangeliſt ſaith, *He hath taken in hand to write the ſtorie of thoſe things, whereof we are fully perſwaded*: the word is πεπληροφορημένων, the vulgar tranſlateth, of things, *quæ in nobis completa ſunt*, which are fulfilled in vs; very ignorantly, not diſtinguiſhing betweene the Greeke words, πληροῦν, and, πείθειν, the firſt ſignifieth to certifie or perſwade; the ſecond, to fill: And πληροφορίαν πίστεως, are ſuch things which are ſo euidently proued, that there remaineth no more doubting: as Maſter *Beza* ſheweth out of *Vlpian*. So the word πληροφορία, is truly tranſlated, aſſurance, 1. Theſſ. 1. 5. Our Goſpell was not in word only vnto you, but in power and much aſſurance, *certa perſuaſione*, not *plenitudine multa*, much fulnes: but the ſcripture vſeth another word to expreſſe fulnes, and that is πλήρωμα, Epheſ. 1. 23. 3. 19. not πληροφορία. Sixtly, *Eſpenc.* a learned Papiſt alſo approoueth this interpretation of the word, and to that purpoſe he alleageth theſe places: Rom. 4. 14. Coloſſ. 2. 2. Heb. 6. 10. in the which places πληροφορία, is taken for a certaine faith and perſwaſion: πληροφορηθεὶς, being perſwaded, &c. *in 2. Timoth. pag. 149. litter. d.* Seuenthly, this is prooued by the Etymology or denomination of the word: for πληροφορία, is as if we ſhould ſay, πλήρη φορὰν, *plenam fidē affero*, I bring or giue certaintie or aſſurance to a thing. Eightly, that it is ſo to be taken in this place, for a full aſſurance, the words before going declare: *He doubted not of the promiſe*: what is that elſe, but to be aſſured?

Argum. 2. S. *Paul* ſaith, Rom. 8. 38. *I am perſwaded, that neither death, nor life, &c. ſhall ſeparate vs from the loue of God, &c.* the word is πέπεισμαι, from whence the word πίστις, *faith*, is known to be deriued. The vulgar text hath *certus ſum*, I am certaine. *Origen tract.* 23. *in Matth.* is tranſlated thus: *confido*, I truſt, that neither death nor life: *Ergo*, faith hath a fiduce, confidence, or certaine perſwaſion.

Bellarmine here diſtinguiſheth, that there are two kinds of fiduce or confidence, one in the vnderſtanding, the other in the will: the firſt faith hath, the ſecond hope: *Bellar. c. 6.*

Contra.

Contrà. Firſt, *Bellarmine* forgetteth his owne argument vſed before: hope hath confidence: *Ergo* not faith: for if there be two kindes of confidence, as he ſaith, he hath made a ſimple argument. Secondly, *Bellarmine* propoundeth the queſtion generally, *Fidem iuſtificantem non eſſe fiduciam*, that iuſtifying faith is no fiduce, or confidence at all, *cap.* 6. and therefore it is ſufficient for vs that hee graunteth it to be any confidence. Thirdly, yet that the Apoſtle here meaneth a perſwaſion of the heart and affection it is euident, becauſe he ſpeaketh of loue, which is in the heart: If it be taken actiuely for our loue toward God, as *Origen* vnderſtandeth it, writing vpon theſe wordes, 1. Corinth. 13. 8. *Loue doth neuer fall away: Ex charitate nunquam excidente erant illa verba, confido, &c.* From this charitie neuer falling away proceeded thoſe words of the Apoſtle, I am perſwaded, that neither life nor death, &c. can ſeparate vs from the loue of God, *Hom.* 23. *in Matth.* But if we take it paſſiuely for Gods loue to vs, which is the better ſenſe, it commeth all to one: for the Apoſtle ſaith, verſ. 35. *That tribulation and anguiſh cannot ſeparate vs from this loue*, that is, from the aſſurance thereof. Now tribulation, &c. worketh not vpon the vnderſtanding, but the affection: this perſwaſion then of the Apoſtle was not only in his vnderſtanding, but in his heart and affection.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Si nunc tempus eſt fidei, ſalus autem animarum merces eſt fidei, quis dubitet in fide, quæ per dilectionem operatur, peragendum diem vltimum, atque in fine diei recipiendam eſſe mercedem, non ſolum redemptionem corporis, verumetiam ſalutem animarum?* If now it be the ſeaſon of faith, and the ſaluation of the ſoule be the reward of faith, who doubteth, but that a man ſhall dye in this faith, that worketh by loue, and afterward receiue the reward, both the redemption of the bodie, and ſaluation of the ſoule? *Tractat. in Iohann.* 86. *Quis dubitet?* Who can doubt? ſaith *Auguſtine*: *Ergo*, ſuch expelleth doubting. *Decret.* 11. *Iuly.* 1. *Qui dubius in fide, infidelis:* He that is doubtfull in faith, is an Infidell.

Saint *Ambroſe* vpon theſe words, Epheſ. 3. 17. *that Chriſt may dwell in your hearts by faith, &c. Certus ſis de Chriſto, &c.* Let them be ſure of Chriſt, that he dwelleth in their harts by faith: *vt cum fidem eius habeamus in cordibus noſtris, &c.* that when wee haue his faith in our hearts, wee may ſeeme to haue him. The ſeate then of faith is the heart: not the heart taken generally for the whole inward man, as *Bellarmine* anſwereth, *cap.* 6. but properly as it is the ſeate of loue, and of other affections: as it followeth in the ſame 17. verſe, *being rooted and grounded in loue*: the heart then is the ſeate both of faith and loue.

Peter Lombard agreeth: *Fidem in corde, &c.* That a man ſeeth his faith in his heart. And he alleageth thus out of *Auguſtine*: *Credimus vt cognoſcamus, non cognoſcimus vt credamus:* Wee beleeue to vnderſtand, we vnderſtand not to beleeue. But if faith were only in the vnderſtanding, we ſhould firſt vnderſtand, then beleeue: *lib.* 3. *diſt.* 23. *Inter.* g.

The holy Martyrs thus iudged of the Chriſtian faith, that it brought a moſt certaine aſſurance with it: Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr did no more doubt, that by dying for the fayth of Chriſt, he ſhould pleaſe the Lord, then that the Sunne did ſhine, which at that time did ſhine in at the window, *Fox.* pag. 1614.

Maſter *Philpot* bleſſed Martyr, when a popiſh Biſhop had ſaid vnto him, thus, theſe heretikes take vpon them to be ſure of all things they ſtand in: you ſhould rather ſay, I truſt I know Chriſt, then that I am ſure of it: the holy Martyr thus anſwered: Let him doubt of his faith that liſteth; God giue me grace alwayes to beleeue, that I am ſure of true faith, and fauour in Chriſt, *Fox.* pag. 1825.

THE SECOND POYNT, WHETHER knowledge be neceſſary vnto fayth.

The Papiſts.

Bellarmine ſaith, *fidem non eſſe notitiam ſed aſſenſum*, that faith is no knowledge, but a bare aſſent of the minde, without knowledge or vnderſtanding of that whereunto it aſſenteth. Thus alſo the Rhemiſts note, there is a kind of faith called *fides implicita*, the faith of ſingle men, and Idiotes: who although they are not able to giue a reaſon of their beleefe, yet it is enough for them to ſay, they are Catholike men, and that they will liue and die in that faith which the Catholike Church doth teach, *Rhemiſt. annot. Luk.* 12. *ſect.* 3. 49. Error.

This implicite faith, which they ſay is ſufficient for common Catholikes, is nothing els, but to beleeue, as the Church beleeueth, though they knowe nothing themſelues particularly: that faith is ſufficient without knowledge, thus they reaſon.

Argum. Though I know all ſecrets, and all knowledge (ſaith the Apoſtle) *yea if I had all faith, &c.* 1. Cor. 13. 2. the Apoſtle diſtinguiſheth knowledge, and faith, as being two ſundry things, *Bellarm. cap.* 7.

Anſw. 1. Though the Apoſtle reckon vp here diuers particular giftes, yet doth he not ſo ſeparate and deuide them, but that one may communicate with another: for if this be a good conſequent,

sequent, because Saint *Paul* saith, *all knowledge, and all faith*, making two sundry giftes of them, therefore fayth hath no fellowship with knowledge: then by the same reason, because he also saith, *if I could prophesie, and know all secrets*, therefore he that prophesieth hath no knowledge of secrets.

2 Saint *Paul* speaketh not here of iustifying faith, but of the faith of miracles, *If thou I had faith whereby I could remoue mountaines, &c.* which faith may be separated from loue: but iustifying faith cannot: faith working by loue, saith the Apostle, Gal. 5. 6. this place therefore concludeth nothing against iustifying faith.

The Protestants.

AS before they spoyled faith of the better part thereof, which is a stable and certaine perswasion of the heart: so now also they rob it of the other part, which is an euidence and light of spirituall knowledge: for faith cannot stand with ignorance, but necessarily bringeth with it, an illumination of the minde, as it worketh stablenes in the heart.

Neither doe we affirme, that we doe perfectly vnderstand with the minde, those things which by faith we beleeue: for the Apostle saith, that neither the eye hath seene, nor the eare heard, *neither came into mans heart, the things that God hath prepared for those that loue him*, 1. Cor. 2. 9. *And now we see thorough a glasse darkely, then shall we see face to face*, 1. Cor. 13. 12. We shall neuer therefore bee able perfectly to vnderstand in this life so much, as wee beleeue: yet we doe know and vnderstand them after a sorte: for as *M. Latimer* saith; there is great difference betweene certaine knowledge, and cleare knowledge, for that may be of things absent that appeare not; this requireth the presence of the obiect: A man therefore may certainely and surely know the thing which he perfectly beleeueth, though he doe not cleerely and euidently know it.

Againe, concerning this distinction of *implicita*, and *explicita fides*, our iudgement is this: we doe not absolutely condemne or refuse it; but with two conditions are content to receiue it: first, if they vnderstand that to be the *explicita fides*, when as a man by sufficient knowledge and learning is able to maynteine euery poynt of his faith: that to be *implicita fides*, not when a man is vtterly ignorant to giue a reason of his faith, but when his knowledge and instruction is not so full, as is to be found in the learned sort: So then the explicite faith, is not that which onely hath skill and knowledge; the implicite, that which hath none: but they differ onely in degree, the one hath a greater measure of knowledge then the other.

The second condition is this, that we vnderstand the implicite faith, to be that, not which is grounded vpon the determination of the Church, but vpon the truth of the holy Scriptures: As if a man should thus professe, this is my faith, and thus doe I beleeue, because I am so taught by the Scriptures, though otherwise I be not able to giue an exact account of my faith. With these respects and conditions we will admit of this distinction; as we finde it to haue been admitted by that holy Martyr, Master *Saunders*, whose wordes I will set downe: Albeit I cannot *explicite fide*, as they call it, conceiue all that is to be conceiued, neither can discusse all that is to be discussed, in the doctrine of this most true religion: yet I doe binde my selfe, as by my humble simplicitie, so by my *fidem implicitam*, that is, by faith in generality, to wrap my beliefe in the credite of the same, that no authoritie of the Romish religion, repugnant thereunto, shall by any meanes remoue me from the same, *Fox.* pag. 1495. *ex epist. Saunder. ad Wintonienf.* This holy Martyr confesseth this implicite faith, and modestly acknowledgeth his faith to be such, not that he was altogether rude and ignorant, but not yet attayned to the depth of Christian knowledge: secondly, he groundeth his faith not vpon the determination of the Romish Church, but vpon the truth of his religion warranted by the Scriptures. Such an implicite faith doe we also graunt. But a popish implicite faith altogether voide of knowledge, when men vtterly ignorant content themselues to beleeue as the Church beleeueth, we do detest and abhor: Such a faith, as the Bishop of Cauaillon in France, commended sometimes to the Christians of Merindol, in these words: It was not necessary or requisite to saluation, that they should be so cunning, as to expound or vnderstand the articles of their faith, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latine: for there were many Bishops, Curates, yea and Doctors of Diuinitie, whom it would trouble to expound the Pater Noster, or the Creede, *Fox.* pag. 949. Against this blind, popish, and vnsauory faith, we reason thus.

Argum. 1. Saint *Peter* saith, *We must be readie to giue account to euery one that asketh, of that hope, which is in vs*, 1. Pet. 3. 15. *Ergo*, it is not sufficient for a Christian to say he beleeueth, as the Church beleeueth: but he must be able to giue account of his beleefe.

Argum. 2. Master *Lambert* holy Martyr, against this popish implicite faith which indeede is no fayth, but a blockish ignorance, alleadgeth these testimonies of Scripture: *Brethren, be not children in wit and vnderstanding, but as concerning malicious nes be you children*, 1. Cor. 14. *Be not like the horse and mule, which haue no vnderstanding*, Psalm. 32. *Trie all things, and keepe that which is good*, 1. Thes. 5. 21. *Ergo*, Christians ought to haue knowledge to discerne good from euill, &c. *Fox.* pag. 1103.

Master

Master *George Wisebart* holy Martyr, condemned for this truth, because he said, that it was necessary to euery man to know and vnderstand his baptisme, *Fox*. pag. 1269.

Lastly, *Augustine* writeth thus: *Ita apud omnes vulgata est & confirmata fides Catholica, vt nec latitiam possit fugere populorum:* That the Catholike faith was so common and so plaine, that it could not be hid, no not from the popular sort: for now ought the propheſie of *Ieremy* to be fulfilled, *They shall all know me from the least to the greatest.* Heb. 8. 11.

Sic ex appendice Concilij Basil. ex oratione præsidentis ad Bohemos: Certiores de fide mea & doctrina esto quam si quid propriis conspiciatis oculis: Be ye more certaine of my faith and doctrine, then when you see any thing with your owne eyes: so the Church is brought in speaking. Euery member of the Church must be thus sure of the doctrine of the Church: but how can they be sure thereof vnlesse they know it?

Peter Lombard. to this purpose alleageth thus out of *Augustine*, that faith cannot be without knowledge: *Lib. 3. dist. 24. C. Nemo potest credere in deum, nisi aliquid intelligatur, &c.* No man can beleeue in God, vnlesse somewhat bee vnderstood, because faith is of hearing. Againe, *Nec ea quæ creduntur prius, quam intelligantur, penitus ignorantur, &c.* Neither the things, that are beleeued before they are vnderstood, are altogether vnknowne, seeing faith commeth of hearing, &c. By this text *Augustine* proueth, that faith is ioyned with knowledge: for how can a man beleeue by hearing that he knoweth not?

THE THIRD POINT, OF THE obiect of faith.

The Papists.

Bellarmine affirmeth, that it is not the propertie of faith, specially to apply to euery beleeuer the promises of God in Christ, for this he blasphemously calleth presumption, but generally to beleeue whatsoeuer is contained in the word of God to be true, *Bellarmin. lib. 1. de iustificat. cap. 14.* The Chapter also of Trent, thus decreeth, that iustifying faith is not that assured beleefe, and confidence of the heart, whereby we are perswaded, that our sinnes are forgiuen vs in Christ, *sess. 6. can. 13.* Our Rhemists also thus deliuer their sentence, that faith which iustifieth, is a generall & vniuersall beleeuing of the articles of Christs death, and resurrection, not any fond speciall faith, *fides* not confidence of each mans owne saluation, *Rhemist. in 1. Rom. 4. fol. 19.* 5. Error.

Argum. 1. That faith, which *Peter* confessed when he said to our Sauiour, *thou art the Christ, the Sonne of the liuing God*, was the same faith that iustifieth: But this faith was a confession onely of the Diuinitie of Christ, no speciall application of his merites: *Ergo*, faith is no such thing, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de iustificat. cap. 8.*

Answ. 1. By our aduersaries owne confession, this was not the whole iustifying faith, which here professeth: for they affirme, that faith is an vniuersall beliefe of the articles of Christs death and resurrection, &c. But at this time, though *Peter* confessed thus of the Sonne of God, yet he neither beleeued that Christ should die, for therefore he deserued to be called Sathan, *vers. 23.* because he went about to perswade Christ not to die: and as for the resurrection of Christ, the Apostles doubted of it euen when Christ was risen againe, *Luk. 24. vers. 11.* how then could this be the iustifying faith in respect of *Peter*, that confessed it?

2. This faith which *Peter* confessed, though it were not the whole iustifying faith, yet it was a principall part thereof: for there is in faith the matter and substance thereof, which is the beliefe of the articles of the faith, and the forme, which is the particular vse and application thereof to euery man seuerally: to confesse therefore, that Christ is the Sonne of God, (which doth comprehend both the natures of his Godhead and humanitie, and the offices of Christ, whereunto he was annoynted, his kingdome, propheſie and priesthood) belongeth to iustifying faith, as the matter and substance thereof.

3. Though simply to confesse Iesus to be the Sonne of God, be not that faith that iustifieth, because the diuels haue made such a confession, *Mark. 1. 7.* yet this confession may so proceed from a man, and it might be, was so vttered by *Peter* in this place, that it may declare a right iustifying faith: that is, so to confesse Christ to be the Sonne of God, and to be the annoynted Messiah, to take away the sins of the world, that he which so confesseth, beleeueth it with comfort, and that Christ is beleeued to him: Therefore Saint *Paul* saith, *that no man can say that Iesus is the Lord, but by the holy Ghost*, 1. Cor. 12. 3. And our Sauiour saith to *Peter*, after he had made this confession, *that flesh and blood had not reuealed it vnto him, but his father in heauen.* Wherefore it is certaine, that he vttered more then a generall beliefe of this article, which may be in diuels: vnlesse you will say, that the diuels also made the same confession by the holy Ghost, and by reuelation from God.

Argum. 2. *Abrahams* faith was nothing else, but his beliefe of a certaine article reuealed vnto him

him from God, and credite giuen to Gods speeches, that he should be the father of many nations, by his Sonne, which was yet vnborne, whom his wife *Sara*, both barren and now old, was to beare vnto him: But *Abrahams* faith was a iustifying faith: *Ergo, Rhemist annot. Rom. 4 sect. 9. Bellarm. lib. 1 de iustificat. cap. 8.*

Answ. 1. The obiect of *Abrahams* faith, or the thing which *Abraham* beleeued, was not onely concerning the birth of his sonne *Isaac*, and the multiplying of his seede by him: but the promise which *Abraham* gaue credite vnto, was spirituall concerning Christ: As the Apostle noteth, *he saith not, and to the seedes, as speaking of many, but, and to thy seede, as of one, which is Christ*, Galath. 3. 16. And *Abraham* was promised not so much to be the father of many nations, as to be the father of all them that beleeue, Rom. 4. 11. therefore it was not a temporall, but a spirituall promise, which was made vnto *Abraham*. 2. Neither was *Abrahams* faith onely a generall or historicall beliefe, that this promise was true: but a sure confidence and trust in God that this promise pertayned to him, and that he himselfe should be blessed, in that promised seede: as our Sauiour testifieth Ioh. 8. 16. *Abraham desired to see my day, and saw it, and reioyced*: for whereof sprang that exceeding ioy in *Abraham*, but vpon that certaine hope and perswasion, which he had of his owne saluation in Christ?

Argum. 3. That faith, which Christ required, and confirmed by miracles, was a iustifying faith: but that was no certaine fiduce or particular perswasion, but onely a general beleefe in the power and omnipotencie of Christ.

Ergo, a iustifying faith requireth no such particular perswasion, &c.

The assumption *Bellarmine* proueth by diuers places of Scripture.

1. Matth. 9. 28. Christ saith to the blind, *Beleeue yee that I am able to do this? According to your faith be it vnto you.*

2. Such was the faith of the Centurion, which Christ so commended, saying, *hee found not so great faith in Israel.* Luke 7. 7. *Say the word onely, and my seruant shall be whole.*

3. Such was *Nathanaels* faith, Iohn 1. 50. *Because I said I saw thee vnder the figtree, beleeuest thou?*

4. Iohn 11. 27. *I beleeue that thou art Christ the sonne of God, which should come into the world.*

5. Iohn 20. Christ saith to *Thomas*; *Thou hast seene and beleeued, &c.* Hee beleeued onely the truech of this article, That Christ was risen from the dead.

6. Mark. 1. 40. The Leper doubted of Christs mercie; *If thou wilt, thou canst make mee cleane*, he beleeued onely his power.

7. The Pharisee had confidence that he was iust and righteous, Luk. 18. yet was he not iustified.

8. The Eunuch had no assurance of Gods mercie, but said onely, I beleeue Iesus Christ to be the Sonne of God, Act. 8. 37.

9. Rom. 10. 9. *If thou confesse with thy mouth the Lord Iesus, and shalt beleeue in thy heart, that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saued*: iustifying faith is nothing els, but the beleefe of the resurrection of Christ.

10. 1. Iohn 5. 1. *Whosoeuer beleeueth, that Iesus is the Christ, is borne of God*: Here is no perswasion or particular confidence required, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de iustificat. c. 8.*

Answ. First, 1. To the proposition I answere, that indeed, that faith which Christ required and preached, was the true iustifying faith, which included a certaine assurance of forgiuenesse of sinnes: as Luk. 7. 47. Christ saith of the penitent woman, *Many sinnes are forgiuen her, for she loued much*: she by her loue vnto Christ, testified her inward feeling and assurance of forgiuenesse. 2. Though this faith Christ required, yet in his mercie he refused not the least beginning of faith, which was to beleeue his power, that he was able to worke miracles vpon their bodies, which was the faith of miracles, yet an introduction to the true iustifying faith: and therefore it was written of Christ, *A bruised reed shall he not breake, and smoaking flaxe shall he not quench*: Matth. 12. 20. that he shall beare with the infirme and weake, and not reiect their small measure of faith.

1. Secondly, our particular answere to the places obiected, is this: 1. Those blind men beleeued not onely that Christ was able to helpe them, but were perswaded of his mercie, in saying, *O sonne of Dauid haue mercie vpon vs.* 2. To the receiuing of a temporall benefite in recouering of their sight, a temporarie faith (which we call the faith of miracles) might suffice.

2. Secondly, 1. the Centurions faith is shewed in beleeuing Christ to be able to heale his seruants bodily sicknesse: but therein remission of sinnes is the obiect of iustifying faith, and therefore it is improperly alleaged. 2. Yet this Centurion had as well confidence in Christs mercie, as beleefe of his power, Christ hauing said to him, vers. 7. *I will come and heale him.* 3. The Centurions faith, was for another; but the iustifying faith, is the assurance that euery man hath for himselfe.

3. Thirdly, 1. *Nathanael* is commended for this good beginning of faith, which Christ promiseth to encrease: thou shalt *see greater things then these.* 2. And his faith is not without particular confidence,

silence, acknowledging Christ to be *King of Israel*: of which number he was, being affirmed by Christ to be a true Israelite, vers.47.

4. The faith of *Martha*, was not onely a generall confession of the resurrection, which she had made before, Ioh.11.24. but a particular beliefe, wherby euery one is by Christ saued frō the death of sin: as she, being asked, *Beleeuest thou this?* answered, Yea: that is, *that whosoeuer beleeueth in Christ shall neuer die.* v.26. This is the particular assurance of faith, to be preserued frō euerlasting death.

5. *Thomas* faith also was particular, in saying to Christ, *Thou art my Lord and my God*: Ioh.20. vers.28 It was not a generall apprehension onely, that he was risen againe.

6. First, the Lepers request was for the cleansing of his body; what is this to the remission of sins, which is the proper obiect of iustifying faith? 2. Neither doth he doubt of Christs will and power, because he saith, *If thou wilt*: will ye say that Christ doubted of his Fathers good will, because he thus prayed; Father, *if thou wilt*, take away *this cuppe*, Luk.22.42. that is, Thou canst take it away, if thou wilt: but a man is thus to pray for things temporall, namely with a condition not that God fayleth in mercie, when he withholdeth them, but because it is not alwayes good for vs to receiue them. 3. The Lepers confidence appeareth in his earnest prayer, Mark.1.40. *He besought him, and kneeled downe, &c.* and Christ had compassion vpon him: By the effect then it appeareth he prayed with confidence, as our Sauiour saith, Mark.11.24. *Whatsoeuer ye desire when ye pray, beleeue that you shall haue it, and it shall be done vnto you.*

7. The Pharisee doth boast of his owne worthinesse, and hath a vaine confidence in himselfe, which was no confidence at all: though he say, *God I thanke thee*; he doth it in hypocrisie, acknowledging herein a gift from God, but procured by his owne worthinesse.

8. The Eunuches faith wanted not a particular apprehension and application of Christs death: *What letteth me* (saith he) *to be baptized?* vers.36. that as hee was in his flesh sprinkled with water, so he beleeued, that in his soule he was washed in Christs blood from his sinnes.

9. The faith and confession which the Apostle speaketh of, is not without a particular perswasion and assurance of the heart. 1. So he saith, Rom.6.8. *If we be dead with Christ, we beleeue that we shall liue with him*: The beleefe then of Christs death and resurrection worketh in vs assurance of life. 2. It followeth in the next verse, Rom.10.11. *Whosoeuer beleeueth in him, shall not be ashamed*: but it is the hope and assurance of the heart, that maketh not ashamed, Rom.5.5 not a generall apprehension onely. 3. Rom.10.14. *How shall they call vpon him, vpon whom they haue not beleeued?* Inuocation is a fruit of this faith: but true inuocation or prayer is not without assurance to be heard, Marke 11.24.

10. Euer the Apostle in that faith requireth particular confidence, for it followeth, 1 Ioh.5.1. *Euery one that loueth him*; Euery one that beleeueth, that Iesus is Christ, loueth him: but loue casteth out feare and doubtfulnesse, and maketh vs to haue boldnes in the day of the Lord, 1 Ioh.4. vers.16.17. *Ergo*, faith expelleth doubtfulnes, and worketh in vs boldnesse and confidence.

The Protestants.

A iustifying faith is not onely a generall beliefe of the articles of faith, that Christ was dead, buried, rose againe for them that beleeue: but it is an assured and stedfast confidence, whereby euery man particularly doth apply to himselfe the generall promises of God, for the hope of remission of his sinnes in Christ, that Christ dyed, rose againe, and did all the rest euen for him.

Argum.1. Saint *Iames* saith, *the diuels also doe beleeue that God is, and doe tremble*; Iam.2.19. they doubt, but they beleeue that the word of God is true, and confesse the articles of the faith: for they acknowledge Christ to be the Sonne of the liuing God, Mark.5.7. But the faith of diuels is no iustifying faith: *Ergo*, neither this historicall and generall faith. Thus Master *Tindall* holy Martyr witnesseth, who saith, that the diuel beleeueth that there is a God, and life euerlasting, and that there is an hell, yea he beleeueth that the father, the sonne, and the holy Ghost are but one God, yet he is nothing the better for this beliefe, *vid.plur. Fox.p.1255 artic.5.11.*

Argum.2. Saint *Paul* was saued by no other faith, but the common iustifying faith of all Christians; but this faith wrought a particular perswasion in him: *from henceforth is layde for me a crowne of righteousnesse*, 2.Tim.4.8. And againe: *I liue by the faith of the sonne of God, who hath loued me and giuen himselfe for me*, Galath.cap.2.vers.20. *Ergo*, such ought the faith of all Christians to be.

Bellarmine would here seeme to say somewhat, but he confirmeth our saying and preacheth his answere, then ouerthroweth it: *Recte dicunt posse vnumquemque generales promissiones sibi applicare per fidem*: They say right, that euery man by faith, may apply the generall promises to himselfe, for as I beleeue by the Catholike faith, that Christ died for all, *sic credam sibi, & pro me mortuum esse Christum*, so by the same faith, I beleeue he died for me, *Bellarm.cap.11. respond.ad obiect.5.* Doth not the Iesuite now confesse against himselfe, that the speciall mercy of God is the obiect of faith, which he before denied? And if a man by faith may apply to himselfe the generall promises of God, why did he say before, *Certum præsumptionem specialis misericordiæ, ad præsumptionem, non ad fidem pertinere*: That for a man to promise to himselfe speciall mercy, it belongeth to presumption, rather than to

faith, *Bellarm. cap.* 4. What neede now any other confutation, seeing the Iesuit confuteth himselfe.

Argum. 3. Iustifying faith bringeth tranquillitie and peace of conscience: but the promises of God generally apprehended, doe not worke the peace of conscience, vnlesse they be particularly applied: *Ergo*, they are not the obiect of iustifying faith. *Bellarmine* here in flat tearmes denieth, that faith breedeth the securitie and peace of minde, but rather *pauores auget*, it breedeth feare and terror in the minde, *Bellarm. resp. ad obiect.* 5. wherein he doth contradict of purpose the holy Apostle, which sayth, *being iustified by faith, we haue peace toward God*, Rom. 5. 1. *Ergo*, iustifying faith worketh peace.

Argum. 4. That faith doth not generally only apprehend, but particularlie applie, and worke a speciall assurance thereof in the heart, these places of scripture further doe testifie.

1 Mark. 11. 24. *Whatsoeuer ye desire, when you pray, beleeue that ye shall haue it, and it shall be giuen vnto you.*

2 Iam. 1. 6. *Let him aske in faith, and wauer not.*

3 2. Chron. 20. *Put your trust in the Lord your God, and ye shall be assured.*

4 Therefore the Scripture reproueth fearefulnes and doubtfulnes, as shewing a want of faith. Matth. 8. 26. *Why are ye fearefull, O ye of little faith!* Matth. 14. 31. Christ saith to *Peter, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?* If want of faith bring doubtfulnes, then faith worketh assurance.

5 Rom. 4. 14. *It is by faith, that the promise may be sure to all the seed. Ergo*, faith bringeth assurance.

1 *Answ. Bellarmine.* It is true we must beleeue, that we shall receiue, but yet conditionally, if we aske aright: *resp. ad obiect.* 2.

Contra. We graunt this condition, if a man aske aright, that is in faith, he is sure to be heard, as S. *Iames* saith, 5. 15. *The prayer of faith shall saue the sicke. Ergo*, the condition of faith bringeth assurance; which is the same thing we affirme: thus he hath yeelded the cause.

2 *Answ.* The Apostles meaning is, that we should not doubt of Gods power, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. No nor yet of Gods mercie and good will: for before he had said, Iam. 1. 5. *Which giueth to all men liberally, and reproacheth no man*: to be a liberall giuer without reproch, sheweth Gods will and mercie, not his power onely. Againe, let him aske in faith, *nihil hæsitans*, doubting nothing at all: *Ergo*, he must not doubt either of Gods power or mercie.

3 *Answ.* It followeth in the same verse, *credite prophetis eius*, beleeue his Prophets, and all things shall fall out well: 2. Chron. 20. 20. But we must not put our trust in the Prophets, *Bellarm.*

Contra. First, is it all one, to say *credite in Deum, &c.* beleeue in God, as the text is, and *credite Prophetis*, beleeue the Prophets? To beleeue the Prophets, is to acknowledge they speake the truth; to beleeue in God, is to put our trust in him. Secondly, it is a grosse consequent, we must not put our trust in the Prophets, *Ergo* nor in God. Thirdly, the text is, trust in God, *& securi eritis*, ye shall be assured: but where there is any doubtfulnes, there is no assurance.

4 *Answ.* Christ reproueth his Disciples because they doubted of his power: for if they had beleeued Christ to be omnipotent, &c. they would not haue doubted the danger of shipwracke, *Bellarm. resp. ad obiect.* 3.

Contra. First, will yee make the Apostles of lesse faith, then the poore Leaper, Matth. 8. *If thou wilt thou canst make me cleane?* he doubted not of Christs power. Secondly, neither did the Apostles make question of Christs power at this time, saying, vers. 25. *Saue vs or else we perish*: they doubted not in thus praying, but that he was able to saue them. Thirdly, to beleeue Christ to be able, belongeth to the intelligence; to be assured thereof, is of the heart and affections: but feare or doubtfulnes is not in the intelligence or vnderstanding part, but in the heart: *Ergo*, this feare or doubt was not of Christs power: but they failed in their confidence and assurance.

5 *Answ.* The promise made to *Abraham* was not of remission of sinnes, but of the calling of the Gentiles: and it was onely an historicall or dogmaticall faith, in the power and omnipotencie of God, *Bellarm. c.* 11. *resp. ad obiect.* 4.

Contra. First, the promise in deed was made of the calling of the Gentiles, and consequently of remission of sins: for the promise was, *that in his seed* (which is Christ, Gal. 3. 16.) *all the kindreds of the earth should be blessed*, Gen. 12. 3. but blessednes consisteth in the forgiuenes of sins: *Blessed are they, whose iniquities are forgiuen*, Rom. 4. 7. Secondly, *Abraham* was not only resolued in his iudgement of Gods power, but assured in his heart of his loue: for he both saw the day of his Christ in his spirit, and reioyced in his heart, Iohn 8. 56. *Abraham* reioyced to see my day, he saw it and was glad.

Let vs heare the iudgement of holy martyrs and confessors: That honourable Earle the Lord *Cromwell*, who now doth shine in heauen, who was sometime famous vppon earth, whose godly memorie shall neuer die: Hee in that sweete prayer which he made at the houre of his death, sayd thus: *Thou mercifull Lord was borne for my sake, thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; thou didst watch, fast, and pray for my sake; all thy holy actions and workes, thou wroughtest for my sake; thou sufferedst most grieuous paines and torments for my sake: finally thou gauest thy most precious blood to be shed vpon the crosse for my sake: now most mercifull Sauiour, let all these things profit me, which thou hast done freely for*

for me, which hast also giuen thy selfe for me, &c. Fox. 1190. faith, we see, wrought in this true noble heart a particular perswasion of Gods mercy, with a sweete application of the merits of Christ.

M. Bradford thus writeth in a certain letter of his to a godly Gentlewoman: What profit should it be to you, to beleeue this to be true (I am the Lord thy God) to others, if you should not beleeue that it is true to your selfe, *Fox pag.* 1639.

Augustine saith, *Quicquid cum loquor, agnoueris in te, quisquis expertus es, crede contingere omnibus qui de manu inimicorum pretioso sanguine redimuntur*: That which I say, thou that hast experience thereof in thy selfe, know that it is common to all, *That are redeemed by that pretious blood. Ergo,* euery man must haue a particular feeling of his redemption in himselfe. In Psal.106.

Interrelig. Caesarean. cap. 3. *Qui pretioso Christi sanguine redimitur & cui meritum passionis Christi applicatur, is continuo iustificatur, i. inuenit remissionem peccatorum*: He that is redeemed by the blood of Christ, and to whom the merite of Christ is applyed, he is forthwith iustified, and findeth remission of sinne. Thus the Elder Papists confessed a particular application of Christs redemption to be necessarie in iustification, and not a generall beleeuing onely of the trueth thereof to be sufficient.

Peter Lombard alleageth thus out of *August. lib.* 3. *dist.* 23. *g. Fidem ipsam videt quisque in corde suo si credit*: Euery man seeth faith in his own hart, if he beleeue: but a man cannot see his faith that is not sure of his faith: that he seeth onely in his heart, which is firme, fixed, and setled in his heart.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE DIuers kinds of fayth.

The Papists.

WHereas we affirme, that there are diuers kinds of faith: as first, *fides historica*, an historicall faith, which is to beleeue the truth of whatsoeuer contained in Scripture: there is also, *fides miraculorum*, the faith or gift of working myracles, whereof S. *Paul* speaketh, 1. Cor. 12. 9. the third kinde is, *fides iustificans*, that faith which iustifieth, which is an assured beleefe of Gods promises made vnto vs in Christ: the Iesuite and the Rhemists affirme, all these kinds of faith in substance to be all one: the faith of myracles differeth onely from iustifying faith, in an accidentall qualitie, of more feruor, deuotion, and confident trust, *Rhem. annot.* 1. *Cor.* 12. 9. *Bellar. de iustificat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. Yea our Rhemists are yet more absurd: that faith (say they) which S. *Iames* calleth a dead faith, is notwithstanding a true faith, and the same which is called the Catholike faith, & which the Apostle defineth, Heb. 11. 1. and in substance al one with that, which iustifieth, *Rhe. an. Iam.* 2. *sect.* 11. 1. Error.

Argum. 1. That faith which S. *Paul* defineth, Heb. 11. 1. is the same faith, which iustifieth: but that faith also, is the historicall faith: *thorough faith we vnderstand that the world was ordained, &c.* vers. 2. it is the same also with the faith of myracles: thorough faith, *they stopped the mouths of Lions, quenched the violence of the fire, &c.* vers. 33. 34. And all this while the Apostle discourseth of that faith, which he described in the beginning of the chapter, *Bellarm. cap.* 5.

Answ. We graunt that these three kindes of faith may sometime be found in one man: for the historicall, and the faith of myracles doe as handmaids accompany the iustifying faith: the historicall faith, that is, the beleefe of all things contained in Scripture, is neuer disioyned from the true faith: and the faith of myracles, so oft as is necessary, doth waite vpon the same: all these three were together, in those holy Patriarches, whose faith the Apostle commendeth: Yet it followeth not, that they made all one faith: for the historicall faith may be, where iustifying faith is not, as in Diuels, Iam. 2. 19. they beleeue, that there is one God: the faith of myracles also may be in false Prophets, which haue no part in Christ, Matth. 7. 22. But if they were all one and the same, they could not be separated, but where one is, there of necessitie should be the other.

Argum. 2. Mark. 16. 17. *These tokens shall follow them that beleeue: in my name they shall cast out diuels, and shall speake with new tongues, and take away serpents*: hence it appeareth, that the faith of myracles and iustifying faith is all one, *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *de iustific. c.* 8.

Contra 1. The argument followeth not: he that beleeueth in Christ, and hath iustifying faith, may worke myracles: *Ergo*, iustifying faith is all one with the faith of myracles: as it followeth not, he that hath faith, hath also loue and hope: *Ergo*, these three are all one. 2. The contrary rather appeareth out of this text: for *he that beleeueth, shall be saued*, vers. 16. but a man may worke miracles, and cast out diuels, and yet not be saued, Matth. 7. 22. Againe, the faith of myracles is now ceased, but iustifying faith remaineth: but if the faith of myracles, and that whereby we are iustified were all one, then he that hath the one should haue the other also: and where and when the one is, there and there should be the other also.

The Protestants.

THat the faith of myracles, and the historicall faith are not of the same nature with iustifying faith: nor yet that a dead faith, and a true faith, are not all one, we shew it thus.

Argum. 1. The faith of miracles may be in wicked men, Matth. 7. 23. the iustifying faith can be in none, but those which shall be saued, Mark. 16. vers. 16. They that beleeue shall be saued: *Ergo* they are not all one. Againe, the faith of miracles may be separated from loue, 1. Cor. 13. 2. but iustifying faith cannot, Galat. 5. 6. *Faith working by loue: Ergo*, what intollerable boldnesse then is this, to ascribe greater confidence and trust to that faith of wicked men, then to the true iustifying faith in the elect.

Argum. 2. That the dead faith which Saint *Iames* speaketh of, is not of the same nature with the iustifying faith; nor with that faith, which is handled, Heb. 11. it may thus appeare: first, by that faith there described, the Patriarches pleased God, and beleeued that hee was a rewarder of those, that sought him, vers. 6. but this dead faith hath no such operation. Secondly, as a dead man cannot be said properly to be a man, no more can a dead faith be properly called a faith. Now further, the faith of diuels and the faith of Saints cannot be of one nature and substance: but the dead speculatiue faith may be in diuels, Iam. 2. 19. *Ergo*, it is a blasphemous assertion, that these two faiths are all one.

Augustine saith, *Discerne fidem tuam à fide demonum, dæmones credunt, quod oderunt: distinguit Apostolus fidem, quæ operatur per dilectionem*: Discerne thy faith from the faith of diuels, the diuels beleeue that which they hate: the Apostle doth distinguish them, faith, which worketh by loue. *Ergo*, a dead faith, which is fruitlesse, and worketh not by loue, is the faith of diuels, and so not of one nature with a true iustifying faith.

Synod. Treuerens. sub Iohanne cap. 4. Populo persuadeant non quamlibet fidem, quæ in Deum credat, sed eam demum salutiferam fore, quæ per dilectionem operatur: Let them perswade the people, that not euery faith, whereby men beleeue in God, but that onely bringeth saluation, which worketh by loue: by this distinction (not this, but that) we do gather that faith effectuall by loue, which is the true liuely iustifying faith, is in the iudgement of this Councel, of another kinde and nature, then other generall and common faiths are.

Decret. Caus. 33. distinct. 2. c. 11. In fide, spe, charitate, &c. Spiritus perfectorum corda non deserit; in Prophetæ virtute, miraculorum exhibitione, electis suis aliquando adest, aliquando se subtrahit: Iudeed, hope, charitie, and other giftes, &c. the spirite forsaketh not the hearts of the perfect: but in the power of prophecie, exhibiting of miracles, sometime the spirite is present with the elect, sometime he withdraweth himselfe. If then faith ioyned with charitie remaineth, faith of miracles alwayes doth not remaine; then are they not one and the same kind of faith.

Peter Lombard. lib. 3. dist. 23. liter. d. Fides sine charitate informis qualitas mentis: Faith without charitie, such as the diuels haue, is a deformed qualitie of the minde: Say if you dare, that faith, which iustifieth, is a deformed qualitie: *Fides una dicitur, non quia sit una manens in omnibus, sed genere & similitudine*: Faith is said to be one, not because the same particular faith is in all, but in generall the same, that is, by a certaine similitude, *ibid. liter. f.* Faith which iustifieth, and faith without charitie are the same not in nature and trueth, but in similitude onely.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER FAITH MAY be separated from charitie.

The Papist.

92. Error. THat true iustifying faith, may be separated from loue and other Christian vertues: Bellarmine endeuoureth thus to proue it.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* saith, *If I had all faith, so that I could remoue mountaines, and had not loue, I were nothing*, 1. Cor. 13. 2. *Ergo*, there may be a diuorce and separation betweene faith, and loue.

Answ. 1. The Apostle thus speaketh, *ex hypothesi*, by way of supposition, that if it were possible for faith to be without loue, faith were nothing, as before he sayd, though I speake with tongues of men & Angels, not as though he could speake as the Angels, but if he could, and had not loue, &c.

Bellarm. Thus much then we haue gayned by this answere, that faith profiteth not without charitie, therefore it cannot iustifie without charitie: for to what purpose els hath faith such need of charitie, that it cannot be separated from it, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de iustific. cap. 15.*

Contra. Charitie is neuer seuered from faith, not because faith needeth charitie, or that it cannot iustifie without charitie: but because charitie doth alwayes accompany faith, as a principall fruit, and effect thereof; as the fire is neuer without the heate, which is no part notwithstanding of the essence or nature thereof, but a native qualitie issuing from thence: And like as a good tree is neuer void of good fruit; which good fruit make not the tree good; but the tree being first good, it maketh also the fruit good.

Answ. 2. Or we answere rather that S. *Paul* speaketh here of the faith of miracles, which wee graunt may be separated from loue, and may be found in the wicked, Matth. 7. 23. for he meaneth such a faith, whereby mountaines are remoued.

Bellarm.

Bellarm. S. *Paul* ſpeaketh as well of that faith, which iuſtifieth, as of this faith of miracles. 1. He ſaith *if I had all faith*, verſ. 2. he ſpeaketh generally of all. 2. He meaneth that faith, which is ioyned with hope and loue, *now abideth faith, hope and loue, theſe three*, verſe. 13. but this is a iuſtifying faith: *Ergo.*

Contra. 1. Saint *Paul* in ſaying all faith, meaneth not vniuerſally euery kind of faith: but that whole faith or generall power, whereby all myracles may be wrought, whereof he giueth one particular inſtance, of remouing mountaines. Secondly, in the laſt verſe he ſpeaketh of another kind of faith then in this place: for there he vnderſtandeth ſuch a faith as abideth ſtill; and is in all ages neceſſarie for all Chriſtians: but this faith whereby mountaines are remoued, now abideth not, the gift is ceaſed, therefore he meaneth not that faith.

Argum. 2. Iohn 12. 42. *Many of the chiefe beleeued in him, but becauſe of the Phariſees, they did not confeſſe him, leaſt they ſhould be caſt out of the Synagogue, for they loued the prayſe of men, more then the prayſe of God.* Here we ſee there was faith without charitie, *Bellarm. ibid. argum.* 1.

Anſw. 1. We muſt eyther vnderſtand here a common and ſuperficial faith, not a true faith indeed: as our Sauiour ſaith, Iohn 5. 44. *How can yee beleeue, when yee receiue honour one of another?* If theſe therefore were ſuch, as altogether neglected Gods honor, and onely loued the praiſe of men, they had not a true faith, and therefore it is no maruell, if they wanted charitie. 2. Or if we vnderſtand this place of ſuch chiefe men, as *Nicodemus*, and *Ioſeph* of Arimathea, who beleeued in Chriſt indeed, but were letted by their owne carnall weakeneſſe and infirmitie: then had they a true faith, though imperfect, and a loue alſo vnto Chriſt, though ſomewhat ouerſhadowed and obſcured with the loue of the world, and the feare of men.

Argum. 3. Iam. 2. 14. *What auayleth it my brethren, though a man ſay he hath faith, when he hath no workes? Ergo*, faith may be without the workes of charitie: and the Apoſtle meaneth not a ſhadow of faith, but a true faith indeed. 1. The Apoſtle ſaith in the ſame place, that *Abrahams* faith wrought with his workes: but *Abrahams* faith was a true faith. 2. Verſ. 24. the Apoſtle ſaith, *that a man of workes is iuſtified, and not of faith onely*: but the ſhadow of a faith iuſtifieth not. 3. He compareth a faith without workes to a bodie without a ſoule; but a dead bodie is a true bodie: *Ergo*, a dead faith is a true faith.

Anſw. Firſt, 1. *Abrahams* faith was a true faith, becauſe it was a working faith; doth it follow therefore that faith not working by loue is a true faith? nay, the contrary rather is inferred. 2. A faith, which is effectuall by workes, iuſtifieth: *Ergo*, a true faith: but a faith without works cannot ſaue, verſ. 14. *Ergo*, it is not a true faith. 3. A dead bodie is in part a true bodie, in reſpect of the terrene and materiall part, but ſimplie it is not a true bodie, nor the ſame bodie, which it was before in all points, wanting life, actiuitie and motion: ſo a faith that worketh not, hath ſome of the materials of a true faith, as knowledge, vnderſtanding; but it is not the ſame, wanting conſcience, and charitie, and true confidence, which is the life and ſoule of faith.

Secondly, that a faith not working, is not a right or true faith, is euident by the Apoſtle: 1. Becauſe he compareth it to the faith of diuels, verſ. 19. which is no right faith. 2. A faith without workes helpeth not, neyther ſaueth, verſ. 14. but a working and effectual faith, iuſtifyeth, ver. 24. *Ergo*, they are not the ſame; for the ſame faith will haue the ſame effect. 3. A dead faith and a liuely faith are not the ſame: but a faith not working is a dead faith, verſ. 17. *Faith if it haue no workes, is dead in it ſelfe*: but as a dead man is not a man, no more is a dead faith a right faith.

The Proteſtants.

FAith and charitie, as they are two diuers gifts and graces of the ſpirit, ſo in nature and propertie they may be diſtinguiſhed: but in vſe they can neuer be ſeparated: for where a true liuely faith is, there is charitie; and where true loue and charitie is, it is an infallible ſigne of the preſence of faith: no faith then, no charitie: and againe, no loue, no faith.

Arg. 1. Faith without workes is dead, Iam. 2. 26. and no better than the faith of diuels, ver. 19. but a dead faith, and the faith of diuels is no true faith: *Ergo*, there is no true faith, without the workes of charitie.

Bellarm. 1. *Fides dæmonum, ex parte obiecti vera eſt*: The faith of diuels is a true faith, in reſpect of the obiect.

Anſw. Firſt, this ſpeech cannot by any ſound diuinitie be iuſtified, that the diuels haue in any reſpect a true faith. Secondly, if in this reſpect the wicked ſpirits haue a true faith, then they haue euery way a true and perfect popiſh faith. For thus they define their faith: It is an act of the vnderſtanding, *Rhemiſt. 2. Cor. 13. ſect. 1.* whereby we doe vniuerſally beleeue the articles of Chriſts death and reſurrection, &c. *Rhemiſt annot. Rom. 4. ſect. 9.* But the diuell hath this act of vnderſtanding, whereby he doth vniuerſally beleeue, &c. Iam. 2. 19. Mark. 5. 7. *Ergo*, hee hath a true popiſh faith, and is a right popiſh Catholike.

Bellarm. 2. A dead faith may notwithſtanding be a true faith: as a dead bodie, is a bodie; and as ſtanding water, and a running water, are the ſame in ſubſtance, *Bellar. c. 15.*

Answ. Though a dead faith may be compared to a dead bodie, because it is altogether voide of spirituall quickening, as the bodie is without naturall life: yet a liuely faith is not fitly resembled to a liuing bodie, but rather to the life of the bodie; because faith is not that which is quickened, but that which quickeneth and giueth life: for it is written, *The iust shall liue by faith*, Rom. 1. 17. As therefore a dead man is no man properly, no more is a dead faith a true faith.

2. Againe, as a dead bodie hath the same terrene substance, which a liuing bodie hath, but not the same spirituall substance, which is the soule; and as a standing puddle hath part of the same matter, which is in a running water, but yet grosse, muddie, stinking and putrifying, so that it can be called the same water: so a dead faith hath some part of that which a true faith hath, as namely some light of knowledge and vnderstanding; but yet not hauing the substance and liuelihood of faith, it cannot be a right and true faith.

Argum. 2. He that is borne of God hath loue: *Euery one that loueth is borne of God*, 1 Iohn 4. 7. *He that dwelleth in loue, dwelleth in God and God in him*, vers. 16. But hee that beleeueth, that Iesus is Christ, is borne of God, 1. Ioh. 5. 1. *Ergo*, he that beleeueth hath loue.

Bellarm. We graunt, that *fides formata*, formed or perfect faith, hath alwaies loue annexed.

Answ. As though we spake not all this while of a liuely, perfect, and iustifying faith, which we call a formed faith: for a faith without forme, is no faith: If he thus vnderstand a formed faith, he saith the same now that we affirme, and is contrarie to himselfe, who tooke vpon him in the beginning of this chapter to proue, that *fides vera, qua iustificat impium*, a true faith, and such an one as iustifieth the vngodly, may be separated from loue: If he haue found out a formed faith beside this true liuely, and iustifying faith, he is contrarie to the Apostle here, who knoweth no other true faith, than to be beleeue in Iesus Christ.

Argum. 3. 1. He that hath no charitie denieth the faith: 1. Tim. 5. 8. *He that prouideth not for his owne, denieth the faith.* 2. 1. Ioh. 2. 4. *He that saith he knoweth God, and keepeth not his commandements, is a lyar: Ergo*, the true knowledge of God is not seuered from charitie. 3. *The iust shall liue by faith*, Rom. 1. 17. but without charitie, faith is dead, and can giue no life: *Ergo*, a true faith is not diuided from charitie.

Answ. 1. *Bellarmine* answereth out of *Gregor. Hom. 29. in Euangel. Non habere veram fidem, qui non bene operantur:* That they haue not a true faith, that doe not worke well: that is, they denie the faith in the worke, not in the heart.

Contra. First, *Gregories* testimonie is very direct for vs, that there can be no true faith, where is no right worke. Secondly, the faith denied in worke, is denied also in the heart: as the Apostle saith, *Whosoeuer sinneth*, (that is in worke) *hath neither seene nor knowne him*, (in his heart) 1. Ioh. 3. 6. Thirdly, as Saint *Paul* saith, 2. Tim. 3. 5. *Hauing a shew of godlines, but haue denied the power thereof:* so where the power of faith is denied, what else remaineth but onely a shew and shadowe of faith.

Answ. 2. The Apostle speaketh of a knowledge ioyned with loue and friendship: *Bellar. 15. resp. ad arg. 3.*

Contra. Such is that knowledge, which accompanieth faith: as the Apostle saith, 1. Ioh. 4. 16. *We haue knowne and beleeued the loue, that God hath in vs: Ergo*, the knowledge of faith is not without loue.

3. It must be vnderstoode of faith formed with charitie, *Bellarm. resp. ad arg. 6.*

Contra. He vnskilfully giueth an instance in the cause: this formed faith, is the faith which wee meane, a right and perfect faith, not a deformed and vnshapen faith. Thus then by his owne confession, a true faith, which he calleth a formed faith, is not without charitie.

Augustine saith, *Si dilectio patris in te non manet, non es natus ex Deo; gloriaris te esse Christianum, nomen habes, & facta non habes: si factis te non ostendis Christianum, quid prodest nomen, vbi res non inuenitur?* If the loue of the father be not in thee, thou art not borne of God: thou doest bolst thy selfe to be a Christian, thou hast the name but not the deedes: if thou doest not shew thy selfe a Christian, what good doth the name, where the thing is not found? *Tract. 5. in Epistol. Iohan.* If he be not borne of God, that hath no loue, then hath he not faith: for he that hath faith and beleeueth, is borne of God, 1. Iohn. 5. 1.

Againe, hee saith, *Omnes negant Christum in carne venisse, qui violant charitatem:* All they which violate charitie, denie Christ to be come in the flesh, *Tractat. 7.* But they which denie Christ to be come, &c. are voide of faith: *Ergo*, also of charitie: hee that wanteth the one, wanteth the other.

Wee want not testimonie from themselues: *Caus. 33. dist. 2. c. 14. gloss. In Christum credere est amando in ipsum credere:* To beleeue in Christ is by louing him to beleeue in him. This is that faith, which the Apostle defineth working by loue, Galath. 5. 6.

Peter Lombard. lib. 3. dist. 23. liter. d. Credere in deum, est credendo amare, credendo in eum ire: To beleeue in God, is in beleeuing to loue him; in beleeuing to come vnto him. *Dist. 25. liter. e. Quan-*

tum

tum credimus, tantum amamus: As much as we beleeue, so much we loue: *Vbi fides non est sine charitate:* A godly faith is not without charitie.

Eſpecc. Sine charitate fides veritas immo vanitas non prodeſt: Without charitie the veritie, or rather vanitie of faith profiteth not, *in* 2. *Tim. p.* 65. Faith then is vaine, that is no true faith without charitie.

Let the holie Martyrs speake. Thus Master *Tindall* writeth: *If thy faith induce thee not to good workes, then haſt thou not the right faith, thou doeſt but onely thinke that thou haſt it: for S. Iames faith, that faith without workes is dead in it ſelfe: he ſaith not that it is little or feeble, but that it is dead, and that is dead, is not: Fox. p.* 1255.

Master *Bradford* holy Martyr: when *Harpsfield* had thus said, That all which beleeue in Christ, shall not be saued, alleaging that place, Matth. 7. how many shall say to Christ in the day of iudgement, *Lord, Lord, haue we not in thy name cast out diuels? &c.* the holy Martyr maketh this answere: *You muſt make a difference betwixt beleeuing, and ſaying, I beleeue: As for example, if one ſhould ſay and ſweare he loueth you, for all his ſaying you will not beleeue him, when you ſee he goeth about to doe all the euill he can againſt you: Fox. p.* 1613. *Ergo*, by the testimonie of those most blessed and holy Martyrs, true faith cannot be separated from charitie: for that which hath no loue, is no faith.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE validitie of faith.

First, after what manner faith iustifieth, whether as a proper efficient cause of iustification, or as an instrument onely. Secondly, whether we are onely iustified by faith.

THE FIRST ARTICLE, AFTER WHAT manner faith iustifieth.

The Papists.

FAith doth not iustifie as an instrument in apprehending the iustice or righteousnes of Christ, but as a proper and true cause it actually iustifieth, by the dignitie, worthinesse, and meritorious worke thereof, *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *de iuſtificat. cap.* 17. *Rhemiſt. annot. Rom.* 3. *ſect.* 3. 33. Error.

Argum. 1. These phrases vsed in scripture: *iuſtificari ex fide*, Galath. 3. 8. *& per fidem*, Rom. 3. 30. to be iustified of, or thorough faith, doe betoken an actuall force and power in faith to iustifie: for these prepositions, *ex, & per*, of & thorough, are not attributed to the instrumentall, but to the proper efficient & working cause: As Rom. 3. vers. 20. *ex operibus legis*, of the works of the law no flesh is iustified, Galath. 3. vers. 11. *no man is iuſtified per legem, by or through the law*: he meaneth not by the law, that is, by the apprehension of the iustice thereof, but by the actuall working and iustice indeede: as therfore he denieth, that we are iustified by the law, that is, the actuall working thereof, so he affirmeth, that we are iustified by faith, that is, actually, by the very work. So the Apostle saith, *per fidem vicerunt regna*, through faith they obtained kingdomes: that is, verily, and indeed, not respectiuely onely: And by faith *Abel* offered a greater sacrifice, &c. Heb. 11. 4. Faith wrought not this instrumentally, but verily and effectually, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. 1. *Bellarmines* argument is grounded wholy vpon his logicke quiddities: as because this preposition, *ex*, is a note of the materiall cause; and *per*, of the formall cause: therefore when the Scripture saith, *ex fide*, or, *per fidem*, we must vnderstand faith to be more then the instrumentall cause. But let him know this, that the spirit of God is not bound to the rules of Logicke, neither yet will learne to speake of men, but hath a proper speaking of it selfe.

2. We are able to shew, that these prepositions, *ex*, and *per*, of, and through, are in Scripture attributed to the instrument: Rom. 10. 17. *Fides ex auditu*, Faith commeth of hearing: The Gentiles are made partakers of the promise of God in Christ, *per Euangelium*, by the Gospell, that is, the preaching thereof, Ephes. 3. 6. But the outward ministerie, or hearing of the word, doth not actually worke or beget faith, but onely instrumentally, the spirit of God working by it.

3. It followeth not, because the Apostle denieth that we are iustified by the law, that is verily, and actually, that hee should affirme the same of faith: for vnto this negatiue, *neminem iuſtificari per legem, vel ex operibus legis*, that no man is iustified by the law, or the workes thereof; this affirmatiue answereth, *iuſtificari per fidem Chriſti*, Rom. 3. 22. to be iustified not simply by faith, but by faith in Christ: and by the redemption that is in Christ, vers. 24. by faith in his blood, vers. 25. the same thing then is affirmed of Christ, which is denied of the law, though not after the same manner: the iustice of Christ is the actuall and very cause indeede of our iustification, yet not actually in vs, but instrumentally applied vnto vs by faith. It is Christ then, not faith, that properly effecteth that which the law cannot: faith effecteth it not, but onely respectiuely, and as it hath relation to Christ.

4. Through faith they subdued kingdomes, stopped the mouthes of Lions, &c. Faith was not the proper efficient cause hereof: but faith apprehendeth Christ: Christ apprehended worketh all good things: *If God haue giuē vs his Son, how shall he not together with him giue vs all things?* Rom. 8. 32. These great workes were verily done by them through faith, not as by the proper power and efficacie thereof, but by the power of Christ dwelling in them, and being present by faith. So *Abel* sacrifice was preferred before *Cains*, not for the worthines of his faith, but by Gods gracious acceptation, to whom he was ioyned by faith. Lastly, we make a great difference betweene iustification and sanctification: faith iustifieth onely instrumentally, but of the workes of sanctification it is a proper efficient cause, though not the principall: for there is a twofold righteousnes, a perfect righteousnes, whereby wee are made righteous before God; and that is the righteousnes onely of Christ: and of this righteousnes, faith onely is an instrument, no efficient cause. There is an imperfect righteousnes, that is, sanctification, whereby euery faithfull man is made righteous in himselfe, not sufficient to iustifie him before God, but yet auailable to leade an holie and vpright life in some measure. And of this righteousnes faith is a proper efficient cause: for as the tree is the cause of good fruit, so is faith the roote and beginning of godly workes: faith stirreth a man vpto pray, Iam. 5. 15. it worketh peace of conscience, Rom. 5. vers. 1. and it hath other proper effects: but it maketh vs not righteous before God by it owne act, but as it apprehendeth, and layeth hold of Christ.

Argum. 2. Faith is a worke, Ioh. 6. 29. we are iustified by faith: *Ergo*, by a worke, and so consequently, by merit: faith then is meritorious.

Answ. Faith indeede is a worke, but not any of our owne workes: it is called the worke of God, Ioh. 6. 29. God doth wholy worke it in vs: *Ergo*, we cannot merit by it: Faith iustifieth not then, as it is the work of God in vs: for by this reason all other gifts & graces, which are wrought in vs by the spirit of God, should in like manner iustifie vs: But as it hath relation vnto the obiect Iesus Christ, in apprehending his righteousnes, which is the office only of faith, and not of any other spirituall grace.

1. *Argum.* 3. First, faith is our iustice it selfe: *Ergo*, not the apprehension onely of iustice: the first is proued: Rom. 4. 5. *To him that beleeueth in him, that iustifieth the vngodly, faith is counted for righteousnes.* So 1. Corin. 3. 11. *Other foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid, Iesus Christ*: Faith then is the foundation: and the foundation is part of the building. Act. 15. 9. *Faith purifieth the heart*, the puritie of the heart is our iustice: faith then is our iustice, and not the apprehension of iustice onely, *Bellar. c.* 17. *arg.* 2.

2. Secondly, Luk. 7. 50. *Thy faith hath saued thee*: *Ergo*, it doth more then apprehend salvation. The sicke mans hand, that apprehendeth or reacheth the medicine, is improperly sayd to heale him.

3. Thirdly, Rom. 10. 14. *How shall they call vpon him, vpon whom they haue not beleeued? how shall they beleeue without a Preacher?* As the cause of faith is preaching; so faith causeth inuocation, inuocation obtaineth iustification: faith therefore not respectiuely onely, but effectiuely worketh iustification, *Bellar. ibid.*

1. *Answ.* First, 1. It followeth not, faith apprehendeth iustice: *Ergo*, it is not our iustice. The eye apprehendeth, or receiueth the light of the day, and yet it is it selfe *the light of the bodie*, Matt. 6. 22. But like as the eye is but instrumentally the light of the bodie, by conueying and applying the outward light: so faith is our iustice instrumentally, *in that we beleeue in him that iustifieth*, as the Apostle there saith. 2. Christ is properly the foundation: and yet faith also is the roote and foundation. Christ then and faith make but one foundation: Christ positiuely, and effectively; faith instrumentally, by applying and laying the foundation. 3. Faith is not said to purifie the heart, but God by faith; God as the principall agent, or efficient; faith as the instrument.

2. Secondly, 1. It is no rare thing in Scripture to attribute the effect to the instrument: as Gen. 27. 40. *By thy sword thou shalt liue*: yet is the sword but the instrument: so the iust man liueth by his faith, being the liuely and effectuall instrument of the spirituall life. 2. As Christ here sayth, *thy faith hath saued thee*: so elsewhere: *according to your faith be it vnto you*, Matth. 9. 29. So that faith is but the meane or measure of the worke: Christ is the worker: as in the same place, vers. 28. *Beleeue ye, that I am able to doe this?*

3. Thirdly, 1. As preaching is the cause of faith, so I graunt faith is of iustification: but the preaching of the word is but the instrument, the spirit working by the word is the efficient. 2. But faith doth not so worke iustification as inuocation: for as I shewed before, faith efficiently produceth the workes of sanctification, whereof inuocation is a principall, but it instrumentally onely causeth iustification.

The

The Protestants.

FAith doth not iustifie vs by the worthines and dignitie thereof, or as it is a qualitie inherent in man, by any meritorious act, or by the worke of beleeuing, or as a proper efficient cause; but by way of an instrument onely, being as it were the hand of the soule, whereby wee doe apprehend the righteousnes of Christ.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* saith, *By grace are you saued through faith, not of your selues, for it is the gift of God; not of workes, lest any man should boast himselfe*, Ephes. 2. 8. Out of this place wee gather these arguments: first, grace and faith may stand together towards the attaining of our saluation: for the grace of God offered in Christ is the principall cause, faith apprehending grace the instrumentall: but grace and worke cannot stand together, Rom. 11. vers. 6. *Ergo*, faith and workes cannot be matched together: faith then iustifieth not, as a worke.

Secondly, they that merit, must merit of themselues, faith is not of our selues; it is the gift of God: *Ergo*, by faith we merit not.

Argum. 2. Faith as it is commaunded in the law, iustifieth not: for the Apostle saith, *that a man is iustified by faith, without the workes of the law*, Rom. 3. 28. but faith, as it comprehendeth only the act of beleeuing, is a commaundement contained in the law: for we are commaunded to beleeue in God: *Ergo*, as it is an act of beleeuing only, it iustifieth not.

Argum. 3. Master *Bradford* holy Martyr reasoneth thus: As the Israelites were healed by beholding the brasen Serpent, so are we saued by beleeuing in Christ: but the looking vp of it selfe did not procure health vnto the Israelites, but the promise made in the obiect, which was the brasen Serpent, whereupon they looked, gaue them health by their looking vp: *Ergo*, after the same manner we are saued by our faith, and spirituall looking vp to the bodie of Christ crucified: not that the action it selfe of beleeuing, as it is a qualitie in man, doth so deserue; but because it taketh that dignitie and vertue from the obiect Iesus Christ: *Fox* pag. 1659.

Augustine saith, *Nemo iustè viuit, nisi iustificatus, id est, iustus effectus: ab illo autem sit homo iustus, cumquam potest esse iniustus: sicut lucerna à seipso non accenditur, ita nec anima humana sibi gratiat lucet, sed clamat ad Deum, tu illuminabis lucernam mam*: No man liueth iustly, vnlesse hee bee iustified, that is, made iust before: and man is made iust by him that can neuer bee vniust: for as the lanterne doth not fetch light from it selfe, so neither doth the soule of man giue light to it selfe, but crieth vnto God, thou shalt lighten my lanterne, Psal. 109. Faith then is the lanterne that giueth light to the soule, that is, iustifieth: but as the lanterne giueth not light of it selfe, but as it is lighted it selfe; so faith by it owne act doth not iustifie, but as it hath respect vnto Christ who is the true light: *Per fidem locum damus in corde Deo, qui in nobis & per nos bona operatur*: It is the office of faith, to make roume for God in our heart, who in vs and by vs worketh that which is good, *in Psal.* 144. Faith it selfe therefore properly worketh not our iustification; but onely prepareth a way for the Lord, to come vnto our hearts: God then is the worker, faith is the way whereby hee worketh.

Likewise, *ex epistol. Augustin. & 5. Episcopor. ad Innocentium: Non per legem iustitia, &c. sed ex fide & hinc Dei per Iesum Christum*: Righteousnes is not by the law, but by faith, and the gift of God by Iesus Christ. Faith then doth not iustifie by the worke and merite thereof: for merit and gift cannot stand together, yet faith and gift may: because faith it selfe is the gift of God. Againe, in the same epistle, *Iusti patres vt fide vincerent, non possibilitas natura, sed dei gratia per fidem iustificauit*: The righteous fathers which liued by faith, not the possibilitie of nature, but Gods grace by faith did iustifie. But grace and workes cannot stand together, therefore faith doth not iustifie by the merit of the worke.

Peter Lombard rehearseth and approoueth this sentence out of *Augustine* vpon these words of Saint *Paul*, Rom. 6. 24. *We are iustified freely by grace: Hoc idcirco dixit, ne fides ipsa superba fit, ne dicat sibi*: Therefore he so said, lest faith it selfe be proud and say, how freely? for that which faith merieth, is reiected rather, than giuen: *Non dicat homo illi fidelis, quia cum dixerit, habeo fidem, vt mereor iustificationem, respondetur ei, quid habes, quod non accepisti?* Let not a faithfull man say so, because if he say, I haue faith, to merit iustification, it will be answered, What hast thou, that thou hast not receiued, &c. *Lib. dist. 26. litter. d.* Thus then faith is excluded from meriting or working of iustification.

Againe, *lib. 3. dist. 19. litter. a. Vt olim aspicientes, &c.* As in time past, they which looked vpon the brasen Serpent were healed from the biting of Serpents; *sic nos ergo fidei intuitu in illum respicimus, qui pro nobis peccatis venit in carne*: so if by the beholding of faith, wee looke vpon him that hung vpon the tree, we are loosed from our sinnes, &c. Thus faith then by the beholding onely and spirituall apprehending of Christ doth iustifie, euen by the sentence of their Master.

THE

THE SECOND ARTICLE, WHETHER faith onely iustifieth.

The Papists.

54. Error. FAith is not the onely cause of our iustification: but there are other also, as hope, charitie, almes deeds, and other vertues, *Rhemist. annot. Rom. 8. sect. 6. Bellar. lib. 1. de iustificat. cap. 13.* Yea works are more principall than faith, in the matter of iustification, *Rhem. Iam. 2. sect. 7.* Whosoeuer therefore saith, that a man is iustified only by faith, and that nothing else is required to iustification, we pronounce him accursed, *Trident. Counc. sess. 6. can. 9.*

Argum. 1. We are saued by hope, Rom. 8. 24. *Ergo*, not onely by faith, *Rhemist. annot. in hunc locum.*

Answ. The Apostle here expoundeth himselfe: for (saith he vers. 25.) *If we hope for that we see not, we doe with patience abide for it:* We are said then to be saued by hope, not because we are thereby iustified, but because by hope we doe expect and waite for our saluation, which is not yet accomplished: so then iustification is the proper obiect of faith, which is now present; saluation which is the end of our faith, and followeth iustification, is the proper obiect of hope. And therefore the Apostle saith, that faith is the ground of things hoped for, Hebr. 11. 1. the thing hoped for, is the saluation of our soules, the ground is iustification by faith in Christ. So wee are saued by hope, not that we are iustified by hope, which the scripture no where affirmeth, but because hope worketh in vs a patient abiding and expectation, till the promised reward come.

Argum. 2. Charitie iustifieth: *Ergo*, not faith only. The antecedent is thus proued, Luk. 7. 47. *Many sinnes are forgiuen her, for she loued much:* her loue is the cause, that her sinnes are forgiuen, so saith S. *Iohn, We know we are translated from death to life, because we loue the brethren*, 1. Ioh. 3. 14. Loue then is the cause why we are translated from death to life, *Bellar. ibid.*

Answ. 1. To the first place we answere: that the womans loue is not rendred as a cause, that her sinnes were forgiuen her by Christ: but by her exceeding loue which was an euident signe and effect of her faith, whereby her sinnes were forgiuen her, our Sauiour Christ confuteth the Pharisies who reputed her as a sinner, vers. 39. and sheweth, that she was not now in her sinne, but they were alreadie remitted; as it might appeare by her great loue: for she hauing receiued so great a benefit, as the remission of her sinnes, doth hold her selfe much bound to Christ. Iohn loweth therefore, *to whom a little is forgiuen, he loueth a little:* but to this woman much was forgiuen, therefore she loued much. Her loue then followed the remission of sinnes, as an effect, it was not before as a cause: for in this respect our Sauiour telleth her, *it was her faith that saued her*, vers. 50. not her loue.

2. To the other place we likewise answere: the Apostle saith not, *wee are translated from death to life, &c.* but, *we know we are, because we loue the brethren*: that is, loue as a speciall fruit of faith, is a certaine signe vnto vs of our regeneration: as vers. 19. *thereby we know that we are of the truth*: by loue issuing from faith, wee are assured our faith is not in vaine, not that thereby we are iustified: yet loue it selfe is no cause of our iustification, but onely a signe and badge thereof: for it is impossible, that wee should loue GOD first: *But herein is loue, not that we loued God, but he loued vs*, chap. 4. 10. God then sheweth his loue first, in reconciling vs by his Sonne whom wee apprehend by faith, and then after our reconciliation by Christ, and iustification by faith, loue also is wrought in vs toward God. If our loue then should goe before our reconciliation, wherein Gods loue appeareth toward vs, then should we loue God first, contrarie to the Apostle.

Argum. 3. Feare doth iustifie as well as faith: as Prou. 1. 7. *The feare of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge.* Prou. 14. 27. *The feare of the Lord is a welspring of life: Ergo*, faith onely doth not iustifie or giue life, *Bellarm. c. 13. dispos. 2.*

Answ. First, by feare here may be vnderstood in generall the whole spirituall state of man, as it also comprehendeth faith: as Psal. 128. 1. *Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord*: but more specially it is by faith: therefore faith cannot be here excluded. In this sense, we doubt not to grant, that the feare of the Lord, that is, being ioyned with faith, is the beginning of wisedome. Secondly, if wee take feare more specially, for a particular gift of the spirit; in this sense iustification is not ascribed to it: for in the first place, it is said to bring *knowledge*; in the second, it is called the *fountaine of life*: which in the same place is expounded, vers. 26. *in the feare of the Lord is assured strength.* These are the gifts and graces of sanctification, *knowledge, assurance, strength*, they are not iustification it selfe, but the fruits thereof, to the which the feare of God is the readie way.

Argum. 4. If faith alone doe iustifie, and the other vertues, as of hope, charitie, doe not helpe any thing to iustification, then faith may as well iustifie, when those vertues are absent, as when they are present: But faith separated from hope and charitie, iustifieth not: *Ergo*, faith alone doth not iustifie, *Bellarm. cap. 14.*

Answ.

Anſw. It followeth not, faith alone doth iuſtifie: *Ergo*, it is, or may be alone. In the Sunne, there is both heate and light: It is the heate onely that heateth the earth, not the light; and yet the heate cannot be ſeparated from the light: the tongue both toucheth and taſteth; by the taſte onely it diſcerneth the ſauor of meates, not by the touching or feeling; yet there can be no taſte without feeling: ſo faith alone iuſtifieth, yet it is not alone: faith and charitie are inſeparable, yet charitie helpeth not faith to iuſtifie. The good tree is neuer without good fruite, yet the good fruite doth not helpe to make the tree good; the tree is good firſt it ſelfe, before it can bring forth good fruit: So charitie doth not helpe to iuſtifie, that is, to make men good; but firſt he is made righteous by faith, and then he bringeth forth good fruits, as the workes of charitie.

The Proteſtants.

FAith whereby we are iuſtified, is to be conſidered, partly as it is paſſiue, partly as it is actiue: It is paſſiue in apprehending the promiſes of God in Chriſt, and applying Chriſt with all his benefits, in which reſpect faith onely iuſtifieth. It is alſo actiue in bringing foorth good fruites, and quickening of vs to euery good worke; but ſo it iuſtifieth not. Faith then is inſeparably ioyned with hope and loue, and neceſſarily yeeldeth in vs good fruit; but none of all theſe doe concurre with faith, in the act of our iuſtification: but it is the office onely of faith, to applie vnto vs the righteouſnes of Chriſt, whereby only we are made righteous before God.

Argum. 1. If men are iuſtified without workes, then iuſtification is onely by faith. But the firſt is true, as it may appeare by theſe teſtimonies of Scripture: *Wee conclude, that a man is iuſtified by faith, without the workes of the law*, Rom. 3.28. *If Abraham were iuſtified by workes, he hath wherewith to reioyce, but not with God*, Rom. 4.2. *By grace are ye ſaued through faith, not of workes*, Epheſ. 2.9. *That I might be found in him, not hauing mine owne righteouſnes which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Chriſt*, Philip. 3.9. *Ergo*, faith onely iuſtifieth.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Apoſtle excludeth not all workes, for then faith it ſelfe ſhould be excluded from iuſtification, becauſe it is a worke: And if iuſtifying faith doe except euery law, then the law of faith alſo ſhould be excepted, *Bellarm. cap.* 16. Such workes therefore only are excluded, which goe before faith, which are done, *ſola cognitione legis, vel ſolis viribus liberi arbitrij, ſine gratia*, by the knowledge onely of the law, or by the ſtrength onely of freewill, without grace: not ſuch workes as are of faith, and proceede of grace, *cap.* 19.

Contra. 1. The Apoſtle excludeth euen the workes alſo of grace: for when he had ſaid, we are ſaued by grace through faith, not of workes: he afterward ſheweth what workes; *euen ſuch as the Lord had ordained for vs to walke in*, Epheſ. 2.10. Againe, in another place he ſaith, *Not by the workes of righteouſnes which we had done, but according to his mercie he ſaued vs*, Tit. 3.5. The workes of righteouſnes are excluded: but no man by nature without the helpe of grace, can doe the workes of righteouſneſſe. Further, the Apoſtle ſheweth, that grace and workes cannot bee matched together: *If it be of grace, it is no more of workes, or elſe were grace no more grace: if of workes, it is no more grace, for then worke were no more worke*, Rom. 11. verſ. 6. Grace and workes cannot therefore iuſtifie together, becauſe the one deſtroyeth the other. Euen workes of grace cannot iuſtifie together with grace: for I aske them, the workes of grace, are they not workes? But if they ſhould iuſtifie together with grace, they ſhould be no more workes: *or elſe* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *worke were no more worke*.

2. Euen at this time, when *Abrahams* faith was imputed to him for righteouſneſſe, and his workes were refuſed in reſpect of his iuſtification; *Abraham* had done many excellent workes by his faith: As he obeyed God, to goe from his fathers houſe, vnto a ſtraunge countrey, which he knew not, Geneſ. 12.1. which was a worke of faith, Hebr. 11.8. He built altars, and called vpon the name of God, Geneſ. 12.7. 13.18. Before this time alſo *Abraham* was bleſſed of *Melchiſedech*, Geneſ. 14.20. And then after all theſe workes of faith, the Scripture ſaith, That *Abraham* beleeued the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteouſnes, Geneſ. 15.6. Wherefore euen *Abrahams* godly workes, iſſuing from his faith, are excluded from his iuſtification.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that although *Abraham* at this time wrought many workes by his faith, yet the Apoſtle taketh not exception againſt ſuch works, but thoſe onely that *Abraham* did without faith: for euen the faithfull, that haue faith, *aliquando operantur non ex fide*, ſometime do worke, but not of faith; as when they ſinne, or doe any pure morall workes, without relation to God: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. As for the ſinfull workes of faithfull men, which we denie not, but they may ſometimes fall into, it is abſurd to thinke, that the Apoſtle excludeth any ſuch workes: as though any man were ſo blinde to thinke, that by his ſinnes or euill workes, he might be iuſtified. What then meaneth the Ieſuite, to giue an inſtance of the ſinfull workes of *Abraham*, or any other faithfull man, as though they euer came in queſtion, in the matter of iuſtification?

2. As for other workes of faithfull men, if they be good and vertuous, they are of faith: for whatſoeuer is not of faith, is ſinne, Rom. 14.23. but faith alwaies hath reſpect and relation to God

God: therefore whatsoeuer faithfull men doe well, it commeth of faith, and a good conscience. All, whatsoeuer else in them, is sinne, and so commeth not within the compasse of this question.

3. Saint *Paul*, when he saith, *That I may be found, not hauing mine owne righteousnes, &c.* doth not speake onely of such workes, as he did before he was called, but euen of those which he did since he was an Apostle: *For whom I haue counted all things losse, and doe iudge them to be dung, that I might winne Christ*, Philip. 3. 8. He saith not onely, I haue counted, as speaking of the time past, but I doe.

Bellarmine answereth, that the Apostle could in no wise vnderstand his workes done after his calling, to iudge them as dung, because he saith, that for such workes, there was laid vp a crowne of righteousnesse, 2. Timoth. 4. 8. *Nunquid Deus coronaret stercora?* Should God crowne dung? *Bellarm. cap.* 19.

Contra. First, Saint *Paul* doth not simplie call these workes dung, or losse, but in comparison: I count all things losse, for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ. Secondly, God crowneth the workes of his Saints, not for the worthines of them, which indeede are but as dung, in respect of the excellencie of reward: but we with our workes are crowned for the worthines of Christ: *Life eternall is the gift of God, through Iesus Christ our Lord*, Rom. 6. 23.

4. Now where the Iesuite obiecteth, that faith is a worke, and that there is a law also of faith: *Ergo*, euery worke, and euery law is not excluded from iustification. We answere: First, that faith is indeed a work, but not any of our works, it is the work of God wrought in vs only by his spirit: *This is the worke of God, that ye beleeue in him, &c.* Ioh. 6. 29. Secondly, faith iustifieth not as it is a worke, but in respect of that propertie, which it hath to apprehend, and apply the iustice of Christ: it iustifieth not by it owne worthines and dignitie, but by the worthines of the obiect. Thirdly, wee exclude not euery law, but *legem operum*, the law of workes: but the law of faith is not the law of workes: for the Apostle doth distinguish them, Rom. 3. 27.

Argum. 2. The scripture ascribeth iustification to faith and beleefe: *Whosoeuer beleeueth in him, shall haue euerlasting life*, Ioh. 3. 16. *Thy faith hath saued thee*, Luk. 7. 50. *We are saued through faith*, Ephes. 2. 8. *Ergo*, faith onely iustifieth.

Answ. Though faith onely be named, yet faith onely doth not iustifie: for by the same reason, because other vertues sometimes are onely named, as, *Many sins are forgiuen her, for she loued much*, Luk. 7. 47. And, *We are saued by hope*, Rom. 8. 24. As notwithstanding, we cannot gather, that loue, or hope doe iustifie without faith, although they be named alone: so the contrarie cannot be concluded, by the sole naming of faith, *Bellarm. cap.* 20.

Contra. First, that neither hope, nor charitie doe iustifie in whole, or in part, neither that it can be gathered by these places, wee haue shewed before in our answere to their second and third argument against iustification by faith. Secondly, we are able to bring foorth a place of Scripture, where faith onely is required: Christ said vnto the ruler of the Synagogue, whose daughter was now dead: *Crede tantum*, Beleeue onely, and she shall be made whole, Luk. 8. 50.

Bellarmine answereth: That Christ speaketh not here of iustification, or remission of sinnes, but onely of doing a myracle, in raising vp one which was dead: and faith alone is able to obtaine a myracle, though it be not to iustifie, *Bellarm.*

Contra. 1. Our aduersaries affirme iustifying faith, and the faith of myracles in substance to be all one, and that it is one and the selfesame faith, whereby myracles are wrought, and the soules of men iustified, *Bellarm. cap.* 5. Yea, the Rhemists confesse, that the faith of myracles hath more feruor, deuotion, and confident trust, than the iustifying faith: *Annot.* 1. *Cor.* 13. 9. If then faith only be sufficient to worke myracles, why not also to iustifie, seeing, in their opinion, they are operations of the same faith? Nay, if to worke myracles, as they say, be the more worthie thing: if faith onely suffice for the greater worke, much more for the lesse.

2. Our Sauiour Christ requireth no other faith of *Iairus* here, than he doth of the father, whose sonne was possessed with a dumme spirit: Mark. 9. Christ requireth of him to beleeue, that he was able to cast out the euill spirit; and of this man, to beleeue, that he was able to raise his daughter: But that faith was not sufficient onely for myracles, but for all other purposes: *If thou canst beleeue, all things are possible to him that beleeueth*, Mark. 9. 23. If all things, then not onely the health of the bodie, but the saluation of the soule: *Ergo*, this onely faith here required, where our Sauiour saith: *Crede tantum*, Beleeue onely, is sufficient to obtaine all things.

3. This, *crede tantum*, beleeue onely, was no other faith, than that which was in the woman, healed of the bloodie issue: for she beleeued onely that Christ was able to doe it. But Christ saith vnto her: *Fides tua te saluam fecit*, Thy faith hath saued thee, Luk. 8. 48. which the Iesuite himselfe confesseth to be vnderstood of the health both of her bodie and soule: *Fides tribuit vtrumque sanitatem*: He ascribeth to faith both kindes of health. And in the same forme of words our Sauiour saith to the woman, whose sinnes were forgiuen, *Thy faith hath saued thee*, Luk. 7. 50. *Bellar. ibid.* 17. If all these places speake of the same faith, which Christ commaundeth, in saying *crede tantum*, beleeue

leeue onely; then this faith, to beleeue onely, is sufficient to procure both bodilie and ghostlie health.

Argum. 3. We are iustified freely by grace, Rom. 3.24. Therefore not of workes, but by faith: *By grace are ye saued through faith*, Ephes. 2.8. *To him that worketh not, but beleeueth in him that iustifieth the vngodly, his faith is counted for righteousnes*, Rom. 4.5. Wee are then iustified freely by faith and beleefe, without workes: *Ergo*, by faith onely.

Answ. 1. Iustification freely by grace, excludeth not all workes or merits, but those workes onely, which doe properly merit, *ex condigno*, of condignitie and worthines, not those which doe merit *de congruo*, of congruitie: there are other dispositions then besides faith which goe before iustification, which doe not merit of condignitie, that is, for their worthines absolutely, yet of congruitie, in some sort they doe merit; And yet for all this kinde of meriting, our iustification shall be free by grace, *Bellar. cap.* 21.

Contra. 1. Before we haue faith, there is no place at all for merits: for without faith it is impossible to please God, Hebr. 11.6. Where God is not pleased, there is no meriting: *Ergo*, without faith no man can merit. Those dispositions then, which goe before faith and iustification, cannot merit any thing at all, and therefore not so much, as, *de congruo*, of congruitie. 2. The least degree of meriting in the world, taketh away the freenes of the gift: if iustification come freely by grace, it cannot be any way merited: for to him that worketh (saith the Apostle) the wages is not counted by fauour, but by debt, Rom. 4.5. And that wee might knowe, that our iustification is altogether of Gods meere mercie, the Apostle vseth two words expressing the same thing: he saith, we are iustified by grace, yea and that freely: *gratis per gratiam*, freely by grace.

Answ. 2. Iustification freely by grace excludeth not all workes and merits, but those onely which are of our selues, those merits which wee worke by grace, and are of God, may stand very well with grace: for as iustification by grace excludeth not faith, because faith also is of grace, so it excludeth not other workes, because they also are of grace, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. 1. Not onely the workes, which men are able to doe by their owne strength, are excluded from iustification, but euen the workes of grace: *Not by the workes of righteousnes, but according to his mercie he saued vs*, Tit. 3.8. Mercie then shutteth out all workes, euen holie and righteous workes: *We are saued by grace, &c. not of workes, yea good workes, which God hath prepared for vs to walke in*, Ephes. 2.8.10. Grace therefore admitteth not so much as good workes, in the matter of iustification. See more of this before, *resp. ad argum.* 1. 2. Though faith be wrought in vs by grace, yet standeth together with grace, in the benefit of iustification, the one as the efficient, the other as the instrument thereof: faith meriteth not or deserueth any thing towards iustification, but onely applyeth Christ crucified: which office of applying is proper onely to faith; it is not common either vnto workes, or any other gift beside: therefore they are excluded. And againe, the Scripture ioyneth grace and faith together: *By grace are ye saued by faith*, Ephes. 2.8. but no where doe wee finde grace and workes coupled together, in our iustification. And this may be a sufficient cause why workes are excluded, and not faith.

Answ. 3. The Rhemists graunt, that the beginning of our iustification, which they call the first iustification, is meerely of Gods grace, neither can we haue any acceptable workes, before we are iustified: but in the second iustification, which is the encrease of the former iustice, a man may merit by good workes: *Annot. Rom.* 2.3. Saint *Paul* in this place speaketh of the first iustification, not of the second.

Cont. This is but a late and new deuise, of the first and second iustification, as afterward we will shew in the proper place. The Scripture teacheth vs, that not only the beginning of our righteousnes, but the finishing, and perfecting of it, is onely by grace in Christ: Ephes. 2.5.6. *When we were dead in our sinnes, he hath quickened vs together in Christ, by whose grace ye are saued, and hath raised vs vp, and made vs sit together in heauenly places.* We see that this saluation by grace, bringeth vs vp to heauen: *Ergo*, both the first and second iustification are of grace, for they can bring vs no further than to heauen.

Argum. 4. The Scripture testifieth, that all, which beleeue, are iustified and saued; which should not be infallibly true, if faith onely did not iustifie: as Ioh. 3.16. *That whosoeuer beleeueth in him should not perish*: Act. 10.43. *Through his name, all that beleeue in him shall receiue remission of sins*: Act. 13.39. *By him euery one, that beleeueth, is iustified.*

Answ. 1. The meaning of these places may be this: Euery one that beleeueth shall be saued, that is, none without faith can be saued: and none is iustified, except he beleeue, *Bellar. c.* 22.

Contra. 1. You are a goodly interpreter, to expound an affirmatiue by a negatiue: as to say, *euery one that beleeueth shall be saued*: that is, *he that beleeueth not, shall not be saued.* This is rather a consequence, than the sense of the former: as Mark. 16.16. Christ placeth them together, hauing first said, *he that beleeueth shall be saued* he addeth, *he that beleeueth not shall be damned.* This is not the exposition of the former, but a conclusion inferred vpon it. 2. Where Christ sayth, Iohn 5. *He*

that beleeueth, &c. hath passed from death to life: will you expound it thus, *he that beleeueth not, hath not passed, &c.* thus in your sense, *hath not passed*, and hath passed, shall one expound the other: Such kind of interpreting is most grosse.

Answ. 2. By *all*, which beleeue, are vnderstood all sortes of people, whether Iewes or Gentiles, that they are all saued by faith, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. If this sense be admitted, all that beleeue, that is, all sorts of men that beleeue shall be saued: the same conclusion still remaineth, that faith to all sorts of men both Iewes and Gentiles is sufficient to saluation. 2 How *all* is to be expounded, our Sauiour sheweth, Mark. 16. 15, 16. Preach the Gospell to *euery creature, he that shall beleeue and be baptized, shall be saued*: but the Gospell is not preached onely in generall to all sorts, nor yet Baptisme ministred, but in particular also: *Ergo*, euery particular man that beleeueth is saued. 3. And as hee that beleeueth not is damned, so hee that beleeueth is saued; but euery man in particular not beleeuing is damned. *Ergo.*

Answ. 3. These Scriptures do proue that faith doth iustifie, if other things be not wanting, it sufficeth not alone, but doth iustifie for the part thereof; as likewise hope, charitie, for their part. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. The want or absence of faith onely condemneth, he that beleeueth not is damned, Mark. 16. 16. *Ergo*, the presence of faith onely saueth: *He that beleeueth and is baptized shall be saued.* 2. Baptisme is the seale of the righteousnesse of faith, as Saint *Paul* sayth of circumcision, Rom. 4. 11. *Ergo*, faith onely sealed in Baptisme sufficeth. 3. Whereas it is said, *through his name and by him euery one that beleeueth, shall be saued*, Act. 10. 43. & 13. 39. we reason thus, Christs name onely iustifieth vs; but faith onely, neyther hope nor charitie, applieth Christ: *Ergo*, faith in Christ onely sufficeth.

Augustine saith, *Intelligendus est gratia Dei per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, qua sola liberamur à malo*: We must vnderstand the grace of God by Iesus Christ, by which wee are onely deliuered from euill: *De corrept. & grat. cap.* 2. If all be of grace, then nothing is of workes. That also is knowne saying of *Augustine*: *Opera non præcedunt iustificandum, sed sequuntur iustificatum*: Workes goe not before vnto iustification, but follow in him that is alreadie iustified. If a man therefore be iustified, before workes come, then workes helpe not at all toward his iustification. Againe he saith, *Quantalibet fuisse virtutis antiquos iustos prædices, non eos salvos fecit, nisi fides Mediatoris*: How vertuous soeuer you report the ancient righteous persons to haue been, they were not saued but by the faith of the Mediator: *Lib. 1. cont. 2. epist. Pelag. cap.* 21. Likewise, *Ex epistol. Augustini, Episcoporum ad Innocentium: Fide euacuata, quæ hominis iustitia remaneat? Christus manens Deus, homo factus, refecit ipse, quod fecit*: Faith being euacuated, what righteousnesse remaineth in man? Christ remaining still God, being made man, did make againe, that is, restore what he had made. If no righteousnes remaine where there is no faith, then all mans righteousnes before God, is by faith in Christ.

The fathers are plentifull witnesses for iustification onely by faith.

1. *Origen in c. 3. epist. ad Roman. Dicit Apostolus sufficere solius fidei iustificationem*: The Apostle saith, that the iustification onely of faith sufficeth.

2. *Hilar. can. 8. in Matth. Fides sola iustificat*: Faith onely doth iustifie.

3. *Basil. homil. de humilitat. Nouit se sola fide in Christum iustificatum*: He doth know himselfe onely iustified by faith.

4. *Ambros. in c. 3. ad Roman. Sola fide iustificati sunt donо Dei*: They are iustified by faith alone by the gift of God: *in cap. 9. Sola fides posita est ad salutem*: Onely faith is appointed to saluation.

5. *Chrysost. homil. de fide. Si credis fidei, cur alia infers, quasi fides iustificare non sufficiat solа?* If you beleeue faith, why do you bring in other things, as though faith onely sufficed not to iustifie?

6. *Cyril. lib. 10. in Ioan. c. 18. Hominem per solam fidem inhærere Christo*: That a man by faith only doth cleane to Christ.

7. *Bernard. serm. 22. in Cantic. Solam iustificatus per fidem pacem habebit apud te*: Being iustified only by faith he shall haue peace with thee.

Answ. Bellarmine to all these places answereth, that the fathers, in saying, *Faith only iustifieth*, exclude not all other things beside; but eyther externall workes onely, as *Origen* 1. *Chrysost.* 5. or the workes of the law without faith, as *Hilar.* 2. *Basil.* 3. or the ceremonies of the law, as *Ambrose loc.* 4. For otherwise *Chrysostome* saith, *Non solam fide opus est, sed charitate*: We haue not need onely of faith but of charitie, *hom.* 1. *in* 1. *Timoth. Bellarm. c.* 25.

Contra. First, that charitie is necessarie, and other graces of the spirite beside, we graunt, but yet faith onely hath this propertie to iustifie: for S. *Paul* hauing taught, that *we are iustified by grace, not by the workes of righteousnesse*, Tit. 3. 5. 7. yet exhorteth, *that they which haue beleeued in God, should be carefull to shew forth good workes; these things are good and profitable to men*: though he ascribe iustification onely to faith, yet he vrgeth workes as necessary and profitable.

Secondly,

Secondly, that the fathers excluded all other things whatſoeuer, from the worke of iuſtification, imputing it onely to faith, it is euident.

1. *Chryſoſtome* ſaid before, *Cur alia infers?* Why do yee bring in any other thing to iuſtifie beſide faith?

2. *Auguſtine* before alleaged, *Fides euacuata, quæ hominis iuſtitia remanet?* Faith being euacuate, what other iuſtice of man remayneth?

3. *Cyprian*, *Fidem tantum prodeſſe, & tantum nos poſſe, quantum credimus:* That faith onely profiteth, (to ſaluation) and that we onely can do ſo much, as we beleeue, *lib. 3. ad Quirin. c. 42.*

4. But S. *Ambroſe* of all other is moſt plentifull: First, *in Luc. 13. Fides regnum cœlorum eſt: itaq; qui habet fidem, habet & regnum:* Faith is the kingdome of heauen; he then that hath faith, hath the kingdome. Secondly, *in 3. ad Roman. Beatos dicit, de quibus hoc ſanxit Deus, vt ſine labore & vllis obſeruatione ſola fide iuſtificentur apud Deum:* He calleth them bleſſed, of whom God hath decreed, that without any labour or obſeruation, *they ſhould be iuſtified onely by faith.* And againe, *Manifeſtè beati ſunt, quibus ſine labore, vel opere aliquo remittuntur iniquitates, nulla ab his requiſita pœnitentiæ opera, niſi tantùm vt credant:* They are manifeſtly bleſſed, whoſe ſinnes are remitted without their labour, no worke of repentance being required, but onely that they ſhould beleeue, &c. Here *Ambroſe* excludeth euen the godly and religious workes of repentance from iuſtification. Thirdly, *in 9. ad Roman. Conuenit, vt in ſolo nomine Domini conditoris conſequatur ſalutem creatura, hoc eſt per fidem:* It is conuenient, that the creature only ſhould obtaine ſaluation in the name of the Creator, that is, by faith, &c. I reaſon from hence thus; as the name onely of the Creator iuſtifieth; ſo faith onely in his name: but his Name alone, without any other thing whatſoeuer iuſtifieth: *Ergo*, Faith onely in his name, all other thinges excluded. Fourthly, *ibid. Nullum opus dicit legis, ſed ſolam fidem dandam in cauſa Chriſti:* He ſaith no worke of the law, but onely faith to be giuen in the cauſe of Chriſt, &c. If faith onely is to be exhibited in the cauſe of Chriſt, what elſe is required, I ſee not. Fiftly, *in 2. Cor. 3. Lex ſpiritus dat libertatem, ſolam fidem poſcens:* The law of the ſpirite doth giue libertie, requiring faith alone, &c. If the ſpirite require onely faith, who is it that ſhall require any thing els? Sixtly, *in Epheſ. 6. Arma Dei fides ſtabilis, per quam ſolam ſemper victus Sathanas:* The armour of God is a ſtable faith, by the which onely Sathan alwayes hath beene ouercome, &c. As by faith alone we eſcape the condemnation of Sathan, ſo by faith alone wee obtaine iuſtification by Chriſt. Seuenthly, *in 2. Timoth. 2. Fundamentum Dei fides quæ continet, quæ promiſit Deus:* The foundation of God is faith, which containeth all that God hath promiſed. &c. one foundation may ſuffice for one houſe; if faith be this foundation, who dare take vpon him to lay another? Eightly, *in 3. ad Galath. Sciunt Abrahamum ſine operibus legis per ſolam fidem iuſtificatum:* They know that *Abraham* without the workes of the law was iuſtified only by faith, &c. and by workes of the law are vnderſtood all good workes and graces, and not the law of *Moſes* only; as *Hierome* expoundeth, vpon theſe wordes; *No fleſh is iuſtified by the workes of the law; Quodne de lege Moſis tantum dictum putes, &c.* Which leſt you ſhould thinke is ſpoken only of the law of *Moſes*, and not of all Gods commandements, the ſame Apoſtle writeth, ſaying, *I conſent to the law of God in the inward man, &c. ad Theſiphont.* Thus then haue we the moſt cleare teſtimonies of the fathers, for iuſtification by faith alone, deliuered from this popiſh writers corrupt gloſſes.

Thirdly, wee want not teſtimonie here from themſelues, *decret. part. 3. diſt. 4. c. 99. Gratia Dei non requirit gemitum, non planctum, nec opus aliquod, ſed ſolam fidem, & omnia gratis condonat:* The grace of God doth not require mourning, or ſighing, or any worke, but faith alone, and it forgiueth all freely.

Decret. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 43. c. 3. Innocent. Qui Chriſtum habet per fidem, etiamſi Baptiſmum non habet, habet vtiq; fundamentum, præter quod aliud poni non poteſt, quod eſt Chriſtus Ieſus: He that hath Chriſt by faith, though he haue not Baptiſme, hath the foundation, beſide which none other can be laid, that is Chriſt Ieſus, &c. If Chriſt onely be the foundation, and faith holdeth this foundation, then faith ſufficeth, (not onely without Baptiſme, but all other thinges beſide excluded) to iuſtification.

Peter Lombard. lib. 2. diſt. 26. d. Hic apertè oſtenditur, quod fides eſt cauſa iuſtificationis: Here it is euidently ſhewed, that faith is the cauſe of iuſtification: *lib. 3. diſt. 19. a. Per fidem mortis Chriſti, à peccatis mundamur:* We are waſhed from our ſinnes by faith in the death of Chriſt, *diſt. 25. a. ex Auguſtin. Nemo liberatur à damnatione quæ per Adam facta eſt, niſi per fidem Ieſu Chriſti:* No man is deliuered from damnation wrought by *Adam*, but by faith of Ieſus Chriſt, &c. If not otherwiſe then by faith; then faith alone doth it.

Laſtly, for this holy trueth, that we are iuſtified by faith onely in Chriſt, haue many holy Martyrs ſuffered perſecution and death: *Patrick Hamelton* condemned, for affirming that a man is onely iuſtified by faith in Chriſt: *Eox.* pag. 974. col. 2. artic. 2. *Iohn Tewkſbury*, for the ſame article with others, put to death, pag. 1026. col. 1. articul. 5. Alſo *Iohn Lambert* holy Martyr, pag. 1117. articul. 31. Likewiſe B. *Farrar* ſuffered holy Martyrdome, for holding, that we are iuſtified before

God by faith onely, and that hope and charitie are not neceſſarily required to iuſtification, pag. 1554. col. 2. articul. 5. with many holy Martyrs, who confirmed and ſealed this trueth with their blood: Which euidence our aduerſaries ſhall neuer be able to ſhew for the contrary doctrine.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS ARTICLE, WHETHER faith be the beginning only of iuſtification.

The Papiſts.

55. Error. WE are ſayd to be iuſtified by faith, becauſe faith is the beginning onely, the foundation and roote of iuſtification: *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 6. cap. 8.* The ſame alſo is the opinion of *Bellarmine: Fidem eſſe initium iuſtificationis*: That faith is the beginning of our iuſtification: *Lib. 1. de iuſtificat. cap. 13.*

Argum. 1. The Apoſtle ſaith, *He that commeth to God, muſt beleeue that God is, &c.* Hebr. 11. 6. *Ergo*, faith is but a beginning and preparation to iuſtification: for he muſt haue it, that is, in comming to God: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, it followeth not, faith is the beginning of iuſtification: *Ergo*, it is onely the beginning: he that commeth to God muſt haue faith, and he that is come alreadie, muſt haue faith alſo. In a commer and beginner, there is required a comming and beginning faith: and his faith muſt grow vp, and encreaſe with him: *Lord I beleeue*, ſaith the carefull parent in the Goſpell, here is the beginning of his faith; *helpe my vnbeleefe*, here is the encreaſe: Mark. 9. 24. Secondly, neither is it neceſſarie to vnderſtand, this comming vnto God onely for the beginning of our calling, but for the whole vocation of a Chriſtian: as is euident by theſe places: *Come vnto me all ye that are wearie, and I will refreſh you*, Matth. 11. 28. *He that commeth vnto me ſhall not hunger*, Iohn 6. 35. *He that commeth to me, I caſt not away*, verſ. 37. *He that is taught of God, and hath learned of the father, commeth to me*, verſ. 45. But theſe are not fruites only of the beginning of our calling, namely, to be refreſhed, not to hunger, not to be caſt off, to be taught of God: but they proceede from the very perfection of our vocation and iuſtification: *Ergo.*

Argum. 2. To as many as receiued him, he gaue them power to be the ſonnes of God, euen to them that beleeue in his name: Iohn 1. 12. *Ergo*, they that beleeue in Chriſt, are not yet the ſonnes of God, but haue a power and poſſibilitie onely to be: faith then is a preparation to iuſtification, rather then the thing it ſelfe: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, they that beleeue in Chriſt are alreadie the ſonnes of God, as it followeth in the next verſe, which are borne of God: and, *Whoſoeuer beleeueth that Ieſus is the Chriſt, is borne of God:* 1. Iohn 5. 1. He ſaith not, ſhall be borne, or may be borne, but is borne: but he that is borne of God, is alreadie the ſonne of God. Secondly, *He that beleeueth hath euerlaſting life, and hath paſſed from death to life*, Iohn 5. 24. But none are heires of life, but children; Rom. 8. 7. *If ye be children, then heires alſo, &c. Ergo*, he that beleeueth, is really and actually alreadie the child of God. Thirdly, *As many as are led by the ſpirit of God, are the ſonnes of God*, Rom. 8. 14. But they which beleeue are led by the ſpirit of God, for *the father draweth them*, Iohn 6. 44. and they are borne *not of bloud, nor of the will of fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of God*, Iohn 1. 13. And he that is not borne *of the fleſh, is borne of the ſpirit*, Iohn 3. 6. Wherefore he that beleeueth, is the childe of God, he hath not onely poſſibilitie to be. Fourthly, this place then cannot carrie any ſuch ſenſe, as the Ieſuite inferreth vpon it, for then the Scripture ſhould be contrarie to it ſelfe; that God giueth a facultie and abilitie onely to them that beleeue, to be the ſonnes of God: But this place declareth rather, from whence faith receiueth this high dignitie, power and vertue, to make vs the ſonnes of God: that it commeth not of our ſelues, nor of the worthines of faith, but of the grace and free gift of God: as Saint *Paul* elſe where ſheweth, *We are ſaued by grace through faith, not of our ſelues, &c.* Epheſ. 2. 8.

The Proteſtants.

FAith is not onely the beginning and foundation of our iuſtification, but both the encreaſe, and perfection, and full accompliſhment thereof.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, The Goſpell is the power of God to ſaluation, &c. for by it, the righteouſnes of God is reuealed from faith to faith, Rom. 1. 17. Faith then leadeth vs to faith: It is not then onely the beginning, but the encreaſe of righteouſnes. The Scripture alſo ſaith, *The iuſt ſhall liue by faith*, Rom. 1. 17. But we liue not by iuſtification begun onely, but perfected and finiſhed: *Ergo*, our full iuſtification is by faith.

Anſw. We liue by faith, that is, faith perfected, and formed by charitie: And we are led from faith to faith, that is, from an imperfect to a perfect faith, which is perfected by charitie: *Bellarm. lib. 1. de iuſtificat. cap. 20.*

Contra. That there are degrees of faith we graunt: there is a beginning and encreaſe of faith: *I beleeue, helpe my vnbeleefe*, Mark. 9. 24. There is a great faith, Matth. 15. 28. There is a little or ſmall

small faith, as a graine of Mustard seede, Mateh. 17. 20. But that faith is formed or perfected by charitie, we vtterly deny it, as an vntrueth contrarie to Scripture, as shall be shewed more at large in the proper place: *Faith indeede worketh by charitie*, Galath. 5. 6. but the substance of faith is one thing, the working another: loue concurreth with faith in working, it is no part of the essence, or being of faith: loue is an effect of faith: *That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, that being rooted & grounded in loue, &c.* Ephes. 3. 17. The dwelling of Christ by faith in vs, maketh vs to be grounded in loue: If loue then be an effect, and follow faith, it is rather perfected by faith, then a perfector of faith.

Argum. 1. Abraham beleeued God, and it was counted to him for righteousnesse Rom. 4. 9. But *Abraham* at this time was no notice, or young beginner in faith, but a perfect righteous man: *Ergo*, of faith is not onely the beginning, but perfection of our righteousnesse.

Answ. We say not, that faith is such a beginning of iustification, as that it is gone away, when perfection commeth: but it is such a beginning and foundation, as the ground worke of the house which though it be the beginning of the building, yet it remaineth, when the building is perfected and finished. Therefore *Abrahams* iustice was both begun, continued and perfected by faith: but not onely by faith: this we say, that faith is not able alone perfectly to iustifie the beleeuer. *Bellarmin ibid.*

Contra. 1. We take this kindly at the Iesuites handes, that he will graunt vs thus much, that faith is the foundation of iustification: the foundation is the principall part of the house, and so by his confession, faith is the principall in our iustification: yet the *Romanists* flatly denie it: for they say in these very words, *That workes are more principall then faith in the matter of iustification: Bellarmin. lib. 2. sect. 7.* It were good for them first to be agreed, before they deale against vs, lest they haue worke enough among themselues. 2. *Bellarmine* in ascribing to faith the beginning, encrease and perfection of righteousnes, though not to faith alone, herein dissenteth from his ghostly fathers of the Tridentine Chapter, which, as he saith, *Nihil amplius fidei tribuerit, quam vt esset initium iustificationis*: Did giue no more vnto faith, then to be the beginning onely of iustification: *Bellarmin. cap. 13. initio cap.* 3. That faith doth perfectly iustifie, we haue proued at large before, and it may appeare further thus: Hee that is at peace with God, is fully and perfectly iustified, his conscience cleered, and his sinnes remitted, but by faith we haue peace of conscience: *Being iustified by faith, we haue peace toward God*, Rom. 5. 1. *Ergo*, by faith we are fully and perfectly iustified.

Augustine vpon these words: Iohn 6. 29. *This is the worke of God, that ye beleeue, &c.* writeth thus: *Si iustitia est opus Dei quomodo erit opus Dei, vt credatur in vim, nisi ipsa sit iustitia, vt credamus ei?* If iustice or righteousnesse be the worke of God, how is it the worke of God to beleeue in him, vnlesse it bee righteousnesse it selfe to beleeue in him? See then, it is not *initium iustitiæ credere, sed ipsa iustitia*, not the beginning of iustice to beleeue, but iustice and righteousnesse it selfe.

Concil. Basilienſ. ex oration. præſidentis ad Bohemos, in appendice: Habitare dicit Apoſtolus, Chriſtum per fidem in cordibus noſtris, nec ſolum habitabit, quinimo per fidem in filium adoptivum aſſumet: omnes enim inquit Apoſtolus, filij Dei eſtis per fidem: The Apostle saith, that Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith, Ephe. 3. neither that he dwelleth only, but by faith adopteth vs to be his children: Ye are all the sonnes of God by faith, saith the Apostle, Galath. 3. 26. If faith maketh vs the sonnes of God, then doth it wholy iustifie vs: for before we are iustified we are not the sonnes of God.

THE SECOND GENERALL PART, OF IVSTIFICATION it selfe.

THe particular questions are these: First, whether inherent iustice be the formall cause of iustification. Secondly, of the certaintie of iustification by faith. Thirdly, whether faith, or the grace of iustification may be lost.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER INHERENT iustice be the formall cause of iustification.

The Papists.

THey deny instantly, that men are iustified by the onely imputation of the righteousnesse of Christ, or by the remission of sinnes: *Trident. Concil. sess. 6. can.* 11. or that we are formally made iust by the righteousnesse of Christ: *can.* 10. but hold them accursed that so affirme and teach. This then is their sentence, that *Vnica formalis causa, est iustitia Dei, qua nos iustos facit, quam quisque in se recipit:* The onely formall cause of our iustification, is the iustice of God, whereby we are not reputed iust, but are made iust indeede. This is that iustice, which euery man hath within himselfe, 56. Error.

and is inherent in him: *Sess. 6. cap. 7. Sic Rhemist. annot. Rom. 2. sect. 4. Bellarmine* also consenteth: *Lib. 2. de iustificat. cap. 2.* First, let vs see their arguments for inherent iustice: secondly, against the imputatiue iustice of Christ.

Argum. 1. As by one mans disobedience many were made sinners: so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous Rom. 5. 19. *At Adams inobedientia vere non imputatiue nobis peccatum impressit:* But *Adams* disobedience did truely print sinne in our nature, not imputatiuely onely: *Ergo*, we are truely made righteous by Christ, not by imputation onely: *Bellarmine cap. 3. argum. 1.* This argument *Bellarmine* taketh to be so firme, that he saith: *Videtur nullam responsionem admittere.* It cannot be answered. And therefore he doth inculcate the same argument often, euen thrice together in this one question: Once, *cap. 3. argum. 1.* Againe, *cap. 7. argum. 2.* And againe, *argum. 6.* Where he reasoneth thus: Christ restoreth that to vs, which we lost in *Adam*, but we lost true inherent iustice in *Adam*: *Ergo*, we recouer true inherent iustice by Christ.

Answ. 1. This argument concludeth nothing, vnlesse he will haue the Apostles comparison betweene the disobedience of *Adam*, and the obedience of Christ, our fall by the one, and our restitution by the other, to agree in all things: but that cannot be, for all men in the world are borne in *Adams* sinne, yet all men are not made righteous by Christ. Againe, *Adams* disobedience brought vs from paradise, Christs obedience shall not bringe vs to paradise, but to heauen: *Ergo*, this comparison holdeth not in euery respect.

2. The Apostle himselfe, in this similitude, sheweth some difference and dissimilitude: *The gift is not so, as the offence; the fault came of one offence to condemnation, the gift is of many offences to iustification*, vers. 16. And againe, *The gift is not so as the offence*, vers. 15. For, *if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God &c.* That is, Christ is much more able to saue many by his righteousnes, then *Adam* was to condemne many by his disobedience. We see then that this comparison, As by one mans disobedience, &c. so by the obedience of one, &c. is not to be vrged in euery part, but wherein onely the comparison standeth. And if it hold not in these poynts, which the Apostle himselfe setteth downe, why should it hold in this, which the Iesuit vrgeth, seeing it is not that poynt, wherein the Apostle compareth them?

3. The Apostle then compareth them together, in respect of the worke or the thing done, many are made sinners by one, and many are made righteous by one, but not in respect of the manner: that righteousnes should bee conueyed fom Christ, after the same manner, as sinne was propagated from *Adam*: for the Apostle saith, that in *Adam* all sinned, that is, verely and indeed in him they are sinners: But speaking of the righteousnes of Christ, he saith, *It is a gift, and of the abundance of grace*, vers. 17. And how this gift is conueyed, he sheweth, where he saith, *The righteousnes of God by the faith of Iesus Christ, vnto all, and vpon all that beleeue*, Rom. 3. 22. This gift of righteousnes is by faith in Christ.

4. If yet notwithstanding the Iesuite will stand still strictly vpon the equalitie and likenes of this comparison in all poynts: let him remember, that he defineth originall sinne to be nothing els, but *priuatio & carentia iustitiæ originalis*, to be a priuation or wanting of originall iustice: *De remiss. grat. lib. 5. cap. 19.* Then by the same reason, it may be inferred by this comparison, that as *Adams* sinne brought nothing but a priuation of iustice; so Christs righteousnes should bring nothing to vs, but a priuation of originall sinne and vnrighteousnes. But Christ doth not onely free vs from sinne, but also maketh vs righteous: as *Augustine* saith, *Non solum peccata per Christum interfecta sunt, sed iustitia tributa:* Our sinnes are not onely slaine by Christ, but righteousnes also is giuen.

5. Yet somewhat better to content the Iesuit, wee graunt also a similitude euen in this respect betweene Christ and *Adam*, in the manner of transferring sinne on the one side, and righteousnes on the other: for as there are two parts of originall sinne, the guilt of *Adams* sinne propagated to his posteritie, and the depravation of our nature: so there is a two-fold iustice: there is a iustice imputed vnto vs by faith, which is the iustice of Christ; there is a iustice inherent and abiding in vs, which is our owne iustice: And as *Adams* sinne entring into his posteritie made them subiect to death and condemnation, Rom. 5. 12. and wholly corrupted and depraued their nature; so it is the righteousnes onely of Christ which freeth vs from condemnation, which worketh in vs an imperfect inherent righteousnes, whereby we leade an holy life, but are not thereby iustified before God: And as *Adams* sinne is propagated by the naturall and carnall generation, so Christs iustice is spiritually deriued vnto vs by the spirituall birth which is by faith.

6. Wherein this comparison holdeth betweene *Adam* and Christ, in what respect *Adam* is said to be a forme of him, that was to come, that is, of Christ; *Augustine* very well sheweth in these words: *Adam forma est futuri, i. Christi, quoniam sicut ille ex semetipso nascentibus licet non manducaurint de ligno, factus est causa mortis, quæ per cibum indulta est: ita Christus, qui ex ipso sunt, tametsi nihil iuste egerunt, factus est promisor iustitiæ quam per crucem nobis omnibus condonauit: Adam* is the figure of him that was to come, namely Christ, because, as he became the cause of death, which came in by

Contra Iulian. lib. 1.

by the forbidden meat, to thoſe which were borne of him, although they did not eate of the tree: ſo Chriſt to thoſe which are of him, although they had done no righteouſnes, yet prouided for them righteouſnes, which he purchaſed by his croſſe, and gaue vnto them. *Adam* then may be a figure of Chriſt; and the compariſon may hold without inherent iuſtice: for the iuſtice giuen to vs, is the iuſtice of Chriſts croſſe, and we are made iuſt, without doing iuſtly, that is without our owne iuſtice: as *Auguſtine* here ſaith.

7. Now laſtly, whereas *Bellarmine* would haue Chriſt to reſtore whatſoeuer is loſt in *Adam*: by the ſame reaſon, by Chriſt men ſhould be exempted in this life from ſinne and death: for *Adam* before his fall, was ſubiect to neither. Our anſwere then is this: that indeed we find more in Chriſt, then we loſt in *Adam*: he doth reſtore vs to a farre more excellent eſtate, then man was created in: But this our happines is but begun in this life, the perfection and accompliſhment of it, is reſerued for the life to come. And thus, I truſt, this vnanſwerable argument is anſwered: our ſtout champion then was ſomewhat too forward in triumphing before the victorie.

*Argum.*2. First, Hebr.11.4. *Abel* by faith obtained to be righteous; and *Noah* likewiſe, verſ.7. theſe were iuſt by their inherent iuſtice, becauſe they did righteous workes: as *Abel* did offer ſacrifice; *Noah* prepared the Arke, &c. *Bellar.arg.5.* 1

Secondly, Rom.8.29. *He hath predeſtinate them to be made like the image of his Sonne:* but Chriſt is iuſt, not by an imputatiue, but an inherent iuſtice: *Ergo*, ſo are his members. 2

Thirdly, Rom.6.5 *We are graft into the ſimilitude of Chriſts death and reſurrection:* but hee truly died, and not putatiuely, or in opinion: *Ergo*, we alſo truly not putatiuely muſt die vnto ſinne, &c. 3

Fourthly, S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of the ſpirit of adoption now preſent, and of the adoption by the redemption of our bodies, Rom.8.15.23. but the adoption or redemption of our bodies, ſhall be true, and not putatiue, or in opinion: *Ergo*, ſo is our adoption now, *Bellar.arg.*7.8. 4

Anſw. First, *Abel* and *Noah* we graunt had iuſt and righteous workes, which were fruites of their faith; but they were not by them iuſtified before God, but it was the righteouſnes of faith, whereby they were iuſt before God: as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Noe was made heire of the righteouſneſſe which is by faith.* 1

Secondly, the conformitie betweene Chriſt & vs ſtandeth not in our iuſtification: for the iuſtice of Chriſt was in him originall, but in vs it is deriued from him: but it conſiſteth in our ſanctification, as the Apoſtle ſheweth: *Arme your ſelues with the ſame minde, that he, which hath ſuffered in the fleſh, hath ceaſed from ſinne.* We muſt then be conformable vnto Chriſt in dying vnto ſinne, and riſing to newnes of life. 2

Thirdly, to dye vnto ſinne is part of our ſanctification, not of our iuſtification, which we grant muſt verily and truly be in vs. 3

Fourthly: firſt, an adopted ſonne, is a reputed ſonne: and therefore ſeeing we are Gods ſonnes by adoption in Chriſt, we are ſo by reputation or imputation. Secondly, it followeth not our adoption is true, therefore not by imputation: for, the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt is as verily ours thorough imputation by faith, as if it were actually in our ſelues. Thirdly, the argument followeth not from the ſtate of the next life, to our condition now: for then we ſhall ſee Chriſt face to face, we ſhall neede no faith, nor imputatiue iuſtice, but ſhall verilie and perfectly be made iuſt by Chriſt: our roabes ſhall be made white in the blood of the Lambe, Reuelat.7.14. but in this life *we walke by faith, and not by ſight*, 2.Corinth.5.7. and therefore are iuſt onely by the iuſtice of faith. 4

*Argum.*3 The Apoſtle ſaith, *According to his mercy he ſaued vs by the waſhing of the new birth or regeneration, and the renewing of the holy Ghoſt, which he ſhed on vs abundantly, through Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, that we being iuſtified by his grace, &c. ad Tit* 3.7. To be iuſtified then, is nothing els but to be regenerate and renewed by the holy Ghoſt: but our regeneration is inherent in vs: *Ergo*, ſo is our iuſtification: *Bellarm. cap.*13. *argum.*4.

*Anſ.*1. The Apoſtle in this place vſeth this word (to be iuſtified) in the largeſt ſenſe, as comprehending both the iuſtice of Chriſt imputed vnto vs by Chriſt, as alſo that iuſtice & holines which is wrought in vs by his ſpirite: for ſeeing the ſcripture doth call men iuſt both theſe wayes; iuſt by the righteouſnes or iuſtice of faith, as *Noe*, Heb.11.7. iuſt alſo, though imperfectly, by the righteouſnes wrought in them, as *Lot* is called iuſt, 2.Pet.2.7. not vnfitly both theſe kinds of iuſtice are comprehended vnder the word iuſtification. Againe, this word the Apoſtle in this ſenſe vſeth in other places, as Rom.8.30. Whom he iuſtifieth, he glorifieth; where iuſtification alſo comprehendeth ſanctification, which goeth before glorification. Likewiſe, Rom.5.18. the Apoſtle calleth the whole worke of our redemption, including alſo our ſaluation, which muſt anſwere in that place to condemnation, *the iuſtification of life:* yet at other times ſpeaking more diſtinctly, he maketh theſe three degrees, *being freed from ſinne*, here is our redemption, *Ye haue your fruit in holines*, this is ſanctification, and *the end euerlaſting life*, here is ſaluation, Rom.6.22. ſo in this place, the Apoſtle confoundeth theſe two words to be ſaued, and iuſtified: and ſo he doth, Ephe.2.8. Ano-

ther times he distinguisheth betweene them: as Rom. 5.9. *Being iustified by his blood, we shall be saued through him:* and in the next verse also he putteth difference betweene these two, to be reconciled, and saued: for saluation, to speake properly, is of the end, iustification is the meane that leadeth to the end. Lastly, the Apostle himselfe doth distinguish this generall kinde of iustification into parts: *They which beleeue in God* (saith he, vers. 8.) this is the iustification by faith, *ought to be carefull to shew forth good works:* this is the iustice which is in vs.

2. The Apostle here saith, That *the holy Ghost is shed on vs abundantly through Iesus Christ*, Tit. 3.6. But faith is the meane and way whereby it is applied: *We receiue the promise of the spirit through faith*, Galath. 3.14. He nameth also here the washing of the new birth, which new birth is by beleeuing in Christ, 1. Iohn 5.1. Whosoeuer beleeueth, that Iesus is the Christ, is borne of God: So that the Apostle necessarily vnderstandeth in this place iustification by faith, though he also speake of regeneration and renouation: so farre is the Apostle from making them all one: though he name them together, because they must goe together, and are both necessarie towards the attaining of euerlasting life.

These, and the like arguments our aduersaries haue deuised for their inherent iustice: Now let vs see, what they can obiect against the imputation of the iustice of Christ.

Argum. 1. If the iustice of Christ be truly imputed vnto vs, so that thereby we are verily and truely counted iust, as if it were our owne proper righteousnesse, we should then be counted no lesse iust and righteous, then Christ himselfe, and so consequently be counted Redeemers and Sauiours of the world, as well as he: *Bellarm. cap. 7. argum. 5.*

Answ. First, it followeth not, Christs iustice is verily made ours, as if it were properly our own: *Ergo*, we are as iust as Christ: for Christs iustice was originally in him, it is ours but by imputation: his iustice was truly meritorious, and not of grace, our iustice by him is of grace: Neither is the whole iustice that was in Christ, imputed to vs, for he was not iust onely, as he was man, but iust also as God. Secondly, we must distinguish betweene iustice it selfe and the communication thereof, betweene the propriety and possession of a thing, and the vse. A thing may be common in vse, yet proper in possession: so Christs iustice is communicated to vs, that is, the vertue, power, and efficacie thereof, yet Christs personall iustice still remaineth in himselfe. The two olive branches did continually emptie themselues into the golden pipes: Zachar. 4.12. The pipes or conduits had no oyle, but from the branches; yet the fountaine of oyle remained in the olive tree still: It cannot be sayd now, that the pipes were as full of oyle as the braunches. By these olive braunches, the Prophet vnderstandeth Christ, from whom we receiue all the oyle of grace which we haue, in as ample manner, as if this oyle sprang of our selues, yet farre inferiour for all this are the pipes to the olive tree.

Argum. 2. If we by the righteousnesse of Christ imputed to vs, are truely counted iust before God, and are become the sonnes of God, by the same reason Christ by the imputation of our sinnes, may be truely counted a sinner, and so also the childe of the diuell, which were a most horrible blasphemie. But if Christ, notwithstanding the imputation of our sinnes, be righteous and iust still, we also, though the righteousnesse of Christ be imputed, should remaine vnrighteous, and vniust still, and therefore not thereby iustified: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. 1. That our sinnes were imputed to Christ, and that he tooke them vpon himselfe, and suffered for them, being now counted his by imputation, wee haue euident testimonies out of Scripture to proue it: Esai. 53. vers. 6. *The Lord hath laid vpon him the iniquitie of vs all: He shall beare their iniquities*, vers. 11. *He was counted with the transgressors, and bare the sinne of many*, vers. 12. This also was euidently prefigured by the scape goate, which was a type and figure of Christ: the sinnes of the people were put vpon the head of the goate, and the goate did beare their iniquities into the wildernesse: And the goate by this imputation of the peoples sinne, was counted vncleane, the beast yet by nature being vncapable of sinne; insomuch that hee, which carried the goate, was commaunded to wash his cloathes and flesh with water, as polluted with touching the goate, Leuit 16.22.26. So S. *Paul* saith, that Christ was accursed, yea made a curse for vs, Galat. 3. vers. 13. And that he was made sinne for vs, which knew no sinne, 2. Cor. 5.21. not onely a sacrifice for sinne, but euen so sin for vs, that is by imputation, as we are made his righteousnes: for seeing this is the perpetual rule of Gods iustice, that the same soule that sinneth should dye, Ezech. 18.20. how can it stand with Gods iustice, that Christ should suffer for our sins, if they were not in some sort now annexed vnto him? Seeing then the Scripture saith, that Christ bare our iniquitie, was accursed, made sinne for vs, counted among sinners and transgressors: why should wee doubt to speake, as the Scripture doth, that Christ was for vs counted a sinner and a transgressor, yet in himselfe remained holie, iust, and righteous still? So wee in Christ are verily reputed righteous, though by nature we are vniust and vnrighteous.

2. Now concerning these consequents, which *Bellarmine* inferreth hereupon: as first, *Si Christus poterit dici verè peccator, tum etiam filius diaboli:* If Christ may verily be counted or called a sinner,

ner, then alſo the childe or ſonne of the diuell, which is an horrible thing to be thought. Wee anſwere: not euery ſinner is the childe of the diuell: *He that committeth ſin, is of the diuell*, 1.Ioh.3.8. But Chriſt neuer committed ſinne: *In him is no ſinne, ibid.* verſ.5. ſinne is laid vpon him only by imputation: *Ergo.* Againe, euen amongſt men, euery one that hath ſinne, is not of the diuell: for there is no man liuing but hath ſinne: *If we ſay, we haue no ſinne, we deceiue our ſelues*, 1.Ioh.1.8. And yet it is true, which the ſame Apoſtle ſaith, *Whoſoeuer is borne of God, ſinneth not*, 1.Ioh.3.9. for there is great difference betweene theſe two, to commit ſinne, and to haue ſinne, as *Auguſtine* diſtinguiſheth: *Aliud eſt non peccare, aliud non habere peccatum, nam in quo peccatum non regnat, non peccat, &c.* It is one thing not to ſinne, another, not to haue ſinne: for he ſinneth not, in whom ſinne raigneth not, to obey the deſires thereof: *in 4.cap.ad Galat.* And againe, *Quamuis diabolus* (ſaith he) *ſit princeps omnium peccatorum & author, non tamen filios diaboli faciunt quæcunque peccata, filios autem diaboli infidelitas facit*: Although the diuell be the prince and author of al ſinnes, yet all ſinnes make not the children of the diuell, infidelitie onely maketh a man the ſonne of the diuell, *Auguſt.cont.epiſt. Pelag.lib.3.cap.2.* He then that committeth ſinne, that is, in whom ſin raigneth, or in whom there is infidelitie, is the childe of the diuell; not he which hath ſinne, but obeyeth it not, or is a beleeuer: much leſſe can it be inferred, that Chriſt is of the diuell, though he were for vs counted among ſinners, becauſe he neither hath, nor doth ſinne, but it was only imputed vnto him; into whoſe heart neuer any ſparke of infidelitie entred.

Secondly, the Ieſuite inferreth, that if our ſinnes were imputed to Chriſt, as his righteouſneſſe is to vs, then as Chriſt for all the imputation of our ſins, remaineth iuſt, and holie; ſo wee, notwithſtanding the imputation of his righteouſnes, ſhould be vnholy and vnrighteous ſtill.

Anſw. 1. True it is, that as Chriſt in his owne nature remaineth righteous and iuſt, though our ſinnes were imputed, the imputation of our ſinnes doth not pollute the purenes of his nature: ſo, if we ſhould ſet apart the righteouſnes of Chriſt, by the imputation whereof we are iuſtified; in vs by nature, there is nothing elſe but ſinne and corruption: as S. *Paul* ſaith, *I know, that in me, that is, in my fleſh, dwelleth no good thing*, Rom.7.18. 2. There is nothing the like reaſon, that the imputation of our ſinne ſhould leaue any ſtaine or blot in the holy nature of Chriſt, as, that the imputation of his righteouſnes ſhould worke holines in vs: whereupon it is, that wee are holy and iuſt by his righteouſnes imputed, but he notwithſtanding the imputation of our ſinne, is neither vniuſt nor vnholie: firſt, becauſe it is impoſſible that Chriſt ſhould be vniuſt, his holy nature is not capable of ſinne, but it is poſſible that man ſhould become righteous: the humane nature is capable of righteouſnes, wherein it was once created, and ſhall be againe reſtored vnto it in Chriſt. Secondly, ſin is not ſo forcible to defile and deſtroy nature, as the grace of God is to preſerue and ſanctifie: as S. *Paul* reaſoneth: *If through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace*, Rom.5.15. If grace euen in men, whoſe nature is ſubiect to ſinne, and death, be more able to ſaue, than ſinne is to deſtroy: much leſſe can ſinne preuaile more, or ſo much, being but imputed, in the nature of Chriſt to pollution, which cannot ſinne, as grace and righteouſnes doth in vs to ſanctification? And thus farre of their arguments.

The Proteſtants.

WE acknowledge an inherent iuſtice in all faithfull men, wrought in them by the ſpirit of God, being now iuſtified by faith in Chriſt: but it is imperfect, not able to iuſtifie them before God; it is no other then ſanctification, which is a fruit of iuſtification: But that iuſtice, whereby we are iuſt before God, not falſely accounted, but made truly iuſt, is by the righteouſnes of Chriſt onely, which we apprehend by faith. And of this our iuſtification by Chriſt, there are two parts, the cleere remiſſion of our ſinnes and puniſhment due thereunto: for in Chriſt we are freed from the law of ſinne, and death, Rom.8.2. The other part is the imputation of the righteouſnes of Chriſt: *By the iuſtifying of one, the benefit abounded toward all men, to the iuſtification of life*, Roman.5.18. And that this is our righteouſnes before God, and no other, it remaineth now to bee proued by ſcripture.

*Argum.*1. *Abraham beleeued God, and it was counted to him for righteouſnes*, Rom.4.2. And, *Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen, and whoſe ſinnes are couered, and to whom the Lord imputeth no ſin*, verſ.7.8. *Ergo*, the righteouſneſſe of man conſiſteth not in any actuall inherent iuſtice in himſelfe, but in that his ſins are forgiuen him, and the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt applied to him by faith.

Anſw. 1. Wee graunt that *Abraham* was reputed righteous by his faith, yet it followeth not, that to haue faith reputed or counted for righteouſnes, is to haue the righteouſnes of Chriſt imputed by faith: for faith, which is imputed for righteouſnes, is not the righteouſnes of Chriſt, but our owne righteouſnes. And to bee reputed for righteous here, ſignifieth not a bare opinion of righteouſnes, but ſuch an opinion, as the truth of the matter anſwereth: for the Apoſtle vſing the ſame word, ſaith, that *to him that worketh, the wages is counted, or reputed not by fauour, but by debt*, ver.4 But the wages is not giuen to him that worketh in opinion, or account onely, but verily, and in deede, *Bellarm.cap.9.*

Contra.

Contra. 1. Faith, saith the Iesuite, which is reputed for righteousnes, is not the righteousnes of Christ: and therefore it is all one to say, faith is reputed for righteousnes, and righteousnes is imputed.

Ans. 1. The Apostle here by faith vnderstandeth also the obiect apprehended by faith: as more plainly in these words, *The righteousnes of God by the faith of Iesu Christ*, Rom. 3. 22. So that in faith here reputed for righteousnes, we are not to respect the worthines of the act of beleeuing in it selfe, but in respect of the obiect: the faith (saith the Apostle) of Iesus Christ.

2. Againe, the Iesuite elsewhere saith, that faith, in his meaning, vnderstanding still the dignitie of faith in it selfe, is but the beginning of righteousnes: but the Apostle saith, that faith it selfe, not naming any thing else, is righteousnes, that is more then the beginning.

3. And if faith as it is a work and act in vs doth iustifie; how can it be true, which the Apostle saith, *To him that worketh not, faith is counted for righteousnesse*, vers. 5. *and God imputeth righteousnesse without workes*, vers. 6.

2. We say not, that to be reputed iust, is to be iust onely in opinion, but verily and indeede: for seeing the Apostle vseth the same word, speaking of the reputing of the reward of debt, as well as of fauour: we say that of grace and fauour a man is as verily reputed righteous, as if hee were righteous indeede by his owne deserts: for that which is reputed of fauour, is verily, and indeede, as that which is reputed of debt, though not after the same manner.

Argum. 2. Christ is our wisedome, righteousnes, sanctification, and redemption, 1. Cor. 1. 30. *Ergo*, Christ onely is our righteousnes, whereby we are iustified.

Answ. Christ is said to be our righteousnes, because hee hath satisfied God for vs, and this satisfaction is imparted to vs, when we are iustified, in such sort, that it may be called our satisfaction and our righteousnes: for although we are truly iust, by our inherent iustice, yet thereby wee can not satisfie God for our sinnes, and the punishment thereof: but it is an effect of Christs satisfaction, which is conferred, and applied to vs in our iustification: And so wee may safely say, that Christs righteousnes, and his merits are imputed to vs, when they are so applied vnto vs, as if we our selues had satisfied: so that wee confesse also an inherent iustice, whereby wee are truly iust: *Bellarm. cap.* 10. *respons. ad argum.* 1.

Contra. 1. It is very absurd, as the Iesuite here setteth it downe, that wee should be iustified by our inherent iustice, and yet thereby are not able to satisfie for our sinnes: that onely hath power to iustifie vs, that is able to redeeme vs, and satisfie for vs: *We are iustified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ*, Rom. 5. 24. Our inherent iustice is not able to satisfie for vs, by the Iesuites confession: *Ergo*, not to iustifie vs. 2. We may thus reason also out of the Iesuites words: That cannot be a cause of our iustification, which is an effect thereof: but our inherent iustice is an effect of the satisfaction of Christ applied vnto vs, which is nothing else but our iustification: *Ergo*. 3. That righteousnes, whereby being applied vnto vs, we are as iust, as if in our owne person wee had satisfied for our sinnes, is that righteousnes, whereby we are iustified: but this doth the righteousnes and merits of Christ applied and imputed to vs, as the Iesuite here acknowledgeth: *Ergo*. 4. *Bellarmine* speaketh contradictories, and ioyneth together impossibilities: he saith, that the iustice of Christ is imputed to vs in as effectuall manner, as if we had satisfied our selues; and yet hee saith besides, *Iustitiam inhærentem veram esse & absolutam iustitiam*: That iustice inherent, is a true and absolute iustice: How can this be an absolute iustice, and that together which is imputed? There cannot be a double absolute iustice: for that is absolute which is perfect, and entire of it selfe: but Christs iustice imputed is an absolute iustice, which hath satisfied for vs, as fully, as if we our selues had done, but the inherent iustice doth not satisfie for vs: all this is by the Iesuite confessed: *Ergo*, it is not an absolute iustice. 5. Doth not the Iesuite now, in ioyning the iustice of Christ, and our iustice together, make two formall causes of our iustification? which notwithstanding hee instantly denied before, affirming this to be the iudgement of the Tridentine chapter, that we are not iustified, not onely, but not at all by the iustice of Christ, *cap.* 2. But here he saith, that by Christs iustice applied, we doe satisfie the wrath of God: what now is this else but by the iustice of Christ truly to be iustified? For to be iustified, is nothing else, but to be reconciled to God, and saued from his wrath, Rom. 5. 9. 10. How is it now possible, that *Bellarmine* should agree with others, seeing he so shamefully disagreeth from himselfe?

Argum. 3. Saint *Paul* saith, *He hath made him to be sinne for vs, that knew no sinne, that we should be made the righteousnes of God in him*, 2. Corin. 5. 21. Out of this place we reason thus: As Christ was made sinne for vs, so wee are righteous in him: But our sinnes were onely imputed to him, they were not actually in him: *Ergo*, so is his righteousnes, wherby we are iustified, only imputed to vs.

Answ. 1. Christ is said to be made sinne for vs, not that our sinnes are imputed to him, otherwise, than for that he satisfied for our sins, and was an offring for our sinne: so the iustice of Christ is imputed to vs, in respect of his satisfaction: by the which notwithstanding we cannot be counted iust: *Bellarm. cap.* 10. *resp. ad arg.* 3.

Contra.

Contra. 1. If ſinne be here taken onely for the ſuffering for ſinne; becauſe Chriſt bare the puniſhment of our ſinne; then where the Apoſtle ſaith, *we are righteouſnes in him*, we muſt vnderſtand, not righteouſnes it ſelfe, but onely the reward of righteouſnes: for theſe two members or parts doe anſwere one the other: as Chriſt was ſinne for vs, ſo we are righteouſnes in him: but Chriſt onely bare the puniſhment for ſinne: *Ergo*, we obtaine onely the reward of righteouſnes by him. 2. How could the puniſhment of ſinne in the iuſtice of God be laid vpon Chriſt, if the ſinnes were not in ſome ſort annexed to the ſufferer: ſeeing it is the perpetuall rule of Gods iuſtice, that the ſame ſoule that ſinneth, ſhould dye? Ezech. 18. 20. And how can wee obtaine the reward of righteouſnes, if firſt we be not made righteous? 3. The Scripture alſo euidently affirmeth, that Chriſt bare not onely the puniſhment of our ſinnes, but our ſinnes alſo: *He hath borne our infirmities*, Eſai. 53. 4. *He was counted among tranſgreſſors, and bare the ſinne of many*, verſ. 12. What aileth then the Ieſuite ſo boldly to denie, that our ſinnes were imputed to Chriſt? 4. He graunteth, that Chriſts ſatisfaction is imputed to vs, yet we are not thereby iuſt: If God be ſatisfied, his wrath appeaſed, are we not fully redeemed? *If while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his ſonne, much more being reconciled, we ſhall be ſaued by his life*, Rom. 5. 10. Reconciliation then and ſaluation, follow ſatisfaction by the death of Chriſt: *Chriſt hath freed vs from the law of ſinne, and death*, Rom. 8. 2. *there remaineth therefore no condemnation*. If then Chriſt hauing ſatisfied for vs, we are made heires of life; how are we not by vertue of his ſatisfaction iuſt alſo? ſeeing firſt wee muſt be iuſt, before we can looke for the reward of iuſtice. Yea, *Bellarmine* himſelfe ſaith, *Remiſſio peccatorum non poteſt fieri, niſi iuſtitia infundatur*: There can be no remiſſion of ſinnes, but iuſtice muſt be infuſed withall, as darknes cannot be chaſed away, but light muſt needes ſucceede: *cap. 9. ad arg. 1.* We will inferre hereupon: but by the ſatisfaction of Chriſt we haue remiſſion of ſins: *Ergo*, alſo thereby we obtaine iuſtice, and ſo conſequently are iuſt.

Anſw. 2. Or thus we may vnderſtand the Apoſtle: As Chriſt is made ſinne for vs, that is, being the head, he counteth the ſinnes of his members as his owne, ſo wee are the righteouſnes of God in him: that is, the diuine iuſtice which is in Chriſt our head, is communicated to his members, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. In the matter of iuſtification, we haue not any thing to doe with the diuine iuſtice of Chriſt, whereby hee is iuſt as hee is God; for that is not communicable to his members: but the Apoſtle meaneth, the righteouſnes of God, that is, of the grace of God through faith, Rom. 3. verſ. 22. 24. but the diuine and eſſentiall righteouſnes of God, is neither apprehended, nor applied by faith.

2. If our ſinnes agree vnto Chriſt, as he is our head; then they doe more then by imputation, yea properly and verily agree vnto him: becauſe there is a reall coniunction and communication betweene the head and the bodie: he ſaid to *Saul*, why perſecuteſt thou me? not becauſe our afflictions are imputed to Chriſt, but that the head and members make but one myſticall body: by denying imputation of ſinne, they fall into a greater gulfe, euen to appropriate ſinne vnto Chriſt.

3. The Ieſuite hath made a very good argument for vs: Chriſt is the head, wee are the members, both make but one bodie: one and the ſame bodie, hath one and the ſame forme: *Ergo*, Chriſt and his Church are both formally iuſt by the ſame righteouſneſſe, and that is the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt. The Apoſtle alſo ſayth, that the body of Chriſt, that is, his Church, is the fulneſſe of him that filleth all in all things, Epheſ. 1. 23. our fulnes then is the fulnes of Chriſt, our righteouſneſſe is our fulneſſe: *Ergo*, and if Chriſt fill all in all, then Chriſt onely iuſtifieth: not not Chriſts iuſtice in part, and our owne iuſtice in part.

Anſw. 3. Chriſt was made ſinne for vs, that is, he tooke vpon him the ſimilitude of ſinful fleſh, and wee are righteouſneſſe, that is, do take the ſimilitude of the diuine iuſtice: As Chriſt then verily not imputatiuely tooke our fleſh, ſo we verily, not imputatiuely, are partakers of his iuſtice, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. This interpretation which the Ieſuite here enforceth cannot hold: for where the Apoſtle ſaith, *hee came in the ſimilitude of ſinfull fleſh*, it followeth, *and condemned ſinne in the fleſh* Rom. 8. 3. If he will make one of them agree with this place, he muſt make both: then by his expoſition Chriſt was made ſinne, that is, condemned, or deſtroyed ſinne: Or where the Apoſtle ſaith, *he was in like ſort as we are, ſin onely excepted*, Heb. 4. 15. wee muſt ſay after his interpretation, Chriſt was made ſinne, that is, tooke our nature without ſinne: A proper expoſition ſure; by the contrary, he was made ſinne, that is, he was not made ſinne. 2. Againe, the Apoſtle ſaith, hee was made ſinne, that knew no ſinne: in both clauſes, ſinne is to be taken and vnderſtood alike: if then to be made ſinne, be to take fleſh, then not to know ſinne, is not to know fleſh, which is to deſtroy Chriſts humanitie. 3. As Chriſt was made ſinne, ſo we are made righteouſneſſe: if Chriſt be ſaid here to take our humane nature, then wee alſo may be ſaid to take the diuine nature. But I thinke they will not ſay, that the diuine nature is ſo appropriated to vs, as the humane

nature

nature is to Christ. Wherefore setting apart all such vaine glosses, and idle shifts, which we see do vanish as the mist, the sense of this place appeareth euidently and plainely to be this: that as our sins by imputation were annexed to Christ in his passion, so his righteousnesse is appropriate to vs by faith in our iustification.

Argum.4. Act.13.38. *Through this man is preached vnto you forgiuenesse of sinnes, &c. and by him euery one that beleeueth is iustified: Ergo,* our iustification in the remission of sinnes is by the preaching of Christ apprehended by faith, and so consequently not inherent in vs; Likewise *Luc.*18. verse 13. The Publicane is said to be iustified, saying, *God be mercifull to me a sinner:* Our iustification then is in the forgiuenesse of sinne, grounded vpon Gods mercie, who in his mercie counteth vs no sinners, but as iust in Christ: *Ergo,* we are not iustified by any inherent iustice.

1. *Answ.* First, by preaching of remission of sinnes, is not onely vnderstood the condonation of the fault, but the succeeding also of inward iustice, whereof Christ is the efficient cause, but yet Christs iustice is not the formal cause thereof. Secondly, the Publicane prayeth not onely for forgiuenesse, but for perfect reconciliation, which requireth also an infusion of iustice, *Bellarm. cap.*12.

2. *Contra.* First, 1. We graunt that remission of sinnes once obtained in Christ, wee are consequently reputed as iust in Christ, for the remission of sinnes, and imputation of Christs righteousnesse do alwaies concurre in act: but inherent iustice cannot stand together with remission of sin; the one being of grace and mercie, the other of worke; but grace and workes cannot agree together, Rom.11.6. If of grace; it is no more of worke. 2. As Christ is the efficient cause by his spirite of our iustifying faith: so is his iustice the very formall cause of our iustification: for it is not our owne righteousnesse, but *the righteousnesse of God by the faith of Iesu Christ vnto all that beleeue,* Rom.3.22. whereby we are iustified.

Secondly, 1. The Publicane sueth for perfect reconciliation, which is by Gods mercie in the free forgiuenesse of our sinnes in Christ: as the Apostle sayth, Rom.5.1. *Being iustified by faith, we are at peace with God,* and so are perfectly reconciled. 2. But hee standeth not vpon any inherent iustice of his owne; the Pharisee did so, and was refused; but onely appealeth to Gods mercie.

Argum.5. Now in the last place wee will conclude, with that excellent saying of the Apostle: *That I might be found in him, not hauing mine owne righteousnesse, which is of the law, but that, which is through the fayth of Christ, euen the righteousnesse, which is of God through fayth,* Phil.3.9. S. Paul here denyeth his owne righteousnesse: but he that hath inherent righteousnesse, hath some righteousnesse of his owne. Againe, he commendeth the righteousnesse of God through faith: that is, apprehended by faith, not consisting in the meritorious act or worthinesse of faith: for if faith it selfe should be this righteousnesse, how can it also be the righteousnesse of God? the righteousnes of God is not faith, for Christ hath no such faith: it is the righteousnes then of God apprehended by faith, which is our righteousnes before God, not any inherent iustice in vs. *Augustine* saith well, *Si dixerimus, quod nihil iustitiæ habemus, aduersum Dei dona mentimur: si enim iustitia nihil habemus, vt fidem habemus: si autem fidem habemus, iam aliquid habemus iustitiæ:* If we say, we haue no iustice at all, we do belie the good gifts of God; for if we haue no iustice, we haue no faith: but if we haue faith, then haue we some iustice in vs. Here *Augustine* acknowledgeth no inherent iustice, but the iustice onely of faith. If it shall be answered, that euen the iustice of faith is an inherent iustice, because it iustifieth by the worthinesse and merit thereof: *Augustine* saith againe, writing vpon these words of our Sauiour, *No man commeth vnto me, &c. Vt doceret nos, ipsum credere, donisse non meriti,* To teach vs that to beleeue, is of the gift of God, not of merit: *de verbis Apost. serm.*2. To conclude, he saith yet more plainely: *Totum reputa, quod iustus es pietati; quod autem peccator es, tua iniquitati ascribe: Omne crimen, facinus, vel peccatum, nostræ est negligentiæ: Omnis virtus & sanctitas Dei est indulgentiæ:* That thou art iust, repute it wholy to godlinesse; that thou art a sinner, ascribe it to thine owne iniquitie: euery sin and offence is of our owne negligence: all holinesse and vertue in vs is of Gods mercie, *in Mat. serm.*8. All our iustice then, whereby we are iust, dependeth of our godlinesse, which is our faith, beliefe, and confidence in God.

S. *Ambrose* also *in* 9. *ad Roman. Conuenit vt in solo nomine Domini conditoris consequatur salutem creatura, hoc est per fidem:* It is conuenient that in the onely name of the Lord Creator, the creature should obtaine saluation, that is, by faith, &c. If by faith onely in the name of the Creator we are iustified, there is no place for inherent iustice.

We haue here the testimonie of some of their owne: *Albertus Pighius contr.*2. *Colonienses, in antididagmat.* do agree, that our inherent iustice is imperfect, and not the sufficient and formal cause of our iustification.

THE

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE CERTAINtie of iuſtification by faith.

The Papiſts.

THe *Rhemiſts* call it a faithleſſe perſwaſion of ſaluation to be confident of Gods grace and ſaluation, and *fides demoniorum, non Apoſtolorum*, the faith of diuels, not of Apoſtles, *annot.* 8. *1.Cor.9. ſect.9.* So the Tridentine Councell, call *certitudinem remiſſionis peccatorum vanam, & ab omni Pietate remotam fiduciam*: The certaintie of remiſſion of ſinnes, a vayne and faithleſſe perſwaſion: And therefore euery man, *de gratia timere & formidare poteſt*, may ſtand in doubt and be afraid, whether hee be in the ſtate of grace, *ſeſſ.6.c.9.* This is alſo affirmed by *Bellarm.* that a man without ſpeciall reuelation, cannot be aſſured by his faith, that his ſinnes are forgiuen him, *lib.3. de iuſtif. cap.2.* 56.Error.

*Argum.*1. Prou.20.9. *Who can ſay, my heart is cleane, I am pure from ſinne*, which is not ſo to be vnderſtood, as though no man could haue a cleane heart: for our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *Bleſſed are the pure in heart*, Matth.5. But the wiſe man thus ſpeaketh, becauſe no man can know whether his heart be cleane: *ſic Bellarm. cap.4.*

Anſw. 1. The words are thus to be read according to the Hebrue, *Who can ſay I haue made my heart cleane*: not after the vulgar Latine, *Who can ſay my heart is cleane*: So that the wiſe man here doth repreſſe the inſolencie of thoſe, which thinke to be iuſtified by their owne ſtrength. And thus anſwereth *Catharinus* a Papiſt. 2. We ſay, that the meaning of the wiſe man is this, that no man can be cleane from ſinne in this life: In many things, we ſinne all, Iam.3.2. which if the Ieſuite will denie, as indeed he doth, he giueth the holy Apoſtle the lye: and reneweth the olde Pelagian hereſie, *Poſſe hominem ſine peccato eſſe per Dei gratiam*: That a man by the grace of God, may be without ſinne, *Auguſt. de natur grat.* 1.11. 3. To be pure in heart, betokeneth not abſolute pureneſs in the ſight of God: for ſo neither the Angels nor the heauens are cleane, Iob.15.15. But to be pure in heart, is as much as to be vpright in heart, to be without deceit, as it is expounded, Pſalm.24.4. Not to haue a double heart, Pſalm.12.2. As our Sauiour ſaid of *Nathaniel*, this is a true Iſraelite, in whom is no guile, Ioh.1.47. This it is to be pure or vndefiled in heart. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Ingredi ſine macula dicitur, non qui iam perfectus eſt, ſed qui ad perfectionem irreprehenſibiliter currit*: He is ſayd to walke without ſpot, not which is already perfect, but who doth walke on forward towards perfection without reprehenſion, *Auguſtine cont. Celeſt.* This pureneſs of heart, a faithfull man may ſee and knowe in himſelfe, as *Dauid* ſaith, Pſalm.73.13. I haue cleanſed my heart in vaine, and waſhed my hands in innocencie.

*Argum.*2. Eccleſ.9.1. *No man knoweth whether he be worthy loue or hatred: Ergo*, a man cannot be certaine of his iuſtification, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſ. The wiſe man meaneth not, that a man cannot any way at all know whether he be in fauour with God: but that it cannot be diſcerned, by the outward chances and accidents of this life: ahe ſheweth in the next verſe, that there is the ſame outward condition to the iuſt and wicked. Nay it many times fareth better with the wicked, then with the righteous in this life: *I ſaw*, ſaith he, *vnder the Sunne, that riches are not for men of vnderſtanding, nor yet bread for the wiſe, nor fauour for men of knowledge*, verſ.11.

Bellarmine replieth: The Preacher ſpeaketh onely of the iuſt and wiſe, and of their works, ver.1. he compareth not the wicked and the righteous together, *ibid.*

Contra. In the next verſe the wiſe man expoundeth himſelfe, *all things fall out alike to all, the ſame condition is to the iuſt and to the wicked, &c. as is the good, ſo is the ſinner, he that ſweareth, as he that feareth an oth*: verſ.2. It is euident therefore, that the Wiſeman compareth here the righteous and wicked both together: and that he meaneth, that it cannot be diſcerned by the outward euents of mans life, which of them is in fauour with God. And that this is his meaning, it may appeare by the like place, chap.3. verſ.21. *Who knoweth whether the ſpirit of man aſcend vpward, and the ſpirit of the beaſt deſcend downward?* Not that we are altogether ignorant of the end of mans ſoule: but it cannot be diſcerned by the outward and corporall death, what difference is betweene the ſpirit of man, and of beaſts: *for as the one dyeth, ſo dyeth the other*, verſ.19. So in this place, the Wiſeman, ſaying, that no man knoweth hatred, or loue; doth not meane, that this is impoſſible to be knowne, but that it cannot by the externall things of this life be diſcerned: *Sic Calu. lib.3. inſtitut. cap.2. ſect.38.*

Bellarmine anſwereth that *Salomon* in the third chapter ſpeaketh in the perſon of the vnwiſe, and worldly ſenſuall man, who knoweth no difference betweene the ſpirits of men, and bruite beaſts: *Bellarm. cap.4.*

Contra. So alſo doth the Preacher vtter many things in this chapter, in the perſon of the Epicure: as that, verſe 4. better is a liuing dogge, then a dead Lion: Goe eate thy bread, and drinke

thy wine: *At all times let thy garments be white, and let no oyle be wanting vpon thine head*, verſe 7.8. Theſe are the very ſpeeches of carnall and ſenſuall men, that place their whole happines and felicitie in this life. Such alſo there were among the Corinthians, that ſayd, *Let vs eate and drinke, for to morrow we ſhall dye*: concerning whom the Apoſtle ſaith, *Euill words corrupt good maners*, 1.Corinth.15.33. for any thing then, that the Ieſuite hath yet ſayd, or is able to ſay, the meaning of the Preacher in this place is ſuch as we haue ſaid.

Argum 3. S. *Paul* ſaith, *I know nothing by my ſelfe, yet am I not thereby iuſtified*, 1.Corinth.4.4. Though the Apoſtle had the teſtimonie of a good conſcience, yet he durſt not aſſure himſelfe, whether he were thereby iuſtified, *Rhemiſt. in eum locum. Bellarm. lib.3. de iuſtificat. cap.5.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith not, I know not my ſelfe to be iuſtified, but I am not thereby iuſtified: therefore by this example it cannot be gathered, that we haue no knowledge of our iuſtification. Secondly, this place rather maketh againſt popiſh inherent iuſtice: for the Apoſtle ſaith, he is not iuſtified by his good conſcience, and ſo conſequently not by any good thing, that was in him. Thirdly, *Paul* was moſt ſure of Gods grace, and of his iuſtification thorough faith, Rom.8.30. Therefore it is too great boldnes, to ſay, the Apoſtle was not ſure of his iuſtification. Fourthly, this then is the Apoſtles meaning, that although he were cleere in conſcience, that he walked moſt painfully in his calling, yet this was not ſufficient to cleare him, and pronounce him moſt iuſt before God: for as S. *Iohn* ſaith, *If our owne heart or conſcience condemne vs not, God is greater then our heart*, and can eſpie what is amiſſe in vs, though we our ſelues ſee it not, 1.Ioh.3.20.

Bellarmine replieth, where the Apoſtle ſaith, *Nihil mihi conſcius ſum*: I knowe nothing by my ſelfe. Firſt, either he ſpeaketh of himſelfe in his owne iudgement, that he knew no ſinne in himſelfe, and then it is not true, that the Apoſtle was not iuſt, hauing no ſinne. Secondly, or that he knew his ſinnes to be forgiuen in Chriſt, and then alſo in their owne opinion, *Paul* was iuſtified, but now he ſaith, *I am not thereby iuſtified*. Thirdly, either they muſt ſay, that he ſpeaketh of the iudgement of others, but that cannot be: for he ſpeaketh of his owne iudgement, *I iudge not my ſelfe*, it remaineth then, that the Apoſtle ſheweth that notwithſtanding his conſcience that accuſed him not, he was not ſure of his iuſtification, *Bellarm.c.5.*

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not in generall of his owne ſtate, as though he knew no ſinne by himſelfe: the contrarie is confeſſed by him, that Chriſt came into the world to ſaue ſinners, *of the which*, ſaith he, *I am chiefe*, 1.Tim.1.15. Secondly, neither doth the Apoſtle ſpeake of himſelfe, as now acquited of his ſinnes by faith in Chriſt: for ſo euery where he confeſſeth he was iuſtified by Chriſt, Galath.2.16. *We haue beleeued in Chriſt, that we might be iuſtified, &c.* verſ.20. *I liue by the faith of the ſonne of God*, Philip.3.8.9. *That I might win Chriſt, and might be found in him, not hauing mine owne righteouſneſſe, but that which is through faith, &c.* Thirdly, he ſpeaketh then of his outward diſpenſation and Apoſtleſhip, wherein his owne conſcience bare him record, he had been faithfull, and therefore he *paſſed* in that behalfe, *very little to be iudged of them*, becauſe *I doe not iudge my ſelfe*: that is as faultie or negligent in my calling, wherein I am iudged of others.

Argum.4. Worke your ſaluation with feare and trembling, Philip.2.12. *Ergo*, men muſt not be ſecure, neither can be ſure of their ſaluation. Againe, *Make your election and calling ſure by good workes*, 2.Pet.1.10. But this certaintie that dependeth of good works, is but coniecturall: and if it doe ariſe from good works, then faith onely certifieth vs not of our iuſtification, *Bellarm.cap.6.*

Anſw. Firſt, the working of our ſaluation with feare, excludeth onely preſumption and careleſſe ſecuritie, not faithfull boldnes and confidence: As it may appeare in the verſe following, where the Apoſtle giueth a reaſon of this feare: *For it is God which worketh, &c.* We ought then to finiſh our ſaluation not doubtfully, becauſe God worketh it, and therefore we may be moſt ſure of his promiſe: but yet with feare and reuerence, as it becommeth children, for it is the Lord, with whom we haue to deale: thus we ſee confidence and the feare of God may very well ſtand together. Secondly, S. *Peter* maketh not mention only of good works, but faith, ioyne vertue and other ſpirituall graces to your faith, verſ.5. Good works then only doe not make our vocation ſure, but faith and good works, that is, faith working by loue: good works then are a certaine demonſtration of our faith: and by faith we vnderſtand our vocation, and iuſtification. Againe, neither is it an vncertaine demonſtration that is made by works, though it be not ſo perfect, as that which ſheweth the cauſe: for the heat doth euidently ſhew the fire, and a good tree is certainly knowne by good fruit: Neither did our Sauiour giue a coniecturall ſigne to know falſe prophets by, but a ſure and infallible marke, when he ſaid, by their fruits you ſhall know them, Matth.7. Laſtly, we muſt vnderſtand, that there is a double aſſurance of our vocation, and iuſtification: One which is more perfect, by the cauſe ſhewing the effect, and that is the inward teſtimonie of the ſpirit, Rom.8.16. And this is for thoſe that are wholy ſpirituall. There is another not ſo perfect, by the effects demonſtrating the cauſe, and that is by the workes and fruites of the ſpirit, whereof S. *Peter* ſpeaketh: And thus is for thoſe which are not yet able to comprehend the other.

The Protestants.

THat by a liuely faith we may be assured, that our sinnes are forgiuen vs, and that we be fully iustified in Christ, reconciled to God, and are remaining in the state of grace: we haue most euident testimonies of Scripture to proue it.

Argum. 1. Rom. 8. 15. *Ye haue receiued the spirit of adoption, whereby we crie, Abba, father, the same spirit beareth witnesse with our spirit, that we are the children of God.* But the testimonie of the spirit is most certaine, for the spirit cannot be deceiued, neither doth deceiue any: *Ergo*, we may be certaine of our adoption, that we are the Sonnes of God.

Answ. The testimonie of the spirit, whereby we are moued to crie Abba father, is not known vnto vs by faith, or any other expresse meanes, but onely by certaine coniectures which may deceiue vs, as by the inward peace, and tast of some sweetnes in the soule: for there be many that call God their father, as the Iewes, Iohn 8. 41. and many say in the Lords prayer, Our father, who are not assured that they are the Sonnes of God, *Bellarm. verbum. ad 6. testimon. cap. 7.*

Contra. First, to beleeue that God is our father, is of faith: for to beleeue that God is, and that he is a rewarder, &c. is of faith, Heb. 11. 6. but it is more to beleeue that God is our father: how then saith the Iesuite, *Non constat nobis ex fide diuina.* It is not knowne vnto vs by faith, that it is the spirit which moueth vs to crie *Abba* father?

Secondly, and say you that the inward peace of conscience is but a coniecturall and deceitfull meanes: yet S. *Iohn* saith, *If our owne heart condemne vs not, we haue boldnes toward God*, 1 Iohn. 3. 21. is that vncertaine and barely coniecturall, which worketh boldnes in vs? The inward taste also, and sweetnes of the spirit, doth the Iesuite make so small account of it? he that hath a true taste of the mercie of God, seeth God: Taste and see how gracious the Lord is, Psalm. 34. 8. But he that seeth the Sonne, and beleeueth in him is sure to haue euerlasting life, Iohn 6. 40.

Thirdly, and what if many say with their mouth, *Abba* father, and yet are not sure they are the children of God? the Apostle speaketh not of a crying with the mouth, but a crying in the heart: *He hath sent the spirit of his Sonne into our hearts, which crieth Abba father*, Galath. 4. 6. for though all vtter the same voyce, yet is it not the same crying: The vncleane spirit made the same confession outwardly of Christ, Mark. 5. 7. acknowledging him to be the Sonne of God, which *Peter* did make, Matth. 16. yet were not both one kind of confession: the beleefe of the heart, which was in *Peter*, and not in the other, did discerne their confessions.

Now that the spirit of God, by his inward testimonie, doth not coniecturally but vndoubtedly assure vs, that we are the Sonnes of God, we shew it thus; the spirit of adoption expelleth all feare: for the Apostle saith, *you haue not receiued the spirit of bondage to feare againe*, Rom. 8. vers. 15. and where no feare is, there loue is perfect, 1 Ioh. 4. 18. And where no feare is, there is no painefulnes: therefore neither doubtfulnes, nor mistrust. Secondly, they to whom the spirit of God testifieth, that they are so the Sonnes of God, that they be also heires with Christ, doe certainly know that they are the sonnes of God: for how could they be heires, vnles they were sonnes? But the spirit of God *doth certifie vs that we are heires annexed with Christ*, Rom. 8. vers. 17. And our Sauiour saith, *He that beleeueth, is already passed from death to life*, Iohn 6. 24. *Ergo*, much more are we sure that we are sonnes. Thirdly, he that hath the spirit of the Sonne is sure he is also a sonne: *Because ye are sonnes, hath sent the spirit of his sonne into your hearts*, Galath. 4. 6. But he that hath the spirit of adoption, hath the spirit of the sonne: *Ergo*, he is vndoubtedly sure he is a sonne. Many such arguments may be gathered out of the text it selfe: where by the Iesuites grosse and corrupt cauils and glosses, may easily be auoyded: I wonder that they are not ashamed, thus to obscure the eudent light of Gods truth against their owne conscience.

Argum. 2. *I am certaine*, saith S. *Paul, or I am perswaded, that neither life, nor death, &c. shall separate vs from the loue of God in Christ*, Rom. 8. 38. The Apostle was fully perswaded of his saluation in Christ.

Answ. First, the Apostle speaketh onely in generall, as if he should haue said: So many as are elected cannot certainely perish, *Rhemist. ibid. Bellarm. cap. 9. respons. ad testimon. 7.*

Contra. The Apostle speaketh not onely in generall, but pronounceth particularly of himselfe, I am certaine. As more plainely, 2. Tim. 4. 8. from hence forth is laid vp *for me a crowne of righteousnes.*

Answ. Secondly, S. *Paul* might haue this perswasion, by some speciall reuelation, *Rhem. ibid.*

Contra. The ground of the Apostles perswasion is none other, but that which is common to all the faithfull, euen the loue of God in Christ. And so *Augustine* interpreteth this place, writing thus: *Isti significati sunt ad Timothe. &c.* Those of whom the Apostle speaketh, are signified in another place to Timoth. 2. 2. 19. *The foundation of God remaineth sure, the Lord knoweth who are his.* And againe in another place: when the Apostle had shewed his owne confidence, *There is layde vp for me a crowne of righteousnesse*, he declareth that this priuiledge was not proper to him, but common to all the faithfull: And not to me onely, *but vnto them also that loue his appearing*, 2. Tim. 4. 8. De correp. & grat. cap. 7.

Ergo, this assurance, and confidence is common, though not in the like measure, to all faithfull Christians.

Answ. Thirdly, the word which the Apostle vseth, signifieth not a certaine and infallible perswasion, but such an one as ariseth of coniecture and gesse: As elsewhere he saith, *I am perswaded of you brethren, that you are full of goodnes, &c.* Rom. 15.14. And *I am perswaded the same faith dwelleth in thee*, 2. Tim. 1.5. But the Apostle did not certainely know this, but only by coniecture, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. First, we graunt, that this word πληροφορία, doth not alwaies signifie an vndoubted and infallible knowledge, and perswasion: yet I see no reason why it may not so signifie in those places alleaged: for the Apostles had the gift of discerning of spirits, whereof we reade, 1. Cor. 12.10. though this gift be ceased now: by the which gift they might certainely be perswaded, of the graces that were in the faithfull.

Secondly, Howsoeuer this word may other where be taken, it is certaine that S. *Paul* speaketh here of a full and perfect perswasion and assurance that he had of his saluation, vnlesse they will say that S. *Paul* stood in doubt, or was not sure of his saluation; which is a blasphemous vntruth, seeing the Apostle doth in so many places protest and testifie his assured hope and confidence: As he doubted not, but after his dissolution to be with Christ. Phil. 1.23. *That there is a crowne of glory layd vp for him*, 2. Tim. 4.8. *Who hath loued me and giuen himselfe for me*, Galath. 2.20. *But whom Christ loueth, he loueth to the end*, Iohn 13.1.

Thirdly, this word that signifieth, to trust, to be sure, or perswaded, is no where vsed, where mention is made of heauenly things, but it sheweth an infallible trust and confidence: as Ephes. 3.12. by whom we haue boldnes and entrance with confidence, by faith in him: the word here translated confidence, is, παῤῥησία, which is deriued from the same word, which S. *Paul* vseth in this place, Rom. 8.38. And it betokeneth a full and stedfast perswasion, being ioyned with two other very significant and effectuall words, παῤῥησία, boldnes, and πίστις, faith.

Bellarmine hath nothing to answere here: but that S. *Paul* speaketh not of the confidence or certaintie of our iustification, but of the truth of the articles of the faith, that Christ is now risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God a Mediator, and intercessor, and therefore we haue boldnesse, *Bellarm. respons. ad loc.* 12.

Contra. First, it is not the knowledge onely of the articles of faith, that they are true, that can worke this boldnes, and confidence in vs: for then the diuell who beleeueth and acknowledgeth the trueth of these things, Mark. 5.7. Iam. 2.19. should haue accesse with confidence as well as the faithfull.

Secondly, S. *Paul* declareth else where, that this accesse, or entrance with boldnes, is a fruit of our iustification by faith, Rom. 5.1. *Being iustified by faith we haue peace with God, &c.* then it followeth, *by whom we haue accesse through faith vnto this grace*, vers. 2. therefore by the same faith which iustifieth, through the same we haue this boldnes.

Argum. 3. S. *Iohn* saith, *We know we are translated from death to life, because we loue the brethren*, 1. Iohn 3.14. Againe, *hereby know we, that we dwell in him, and he in vs, because he hath giuen vs his spirit*, chap. 4.13. *We know that we are of God*, chap. 5.19. *He that beleeueth in the Sonne of God, hath the witnes of God in himselfe*, 1. Iohn 5.10. By these places it is proued, that we may be assured of the fauour of God, and that we are in the state of grace.

Answ. This knowledge, which the Apostle speaketh of, doth not shew an absolute and infallible certaintie or sureties: but we may be said to know, when as by signes and coniectures onely we doe gather any thing, *Bellarm. respon. ad loc.* 13.

Contra. 1. It appeareth that this knowledge of our saluation wrought in vs by the spirit, is sure and certaine, without any doubting, not coniecturall: because the Apostle by this word vseth to expresse the sure and vndoubted apprehension, that we haue of any thing: *We know that whosoeuer is of God, sinneth not: we know that the Sonne of God is come*, 1. Iohn 5.18.20. this knowledge whereby we knowe, that they which are borne of God, sinne not, that is, haue not sinne raigning in them; and whereby we also know, that Christ is come in the flesh, is most firme and sure without any wauering or doubting: *Ergo*, in the same sense the Apostle sayth, we know, that we are of God, vers. 19. for why should not the same word, being twise taken in the same place, both in the verse next before, and in the verse next after, for a sure and certaine knowledge, be so also vnderstoode in this verse.

2. The Apostle speaketh not in the second or third person, you knowe, or they knowe, but in the first, we know, putting himselfe in the number: Now I trust they will not say that the Apostle did gesse only, and was not sure that he had the holy Ghost: S. *Paul* indeede saith, *I thinke that I haue the spirit of God*, 1. Cor. 7.40. not as though he doubted of it or spake by coniecture: but he thus speaketh in modestie, least he should seeme to boast; for he was sure he had the spirit: for if he could pronounce certainely of others: God hath giuen you his holy spirit, 1. Thessal. 4.8. much more was he certaine of himselfe.

3. The

3. The knowledge of faith is sure and certaine, without any doubting: as our Saviour saith to *Peter, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?* Matth.14.31. where faith is full and perfect then, there is no doubting. Saint *Iames* also saith, *Let him aske in faith, and waver not*, Iam.1.6. But this knowledge, which the Apostle speaketh of, is of faith: *He that beleeveth in the Sonne of God, hath the witnesse of GOD in himselfe*, 1.Iohn 5.10. *Ergo*, it is a certaine and infallible knowledge.

4. That knowledge, whereby we doe assure our hearts before God, and haue boldnes with God, is a certaine and vndoubted knowledge. Such is this knowledge: Thereby we know we are of the truth, and shall before him assure our hearts, 1.Ioh.3.19. and wee haue boldnes toward God, vers.21. *Ergo*. If the Iesuite answere vs, as hee doth, that, *audacia non est certitudo*, boldnes is not certaintie: we replie againe, that boldnes, which the children of God shall haue in the day of iudgement, is full of confidence, without any despaire or doubting, and therefore certaine: but this knowledge worketh in vs such boldnes, 1.Ioh.4.17. *Herein is love perfect in vs, that wee should haue boldnes in the day of iudgement: Ergo.*

Argum.4. Prooue your selues, whether you are in the faith, examine your selues, know ye not your owne selues, how that Iesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates, 2.Corin.13.5. *Ergo*, they that by faith are sure that Christ is in them, are sure also of their saluation, and know, that they are not reprobates.

Answ. The Apostle speaketh not of the presence of Christ by grace, but by his power and providence: so that his meaning is, that vnlesse they are giuen ouer to a reprobate sense, they will acknowledge the power of Christ working amongst them, by these myracles, which the Apostle wrought: and by which power he deliuered some to Satan, *Bellarm. respons. ad rat.* 11.

Contra. That the Apostle speaketh of the presence of Christ by grace, and of iustifying faith; it may strongly be gathered by these arguments: 1. The Apostle vseth this phrase of speech, to be in the faith, or of the faith, when he would expresse the manner of our iustification: as Gal.3.9. *They which be of faith, are blessed with faithfull Abraham*: Where it is euident, that the Apostle speaketh of iustifying faith. 2. Examine your selues, saith the Apostle: but it is that faith, which iustifieth, whereby wee doe examine our selues: *Let a man examine himselfe, and so let him eate of this bread, &c.* 1.Cor.11.28. to examine themselues is to proue whether they be in the faith: 2.Cor.13.5. And that faith, whereby we doe eate and drinke worthilie the bodie and blood of Christ, is iustifying faith. 3. Saint *Paul* speaketh of that faith, *whereby we liue in Christ*, vers.4. But wee shall liue with him; but that is iustifying faith: *The iust shall liue by faith*, Rom.1.17. *I liue by faith in the Sonne of God*, Galath.2.20. 4. For Christ to be in vs, sheweth his presence and being by grace, and not by his power onely: he in whom Christ is, hee hath Christ, and hath the Sonne: he that hath the Sonne, hath life, euen life eternall, 1.Ioh.5.11.12. *Ergo*, he in whom Christ the Sonne of God is, hath eternall life: *Ergo*, knowing Christ to be in him, he knoweth thereby that he shall be saued: by the being then of Christ in him, he is sure of his saluation.

Argum.5. Further, we thus reason for the certitude of iustification by faith out of these places of Scripture.

First, Ioh.3.21. *He that doth the truth commeth to the light, that his deedes may be made manifest, that they are wrought according to God.* But this a man cannot know, not being assured of his faith and iustification, that his workes are acceptable to God: whom it is impossible to please without faith, Hebr.11.6. 1.

Secondly, Ioh.14.17. *But ye know the spirit, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you: Ergo*, if we know the spirit to be in vs, we also consequently know our iustification. 2.

Thirdly, Rom.4.13. *Therefore it is by faith, that the promise may be sure: Ergo*, we by faith are sure of the promise. 3.

Fourthly, Ephes.3.12. *By whom we haue boldnes and entrance with confidence by faith in him: Ergo*, faith maketh vs confident and assured. 4.

*Answ.*1. Christ speaketh of those which in a simple heart came vnto him, as *Nathanael, Nicodemus*, not being yet iustified, but comming to be iustified; how then could they yet be sure of their iustification? *Bellarm.c.9. resp. ad loc.*2. 1.

Contra. Christ speaketh of beleeuers, vers.18. *He that beleeueth, shall not be condemned: of those that doe the truth, and whose deedes are wrought according to God:* but they, which are but comming to Christ, hauing yet no knowledge of the truth, cannot doe the truth, nor worke according to God.

Answ. By the presence of the spirit we are not sure of our iustification, but onely we know, hauing faith, that it is not without Gods helpe, *Beller. resp. ad loc.*4. 2.

Contra. A most absurd answere: a man, saith he, is not sure of his faith: but if he haue faith, he is sure the spirit worketh it. First, if a man be sure of the spirit, how is he not sure of faith, which is the effect of the spirit? as if there be fire, there is heate necessarily. Secondly, indeed if a man haue

not faith, he cannot be sure of it: but when he hath it, he knoweth he hath it, because he knoweth he hath the spirit that worketh it.

3 *Answ.* *Abraham* was sure by faith: but we haue not such a faith as *Abraham* had, *Bellarm. resp. ad 5. testim.*

Contra. First, that *the promise might be sure by faith to all the seede*, saith the Apostle: *Ergo*, not in *Abraham* onely, but in all his seede faith worketh the same surenes. Likewise, Rom. 4. vers. 12. *That righteousnes might be imputed to them also that walke in the steps of the faith of Abraham.* Secondly, so S. *Ambrose* expoundeth: *Quid credidit Abraham? se semen habituru, in quo omnes gentes iustificarentur per fidem, sicut & Abraham, &c.* What did *Abraham* beleeue? that he should haue a seede, wherein all nations should be iustified by faith, as *Abraham* was iustified, &c. *in 4. ad Roman.* *Abrahams* faith then and ours is the same.

4 *Answ.* The certitude, which the Apostle speaketh of, is not of our iustification, but of the truth of the mysteries of faith, as of Christs death, resurrection, &c. *Bellarm. resp. ad loc. 12.*

Contra. Saint *Paul* ascribeth this assurance to iustification by faith: as Rom. 5. 1. *Being iustified by faith, we are at peace with God:* then it followeth vers. 2. *by whom we haue entrance by faith*, where the Apostle vseth the same word προσαγωγὴν, which hee doth here: shewing that our entrance with boldnes is a fruit or effect of our iustification by faith.

Augustine saith, *Vnusquisque inspiciat se intus, appendat se, probet se in omnibus factis suis: fides, quæ operatur per dilectionem, si in vobis est, iam pertinetis ad prædestinatos:* Let euery man looke into himselfe, examine, proue himselfe, if faith working by loue be in you; euen now ye doe belong to the number, and companie of the predestinate. *Augustine* otherwise expoundeth the Apostles words, than the Iesuite doth: and sheweth, that this examination of our selues by a true and liuely faith, is an infallible argument of our election. The Iesuite therefore may be ashamed thus to expound scripture against scripture: and to make the Apostle to speake what he list himselfe, euen against his owne meaning.

Origen saith, *Tract. 7. in Matth. Omnis anima, quæ se inseparabilem esse cognoscit à Christo, dicit &c.* Euery soule, which knoweth it selfe to bee inseparable from Christ, saith, Who shall separate vs &c.

Saint *Ambrose* thus excellently writeth vpon these words, Ephes. 3. vers. 17. *That Christ may dwel in your harts by faith: In eâ petit eos magis firmari, vt non ambigant, sed magis credant Christum habitare in se, vt certi sint de Christo, quod habitet per fidem, &c.* He desireth them therein to be confirmed, that they should not doubt, but rather beleeue that Christ dwelleth in them, that they may be sure of Christ that he dwelleth by faith in their hearts, that when wee haue his faith in our hearts, we may be knowne to haue him, *vt securi simus de auxilio eius*, that wee may be sure or secure of his helpe, because he doth not forsake vs, but is alway present, because of his faith, which he seeth to be in vs, &c.

We want not their owne testimonie: *Dicer. Greg. lib. 5. tit. 7. c. 1. Stephanus: Dubius in fide infidelis est:* He that is doubtfull in faith, is an Infidell.

Ambros. Catharinus apolog. cont. Dominic. à Soto, Enchirid. Colonien. tract. de iustificat. These popish authors doe herein agree with vs: *Posse fideles certa fide statuere, sibi remissa peccata:* That faithfull men by their faith, may certainly determine that their sinnes are forgiuen them.

Lastly, let vs adioyne the consent and testimonie of the holie Martyrs: Master *Patrick Hamelton* Martyr, condemned for this article with others, for saying, He is not worthie to be called a Christian, which beleeueth not that he is in grace: *Fox. pag. 974. col. 2. articul. 4.* Master *Tyndall* sayth thus: Christ is thine, and all his deedes are thy deedes, Christ is in thee, and thou in him, neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee: neither can Christ be saued, except he be saued with thee: pag. 1248. Master *Bradford* thus: Know for a certaine, that as the diuell goeth about nothing so much, as to bring you in doubt, whether you be Gods childe: so whatsoeuer shall moue you to admit that dubitation, be assured, the same to come of the diuell: *pag. 1640. epistol. quadam.* Master *Philpot* thus boldly and confidently protesteth: Let him doubt of his faith that listeth, God giue me alwaies grace to beleeue, that I am sure of true faith, and fauour in Christ: pag. 1825. *Iulius Palmer* Martyr thus confesseth: No man can beleeue, but by the inspiration of the holie Ghost: therefore if I were not a spirituall man, and inspired with Gods holie spirit, I were not a true Christian: *Qui spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est eius:* Hee that hath not the spirit of God, is none of his, pag. 1938. All these holie Martyrs, with many other, both were assured themselues of their saluation by faith in Christ, and in confirmation of this doctrine, gaue their most precious liues. Such a seale of their doctrine our aduersaries are neuer able to shew.

AN

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER FAITH, OR the grace of iustification may be lost.

The Papists.

A Man, they say, may fall away from the faith, which once truly he had, and be depriued altogether of the state of grace, so that he may iustly be counted among the reprobates: *Bellarm. lib. 3. de iustificat. cap. 14.* 17. Error.

Argum. 1. First, they alleage these and such like testimonies of Scripture, Ezech. 18. 24. *If a righteous man turne away from his righteousnes, &c.* Saint *Paul* also saith of some, *That they had made shipwracke of their faith*, 1. Tim. 1. 19. *Rhemist. Bellarm. lib. 3. de iustificat. cap. 12. Ergo*, true faith and iustice may be lost.

Answ. The Apostle saith, some hauing put away a good conscience, made shipwracke of faith: such a faith indeede, that hath not a good conscience may be lost: for it is not a true liuely faith, but a dead fruitlesse faith: So is also the place in *Ezechiel* to bee vnderstoode, of such righteous persons, as seemed so to be rather, than were so indeede. And thus S. *Luke* teacheth vs to expound it: who, whereas other Euangelists write, *From him that hath not, shall be taken away, euen that which he hath*: he saith, *that which he seemed to haue*, Luk. 8. 18. God taketh away his grace from him, that hath it not; but seemeth onely to haue it: he giueth still to him that hath. Thus one of your owne expoundeth this place: *Fidem quam habere magis viderentur, quam habuerunt perdiderunt*: They lost faith, which they rather seemed to haue, than they had indeede: *Espenc. in hunc locum.*

Argum. 2. Further, these places of Scripture are produced:

First, Luk. 8. 13. *They receiue the word with ioy, but they haue no roote, which for a while beleeue, but in the time of tentation goe away*: These haue faith, for they beleeue the worde of God, yet fall away. 1.

Secondly, Iohn. 15. 2. *Euery branch that beareth not fruit in me, he taketh away*: but it can be no branch, vnlesse it were once in the stocke. 2.

Thirdly, Matth. 24. 12. *The loue of many shall waxe cold.* 3.

Fourthly, 1. Cor. 9. 27. *I doe chastice my bodie, lest when I haue preached to others, I should be a reprobate.* 4.

Fiftly, Galath. 5. 4. *Whosoeuer are iustified by the law, are fallen from grace.* 5.

Sixtly, Hebr. 6. 4. *It is impossible, that they which were once lightned, &c. and haue tasted of the word of God, if they fall away, &c. Ergo*, they which haue faith may lose it, and fall away from it: *Bellarm. cap. 14.* 6.

Answ. 1. The text expoundeth it selfe, *they had no roote*, and they beleeued but for a while: *Ergo*, they had no true faith: for a true faith is not without a roote: Ephes. 3. 17. *That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, that being rooted, &c.* 1.

2. Hypocrites and vnbeleeuers may for a while be counted among the braunches of Christ, but they were neuer true branches: first, Christ saith, vers. 5. *I am the vine, ye are the braunches*, speaking to his faithfull followers. Secondly, Matth. 15. 13. *Euery plant, which my father hath not planted, shall be rooted vp*: there are plants then in outward shewe, not planted of God: but all the true braunches of the true vine are planted of God. Thirdly, then as S. *Iohn* saith, 1. Ioh. 2. 19. *They went out from vs, but were not of vs*: so these branches may be accounted among the true braunches, *secundum præsentem iustitiam, non secundum præscientiam*, according to their present iustice, but not in respect of Gods prescience: as *Ambrose* well saith. 2.

3. That loue, which falleth away, was neuer any true loue: as *Augustine: Charitas, quæ deseri potest, nunquam vera fuit*: Charitie, which may be forsaken, was neuer true charitie. This sentence is rehearsed, *decret. p. 2. caus. 33. dist. 2. c. 2.* 3.

4. First, Saint *Paul* hath no such feare lest hee should become a reprobate or castaway: hee professeth the contrarie, Rom. 8. 38. that he was perswaded nothing could separate him from the loue of God: and 2. Cor. 13. 6. *I trust ye shall know we are not reprobates.* And say if you dare, that *Paul* the elect vessell might become a reprobate. Secondly, but his meaning is this, least if hee preached one thing, and practised another, hee might be reprooued and reproched of men: in which sense hee sayth, 2. Corinth. 13. 7. though *we be as reprobates*, that is in mans iudgement, and as hee expoundeth himselfe, Galath. 2. ver. 18. *If I build the things that I haue destroyed, I make my selfe a trespasser*, παραβάτην, which is all one, as if he had sayd, ἀδόκιμον, reproued, or reprobate to men. 4.

5. The Apostle speaketh not of any mans particular state, but of the generall falling away of the Galathians from the doctrine of the Gospell: as Gal. 1. 6. *I marueile ye are so soone remoued to another Gospell*: Chap. 3. 3. *Are ye so foolish, that when ye haue begun in the spirit, ye would end in the flesh?* This is then nothing to the purpose. 5.

6. 6. These which the Apostle speaketh of, neuer had any true faith, but onely a *taste* thereof, and a momentanie or superficiall lightning of the minde: for the Apostle saith, *They that went out from vs*, that is, fell away, *were not of vs*, 1. Iohn 2.19.

Thus their owne glosse expoundeth this text: *Aliud est bibere, vel manducare, aliud degustare, &c.* It is one thing to drinke or eate, another thing to taste: hee drinketh, that is rooted in charitie: *Ille degustat, qui ea aliquatenus communicat, à qua postea delinquendo recedit, de quibus Apostolus: Impossibile est, &c.* He tasteth, that doth somewhat communicate of that water, but afterward by sinning departeth; of whom the Apostle saith: It is impossible, that they which are once lightened, and haue tasted, &c. if they fall away, &c. *Caus.* 33. *dist.* 2. *c.* 44. *gloss.*

Argum. 3. *Dauid, Peter,* did grieuously fall: *Saul, Simon, Iudas,* became reprobates: *Ergo,* the righteous may finally fall away. *Bellarm.*

Answ. First, the faith of *Dauid* and *Peter*, by their transgression, was greatly decayed, and much shaken, yet not vtterly lost: for Christ praied for *Peter*, that his faith should not faile, Luk. 22. vers. 32. Secondly, as for the rest, they were neuer truely iust or righteous. *Iudas* is called the child of perdition, and when he was in his holiest course, he was but a theefe, and an hypocrite, as the Scripture testifieth of him. Saint *Peter* also saith of *Simon Magus*, *That his heart was not right in the sight of God*, howsoeuer he appeared before men: Act. 8.21. These examples therefore proue nothing.

The Protestants.

OVr sentence is this: that he which once hath receiued a true liuely faith, and is thereby iustified before God, can neuer finally fall away; neither can that faith vtterly perish, or faile in him, though it may for a while somewhat decay, and be empayred, yet shall it reuiue, and bee raysed vp againe.

Argum. 1. Iohn 4.14. *Hee that drinketh of the water that I shall giue him, shall neuer be more a thirst, &c.* 1. Iohn 3.9. *Whosoeuer is borne of God, sinneth not, for his seed remaineth in him, &c. Ergo,* the grace of iustification cannot be lost.

Bellarmine answereth, that so long as they haue this water and seed, they shal neyther thirst, nor sinne; but the fountaine may be dried vp, and the seed lost: and then may they fall into both.

Contra. 1. The Gospell saith, *It shall be in him a well of water, springing vp to euerlasting life: Ergo,* it cannot be dryed vp; for it springeth continually and stinteth not, til it haue brought him to life eternall. 2. Saint *Iohn* saith not, they sinne not, if, or while they haue their seede: but simply, *because their seed abideth.* Neither doth hee reason thus: they sinne not: *Ergo,* they haue the seede: But they haue this seede abiding: *Ergo,* they cannot sinne: for if they that are borne of God, are subiect to sinne in such sort, as the Apostle meaneth, then may the child of God, be the childe of the diuell: for hee that so sinneth willingly with delight, and continuance therein, is of the diuell.

Argum. 2. *He that beleeueth, is already passed from death to life,* Iohn 5.24. If it be then possible for a man to be brought from life to death, from heauen backe againe to hell, then may a faithfull beleeuer become also a faithlesse infidell.

Argum. 3. Cantic. 8.7. *Much water cannot quench loue, neyther can the floods drowne it:* 1. Cor. 13. vers. 8. *Loue doth neuer fall away*; if charitie cannot be lost, then neyther faith, for without faith there is no charitie.

Answ. Charitie indeed falleth not away, but a man may fall from charitie: and as long as charitie remaineth, no floods, that is, persecutions can drowne it or extinguish it: *Bellarm. c. 15. resp. ad 1. test. & 4.*

Contra. 1. As charitie it selfe is alwayes permanent, both in this world and the next, which I graunt is the speciall meaning of the Apostle: yet it is true also, that true charitie cannot be separated from the heart of a faithfull man, *being rooted* (saith the Apostle) *and grounded in loue*, Ephes. 2.17. How can that wither, which hath a roote? the seede sowen in stonie ground doth wither, because it hath no roote, Luk. 8.13. *Augustine* also saith, *radicata est charitas, securus esto*, charitie is rooted, be secure or out of doubt: *tract.* 8. *super epist.* 1. *Ioan.* rehearsed *caus.* 33. *distinct.* 2. *c.* 3. 2. *Origen* expoundeth this place, 1. Cor. 13. of the stabilitie and firmenesse of charitie, *tract.* 23. *in Matth.* vpon these words, *Charitie neuer falleth away: Ex charitate vnquam excidente erant illa voces dicentis, confido, &c.* From charitie neuer falling away, proceeded those speeches of the Apostle, I am perswaded, that neither death, nor life, &c. can separate me from the *loue of God, &c.* 3. S. *Gregory* also thus expoundeth the first place, *Valida est vt mors dilectio, virtuti mortis dilectio comparatur, quia mentem, quam semel ceperit, à delectatione mundi funditùs occidit, &c.* Loue is strong as death; loue is compared to the strength of death, because it doth slay in the mind for euer where it is the delight of the world, *lib.* 10. *moral. c.* 22. repeated, *caus.* 33. *dist.* 2. *c.* 4.

Augustine doth plainely set downe his sentence of this matter: *Horum fides quæ per dilectionem operatur, profectò, aut omninò non deficit, aut si qui sunt quorum deficit, reparatur, antequam vita illa finiatur;*

aur: de corrept & grat. cap. 7. Their faith, which worketh by loue, either neuer faileth at all, or if it do fayle in any, it is repayred againe, before the life be ended: this sentence is ratified, *caus. 33. distinct. 3. c. 29.*

Interroby. cap. 5. Qui iustificantur, iidem adoptantur Dei filij, &c. Et iam habent ius adeundæ hereditatis illius, quæ est vita æterna: They that are iustified, are adopted the sonnes of God, and haue alreadie, or euen now, the right to come vnto the inheritance of eternall life. How then can they loose the heauenly inheritance, that haue it already?

Let vs see further testimonie from themselues, *caus. 3. quæst. 2. c. 5. Charitas illi recta voluntas, &c. iuncta Deo inseparabiliter:* Charitie is a right mind inseparably ioyned to God. *Ibid. c. 8. Charitas in quocunq; fuerit, radix illi erit, arescere non potest:* In whomsoeuer charitie is, it is as a roote, it cannot withier.

Cap. 14. Charitas est aqua, de qua Dominus in Euangelio, &c. Charitie is that water, whereof the Lord saith in the Gospell: *He that drinketh of this water, which I shall giue, shall not thirst for euer. Ibid. c. 44. Aurum, quod quasi lutum sterni potest, aurum ante Dei oculos nunquam fuit, &c.* Golde, which may become dirt, was neuer gold before God: They which are seduced, and neuer returne, *quasi habitum sanctitatem ante oculos hominum videntur amittere, &c.* Doe seeme to lose sanctitie, which they had before men, but they neuer had any before God.

Decret. part. 3. distinct. 4. c. 129. vpon these wordes, *Nolite spiritum extinguere:* Quench not the spirit: *Non quia ille extingui potest, sed quantum in ipsis est:* not that the spirit can be extinguished, but as much as in them lyeth, &c.

Peter Lombard. lib. 1. dist. 17. liter. f. ex Augustin. Si nullus ergo ab eius charitate nos separat, quid esse nos simus melius, sed etiam certius hoc bono potest: If nothing can separate vs from the loue of God, what thing is better or more certaine? &c.

This trueth also is sealed by M. *Bradford* holy Martyr: Our cecitie or blindnesse, and corrupt affections, do often shadow the sight of Gods seede in Gods children, as though they were plaine reprobates: whereof it commeth, that they praying according to their sense, but not according to the trueth, desire of God to giue them againe his spirit, as though they had lost it, and hee had taken it away: which thing God neuer doth indeed; although he make vs to thinke so for a time. *For pag. 1655.*

THE FIFTH PART OF GOOD WORKES, FIRST in generall, then in particular.

COncerning good workes in generall, the seuerall questions are these; first, of the law, which is the rule of good workes: secondly, of good workes themselues.

THE FIRST QVESTION OF the lawe.

THe parts of this question are these: first, of the differences of the law and the Gospell: secondly, whether the law be possible to be kept: thirdly, of the workes of Supererogation: fourthly, whether God be to be serued for hope of reward, or feare of punishment.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE TRVE AND FALSE difference betweene the law and the Gospell.

FIRST, OF THE FALSE differences.

THere are some differences betweene the law and the Gospell, concerning the which wee are both agreed: as first the law setteth forth but the shadow of things to come: the Gospell containeth the body it selfe, Colos. 2. 17. Secondly, the law of *Moses* was mutable, and to be changed, Heb. 7. 12. if the Priesthood be changed, there must be a change also of the law: but the Gospell is eternall: Thirdly, the law was not giuen, to iustifie vs, but to be onely a schoolemaster to bring vs to Christ, Gal. 3. 24. The Gospel teacheth the way to life by Christ. Fourthly, the law of *Moses* engendred feare: the Gospell bringeth libertie and peace, Rom. 8. 15. You haue not receiued the spirit of bondage to feare againe. Fiftly, The law of *Moses* was a hard yoke, grieuous to be borne, Act. 15. 10. but Christs yoke is easie, Matth. 11. 30. These differences we acknowledge: but these following we do vtterly reiect.

The Papists.

58. Error. FIrst, *Bellarmine* saith, the Gospell differeth from the law, as a perfect thing from an imperfect: and that the Gospell is contained and included in the law, as the tree in the seed: and that the Gospell doth not onely explane, and expound the law, but addeth the Counsels of perfection vnto it: *Bellarm. de iustificat. lib. 4. cap. 2.*

The Protestants.

Contra. 1. IF by the law we vnderstand whatsoeuer is contained in the old testament, as for *Moses* and the Prophets, we willingly grant, that the doctrine of the Gospell is included in the law: for of Christ spake all the Prophets, Luk. 1. 70. but then should we not speake properly to our purpose: for when we compare the law and the Gospell together, we vnderstand onely the law of workes, which is called the morall law, as it is opposite to the doctrine of faith. 1. This then we affirme, that the law of faith, which is the substance of the Gospell, is not inclusiuely contained in the decalogue, which is the law of workes: as it may appeare by these reasons.

1. The law of works and the law of faith haue contrary effects: by the law sinne is reuiued and receiueth strength, Rom. 7. 9. but being baptized by faith into Christs death, we are dead vnto sin, Rom. 6. 2. *Ergo* no affinitie betweene the law and the Gospell, which commandeth faith. 2. If faith were commanded in the law, it should be a works of the law; which the Apostle denieth, concluding thus: *That a man is iustified by faith, without the workes of the law:* Rom. 3. 28. 3. Grace excludeth workes, and works exclude grace, Rom. 11. 6. *If of workes: then no more of grace.* works also exclude faith and beleefe, Rom. 4. 5. *To him that worketh not, but beleeueth, &c.* If then the law of workes excludeth faith, faith can in no wise be included in the law. The Gospell therefore and the law are two distinct things: the law saith, Do this, and thou shalt be saued: the Gospell, Beleeue onely, and it sufficeth vnto life: *For all things are possible to him that beleeueth:* Mark. 9. 22. the doctrine therefore of the faith of the Gospell cannot be set forth in the law of workes: and if it were, this would shew an agreement rather betweene the law and the Gospel, then a difference: for betweene the thing that containeth, and that which is contained, there must needs be some affinitie: therefore the Iesuite cannot properly herein make any difference betweene the law and the Gospell.

S. *Ambrose* saith, *in Luc.* 12. *Nemo sub lege fidem constituat; lex enim intra mensuram, vltra mensuram gratia; nemo fidem intra mensuram legis constituat:* Let no man place faith in the law: the law is within measure; grace is without measure: let no man place faith within the measure of the law, &c. *Ergo*, faith is not contained in the law.

Caus. 23. *qu.* 4. *c.* 16. *Cum lege scriptum sit, diliges amicum, odio habebis inimicum, &c.* Whereas it is written in the law, Thou shalt loue thy friend, and hate thine enemie, &c. It was lawfull then for righteous men to hate their enemies: *quod in nouo Testamento non conceditur:* which is restrained in the new: If the law suffered that which the Gospel forbiddeth, how is the one contayned in the other.

Peter Lombard. lib. 3. distinct. 37. liter. C. Littera Euangelij exprimitur, quod litera legis non exprimebatur: That is expressed in the letter of the Gospell, which was not expressed in the letter of the law, &c. how then is the Gospell contayned in the law?

3. Neither is it true, that the Gospell addeth vnto the law, precepes or counsels, concerning workes of greater perfection: for all good workes appertaine to the law, as faith belongeth to the Gospell: and therefore the Apostle concludeth, that if we be not iustified by the workes of the law, it followeth, that we are by faith, Galath. 2. 16. He findeth no meane betweene. Our Sauiour Christ also saith, that there are no commandements greater, *then to loue God about all, and our neighbour as our selfe*, which are contained in the law, Mark. 12. 31. Therefore the Gospell cannot counsell or commaund any thing greater then the law: seeing there can be no greater thing, then to loue God with all the heart, soule and strength, Mark. 12. 33.

Hieron. ad Ctesiphont. vpon these words, *No flesh shall be iustified by the workes of the law: Quod ne de lege Mosis tantum dictum putes & non de omnibus mandatis, qua vno nomine legis continentur, &c.* Which that you should not thinke to be spoken onely of the law of *Moses*, and not of all commandements whatsoeuer, which are contained vnder the name of the law, the same Apostle saith. I consent vnto the law in the inward man, &c. *Ergo*, all commandements of works, whatsoeuer belong to the law.

The Papists.

59. Error. *Bellarmines* second difference betweene the law and the Gospell is this: The law onely teacheth the doctrine, and sheweth the way, to discerne betweene vertue and vice: the Gospell beside this knowledge, giueth power and strength to keepe the law: so saith S. Iohn, 1. 17. *The law was giuen by Moses, but grace and truth became by Iesus Christ.* Bellarm. *cap.* 4.

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, it is true, that the law is a reuealer and discouerer of sinne, Rom. 7. 7. not a giuer of righteousnesse, *for that is impossible to the law, in as much as it was weake, &c.* Rom. 8. 3. Yet euen

euen vnder the law by grace they receiued strength, in some measure to keepe the law, though not thereby to be iustified: *I will runne the way of thy commaundements*, (saith the Prophet *Dauid*) *when thou shalt enlarge my heart*, Psal.119.32. Secondly, grace indeed is giuen vnto vs in the Gospell, not to enable vs to be iustified by doing the workes of the law, *but by grace are we saued through faith*, Ephes.2.8. *In that Christ is become our righteousnes*, 1.Cor.1.30. *and we the righteousnes of God in him*, 2.Cor.5.21. So that as by grace the righteous both vnder the law and the Gospell are sanctified to walke in some measure of obedience to the law: so neither then, nor now doth grace giue power to vs to be iustified by the keeping of the law: but our iustification, wholy, onely, and immediatly is wrought by the faith of Christ, Galath.3.16. This therefore is no difference between the law and the Gospell.

OF THE TRVE DIFFERENCES OF the law and the Gospell.

The Papists.

WHereas wee distinguish the law and the Gospell, chiefly in these two respects: first, that the law engendreth terror and feare; the Gospell peace. Secondly, the law requireth obedience of the commaundements thereby to bee iustified; the Gospell commaundeth onely faith. *Bellarmine* refuseth these two differences betweene the law and the Gospell, and thus bendeth his force to ouerthrow them. 60.Error.

*Argum.*1. First, that the Gospell worketh feare, as well as the law, he would proue it by these menacings and threatnings, which are denounced in the Gospell, as Matth.7.19. *Euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewen downe, &c.* Rom.1.16. *I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, &c.* Then he sheweth the fruits and effects of the Gospell: *First, the righteousnes of God is reuealed from faith to faith. Secondly, the wrath of God is reuealed from heauen against all vngodlines?* The Gospell then reuealeth the wrath of God: *Ergo*, it worketh feare, *Bellar.cap.*2.

Answ. First, as whatsoeuer is contained in the old Testament, doth not appertaine to the law, as the promises of mercie in Christ foreshewed by the Prophets, which though they were vttered in the time of the lawe, yet belonged to the Gospell: so in the new Testament, all that wee finde there written, is not straightway of the substance of the Gospel: but the threatning of Gods iudgements there contained, doe as well appertaine to the law, as the comfortable promises in the olde Testament to the Gospell. So that those places doe proone onely that the law and the Gospell are ioyned in vse; yet it followeth not, that they haue the same operation and effect: S. *Peter*, Act.2. and 3. and the rest of the Apostles, in their sermons tempered the threatnings of the law, and the comforts of the Gospell together, by the one drawing the people to repentance, by the other ministring hope of remission of sinnes: the same course ought the Ministers of the Gospell to take in teaching the people now: first in humbling them by the lawe, then comforting them by the Gospell: for the law, as Saint *Paul* saith, *is a schoolemaster to bring vs to Christ*, Galath.3. vers.24. But all this sheweth onely a ioyning of the lawe and the Gospell in vse, not in nature or propertie.

Secondly, the Gospell worketh feare and terror, *per accidens*, not of it selfe, but accidentally and improperly: as Saint *Paul* saith, *The Gospell is the sauour of life vnto life, and of death vnto death*, 2.Corinth.2.16. That is, properly and of it selfe, it worketh vnto life, but not so vnto death: which is not the proper effect of the Gospell, but is caused by the wilfull contemners, and disobedient hearers of the Gospell: by whose peruerse nature the sweetnes thereof is turned to bitternes. So then vnto the faithfull and beleeuers the Gospell bringeth comfort and peace: if it do not so to others, the fault is in themselues: But the law brought terror to all, euen to the righteous: for *Moses* trembled, and quaked at the deliuering of the law, Heb.12.21.

*Argum.*2. *Bellarmine* also prooueth, that the Gospell requireth the condition of obedience as well as the law: as Christ saith to the young man, *if thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commaundements*, Matth.19.17. Hence he inferreth, that the Gospell also inioyneth obedience, and not onely faith: And the Councell of Trent, *sess.6.cap.7.* doe call this *verbum fidei*, and, *verbum Christi*, the word of faith, and the word of Christ, to be obeyed and followed of all Christians, which Christ here vttered to the young man. 61.Error.

Contra. First, wee graunt that the Gospell requireth obedience, for it establisheth the lawe, and without this obedience there is no saluation: for *euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be cut downe, &c.* But it is not now required as in the law, to be a meanes and cause of life and iustification, as it was then said, *Do this, and thou shalt liue*; but only as a necessarie consequent of our faith, and an effectuall fruit of our iustification. Secondly, our Sauiour Christ vttered these wordes to the young man onely to humble him thereby, and to teach him to know himselfe: for he willing to iustifie himselfe by keeping of the law; as we reade, Luk.10.29. of another, which came to our

Sauiour,

Sauiour, with the ſame queſtion, *What ſhall I doe to haue eternall life?* our Sauiour hereby ſheweth him how farre ſhort he came of keeping the law, that not by doing, but by beleeuing from henceforth he ſhould hope to be ſaued. Thirdly, the Apoſtles exhorted men to beleeue *without any other condition, and ſo to be ſaued*, Act. 16.31. Their doctrine was not diuers from Chriſts: therefore Chriſt onely required the condition of faith to iuſtification. By this meanes alſo, the law ſhould become a miniſter and inſtrument of life, contrarie to Saint *Paul*, who ſaith, it ſerueth onely as a ſchoolemaſter to bring vs to Chriſt, Galat. 3.24. It diſcouereth and reuealeth ſinne, Rom. 7.7. the Apoſtle alſo calleth it *the killing letter, and miniſterie of condemnation*, 2. Cor. 3.6.9. It cannot therefore helpe to procure our ſaluation: but if that we are iuſtified by our obedience to the law, then ſhould the law helpe to iuſtifie vs, which is contrarie to the Apoſtle.

The Proteſtants.

NOw on the contrarie ſide, our arguments are theſe: Firſt, that the law worketh terror, the Goſpell onely comfort: Rom. 8.15. *Ye haue not receiued the ſpirit of bondage to feare againe, but ye haue receiued the ſpirit of adoption, whereby wee crie Abba father.* And againe, Galath. 4.4. *God ſent his ſonne, that he might redeeme them that were vnder the law, that we might receiue the adoption of ſons, and becauſe ye are ſonnes, God hath ſent the ſpirit of his ſonne into your hearts, which crieth Abba father.* Theſe places proue, that while we were vnder the law, wee were ſeruants, and kept in feare: but by the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt we are made ſonnes, and receiue the ſpirit of adoption.

Bellarmines anſwere here is very ſimple, that not the law but the old Teſtament, engendreth feare; and not the Goſpell, but the new Teſtament miniſtreth comfort, *Bellarm. cap. 2.*

Contra. 1. The contrarie rather hereof is moſt euident, that not the old teſtament, but the law; not the new teſtament, but the Goſpell, worketh the one feare, the other comfort: for both the old teſtament containeth comfortable promiſes of the Goſpell, and the new fearefull threatnings of iudgement: therefore neither the old wholy, nor the new wholy, can be, that the miniſter of feare, this of peace, but the law, and the Goſpell comprehended both in the old and new Scriptures.

2. *Bellarmine* himſelfe, forgetting what he had ſaid before, confeſſeth afterward in theſe words: *Lex Moſis, lux timoris & ſeruitutis fuit; Euangelium lex amoris:* The law of *Moſes* was the law of feare and ſeruitude; the Goſpell the law of loue and peace. Thus he himſelfe acknowledgeth this diſtinction betweene the law and the Goſpell: *Bellarm. lib. 4. diſcrim. 7.*

Auguſt. Hac eſt breuiſſim. & apertiſſ. differentia duorum teſtamentorum, timor & amor, contr. Adimant. c. 17. This is a ſhort and manifeſt difference of the two teſtaments, feare and loue.

Ambr. in 3. ad Rom. Lex iram operatur, fides gaudium: The law worketh wrath, faith ioy. *Ibid. Pacem cum deo habere fides facit non lex:* Faith maketh vs to haue peace with God, not the law: *In 11 ad Rom. Data eſt lex vt humanum genus terrore manifeſtatæ legis frænaretur:* The law was giuen, that mankinde might be terrified by the manifeſtation thereof.

Cauſ. 23. qu. 4. c. 15. gloſſ. In lege populus ſeruili timore cogebatur, &c. In the law the people was compelled with a ſeruile feare, and they had the law as a ſchoolemaſter: *in Euangelio filiali amore imitatur*, but in the Goſpell they are inuited with a filiall loue, &c.

Argum. 2. That the Goſpell requireth not obedience to the commaundements as a meane to ſaluation, as the lawe doth, but onely commaundeth faith, Saint *Paul* euery where ſheweth: Roman. 3.20 *We cannot be iuſtified by the workes or obedience of the law:* the reaſon followeth: *for by the law commeth the knowledge of ſinne.* And againe, verſ. 21. *The righteouſnes of God* (which is by the faith of Chriſt Ieſus, verſ. 22.) *is made manifeſt without the law:* Only faith then is required to make vs righteous before God, without the workes or obedience of the law.

Auguſt. expoſit. in Pſal. 77. Heare what *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Teſtimonium legis eis, qui ea non legitimè vtuntur, teſtimonium eſt, quo conuincantur: eis, qui legitimè vtuntur, teſtimonium eſt, quo demonſtratur, quò liberandi confugere debeant peccatores:* The teſtimonie of the law, to them which vſe it not aright, is a teſtimonie to conuince them: to them which doe, a teſtimonie to teach them, to whom ſinners ought to flie for their deliuerance: *Ergo*, the law worketh not our deliuerance it ſelfe, but ſendeth vs to our deliuerer.

Againe, *Lex fidei æque atque lex factorum ait ne concupiſcas, ſed quod operum lex minando imperat, fidei lex credendo impetrat:* The law of faith, and the law of workes, doe both ſay thou ſhalt not couet: but what the law of workes, by threatning inioyneth, the law of faith by beleeuing obtaineth: *de ſpiritu & liter. cap. 13.*

Ambroſ. in c. 3. ad Galath. Non eſt ex fide lex, quia nihil mandat credendum: The law is not of faith, becauſe it commaundeth nothing to be beleeued, &c. As the law commaunded not faith, ſo neither doth the Goſpell commaund obedience to the law as a meane to our iuſtification.

Maſter *Patricke Hamelton* holy Martyr, hath ſealed this truth: *The law ſheweth vs our ſinne, the Goſpell ſheweth vs remedie for it: the law is the word of ire, the Goſpell is the word of grace: the law is the word of deſpayre, the Goſpell is the word of comfort, &c. Fox. p. 977.*

AN

AN APPENDIX CONCERNING THE libertie of the Gospell.

Bellarmine here is not ashamed to slaunder vs, that we should affirme Christian libertie herein to stand, in that we are altogether freed from the obedience and subiection of the law: *Vt Mosi cum suo decalogo nihil ad nos pertineat:* And that *Moses* with his decalogue belongeth not to vs, *lib.5. de iustificat. c.5. initio.* But we call God and all the world to record, that wee witnesse no such thing, knowing that Christ came not to dissolue, but to fulfill the law, Matth.5.17. Here therefore *Bellarmine* fighteth with his owne shadow, *cap.5.*

Christian libertie then consisteth in these three poynts: First, in that we are exempted from the ceremonies of the law, and the Iudicials, so farre forth, as they concerned the politike state of the Iewes: Act.15.10 *Why lay ye a yoke on the disciples neckes, which neither our fathers nor we were able to beare?* Secondly, we are freed from the curse and guilt of the law: Galath.3.13. *Christ hath redeemed vs from the curse of the law, when he was made a curse for vs.* Thirdly, we are deliuered from the seruitude of sinne, that although it remaine in vs, yet it raigneth not in vs, Rom.6.12. Herein the Iesuite dissenteth from vs.

The Papists.

Bellarmines opinion then is this, that by the libertie of the Gospell wee are altogether freed from sinne, so that it is throughly dead, and not onely not imputed, but not aliue, or hauing any being in the righteous, *cap.6.* 61. Error.

Argum. Rom.7.6. *Now we are deliuered from the law, being dead vnto it, that wee should serue in newes of the spirit:* If sinne be dead in vs, and we vnto it, then hath it no life at all.

Ans. First, in the very same chapter, the Apostle sheweth by his owne example, that euen in the regenerate there is some remnant of sinne: vers.20. *Sinne that dwelleth in me:* vers.21. *Euill is present with me:* vers.23. *I finde a law in my members rebelling against the law of my minde:* If sinne dwell, be present, rebell euen in the righteous, then are they not fully purged from it. Secondly, wherefore the Apostle in saying, we are dead vnto sinne, or to the law, would be vnderstood as where he saith, *He that is dead, is freed from sin,* Rom.6.7. that is, from obedience and seruice to sin: vers.12. *Let not sinne raigne in your mortall bodie:* they are freed from the kingdome of sinne, not from the hauing of sinne.

The Protestants.

THat wee are by the libertie of faith, freed from the tyrannie and kingdome of sinne, but not altogether from the dwelling and abiding of sinne in vs, so long as we liue in the flesh: thus we are perswaded out of the Scripture.

Arg. Saint *Paul* being now an Apostle, and so consequently a sanctified and regenerate man, saith, *I am carnall, and sold vnder sinne,* Rom.7.vers.14. And vers.25. *In my flesh I serue the law of sinne:* *Ergo,* sinne was yet abiding in him. Vers.24. *Who shall deliuer me from the bodie of death?* that is the bodie of sinne, Rom.6.vers.6. *Ergo,* he was not yet fully deliuered from sinne, though it raigned not in him: but his freedome onely consisted in this, *that the bodie of sinne should be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serue sinne,* Rom.6.6. We are freed then from the seruice and obedience to sinne, not from the possession and habitation of sinne.

Augustine saith, *Aliud non est peccare, aliud non habere peccatum: nam in quo peccatum non regnat, non peccat, id est, qui non obedit desideriis eius: in quo autem non existunt ista desideria, non solum non peccat, sed nec habet peccatum:* It is one thing not to sinne, another not to haue sinne: for in whom sin raigneth not, he sinneth not, that is, obeyeth not the desires thereof: but he in whom none of these desires are, hath no sinne at all: *in 4. cap. epistol. ad Galat.* But there is no man liuing, in whom there be not found some euill desires: *Ergo,* no man, but hath sinne.

Ambrose sheweth wherein Christian libertie consisteth: *in 2. Galath. Libertas in Iesu Christo hac illum subijcit legi:* This is the libertie in Iesus Christ, not to be subiect to the law: that is, the terror and feare thereof, as he expoundeth, *Galath.4. Lex data est, vt terrori esset:* The law was giuen to be a terror. Againe, *in 2. Cor.3. Lex spiritus dat libertatem solam fidem postens:* The law of the spirit giueth libertie, requiring onely faith: *Ergo,* this is our libertie, that by faith we are deliuered from the thraldome and bondage of the law, both in the obseruation thereof required as a meane to saluation, and the punishment of the transgression thereof.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER IT BE possible to keepe the law in this life.

The Papists.

63. Error. IF any man say, that the precepts, and commandements of God vnto a man iustified, and in the state of grace, are impossible to be kept, let him be accursed, *Concil. Trident in sess. 6. can.* 18.

Argum. 1. Rom. 8. 4. That the *righteousnes of the law might be fulfilled in vs: Ergo*, the law of God by the grace of Christ may be kept, and the keeping thereof is our iustice. Christ also saith, my yoke is easie, and my burthen light: *Ergo*, his commaundements are possible to be kept.

Answ. First, the Apostle saith not, that the law is fulfilled by vs, but in vs by Christ, *who is our righteousnes, and sanctification*, 1. Cor. 1. 30. The law remaineth still impossible to be kept through the weaknes of our flesh, vers. 3. Neither doth God giue vs abilitie to keepe it, but Christ hath fulfilled it for vs: *God sent his sonne in the similitude of sinfull flesh*, vers. 3. Wee notwithstanding are bound to walke in obedience to the commaundements, which is, *to walke after the spirit, not after the flesh*, vers. 4. But this our obedience is imperfect, and farre off from that perfection, which Gods iustice requireth. Secondly, to him that is borne of God, his commaundements are said to be easie, and not grieuous, not because they are able perfectly to keepe them: but that strength is giuen to keepe them in part, and they doe willingly, not of constraint exercise themselues therein: as also for the rest, that notwithstanding their obedience is imperfect, yet the curse of the law is taken away, and their sinnes pardoned in Christ.

Augustine also telleth vs how Christs yoke is light: *Praecepta sunt nolentibus grauia, volentibus leuia, itaque ait iugum meum suaue est: de salutar. documm. cap.* 7. His precepts are heauie to the vnwilling, but to the willing light, therefore he saith, my yoke is pleasant. The commaundements then are easie, not because we can keepe them perfectly, but Christ maketh vs willing by his spirit in some measure to walke in obedience.

Argum. 2. Rom. 13. He that loueth his neighbour hath kept the whole law: but it is possible to loue our neighbour: *Ergo*, to keepe the law, *Bellar. cap.* 11.

Answ. He that loueth perfectly, as he ought, may keepe the law: but the assumption is false, that it is possible for any man so to loue. *Bellarmine* sheweth, that our loue may be perfectly sufficient toward the keeping of the law, because *Dauid* saith, *With my whole heart haue I sought thee*, Psal. 119. *Contra.* The Prophet *Dauid* in so saying, With my whole heart, sheweth the qualitie rather, then the quantitie of his loue: to loue therefore with all his heart, is all one as where he saith, I haue loued exceedingly, Psalm. 119. vers. 167. that is vnfainedly, not with a double heart: and as the hebrue phrase is, a heart and a heart, Psalm. 12. 2. This sheweth not therefore the perfection of his loue before God, but the singlenesse and simplicitie of his owne heart.

Argum. 3. That it is possible to keepe the law, they would enforce further by these testimonies of Scripture.

1. Iosu. 11. 15. *Iosua left nothing vndone of all, that the Lord had commanded Moses.*
2. Act. 13. 22. *I haue found Dauid a man after mine owne heart, which will do all things that I will.*
3. 2. King. 23. 25. *Like vnto Iosiah was there no king, that turned vnto the Lord, with all his heart, with all his soule, with all his might, according to all the law of Moses.*
4. Luke 1. 6. *Both were iust before God, (that is, Zacharie and Elizabeth) and walked in all the commandements and ordinances of the Lord without reproofe.*
5. Iohn 17. 6. Our Sauiour thus testifieth of his Apostles, *Thine they were, thou gauest them me, and they haue kept thy word.*
6. Rom. 7. 19. *The euill that I would not, that do I: now, if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sinne that dwelleth in me*, Vers. 25. *I my selfe in my mind serue the law of God*: then *Paul* sinned not, for sinne cannot be but in the mind, *Bellarm. lib. 4. de iustificat. c.* 11.

1. *Answ.* 1. *Iosua* in that particular, concerning the destruction of the cities of the heathen, did all as God commanded, Deut. 7. 2. 2. Otherwise *Moses* himselfe, that gaue the charge to *Iosua*, did not absolutely keepe all Gods commandements: for thus the Lord saith to him and *Aaron*, Numb. 20. 12. *Because ye beleeued not me, to sanctifie me in the presence of the children of Israel, yee shall not bring this congregation into the land, &c.*

2. The Scripture maketh a manifest exception of the matter of *Vriah*, that *Dauid* did that, which was right in the sight of the Lord, sauing in that: 1. King. 15. 5. *Ergo*, he did not keepe all the commandements.

3. *Iosiah* turned with all his heart vnto the Lorde, which noteth the singlene and integritie of his heart, rather then perfection: for hee also was disobedient to the voyce of God in going against *Pharao*: as hee said vnto him in the name of God, *Leaue off to come against God that is with me, lest he destroy thee*, 2. Chron. 35. 21.

They

They were iust without reproofe: as *Augustine* saith, *Aliud est esse sine peccato, &c. aliud sine querela:* It is one thing to be without sinne, which is said onely of Christ; another to be without reproofe: *de perfect iustit. contr. Celestin.* *Hierome* also distinguisheth of iustice: there is *perfecta iustitia*, a perfect iustice, and another, *quæ competit vltra fragilitati*, which agreeth with our frailtie, and so *Zacharie* and *Elizabeth* are said to be iust, *dialog. 1. contr. Pelag.* Otherwise that they were not perfectly iust, it is manifest, for the Angel saith to *Zacharie*, Thou shalt be dumbe, *quia non credidisti*, because thou hast not beleeued my wordes, Luke 1.20. 4.

In the same sense the Apostles kept the word of Christ; as *Paul* saith, We are perfect, Philip. 3. vers. 15. *As many as be perfect: Secundum humanæ fragilitatis modum*; after the measure of humane frailtie: As *Hierome* saith, *dialog. 2. contra Pelag.* For absolutely the Apostles had not kept Christs word, seeing *Peter* before this, for giuing carnall counsell to Christ against his passion, deserued to be called Sathan, Matth. 16.23. 5.

First, this place euidently maketh against him; for how dare he conclude that *Paul* had no sin, being he confesseth *that sinne dwelt in him*, Rom. 7.19. Secondly, by his mind and spirit is not vnderstood his soule, but the regenerate part of the whole man, wherein, by the grace of God, hee consented to the law of God; but the law of his flesh, that is, the vnregenerate part resisted; so that his obedience to the law was thereby hindered. 3. Lastly, *Augustine* thus saith, *Idem Apostolus & perfectum se dicit & imperfectum; imperfectum cogitando quantum illi ad illam iustitiam deest, &c.* The Apostle doth call himselfe perfect, Philip. 3.15. and imperfect, *ibid.* vers. 12. imperfect, by thinking what hee wanted of that iustice, whose fulnes hee thirsted for: perfect; *quod suam perfectionem fateri non erubescit*, because he is not ashamed to confesse his imperfection: Like as wee call a Traueller perfect, *cuius bene promouetur accessio, quamuis non perficiatur intentio, nisi fuerit fulta perseuerantia*: Whose accession still is furthered, though his intention be not perfited, till his perseuerance be fulfilled, *contr. 2. epistol. Pelag.* 3.7. *Paul* therefore had no perfect or absolute iustice and obedience. 6.

Argum. 4. The old Pelagians, who held the same or very like position to the Papists, obiected thus; *Si impossibilia sunt mandata, non in his erit culpa, qui acceperè mandata, sed in eo qui dedit impossibilia:* If the commandements be impossible, the fault is not in them that receiued them, but in him that gaue them, *Hieron. ad Ctesiphont.*

First, *Hierome* answereth, *Numquid præcepit mihi Deus, vt essem, quod Deus est? &c.* Hath God commanded, that I should be the same, that God is? that I should haue that which the Angels haue not? Of Christ it is written, *Peccatum non fecit*, he did no sinne: if this be common to mee and Christ, *Quid ille habuit proprium?* what had he proper to himselfe?

Secondly, saith he, *Possibilia sunt Dei mandata, &c.* The commandements of God are possible; who denieth it? but how this is to be vnderstood, the chosen vessell sheweth. Rom. 8.3. *That which was impossible in the law, &c. God sending his sonne, &c.* His meaning is, that the commandements were possible in the obedience of Christ, *Hieron. ad Ctesiphont.*

Thirdly, *Impossibilia sunt, non imbecillitate naturæ, sed animi lassitudine:* They are impossible, not by the imbecillitie of nature, (wherein *Adam* was first created) *sed lassitudine animi*, but through the infirmitie of the minde, (by *Adams* fall:) *dialog. 1. aduers. Pelagian.*

The Protestants.

THat no mortall man is able to keepe the Lawe of God perfectly in this life, it may bee thus proued.

Argum. 1. S. *Peter* saith, Act. 15.10. *Why tempt ye God, to lay a yoke on the disciples neckes, which neyther our fathers nor we were able to beare: Ergo*, the law is an importable burthen, and so impossible to be kept. 1.

Againe, S. *Paul* saith, Rom. 7.18. *To will is present with mee, but I find no meanes to performe that is good: Ergo, Paul* could not keepe the law. 2.

Bellarm. S. *Peter* speaketh of the ceremoniall law, which being added to the moral law, made it importable; but now the ceremoniall being abolished, the moral law is portable. *c. 14. resp. ad loc. 1.* 1.

Contra. 1. Though the Apostle in that place treat chiefely of the ceremoniall, yet the reason is generall: *We beleeue through the grace of the Lord Iesus to be saued*, Act. 15. vers. 11. Beleefe is opposed not onely to the ceremoniall, but morall law also: wherefore seeing that is made easie and portable by faith, which otherwise is importable, it followeth that both the ceremoniall and morall are in themselues importable. 2. The Apostle generally speaking of the whole law, saith it was *impossible*, Rom. 8.3.

Bellarm. The Apostle speaketh of the acte of concupiscence, which is no sinne. *respons. ad obiect. 3.* 2.

Contra. 1. The Apostle sheweth the contrarie: that both it is a sinne to lust, Rom. 7.7. *I knew not sinne, but by the law; for I had not knowne lust, except the law had said, thou shalt not lust: Ergo*, it is sin to lust. 2. He confesseth in direct wordes also, that this sinne dwelleth in him, vers. 10.

*Argum.*2. Galath.3.10. *As many as are vnder the workes of the law, are vnder the curse: for it is written, cursed is euery one that continueth not in all things which are written in the booke of the law:* The Apostle reasoneth thus: who so keepeth not the law in all points, standeth accursed: but no man is able to keepe it: *Ergo*, euery man is vnder the curse.

Bellarmine answereth, that they are accursed, which thinke to keepe the law by their owne strength, without grace, which indeed it is impossible to doe, but possible by grace: *resp. ad lec.*2.

Contra. Nay the Apostle sheweth, that it is possible no way to keepe the law perfectly: for if man by grace might performe the law, he might deliuer himself by grace from the curse: but now are we redeemed only from the curse by Christ, who was made a curse for vs, vers.13. *Ergo*, the law by no man can be performed. 2. *The law is not of faith*, vers.12. But if by faith and grace the law could be kept, then the law should be of faith.

*Argum.*3. If the righteous man doth keepe the law, then is he without sinne: for where there is no transgression of the law, there is no sinne: but no man is without sin, Iam.3. *In many things we offend all:* 1.Ioh.1. *If we say we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues: Ergo*, no man can keepe the law.

Bellarmine answereth, that the veniall sinnes which iust men commit, are not directly against the lawe, but *praeter legem*, beside the lawe: and therefore they may keepe the lawe, and yet haue veniall sinnes.

Contra. First, Saint *Iohn* saith, *Sinne is the transgression of the Law, and whosoeuer committeth sinne transgresseth the law*, 1.Iohn.1.4. but a veniall or small offence is sinne: *Ergo*, a transgression: and where the law is transgressed it is not kept. Secondly, S. *Iames* saith, *Whosoeuer shall keepe the whole law, and yet faile in one point, he is guiltie of all*, Iam.2.10. But he that committeth veniall sinnes, faileth in some point, he doth somewhat (*praeter legem*) beside the law: *Ergo*, they are guiltie of the whole, and so transgresse *contra legem*, against the law: and so this distinction of sinnes beside, and against the law, is found nothing worth.

Augustine thus writeth of this matter against the Pelagians: *Illud quod dicunt sine vllo peccato quosdam hominum vixisse in hoc seculo, vel vinere, optandum est vt fiat, conandum est vt fiat, supplicandum est vt fiat, non tamen, quasi factum fuerit, confidendum:* That which they say, that some may, and haue liued here without sinne, we must endeuour, and pray, that it may be so, not presume that it hath been done: *contr. Pelag. lib.*3. *cap.*10.

*Concil. Milevitan. c.*6. *Placuit, quod aiit S. Iohannes, si dixerimus, quod peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, quisquis sic accipiendum putat, vt decat propter humanitatem non opertere dici, nos non habere peccatum, non quia veritas est, anathema sit:* Whereas S. *Iohn* saith, if we say we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues: if any man thinke that of curtesie and humanitie, we say that we haue no sin, not because it is so indeede, let him be accursed. But they which say, they can keepe the law, consequently affirme that they haue no sinne.

See the testimonie of the holie Martyrs: *Patricke Hamelton* Martyr, saith, that the law biddeth vs to doe that thing, which is impossible, in as much as the keeping of the commandements, which the law biddeth, is impossible, *Fox* pag.976.

Master *Tyndall* holie Martyr: *The law, when it commandeth thou shalt not lust, giueth thee not power so to doe, but damneth thee, because thou canst not so doe: If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God, thou must thou turne to the promises of the Gospell:* *Fox* pag.1247.

AN APPENDIX, OF THE DIVISION of the law.

The Papists.

64. Error. THe Master of the Sentences, whom the rest doe follow, maketh but three commaundements in the first table, ioyning in one the first and the second: *lib.*3. *dist.*37. *liter. b.* and he diuideth the second table into seauen, making two of the last commaundement: this to be the first, *Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours wife:* that which followeth, *Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house, or his seruant, &c.* to be the seauenth and the last: *lib.*3. *dist.*40. *liter. a.* This deuice the Papists succeeding haue the more willingly embraced, that the second commandement, which doth pinch them very sore, might be left out altogether, which some of them haue most impiously attempted. And *Catharinus*, a great popish writer, is directly of this iudgement, *mandatum secundum fuisse temporale*, that the second commaundement was but temporall, to continue for a time: *opus est de imaginib.* For this their deuice, reasons out of Scripture they haue none.

The Protestants.

THis diuision of the law, to ioyne the first and the second commaundement in one, and so to make two of the last; wee shew it to be contrarie to the Scripture, to reason, and authoritie.

First,

Firſt, Mark. 10.19. our Sauiour Chriſt maketh but ſixe commaundements in the ſecond table: where in ſtead of the laſt, *Thou ſhalt not couet*, is put, *Thou ſhalt hurt no man*, no not ſo much as by thought or deſire to couet any thing of his.

Againe, Saint *Paul*, Rom.7.8. calleth the law forbidding to luſt, a commaundement in the ſingular number, not commaundements.

Secondly, reaſon alſo giueth, that this commaundement, *Thou ſhalt not couet*, ſhould be but one: firſt, diuers commaundements haue their diuers acts which are forbidden, as to ſteale, to kill, to commit adulterie: but theſe two ſuppoſed lawes haue but one action, which is to couet. Secondly, the concluſion, after the particular induction, *nor any thing that is his*, ſheweth, that all the particulars before going belong vnto the ſame charge and commaundement.

Thirdly, 1. *Origen* miſſliketh this diuiſion thus writing *in 8 Exod. Hac omnia nonnulli putant ſimul vnum eſſe mandatum, quod ſi ita putetur, non complebitur decem numerus mandatorum*: Some thinke all theſe to be one commaundement: which if it be ſo, how ſhall the number of tenne commaundements be fulfilled? Therefore this is the firſt commandement, *Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods, &c.* The ſecond, *Thou ſhalt make no Idoll, &c.*

Ambroſ. Conſtat primum eſſe mandatum, &c. It is euident this is the firſt commaundement, *Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods, &c.* then, *Thou ſhalt make no image, &c.* the third, *Thou ſhalt not take the name &c. in 5 ad Epheſ.*

Leodienſ. epiſt. cont. Paſchal.2. Tertium decalogi, &c. The third precept, Thou ſhalt not take in vaine, &c.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE WORKS of Supererogation.

The Papiſts.

THey teach, that it is not onely poſſible for men to keepe the law of God in this life, but to do more than is preſcribed or commaunded: and that men of their abundance may allot vnto others ſuch workes of ſupererogation, *Rhemiſt. 1.Cor.9.ſect.6. ex Tileman. loc.3.err.16.* 65. Error.

Argum. 2.Cor.8.ſect.3. *As your abundance now ſupplieth their want, their abundance alſo may ſupplie your want, that there may be equalitie.* Saints, or other vertuous perſons may in meaſure and proportion of other mens deſeruings, allot vnto them as well the ſupererogation of their ſpirituall works, as thoſe that abound in worldly goods may giue almes of their ſuperfluities, to them which are in neceſſitie, *Rhemiſt. ſtotid. verbis.*

Anſw. 1. This place proueth no communication of merits of one to another: but that as euery one aboundeth in the gifts and graces of God, ſo they ought to communicate the vſe thereof one to anothers benefit: for no man mereteth himſelfe by any worke of his: therefore he can not communicate that to another, which he hath not himſelfe. Here alſo mention is made of mutuall communication, for one to ſupplie anothers want: but he that doth ſupererogate to another of the abundance of his good workes, hath no neede to haue his wants ſupplied by another mans deſeruings: therefore there is no mutuall communicating betweene them, which is the thing whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in this place.

The Proteſtants.

Arg. THat no man is holpen by another mans deſeruings, but all that a man can doe, is little enough and not ſufficient for himſelfe; it is plaine in the Goſpell: where our Sauiour ſaith, *That when we haue done all that is commaunded, we are vnprofitable ſeruants, and did no more than was our dutie*, Luk.17.10. *Ergo*, a man cannot doe more than his dutie.

Hierome vpon this place thus concludeth: *Si inutilis eſt, qui fecit omnia, quid de illo dicendum eſt, qui explere non potuit*: If he be an vnprofitable ſeruant, which did all, what ſhall be ſaid of him which could not fulfill them? *ad Cteſiphont.*

Saint *Ambroſe* vpon the ſame words writeth thus: *Ergo, & cum fecerimus quod nobis imperatum eſt, &c.* Therefore, when we haue done that which is commaunded vs, we muſt not ſtraight be exalted, but humble our ſelues: *quia non ſtatim, ſi aliquid fecerimus, impleuimus omnia ſeruitutis obſequia, quis tanta ſalutis beneficia digno poſſit aquare ſeruitio? quis poteſt ſoluere, quod accepit?* becauſe not ſtraightwaies, if we haue done any thing, we haue performed all the duties of our ſeruice, who can be equall in his ſeruice to ſo great benefit of ſaluation? who can pay that which he hath receiued? *ſerm.16 in Pſal.119. Ergo*, no man can doe more than he is bound to doe.

Wee may alſo remember the parable of the Virgins, Matth.25. where the fiue wiſe refuſe to giue of their oyle to the fiue fooliſh: leaſt (ſay they) there will not be enough for vs and you. No man therefore hath attained to ſuch a perfection of goodnes, that he is able to ſpare ought for his brother, but ſhall haue neede thereof himſelfe.

Auguſtine writing vpon this parable ſaith: *Vnuſquiſque pro ſe rationem reddet, nec alterius teſti-*

monio quicquam adiuuatur apud Deum: & vix sibi quisque sufficit, vt sibi testimonium perhibeat conscientia sua: Euery man shall giue account for himselfe, neither is a man relieued by anothers testimonie before God: the testimonie of a mans conscience is hardly sufficient for himselfe. See more of this matter: *Controuers.14.quæst.7.part.4.& quæst.8.part.3.artic.2.*

Tertullian hereof also thus writeth, *lib.de Pudicit. Sufficiat martyri propria delicta purgasse, ingrati, vel superbi est in alios spargere, quod ipse pro magno fuerit consecutus: cquis alienam mortem sua morte soluit, nisi solus filius dei?* Let it suffice a Martyr to haue purged his owne sin, it is the part of an vnthankfull or proude man, to scatter vpon others, that which he hath obtained for a great benefit: doth any man by his death loose anothers death, but onely the sonne of God?

Espenc. a learned Papist thus confesseth: *Quo die multa nimirum misericordia opus erit omnibus Sanctis:* In which day of the Lord all the Saints shall haue great neede of mercie: *in 2.Tim.p.15.* And againe he thus alleageth out of *Augustines* Sentences, collected by *Prosper. sent.234. Nemo fidelium, quamuis multum profecerit, dicat, sufficit mihi:* Let none of the Saints, though he haue well profited, say, it sufficeth me: *p.126.* If no man hath sufficient for himselfe, how can hee supererogate to others.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER GOD BE to be serued for hope of reward, or feare of punishment.

The Papists.

66. Error. MEn ought to doe good in respect and for reward and recompence in heauen for their good workes: the Apostle saith of *Moses*, Hebr.11.26. He had respect to the recompence of reward, *Rhemist.ibid.*

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, we denie, that we ought to make account of heauen to be giuen as a iust recompence deserued by our workes: for life eternall, as the Apostle saith, is the free gift of God, Roman.6.23. Secondly, wee graunt that men in their well doing ought to haue respect to the reward, but not chiefly or principally: but the respect of Gods glorie and their owne dutie ought to moue them more.

Argum. Psal.34.8. *Taste and see, how gracious the Lord is:* We ought as dutifull children to yeeld obedience to the Lord, and delight in him, euen because of that pleasant taste, comfort and ioy, which we feele in his goodnes toward vs. *Augustine* saith well, *Deus non propterea se amari vult, quia dat aliquid præter se, sed quia dat se:* God would not be beloued of vs, because hee giueth or promiseth any thing beside himselfe, but because he giueth himselfe.

In Psal.52.

Ambrose: Propositum pia mentis mercedem non expetit, sed pro mercede habet boni facti conscientiam & iusti operis effectum: The purpose of a godly minde doth desire no rewarde, but in stead of a reward hath the conscience of a good fact, and the effect of a righteous worke, *lib.1.de Abraam.c.8.*

Master *Tyndall* holy Martyr saith: Euery Christian man must keepe Gods commaundements by loue, and not by hope, to get for his seruice euerlasting life, pag.1255. artic.10. Againe, they that for feare of hell, or the ioyes of heauen doe their dutie, doe a constrained seruice which God will not haue: such are hyred men and waged seruants, not children, pag.1255.col.2.

The Papists.

67. Error. 2. EVen in right Christian godly men there remaineth doubt, mistrust, feare of hell and damnation: and the feare of Gods iudgements causeth iust men to humble themselues, least they should be damned. And so S. *Paul* saith, *Worke out your saluation with feare and trembling, Philip.2. Rhemist.1.Iohn.4.sect.6.*

The Protestants.

Ans. WE acknowledge a dutifull reuerence and feare of God alwaies remaining in the godly: but it is farre from that seruile and slauish feare, which is caused only by the remembrance of hell fire and eternall iudgement. *Augustine* doth thus resemble the matter: The chaste wife (saith he) and the adulterous do both feare their husbands: *sed casta timet ne discedat vir; adultera, ne veniat:* But the chaste wife is afraide least her husband should depart; the adulterous is afraid least he should come. Such a feare as is in the chaste wife, we grant to be in the children of God, but not the other.

In Psal.127.

2. We also confesse, that the horror of hell is profitable to make a way and entrance for the calling of worldly and hard hearted men, as the needle or bristle (as *Augustine* saith) maketh a way for the thread: but in a man alreadie called, this feare is expelled by loue, as the Apostle saith, 1.Ioh.4.18. For wee must be of those that loue the appearing of Christ, 2.Timoth.4.8. not of that number which feare it, and wish it were prolonged.

August. Si possumus efficere, fratres, vt dies iudicij non veniret, puto, quia nec sic erat, male viuendum: If wee could bring it about, that the day of iudgement should not come at all, wee ought not for all

all that to liue ill. His meaning is, that wee ought not to liue well onely for feare of Gods iudgements.

Origen tract.33.in Matth. vpon these words, Matth.25.24. *I knew thou wast an hard man, and therfore was afraide: Nec est bonus huiusmodi timor, nec liberat nos talis timor à tenebris exterioribus:* This feare is not good, neither deliuereth vs from vtter darknes.

Peter. Lombard. Inimicus est iustitiæ, qui pœnæ timore non peccat: He is an enemie to iustice, that sinneth not for feare of punishment, *lib.3.dist.36.liter.c.*

Master *Tyndall* holy Martyr: They are the people of Christ, which willingly doe heare and follow him, not for feare of the law, but onely entised and lead with a gracious libertie, and faithfull loue, not doing any thing, because it is commaunded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable to them, though it were not commaunded, *Fox* pag.1253.col.2.

THE SECOND GENERALL QVEstion of good workes.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE necessitie of workes.

The Papists.

THeir opinion is, that good workes are not onely necessarie to saluation, *necessitate præsentiæ,* because they must necessarily be present, and we cannot be without them; but *necessitate efficientiæ,* they are necessarie, as efficient causes together with faith, of our saluation. 68. Error.

Argum. Phil.3.12. *Worke out your saluation with feare, and trembling:* 2.Cor.4.17. *Our light affliction causeth vnto vs a more excellent waight of glorie: Ergo,* our workes and sufferings are the cause of saluation, *Bellar.cap.7.*

Answ. 1. To the first place we say, that the Apostle there saith none other thing, than his fellow Apostle Saint *Peter,* 2.Epist.1.10. *Make your election sure:* to worke out our saluation, and to make our election sure by good workes, is all one, not that our saluation or election is thereby caused before God: but good workes doe serue to assure our owne conscience of our saluation, and to perfit or finish it to our selues. And againe it followeth in the next verse: *For it is God which worketh in you both the will and the deede,* vers.13. So then man worketh, but it is God, that giueth him grace to worke: as *Augustine* saith, *Quicquid vult bonum, quicquid potest, à domino est, quia sine me, ait dominus, nihil potestis facere:* What good so euer a man willeth, or doth, is of the Lord, for without me saith the Lord, you can doe nothing: *Hypognost.cont.Pelag.articul.2.*

2. Affliction is not the cause of saluation, for then the Apostle should be contrarie to himselfe, Rom.8.18. *I count that the afflictions of this present time are not worthie the glorie, &c.* But it is onely the way, that bringeth vs to Heauen, Matth.7.14. *The gate is narrow, and the way streite, that leadeth to life.* And *Bernard* (well saith) *Sunt via regni, non causa regnandi:* Good workes are the way to the kingdome, not the cause of the kingdome.

The Protestants.

A Necessitie of good workes we graunt, as liuely testimonies of our faith, without the which there is neither faith nor life: Matth.7.19. *Euery tree, that bringeth not forth good fruite is hewen downe, &c.* And S. *Iames* saith, 2.18. *Shew me thy faith, out of thy workes: Bernard* also writeth: *Credit in Christum? fac Christi opera, vt viuat fides tua:* Doost thou beleeue in Christ? doe Christs workes, that thy faith may liue: *in Paschal.ser.2.* such a necessitie of workes we graunt, but not as the cause or efficient of saluation.

Argum. Rom.3.28. *A man is iustified by faith, without the workes of the law,* Galath.2.20. *I liue by the faith of the sonne of God,* chap.3.11. No man is iustified by the law, *and the law is not of faith: Ergo,* faith onely is necessarie to our iustification: works, as being of the law, are not herein ioyned with faith, for then the law were of faith: But they follow after as fruites of our iustification.

Synod. Moguntin.cap.8. Opera iustificatorum gratia Dei effectus sunt, & mouente & adiuuante spiritu sancto fiunt: The workes of those that are iustified, are the effects or fruites of grace, and are wrought by the motion of the spirite. Men then are first iustified by grace, and after their iustification, good workes are wrought.

The Martyrs haue sealed this truth: *Patrick Hamelton: No man is iustified by the deedes of the law, but by the faith of Iesus, Fox.* pag.978. *Catherine Hamelton* put to death, for saying, I know perfectly, that no workes can saue me, but onely the workes of Christ my Lord and Sauiour.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE EFFICACIE OF workes, whether we are thereby iustified.

The Papists.

69. Error. THat a man by good workes is iustified, and made more iust, they thinke to be very manifest and plaine out of Scripture: wherein, as it shall appeare, they are greatly deceiued, and doe no lesse deceiue others seduced by them.

Argum. 1. Of all others, which may seeme to make for them, they most of al vrge that of Saint Iames 2.21. *Was not Abraham our father iustified through works*, vers. 25. *Likewise was Rahab the harlot iustified through workes: Ergo*, we are iustified by our workes, *Bellarm. cap.* 18.

Answ. S. *Iames* in saying we are iustified by workes, meaneth not that iustification whereby we are made iust before God, for then he should be contrarie to S. *Paul*, who saith, we are iustified without works, Rom. 3.28. But by being iustified he vnderstandeth nothing else, but to be declared iust, as well before men, as in the sight of God: which declaration is testified and shewed forth by our works proceeding of faith.

Bellarmine contrariwise laboureth to proue, that the word cannot be so taken here: for the Apostle ioyneth workes and faith together, vers. 22. *The faith wrought with his workes, and through the workes the faith was made perfect:* workes and faith doe then worke together; as one worketh, so doth the other, they iustifie both alike: but faith iustifieth not by way of declaration, but verilie, and in deede, *Ergo.*

Contra. First, it followeth not, because faith worketh with workes, that therefore they worke both alike: it is one thing for faith to iustifie with workes, another to iustifie as workes: Secondly, as faith doth iustifie vs before God, so also it iustifieth before men, that is, faith serueth also for the declaration of our iustification, in that it causeth good workes, and these good workes doe testifie of faith, that it is liuely, and perfect, not a dead faith. Thirdly, that to iustifie is here taken onely for the declaration, or testification of our faith, it thus appeareth: first, that this word is so vsed in Scripture, it is plaine, Rom. 3.4. that thou maiest be iustified in thy words: that is knowne, or declared to be iust. *Augustine* also saith, *Iustificabuntur, id est, iusti habebuntur*, they shall be iustified, that is counted iust, as we also say, *Sanctificetur nomen tuum, id est, sanctum habeatur*, let thy name be halowed, that is, acknowledged to be holy. Secondly, the Apostle himselfe saith, vers. 18. *Shew me thy faith out of thy workes, &c.* he speaketh onely of the outward shewing and testification of faith. Thirdly, if we take iustification properly, as S. *Paul* vseth the word, then should S. *Iames* be contrarie to S. *Paul*, who saith, we are iustified by faith without workes.

De spiritu. & liter. cap. 26.

Bellarmine answereth, that Saint *Paul* speaketh of the first iustification, which is without workes; Saint *Iames* of the second iustification, whereby a man is made more iust, and this is caused by good workes.

Contra. First, we deny any such difference of iustification: the Scripture speaketh but of one iustification, Rom. 8.30. *Whome hee iustified, them also hee glorified:* vnlesse you will haue another iustification to come after our glorification: and verse 7. *Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiuen:* the iustification in remission of sinnes, doth make a man blessed: *Ergo*, it is the onely sufficient iustification.

Secondly, if faith doe iustifie as it is a worke, by the merit and worthines thereof, as it is by our aduersaries affirmed, and not instrumentally onely by apprehending Christ, then neither shall their first iustification be without workes, because it is not without faith.

Thirdly, S. *Paul* and S. *Iames* speake both of one and the selfe same iustification before God: for both of them alleage the same example of *Abraham*, both citing the same testimony of Scripture: *Abraham beleeued God, and it was counted vnto him for righteousnes:* Wherefore they bringing in the same example, and vsing the same words, must needs apply them to the same end. *Rahab* also is brought in an example of the very first iustification, *Rahab the harlot was iustified:* she was an harlot onely before her first iustification: so then it will follow, that euen the first iustification is by workes, if they will haue Saint *Iames* to vnderstand iustification as Saint *Paul* doth.

Argum. 2. *Bellarmine* for iustification by workes further opposeth these places of Scripture.

1 1. Rom. 6.19. *As you haue giuen your members, seruants to vncleanenesse, and iniquitie to commit iniquitie, so now giue your members seruants to iustice or righteousnesse to sanctification:* by sanctification here iustification is signified, being opposed to iniquitie.

2 2. 2.Cor. 7.1. *Hauing these promises, let vs cleanse our selues from all filthines of the flesh and spirit, and grow vp vnto sanctification in the feare of the Lord:* we must grow vp euery day to more iustice and sanctification.

3 3. 2.Cor. 9.10. *He will multiplie your seede, and increase the fruites of your iustice:* by almes then our iustice is encreased.

4. Iohn

4. Iohn 14.23. *If any man loue me, he will keepe my word, and my father will loue him*: this keeping of the commaundements doth procure the loue of God, and conſequently iuſtification. 4

5. Apocal.22.11. *He that is filthie, let him be filthie ſtill, he that is iuſt, iuſtificetur adhuc, let him be iuſtified ſtill. Ergo*, by good works a man hath encreaſe of iuſtification. 5

1. *Anſw.* Firſt, ſanctification, ἁγιασμὸς, is the fruite of iuſtice or righteouſnes by faith: as the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom.6.22. you haue your fruit vnto holines or ſanctification: this place onely ſheweth, that we muſt be the ſeruants of the iuſtice of faith, to bring forth fruits of ſanctification. Secondly, ἀνομία, iniquitie, is a generall name, both ſignifying the deprauation and vncleanneſſe of our nature, as here it is ioyned with it, as alſo it betokeneth actuall ſinne, for as Saint *Iohn* ſaith, ἁμαρτία is ἀνομία: ſinne is iniquitie or tranſgreſſion of the lawe, 1.Iohn 3.4. ſo that the word iniquitie or tranſgreſſion, may very well anſwere vnto iuſtice and ſanctification, the tree and the fruite. 1

2. We deny not, but that we muſt continually grow vp and encreaſe in the works of ſanctification, which the Apoſtle here affirmeth; but iuſtification is one thing, ſanctification another: we muſt firſt be iuſtified by faith in the *promiſes of Chriſt*; of the which promiſes alſo the Apoſtle here maketh mention; then followeth as an effect and fruite thereof, our ſanctification and holines with the workes thereof. 2

3. Firſt, by iuſtice here either the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth not the iuſtice of faith, wherewith we are iuſtified before God; but the iuſtice wrought in vs by faith, which they call inherent or ſecond iuſtice: as Matth.6.1. *Doe not your iuſtice before men, to bee ſeene of them*: but the inward iuſtice of faith cannot be ſeene of men: and verſe 2. by iuſtice, our Sauiour expoundeth almes. Secondly, or elſe, if we vnderſtand the true iuſtice of faith: the Apoſtle ſayth not, that iuſtice it ſelfe, but the fruites thereof are encreaſed, which we deny not. Thirdly, though the iuſtice of faith before God be not encreaſed, yet we may encreaſe in the aſſurance thereof vnto our ſelues. 3

4. Our Sauiour expoundeth himſelfe, verſe 1. *I will loue him, and ſhew my ſelfe vnto him*: this loue then of God in Chriſt, is not procured by good works, but onely ſhewed, manifeſted and aſſured, as S. *Peter* ſaith, 2.Pet.1.10. *Make your calling and election ſure by good works.* 4

5. Firſt, it is manifeſt by the oppoſition, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of that iuſtice which is wrought in vs by faith, which they call the ſecond iuſtice: for he had ſaid before: ἀδικήσει, he that is vniuſt or iniurious, or as their owne tranſlation readeth, *qui nocet*, he that is hurtfull, let him be hurtfull ſtill: as this is vnderſtood not of originall, but externall iniuſtice; ſo the clauſe following, δικαιοσύνην he that is iuſt, let him be more iuſtified, muſt be referred to the encreaſe of iuſtice. Secondly, vnleſſe we will vnderſtand it of the aſſurance of iuſtification to our ſelues, wherein as I ſaide before we may encreaſe: but what is this to iuſtification by workes, whereof there is not one ſyllable mentioned. 5

The Proteſtants.

THat good workes, although they be notable teſtimonies of our faith, yet helpe not to iuſtifie vs before God: the Scripture thus witneſſeth.

*Argum.*1. Rom.4.7. *Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen*: our bleſſednes is not cauſed by our workes, but by the free remiſſion of our ſinnes in Chriſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of the firſt iuſtification, or the beginning of iuſtification.

*Contra.*1. He ſpeaketh of that iuſtification, which bleſſedneſſe followeth, which is not the beginning, but the very perfection of our iuſtification: we ſee heauen is promiſed at the firſt remiſſion of our ſinnes, what need then any other iuſtification? As *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Donando delicta fecit ſe debitorem coronæ*, by forgiuing of our ſinnes, he hath made himſelfe a debtor of the crowne. 2. Againe, whereas man all his life long hath need of remiſſion of ſinnes, this iuſtification, whereby all our ſinnes are remitted, is not the beginning only, but the conſummation thereof, which extendeth it ſelfe thoroughout our whole life. Wherefore good workes are not giuen vs to be iuſtified thereby, but to be euident ſignes and witneſſes of our faith, to the glorie of God: as *Bernard* ſaith, *Sicut corporis huius vitam ex corporis motu dignoſcimus, ſic fidei vitam ex operibus bonis*: As we diſcerne the life of the body by the motion, ſo faith by good works: *In Paſchal. ſerm.*2.

*Argum.*2. Pſalm.143.2. *Enter not into iudgement with thy ſeruant* (ſaith the Prophet) *for in thy ſight ſhall none that liueth be iuſtified*: Matth.6.12. Our Sauiour teacheth euery man, though neuer ſo iuſt, to pray, *forgiue vs our ſinnes, &c. Ergo*, no man is iuſt by his workes. 1 2

*Bellarm.*1. *Dauid* deſireth not to be iudged according to thoſe things, which he had of himſelfe, whereby he could not be iuſtified. 2. Or it is to be vnderſtoode of veniall ſinnes. 3. Or he ſaith, that in compariſon of God, who is perfectly iuſt, no man can be iuſtified, *Bellarm.cap.*20. *reſp. ad loc.* 2. 1

*Contra.*1. *Dauid* ſpeaketh of himſelfe as Gods *ſeruant*, and ſo in the ſtate of grace, not as vnder his naturall condition. 2. Doth he thinke that God hauing forgiuen vnto his ſeruants their 1

greater

greater sinnes, will enter into iudgement with them for small offences, which he calleth *veniall*: therefore *Danid* vnderstandeth all sinnes whatsoeuer: as in the like place is euident, Psal.130.2. *Si obseruaueris iniquitates, quis sustinebit?* If thou marke iniquities, who shall abide it? 3. Hee saith not, in comparison of God, *but in the sight of God:* and what other iustification do we speake of, but before God: before men, we denie not, but by good workes one may be iustified, that is, knowne or declared so to be. Againe, he speaketh of such a iustification, whereby Gods seruants shall be deliuered from iudgment: which is not to be made iust, as God is, or equall vnto him; for then euery man should be iudged or condemned: for such iustice the Angels haue not, much lesse men.

2. *Bellarm.* That petition of the Lordes prayer is to be vnderstood onely of veniall sinnes, which are mixed with our good works, *c.20. resp. ad loc.5.*

2. *Contra.* 1. The word is ὀφειλήματα, *debts*; we pray to haue all our debts forgiuen: but I trust wee are more endangered and indebted to God, by great sinnes then small. 2. Saint *Luke* readeth, ἁμαρτίας, *sinnes:* and S. *Iohn* defineth, ἁμαρτία, *sinne* to be ἀνομία, *transgression:* 1.Iohn 3.4. but great sins are transgressions of the law, more then veniall: *Ergo*, they are not excluded. 3. If good workes are tempered with venial sins, how can they, being imperfect, make vs iust, & perfect before God?

Concil. Arausican. can.20. Multa in homine bona fiunt, quæ non facit homo, nulla vera bona facit homo, quæ Deus non præstat, vt faciat homo: Many good things are wrought in man, without man; but man doth no good thinges, which God doth not first giue strength to man to worke and doe them. A man then must first receiue grace of God to worke (which is giuen in his iustification) and then he worketh: so that good werkes are the effect, not the cause of iustification. See the seale of the Martyrs to this doctrine, Part.1.of this Question.

Decret. part.2.caus.3.qu.7.c.5. Gregor. vpon these words, Genes.4.4. *The Lord had respect to Abel and his offring:* first vnto *Abel*, then to his offring: *Ex qua re patenter ostenditur, quia non offerens à muneribus, sed munera ab offerente placuerunt:* By this which it is euident, that not the offerer by his gift, but the gift because of the offerer pleased: *Ergo, Abel* was not iustified by his gift, but before his gift.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE IMPEDIMENTS of good workes.

FIRST, WHETHER THE WORKES OF the righteous be perfect.

The Papists.

70.Error. THeir opinion is, that a iust man in his good workes doth not sinne so much as venially, *Concil. Tridentin. sess.6.can.25.* but that their workes are truely iust, without any spot or blemish of sinne, *Bellarm.cap.15.*

Argum.1. Iob.1.22. *In all this did not Iob sinne, nor charge God foolishly:* Psal.7.6. *Iudge me according to my righteousnesse: Danid* would not haue stood vpon his righteousnesse before God, if it had bin defiled with sinne, *Bellarm.cap.15.*

Answ.1. Iob is sayd as yet not to sinne, not that he was simply without sinne, but in respect of his sinne afterward committed with his mouth, in murmuring against God; he had not yet fallen into that great sinne to charge God foolishly: for otherwise *Iob* confesseth himselfe, that *if he should wash himselfe most cleane, his owne clothes should defile him*, Iob.9.30. that is, euen in his best workes, God could find sufficient matter against him.

2. The Prophet *Danid* doth not stand vpon his innocencie or righteousnesse before God: for elsewhere he saith, *If thou markest what is done amisse, who shall be able to abide it?* Psal.130.2. *and in thy sight no man liuing shall be iustified*, Psal.143.2. But he cleereth himselfe for his vpright and true dealing among men, as vers.3. *If I haue done this thing, &c.* his enemies accused him wrongfully, and persecuted him without a cause, Psal.25.3.

Argum.2. These places also are produced for the perfection of Workes.

1. Matth.6.22. *If thy eye be single, all thy bodie is light:* Luke 11.36. *If thy bodie be light, hauing no part darke: Ergo*, in good workes there is no darkenesse at all.

2. 1.Corinth.3.12. *If any build vpon this foundation, gold, siluer: Ergo*, some workes are as precious and perfect as gold.

3. Iam.3.2. *In many things we offend all: Ergo*, in some thinges we offend not.

4. Psalm.4.4. *Tremble and sinne not*; Isay.1.16,17. *Cease to do euill, learne to do well:* to what end are we thus exhorted not to sinne, if we cannot choose but sinne in our good workes.

5. Act.10.35. *He that feareth God, and worketh righteousnesse, is accepted before him:* but nothing can please God, but that, which is truely good.

6. In

6. In diuers places the Scripture calleth the works of the righteous, good works: as Matth.5. verſ.16. that men *ſeeing your good workes, &c. Bellarm.lib.4 de iuſtificat.c.15.*

Contra. 1. The ſimple eye, ſignifieth not perfection, but integritie and ſinglenes of heart, without guile or diſſimulation: as *Auguſtine* very well diſtinguiſheth betweene *rectum corde & mundum corde*: right in heart, and cleane in heart: *rectus corde eſt, qui recto curſu, i. recta fide peruenire contendit, vbi habitat mundus corde*: He is right in heart, which with a right courſe, that is a right faith, contendeth to come thither, where dwelleth the cleane in heart, *de perfect. iuſtic. contr. Celeſtin.* Secondly, the light hauing no darkneſſe, is Faith, which wholy lighteneth the body: as Chriſt ſaith, Iohn 13.10. *He that is waſhed, is cleane euery whit*: this maketh not for the perfection of workes. Thirdly, yet the light of faith, though conſidered in it ſelfe, it hath no darkeneſſe; yet in the ſight of God, and conferred with his light, is full of darkeneſſe: As *Hierome* well noteth vpon theſe wordes, 1.Iohn 1.5. *God is light, and in him is no darkeneſſe: Offendit omnia aliorum lumina aliqua ſorde maculari*: He ſheweth that all other lights are obſcured with ſome blemiſh. 1.

Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of teachers, and of ſound or corrupt doctrine, which he compareth to gold, ſiluer, or ſtubble, hay, &c. for he compareth himſelfe and other teachers to builders, verſ. 10. So then a man may teach pure and ſyncere doctrine, 2.Cor.2.17. *We ſpeake of ſyncerities*: though the Apoſtle denie himſelfe to be perfect in working, Philip.3.12. *Not as though we were alreadie perfect.* 2. This *gold, ſiluer, &c.* is ſo called not ſimplie, being layd to Gods touchſtone, but in reſpect of the *hay, ſtubble, &c.* So we denie not, but that good workes in reſpect of euill, are as gold. 3. S. *Peter* expoundeth faith to be that, *which is more precious then gold*, 1.Pet.1.7. This place therefore maketh nothing for the perfection of workes. 2.

Firſt, *In many things we offend all*; ſaith the Apoſtle: whereupon it is well inferred, that in ſome things we offend not all, which is true: for euery man offendeth not in euery thing: but hereof it followeth not, that in ſome things no man offendeth. 2. The Apoſtle affirmeth the contrary, that *he is a perfect man, that offendeth not in word*: but no man is ſo perfect, and therefore in this point all offend in ſome meaſure: as Rom.3.4. *Let God be true and euery man a lyar.* 3. The word is πταίομεν, we fall or ſtumble: ſo that in his conſtruction, ſome thing there may be, wherein a righteous man doth not fall or ſtumble; that is, apparantly or notoriouſly tranſgreſſe, though he be not without fault. 3.

Firſt, his meaning is, that we ſhould not be outragious or immoderate in our anger; as the Apoſtle expoundeth, Epheſ.4.26. Let not the Sunne goe downe vpon *your wrath*: not that we can be altogether free from corruption. 2. We are exhorted to ceaſe to do euill; that is, to abſtaine from the workes of the wicked: For as *Hierome* well ſaith, *hominem poſſe eſſe ait aliquem, ſed non abſq; vllo vitio*, I ſay, a man may be without ſinne, but not without fault, *dial.2.contra.Pelag.* 3. And as *Auguſtine* well ſaith, *Præcipitur homini perfecta iuſtitia, &c.* Perfect iuſtice is commanded, though it cannot be performed, *non enim rectè curritur, ſi quò currendum eſt neſciatur, &c.* A man cannot runne well, if he know not whither to runne: *de perfect. iuſtic. contr. Celeſtin.* 4.

Good workes are acceptable to God, but through Chriſt: *Such ſacrifices God is pleaſed with, but muſt offer theſe ſacrifices by Chriſt*, Hebr.13.15.16. 5.

Our workes are called good, *non ſecundum perfectam iuſtitiam, ſed hanc, qua humana fragilitati competit*, not after perfect iuſtice, but as is agreeable to our humane fragilitie, *dialog.1.contra.Pelag. Hieron.* 6.

I cannot here omit a moſt excellent teſtimonie of *Origen* to this purpoſe: *Etſi omnia fecerimus, &c.* Although we haue done all things, that are commanded vs, yet haue we not done any good; (for God onely is good) for if the things were truely good, that we do, it would not haue beene written, that doing thoſe things, wee ſhould ſay we are vnprofitable ſeruants, Luke 17.10. *Quantum ad comparationem cæterorum dicuntur bona, quæ agimus; quantum autem ad veritatem, bonum noſtrum non eſt bonum*: In reſpect then of other things, the workes are called good, which we do; but in regard of the trueth, our good doing is not good; *tract.8.in Matth.*

The Proteſtants.

THe moſt righteous men in earth, haue not onely their infirmities, and are in danger to ſinne dayly, but euen their beſt and moſt holy works are blemiſhed with ſome infirmitie, and haue a ſmacke of ſinne.

*Argum.*1. Eccleſ.7.22. *There is no iuſt man in the earth that doth good, and ſinneth not*: that is, not at another time, as *Bellarmine* gloſeth, but euen at the ſame time, wherein he doth good, is not free from ſinne: for who can ſay, I am cleane from ſinne? Prou.20.9. the iuſt man cannot ſay, that at any time he is cleane from ſinne.

*Argum.*2. Iſay.64.6. *All our righteouſneſſe is as a ſtayned clout: Ergo*, the beſt workes which we do, are ſomewhat defiled with our owne corruptions.

Bellarmine anſwereth: 1. That the Prophet ſpeaketh of the wicked men, with whom God was angry, not of the righteous.

Contra.

Contra. Yea, euen of the righteous which say, vers. 5. *We shall be saued*, and vers. 8. *Thou art our father, and we are the worke of thy hands.* The wicked cannot say thus.

Bellarm. 2. The Prophet vnderstandeth onely their ceremoniall righteousnes, in bringing sacrifices, obseruing their new Moones, and such like.

Contra. The Prophets words are generall: *All our righteousnes is stayned:* all, that is, whether the righteousnes of the morall or ceremoniall law.

Argum. 3. *Hierome* vrgeth against the Pelagians, these texts of Scripture: First, 1. Pet. 4. 18. *The righteous shall scarcely be saued: Saluaretur autem facile, si nihil in se macule haberet:* But he should be easily saued, if he had no blot or blemish.

Secondly, Galath. 5. 17. *Ye cannot doe the same things ye would: Ecce Apostolus omnesque credentes quod volunt implere non possunt:* Behold, neither the Apostle, nor any beleeuer, can fulfill that which they would.

Thirdly, 1. Ioh. 1. 5. *God is light, and in him is no darknes: Quando dicit nullas tenebras in dei lumine reperiri, &c.* When he saith no darknes is found in Gods light, he sheweth that al other mens lights are stained.

Fourthly, Matth. 9. 13. *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance: Nullus enim ad perfectum iustus, sed aliqua ex parte peccator:* For no man is perfectly iust, but in some sort a sinner: *Dial. 2. aduer. Pelag.*

First, if the righteous then haue alwaies some staine; secondly, if they cannot in any worke doe that they would; thirdly, if their light be alwaies mixed with darknes; fourthly, if they be not in any thing perfectly iust: then it followeth, that their best workes are blemished, and imperfect.

Origen saith well: *Vix est qui ita curetur, &c.* As there is hardly any man so cured of his wound, but there remaineth some marke of it, *ita anima, quæ peccati vulnus accepit, etiamsi curetur, habet tamen peccati cicatricem:* so the soule, which receiued the wound of sinne, though it be cured, hath some scarres of sinne still: *Hom. 8. in Leuitic.*

Augustine vpon these words of *Iob.* 29. 14. *I put on iustice as a robe*, thus writeth: *Vestis ista bellī magis solet esse quam pacis, vbi adhuc expugnatur concupiscentia, non vbi erit plena, sine aliquo prorsus hostis iniustitia:* This garment, that is a cloake or mantle, is rather for warre, than peace: for here we doe daily fight against concupiscence, and there is no perfect righteousnes without some enemie. But if so any worke of ours could be perfect without sinne, righteousnesse might be without an enemie, which *Augustine* denieth.

Clementin. lib. 5. tit. 11. c. 1. Vbi culpa non est, eam timere solent conscientia timorata: Where no fault is, yet fearefull consciences are afraide of it. If mens good workes were not subiect to fault and blame, what neede a righteous man to feare it?

Espenc. in 1. Timoth. 5. 7. Quis non quasi in pulchro corpore, nœuum aut verrucam habeat? Who hath not as in a beautifull bodie some spot or wart? *In 2. Timoth. p. 110. ex Chrysostom. Nemo potest se in omnibus malus esse, quin aliqua bona habeat; vel bonus, quin quædam peccata:* No man can be so euill in all things, but he hath some good things; no man so good, but he hath some euill.

SECONDLY, WHETHER A RIGHTEOVS MAN may fall into any mortall sinne.

The Papists.

71. Error. MOrtall sinne (they say) cannot consist together with the grace of God, and cannot be committed by a man continuing the sonne of God: for *he that is borne of God sinneth not*, sayth the Apostle, that is, falleth into no mortall sinne, *Rhemist. 1. Ioh. 3. sect. 5.*

The Protestants.

FIrst, vnderstanding mortall sinne, as they doe for euery sinne, that deserueth death, as adulterie, theft, murther, their exposition is hereticall: for then *Dauid* should not haue bin the sonne of God, when he committed adulterie, and consequently should haue been none of the predestinate: but he that is once the sonne of God, is alwaies to the end: *For whom God loueth, he loueth to the end*, Ioh. 13. 1.

Secondly, the Apostles meaning, when he saith, he that is borne of God sinneth not, is no other but as Saint *Paul* saith, *let not sinne raigne, &c.* Rom. 6. 12. that is, the children of God, though they fall into sinne, continue not in it, neither delight therein, neither are wholy ouercome of it: for it is true of them, that they doe it not, but sinne that dwelleth in them, Rom. 7. 20. *Augustine* sayth, *Quicunque in Dei prouidentissima dispositione prædestinati sunt, non dico nondum renati, sed etiam nondum nati, filij Dei sunt & perire non possunt:* Whosoeuer in the most wise counsell of God are predestinate to saluation, not onely before they are regenerate and borne againe, but euen before they are borne, are the children of God, and cannot perish: *de corrept. grat. cap. 9.* Such therefore cannot finally.

finally periſh, and ceaſe to be the ſonnes of God, though they may fall into ſinne.

Hierome to this purpoſe vrgeth that place of the Pſalme againſt the Pelagians: *Pſal.* 32. 5. when the Prophet had ſaid: *I will confeſſe againſt my ſelfe my wickednesse*: it followeth: *Pro hoc, id eſt, impietate orabit ad te omnis ſanctus: ſi ſanctus eſt, quomodo orat pro iniquitate? ſi iniquitatem habet, qua ratione ſanctus appellatur? iuxta illum ſcilicet modum, qui in alio loco ſcribitur, ſepties cadit iuſtus & reſurgit:* For this, that is, impietie, ſhall euery holy man pray, &c. If holy, how prayeth he for iniquitie? if he haue iniquitie, how is he holy? Surely as it is written in another place, The righteous falleth ſeauen times a day and riſeth againe, *Dial. 2. ad Pelag. Ergo*, an holy man may fall into impietie or iniquitie, though by Gods grace he may be recouered againe.

THE THIRD IMPEDIMENT OF GOOD WORKS, namely, of ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt: whether it be a ſinne irremiſſible.

The Papiſts.

ALL ſinnes are pardonable, ſo long as the committers of them be in caſe to repent: as they are, ſo long as they liue in this world: It is great blaſphemie therefore, which the Caluiniſts vtter, that Apoſtaſie, and certaine other ſinnes of the reprobate, cannot be forgiuen at all in this life: *Rhemiſt. 1. Iohn. 1. 5. ſect. 4.* And therefore they ſay, that blaſphemie againſt the ſpirit is ſaid to be irremiſſible, becauſe it is hardly forgiuen: And they define ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt to be nothing elſe but finall impenitencie, *Rhemiſt. Matth. 12. 4.* 71. Error.

Bellarmine better aduiſed, ſaith, that blaſphemie againſt the holy ſpirit is neither euery ſin committed after Baptiſme, as *Origen* thought, nor finall impenitencie, nor yet euery ſinne committed of malice, but defineth it to be a malicious hatred, and deteſtation of the knowne truth: but hee ſaith as the reſt, that it is not a ſinne ſimply irremiſſible, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de pœnitent. cap. 15.*

Argum. Ioh. 20. 23. *Whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer you remit, they are remitted, &c. Ergo*, all ſinnes are remiſſible: *Bellar. lib. 2. de pœnit. c. 15.*

Anſw. 1. The Apoſtles had not commiſſion to binde or looſe whom they would, but to binde all inpenitent perſons, and to looſe all penitent ſinners: as Matth. 18. 18. this authoritie of binding and looſing is giuen with a limitation, *that if any man would not heare the Church, he ſhould be as a heathen*; him they muſt binde, looſe him they cannot, whom they ſee impenitent. And therefore ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt, becauſe it is alwaies ioyned with impenitencie, cannot be looſed.

2. Secondly, *Bellarmine* ſpendeth many words in vaine, to proue *nullum eſſe peccatum, &c.* that there is no ſinne, which is not taken away by true repentance: none of vs euer denied it: yea we doubt not to ſay with *Ambroſe: Arbitror, quod etiam Iudas potuiſſet tanta dei miſeratione non excludi à venia, ſi pœnitentiam non apud Iudæos, ſed apud Chriſtum egiſſet:* I think, that Iudas might haue bin not excluded from forgiuenes by the great mercie of God, if hee had done repentance not before the Iewes, but with Chriſt, *lib. 2. de pœnitent. c. 4.* He ſhould then haue prooued, that repentance may be ioyned with ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt: but ſeeing all, which commit that ſinne are hardened in their hearts, and ſo finally impenitent, they cannot be forgiuen: for they which repent not ſhall periſh, Luk. 13. 3.

The Proteſtants.

THis queſtion of ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt, though it come here ſomewhat out of place, (for it belongeth properly to the 18. Controuerſie, where the other queſtions are handled concerning ſinne) yet I thought it better to touch a matter ſo waightie briefly by the way, then altogether to let it be omitted: We haue therefore to deale both with the Rhemiſts, who doe not rightly deſcribe this ſinne, and then with *Bellarmine*, that together with the reſt affirmeth this ſin to be remiſſible, though not ordinarily and commonly.

Firſt then, againſt the Rhemiſts we ſhew, that ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt is not finall impenitencie: euery one indeede that ſo ſinneth, is finally impenitent, becauſe he ſhall neuer haue the grace to repent: But our Sauiour Chriſt meaneth ſome ſpeciall ſinne, in calling it blaſphemie againſt the holie Ghoſt: for many a wicked man may dye impenitently, and yet not blaſpheme.

And againe, if finall impenitencie were this ſin, then could it not be committed before death: But ſeeing our Sauiour chargeth the Phariſies then liuing, with blaſphemie, and S. *Iohn* ſpeaking of the ſinnes of the liuing, which are ſeene, ſaith, there is a ſin vnto death: If thou ſee thy brother ſinne, &c. 1. Ioh. 5. 16. But if a man could not commit this ſin before he die, he could not be ſeene to ſinne.

Auguſtine better defineth this ſinne: *Cum quis aduerſus gratiam ipſam, qua reconciliatus eſt Deo, inuidentia facibus agitatur:* When a man maliciouſly doth oppugne that grace whereby hee was reconciled to God: *lib. 1. de ſerm. in mont. 41.* But moſt perfectly is this ſinne deſcribed, Hebr. 10.

verſ.29. where there are ſet downe three circumſtances that make this ſinne: firſt, the perſon; he muſt be ſuch an one as hath been lightened with grace, and been in outward appearance ſanctified: therefore Iewes, Turkes, or Infidels, cannot commit this ſinne; becauſe their mindes were neuer illuminate by the truth. Secondly, his affection muſt be conſidered, which is moſt deadly and hatefull in the higheſt degree: blaſpheming the ſpirit, and deſpiting the ſame, crucifying and perſecuting Chriſt againe as it were, Heb.6.6. Wherfore, they which offend of ignorance, as Saint *Paul* before his conuerſion, or infirmitie and weaknes, as Saint *Peter* did when he denied Chriſt; or which fall not into horrible blaſphemies, are not guiltie of this ſinne. Thirdly, it is the truth which they hate and deteſt, which ſometime they loued, and were thereby ſanctified, not denying ſome part thereof, as the heretikes doe, but making a general Apoſtaſie from the whole profeſſion of the faith, they *count the blood of the teſtament as an vnholie thing*. Blaſphemie then againſt the holie Ghoſt, is an horrible hatred and deteſtation of the truth, and grace of Gods ſpirit, whereby he that now blaſphemeth, was before illuminate.

Secondly, againſt *Bellarmine* we ſhew, that this ſinne not onely eaſily ſhall not be forgiuen, but
1 not at all, as our Sauiour ſaith, *Neither in this world, nor the world to come*, Matth.12.verſ.32. And it
2 is impoſſible for them to be renewed by repentance, Heb.6.verſ.6. From hence wee gather theſe arguments: No ſinne without repentance can be forgiuen, Luk.13.3. *Vnleſſe ye repent, ye ſhall periſh*: But ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt is vtterly voide of repentance, neither can he that committeth it be renewed by repentance, it is impoſſible ſaith the Apoſtle: *Ergo*.

That ſinne, for the which there remaineth no ſacrifice, is not remiſſible: for our ſinnes cannot otherwiſe be forgiuen vs, than by the ſacrifice of Chriſts death: But ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt,
3 which is a willing or wilfull backſliding after the knowledge of the trueth, cannot be done away by any ſacrifice, Heb.10.26. *Ergo*.

4 There is no hope of forgiuenes for that ſinne, for the which it is not lawfull to pray: for ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt, which is a ſinne vnto death, it is not lawfull to pray, 1.Ioh.5.16. *Ergo*. Wherefore it is a great blaſphemie in the Papiſts ſo contrarie to the Scripture to affirme, that blaſphemie againſt the ſpirit may be forgiuen.

1 1. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt is ſaid not to be remitted in this world nor the next: *quia ordinarie & vt plurimùm*, becauſe ordinarily, and for the moſt part it is not forgiuen: *lib.2.de pœnit.c.16.reſp.ad arg.1*.

1. *Contra*. Firſt, S. *Marke* ſaith: *Non habet remiſſionem in æternum*: He that blaſphemeth the holy Ghoſt, ſhall not be forgiuen for euer, Mark.3.29. If neuer, how then dare he contradict the Scripture? Yes, he ſhall be forgiuen, though hardly: if he be forgiuen at all, then the Euangeliſt ſayth not true, *he ſhall neuer, &c*. Secondly, as other blaſphemies are forgiuen, ſo this blaſphemie is not forgiuen: but other blaſphemies and ſinnes are alſo hardly forgiuen; 1.Pet.4.18. *The righteous ſhall ſcarcely be ſaued: Ergo*, this ſinne is not forgiuen, no not hardly. Thirdly, thus *Cyprian* expounded, *Non poſſe in Eccleſia remitti ei, qui in deum deliquerit, &c*. He cannot be forgiuen in the Church, which ſinneth againſt God: and then hee citeth this place, Matth.12.32. *lib.3. ad Quirinum cap.28*.

Origen: Quibus (qui ſ.in ſpiritum ſanctum, blaſphemant) neque in præſenti, neque in futuro ſeculo remittetur: Whom (that ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt) it ſhall not be forgiuen, neither in this world nor the next.

Canſ.33.diſt.1.c.59.gloſſ. Blaſphemiam in ſpiritum dominus neque in hoc ſeculo, nec futuro remittendam aſſeruit: Blaſphemie againſt the holie Ghoſt the Lord ſaid ſhall neither in this world be forgiuen, nor in the world to come, &c. that is neuer, or not at all.

2 2. *Bellarmine* to the ſecond and third place maketh the ſame anſwer, that he that is once lightened, that is baptized, if hee fall away, cannot be renewed againe by the baptiſme of repentance: and for ſuch there is no more ſacrifice, that is, no ſecond baptiſme to be expected: *Bellar.ibid*.

2. *Contra*. Firſt, the Apoſtle, Hebr.6.1.2. maketh repentance from dead workes, and the doctrine of Baptiſmes two diuers things: therefore by repentance Baptiſme is not inſinuated. Secondly, the meaning of the Apoſtle is, that ſuch an one cannot at all repent, and ſo cannot be renewed by repentance: the reaſon is taken from the greatnes of ſinne, becauſe he doth crucifie againe the ſonne of God, and make a mocke of him, verſ.6. and therefore is neere to curſing, verſ.8. Thirdly, *Ambroſe* ſaith *in Luc.22. Caſſa erat proditoris pœnitentia, qui peccauit in ſpiritum ſanctum*: The traytors repentance was in vaine (meaning *Iudas*) which ſinned againſt the holie Ghoſt, &c. ſignifying, that ſuch an one cannot haue true repentance. Likewiſe *Hierome: Nihil ita repugnat deo quam cor impœnitens; ſolum crimen eſt, quod veniam conſequi non poteſt; ſolum deſperationis crimen, quod mederi non poteſt*: Nothing doth ſo much reſiſt againſt God, as an impenitent heart; it is the only crime, which cannot obtaine pardon; only the crime of deſperation cannot be healed: *obiurgat. Sabinian*. The Apoſtles meaning then is, that they which ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt, hauing no grace to repent, cannot at all be forgiuen.

3. Firſt,

3. Firſt, in the ſame ſenſe the Apoſtle ſaith, there remaineth no ſacrifice for this, nor any meanes at all of forgiuenes: but *a feareſull looking for of indgement and violent fire*, Hebr. 10. 27. ſo that the Apoſtle excludeth all meanes and hope of comfort and remiſſion. Secondly, verſ. 28. he dyeth without mercie that deſpiſeth *Moſes* law: but he that blaſphemeth the ſpirit, is worthie *of greater puniſhment*, verſ. 29. therefore he alſo *ſine vlla miſeratione moritur*, dieth without mercie; and where there is no mercie, there is no forgiuenes. Thirdly, *Peter Lombard. lib. 2. diſt. 43. b.* rehearſeth thus out of *Auguſtine*: *Hoc ſolum peccatum veniam mereri non poteſt*: This ſinne onely againſt the holie Ghoſt can finde no mercie. And out of *Hierome*: *Taliter peccans digne pœnitere non poteſt*: He that thus ſinneth, cannot worthily repent, &c. *Ergo*, there is no hope at all of mercie for ſuch, nor no ſacrifice for remiſſion of their ſinne.

4. *Bellar.* The Apoſtle doth not forbid vs to pray for ſuch, but onely ſheweth, that wee are not ſo eaſily heard, nor cannot pray with ſuch aſſurance: otherwiſe he had ſaid before, 1. Iohn. 5. 15. we know that he heareth whatſoeuer we aske: *Bellar. ibi reſp. ad 4 loc.*

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe, verſ. 14. *This is the aſſurance, that we haue in him, that if we aske any thing according to his will, he heareth vs*: but to pray for a ſinne irremiſſible, is to pray againſt his will. Secondly, the Apoſtle hauing before giuen a direct precept to pray for a brother, *ſinning not vnto death*, afterward giueth a flat exception, of this ſinne vnto death, *I ſay not that thou ſhouldeſt pray for it*. Now that which is excepted out of the precept, is it not denied, or forbidden? as Ioh. 13. verſ. 18. our Sauiour ſaith, *I ſpeake not of you all*: he doth manifeſtly except and exclude *Iudas*: ſo here to pray for a ſinne vnto death, being excepted from the generall precept before, is euidently forbidden and denied. Thirdly, the end of our prayer for ſinners, is, that God would giue them life, that ſinne not vnto death: but life cannot be granted for a ſinne vnto death, (for how is it a ſinne vnto death if it may finde life?) *Ergo*, there is no prayer for ſuch, where the end of the prayer cannot be hoped for. Fourthly, thus *Ambroſe* expoundeth: *Non poteſt ibi exoratio eſſe venia, vbi ſacrilegij eſt plenitudo*: There can bee no entreatie for pardon, where there is a fulnes of ſacrilege. *Hierome*, as he is cited by *Pet. Lombard. Relè dicit Ioannes, non pro eo oret quis, &c.* Saint *Iohn* ſaith well, let not any man pray for him: *lib. 3 diſt. 43. b.* He maketh this exception of the Apoſtle a flat prohibition.

So I conclude this place, with that ſentence of *Hierome*: *Genus eſt lepræ quod omnino mundari non poteſt, &c.* There is a kinde of leproſie, which cannot be cleanſed at all, and therefore ſuch a man was bid to goe out of the campe. This is that ſinne, which is committed againſt the holie Ghoſt, that is of blaſphemie, which, as our Lord ſaith in the Goſpell, ſhall not be forgiuen, neither in this nor the next world: *de diuerſ. generib. lepr.*

We haue alſo the teſtimonie of holie Martyrs: Maſter *Tyndall*: *Sinne againſt the holie Ghoſt is, when men of a ſet malice doe perſecute the truth, and of a grounded hate againſt the law of God, by reaſon of a full conſent they haue to ſinne, and to walke in their old wayes of ignorance, wherevnto being now paſt all repentance, they haue vtterly yeelded themſelues, to follow with full luſt, without bridle or ſnaffle, &c. Fox.* pag. 1080. col. 2.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE DIGNITIE and worthines of good works, that is, of merits.

THE FIRST PART, WHICH BE THE good works of Chriſtians.

The Papiſts.

THey doe not onely call them good workes, which are commanded of God, but which are alſo inioyned by the Church and the gouernours thereof; and that euen by ſuch workes men are iuſtified, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 6. cap. 10. Tapper. ex Tileman. loc. 11. err. 1.* 74. Error.

The Proteſtants.

SAint *Paul* defineth good workes otherwiſe, namely, thoſe which God hath ordained, that we ſhould walke in them, Epheſ. 2. 10. They are not the precepts of men, but the commaundements of God in his word, the doing whereof hath the name of good workes. As for the traditions and iniunctions of men not warranted by Gods worde, they are ſo farre from being commended or commanded, that our Sauiour calleth the doing thereof, but a Worſhipping of God in vaine, Mark. 7. 7.

Auguſtine vpon thoſe wordes, in the 103. Pſalme, verſ. 18. The louing kindnes of the Lorde is vpon thoſe that keepe his couenant, and thinke vpon his commaundements to doe them, ſaith thus: *Vide vt præcepta teneas: ſed quomodo teneas? non memoria, ſed vita: Memoria retinuit hus mandata eius, non vt reddant ea, ſed vt faciant ea*: See that thou keepe Gods commaundements: but how? not in thy memorie, but in thy life; not to ſay them by rote, but to doe them: *Ergo*, they are

Gods commaundements, which we muſt thinke of to doe them; for vnto ſuch the bleſſing is promiſed, not to the obſeruers of mens precepts or traditions.

Origen vpon thoſe words, Cantic. 1.14. *Speciosa es proxima:* Thou art faire my loue, or neighbour: *Incipis esse speciosa, quod proxima mihi es:* Thou beginneſt to be faire, becauſe thou art neere vnto me: *Hom. 2. in Cantic.* The neerenes then to God maketh vs beautifull and faire in good workes.

Eſſene. out of *Theodoret*, thus expoundeth that 1. Timoth. 6. 18. εργαζεσθαι, to doe well, that is, *Credere Deo, & quæcunque fidei conueniunt facere:* To beleeue in God, and to doe all things agreeable to faith: *in* 1. *Tim. p.* 171. Good workes then are thoſe which God hath appointed, and are according to faith.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THERE be any good workes without faith.

The Papiſts.

75. Error. THough they dare not altogether iuſtifie the workes of the Heathen and Infidels, yet they doe excuſe them, and doe blame vs for ſaying, that Infidels doe ſinne in honouring their parents, in fighting for their countrey, and ſuch like. They therefore doe diſcharge the Heathen of ſinne, in theſe workes of theirs, *Rhemiſt. Rom.* 14. *ſect.* 4.

The Proteſtants.

THeſe workes are not ſinne in themſelues, but in Infidels they are, becauſe they proceede of Infidelitie.

Arg. It is the rule of the Goſpell, that a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit, Mat. 7. 18. But all Infidels are corrupt trees, being without faith: *Ergo*, they can bring forth no good fruit.

The Pelagians thought to haue poſed *Auguſtine* with the ſame queſtion, which the Papiſts propound to vs. Was it ſinne in the Heathen (ſay they) to clothe the naked? *Auguſtine* anſwereth, *Non per ſeipſum factum peccatum eſt, ſed de tali opere non in domino gloriari, ſolus impius negat eſſe peccatum:* The fact of it ſelfe is not ſinne, but in doing any ſuch thing not to reioyce in the Lord, none but wicked men will denie it to be ſinne. I may therefore ſay vnto theſe patrones of Ethnicke vertues, as *Bernard* in the like caſe: *Dum multum ſudat quomodo Platonem faciat Chriſtianum ſi probat Ethnicum:* While he laboureth to make *Plato* a Chriſtian, hee ſheweth himſelfe an Ethnicke: *Epiſtol.* 191.

Hierom. dialog. 3. aduerſ. Pelagian. vpon theſe words, Ioh. 15. 5. *I am the vine, ye the braunches, &c. Rami illicò contabeſcunt:* As the boughs doe preſently wither, if they be pulled from the ſtock: ſo all mans ſtrength doth decay, if he be forſaken of God, &c. Like as then the braunch without the vine bringeth forth no fruite: ſo neither can a man without faith doe any thing, that is good.

Decr. par. 2. cauſ. 1. qu. 1. c. 26. Gregor. Vbi Chriſtus non eſt fundamentum, nullum eſt boni operis ædificium: Where Chriſt is not the foundation, there can be no good worke builded vpon.

Peter. Lombard. lib. 2. diſt. 41. a. Quæ ſine fide fiunt, bona non ſunt: The things done without faith, are not good.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE VSE and office of good workes.

THey make a threefolde vſe of good workes, as they call them: firſt, by them the merits of Chriſt, they ſay, are applyed vnto vs. Secondly, they doe purge our ſinnes. Thirdly, they are meritorious.

THE FIRST ARTICLE, WHETHER *bona opera* be *applicatoria.*

The Papiſts.

76. Error. BY any worke proceeding of faith and charitie, the merit of Chriſts paſſion is applied to vs, *Soto, ex Tileman. loc.* 11. *err.* 21. Men by their ſuffrings and other workes, may applie to themſelues the generall medicine of Chriſts merits and ſatisfaction, *Rhemiſt. annot.* 1. *Coloſſ. ſect.* 4.

The Proteſtants.

IT is the propertie of faith onely, to apprehend, and applie vnto vs the benefits of Chriſts paſſion, and all other his merits.

Argum. Rom. 10. 7, 8. *We need not* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *to aſcend to heauen, or deſcend into the deepe, to bring Chriſt from thence: it is the word of faith, which we preach.* By faith then we do ſcale the heauens, and behold Chriſt: it is not the doctrine of workes, but the word of faith that performeth this.

And

And therefore the Apostle defineth faith, to be the ground of things hoped for, and the euidence of things not seene, Hebr. 11.1. This definition cannot agree vnto works, or vnto any other thing but faith: for then it were no good definition, nor yet description: *Ergo*, faith only is the euidence of things inuisible: and therefore onely applieth Christs precious merits, which are things beleeued and not seene.

Augustine thus also describeth faith: *Rerum absentium præsens est fides; rerum, quæ foris sunt, intus est fides; rerum, quæ non videntur, videtur fides:* Faith maketh things absent, present; things without vs, to be within vs; things not seene, to be seene: *Ergo*, faith only hath this applicatorie power, to applie Christs merits not present, nor seene, and to make them as our owne.

Ambrose in 2. Cor. 3. Lex spiritus dat libertatem solam fidem poscens, quia quæ non vidit, credit, de conditione eius meretur: The law of the spirit giueth libertie, requiring onely faith, which because it beleeueth those things it seeth not, is thought worthie to be deliuered. This then is that which in faith is auaileable, because it beleeueth, that which is not seene, which is only proper and peculiar to faith, and not to workes.

THE SECOND ARTICLE, VVHEther *bona opera* be *expiatoria*.

The Papists.

THe workes of charitie and mercie, as almes deedes, and such like, haue force to extinguish our sins, as Saint *Peter* saith, Charitie doth couer a multitude of sins, *Epist. 1. 4. 8. Rhemist ibid.* 78. Error.

The Protestants.

Ans. THe Apostle speaketh of mutuall charitie amongst our selues, whose propertie is to couer a multitude of our neighbours offences, as *Salomon* sayth, Prou. 10. 11. *Hatred stirreth vp contentions, but loue coureth trespasses:* what is this to the extinguishing of our sinnes before God?

Arg. It is an abominable and blasphemous opinion, that any man by his works should be able to redeeme his sinnes: for the Scripture saith, that by *himselfe Christ hath purged our sinnes*, Heb. 1. 3. If he haue wholy done it by himselfe, he hath not giuen this power and force of redemption to any other meanes.

If they vnderstand by the force of extinguishing sinnes, the meanes onely of applying Christs merits: in that sense, faith only is said to saue vs, Ephes. 2. 8.

Augustine: Si merita nostra aliquid facerent, ad damnationem nostram veniret, sed non venit ad inspectionem meritorum, sed remissionem peccatorum: If our merits were auaileable to any purpose, God should come to our condemnation: but he commeth not to behold our merits, but to forgiue vs our sinnes: *Ergo*, by our merits our sinnes are not forgiuen.

Ambrose: Peccatum aut donatur, aut deletur, aut tegitur; donatur per gratiam, deletur per sanguinem crucis, tegitur per charitatem: Sinne is either pardoned, extinguished, or blotted, couered; it is pardoned by grace, blotted or washed away by Christs blood, couered by charitie: *apolog. Dauid. cap. 13.* So then though before men by loue and charitie offences may be couered, yet before God by grace onely and faith in Christs blood, are they blotted and extinguished. And that is *Ambrose* meaning, that before God sinnes are not couered by charitie, but by faith, it is euident by his owne words: *Remittere, tegere, non imputare, vna ratio, vnus est sensus:* To remit, to couer, not to impute, haue all one sense: *in 4. ad Roman.* But hee had said before, that sinnes are pardoned and so remitted by grace: *Ergo*, by grace and faith they are also couered.

THE THIRD ARTICLE, VVHETHER our workes be meritorious.

The Papists.

GOd giueth as well euerlasting life and glorie to men, for and according to their workes, as hee giueth damnation for the contrarie works, *Rhemist. Roman. 2. sect. 2.* And men by their workes, proceeding of grace, doe deserue or merit heauen, and the more or lesse ioy in the same, *1. Cor. 3. sect. 2.* 79. Error.

Argum. 1. He will render to euery man according to his workes, Rom. 2. 6. Euery man shall receiue his reward according to his labour. Here we see the kingdome of heauen is a retribution, hyre, wages for workes: *Ergo*, our workes are the value, price, worth and merite of the same: *Rhemist.*

Answ. Our labours and workes are a measure of the reward, according the which God doth mete out and render vnto his Saints of the heauenly rewarde: but they are no meritorious or deseruing cause thereof. The reward is of mercie, not of desert; of grace, not of merite: for life eternall is the meere *gift of God through Iesus Christ*, Rom. 6. 23. But the wages of sinne is death. Where

the Apostle doth set a manifest difference betweene the reward of the righteous, and the iust recompence of the wicked: for life eternall is the free and gracious gift of God, not deserued: but eternall damnation is the due debt of sinne. Wherefore the Papists doe bid open battell to the Apostle, in saying, that the one is as due by debt as the other.

*Argum.*2. S. *Paul* saith, 2. Timoth. 4. 8. *That there is a crowne of righteousnesse layd vp for him, which God the iust Iudge shall giue him: Ergo*, the crowne is giuen not of mercie, but of iustice, as a wages and iust recompence to the Apostle.

Answ. God rendreth heauen as a iust Iudge, not to the merite and worthines of our workes, but to the merite and worthinesse of Christ, and as due to vs by his promise made to vs in Christ. The reward therefore of heauen is of the mercie of God, who hath freely promised it vs in Christ. It is of his iustice, in that he is faithfull and iust in keeping of his promise made to vs: So that it is a debt, not in respect of any desert in vs, but in regard of his owne promise; As *Augustine* saith: *Debitorem ipse se Dominus fecit, non accipiendo, sed promittendo: Non ei dicitur redde, quod accepisti, sed redde quod promisisti:* God hath made himselfe a debtor, by promising, not by receiuing any thing at our hands: We say not to him, render that thou hast receiued, but giue that which thou hast promised: *In Psalm.* 83.

Alexander Seton Preacher and Martyr thus witnesseth: If you aske if good workes shall be rewarded, I say yea, and with no lesse then eternall glorie: but for no merite they deserue, but only because God hath promised, not for the merite of the worke, but for his promise sake, and he will not breake his promise: *Fox.* pag. 1206.

*Argum.*3. Further, these places are produced for the proofe of merites.

1. Life euerlasting is in Scripture called *merces*, a recompence or reward, therefore good workes doe properlie merite, Matth. 5. 12. *Reioyce and be glad, great is your reward in heauen.* Matth. 20. 8. *Call the labourers, and giue them their hire.*

2. Good workes are rendred as the cause, why eternall life is rendred, Matth. 25. 34. *Come ye blessed inherite the kingdome, for when I was hungred ye gaue me meate, &c.* vers. 21. *Thou hast been faithfull in litle, I will make thee ruler ouer much, enter into thy Masters ioy.*

3. Life eternall is promised to good workes: Matth. 19. 17. *If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commaundements.* 1. Tim. 4. 8. *Godlines hath the promise both of this life and the next:* so then, as he that promiseth, is endebted by promise; so he that worketh, and fulfilleth the condition meriteth.

4. The Scripture counteth men worthie: Luk. 10. 7. *The labourer is worthie of his wages.* 2. Thes. 1. 5. *That ye may be counted worthie of the kingdome of God, for which ye suffer:* Apocal. 3. 4. *They shall walke with me in white, for they are worthie.*

5. God is no accepter of persons: Rom. 2. 11. *There is no respect of persons with God.* Galat. 2. 6. Therefore he giueth vnto euery man according to their workes: *Bellarm. lib.* 5. *de iustif. c.* 3.

1. *Answ.* First *Augustine* saith, *Quicquid promisit indignis promisit, vt non quasi operibus merces promitteretur, sed gratis daretur:* Whatsoeuer God hath promised, he hath promised to those that are vnworthie, that it should not be promised as a reward vnto works, but as grace freely giuen: *Præfat. in Psalm.* 109. The argument then followeth not, there is a reward, *Ergo* merite: For the reward may be counted of fauour as well as of debt, Rom. 4. 4. Secondly, S. *Ambrose* inferreth the cleane contrarie conclusion: *Cum hi qui in multo labore fudarunt, &c.* Seeing they, which were in all the labour receiued no more then the last, *Intelligant donum se gratiæ non operum accepisse mercedem:* Let them know that they receiued a gift of grace, not a reward of their workes, *Ambr. lib.* 1. *de vocat. gent. c.* 3.

2. Good workes are alleaged not as the cause or reason of life, but as the way and order thereunto: S. *Ambrose* sheweth the reason, *Habet vitam æternam fides, quia fundamentum est bonum, habent & bona facta, quibus vir iustus & dictis & rebus probatur:* Faith hath life eternall, as a good foundation, and good workes also, whereby a righteous man is proued in word and deede: *Officior. lib.* 2. *c.* 2. Good workes then are recompensed as testimonies and proofes of our faith.

3. Promise and merite or worke cannot stand together, but promise is the obiect of faith: Rom. 4. 16. *It is by faith, that the promise might be sure,* and that which is of faith is not of debt: as the Apostle sheweth, Rom. 4. 3. *To him that worketh, the wages is counted of debt; to him that worketh not, faith is counted, &c.* And *Ambrose, Veniam tanquam ex fide speremus, non tanquam ex debito:* Let vs hope for pardon as of faith, not of debt, *lib.* 2. *de pœniten. c.* 8. Wherefore it followeth not, God promiseth life with a condition, *Ergo*, by the condition performed wee doe merite: seeing that the reward dependeth vpon the promise which is apprehended by faith, and so is not of merite.

4. First, he that laboureth in the Gospell, is worthie of his wages before men, but it followeth not that is so before God. Secondly, the text is: *That ye may be counted worthie:* and vers. 11. *That God may make you worthie:* we are not then verilie worthie, but as it pleaseth God in Christ to account vs worthie. *Ambrose* saith well, *Quantum ad cæterorum comparationem pertinet, hi digni sunt, quantum*

quantum ad rem ipsam omnes indigni sunt? In respect of others they are worthie, but indeede in respect of the thing, they are all vnworthie, *in* 2. *Timoth. c.* 1.

5. God is no accepter of persons, to admit vnto life those that haue not laboured in his name, and to refuse others with their righteous workes: but he giueth vnto euery one according to their workes, but not for, or because of their workes: their workes as liuely testimonies of their faith, are a rule and measure of their reward, but no cause: men shall be both knowne here and iudged there by their workes, as the tree is discerned and iudged by the fruite. *Augustine* very well vpon these words, Matth. 7. 2. *With what measure yee mete, shall be measured to you againe, &c. Est apud te mensura veniæ dandæ, inuenies apud me mensuram veniæ accipiendæ, &c.* There is with thee a measure in giuing leaue or pardon, thou shalt finde with mee a measure of receiuing pardon: *in Psalm.* 140. Our workes then are a measure, whereby it shall be measured againe to vs, but no merite or desert. *Gregorie* saith, *Reddendum est vnicuique secundum opera, sed aliud est secundum, aliud propter opera reddere:* It shall be rendred to euery man according to his works: but it is one thing according, another to render for works, *in Psalm.* 142.

Argum. 4. Now whereas diuers Fathers are alleaged for merites, as *Ignatius epistol. ad Roman: Vt Deum possim promereri:* That I may merite God: *Hilar. c.* 8. *in Matth. De nostro est beata illa æternitas promerenda:* We must merite heauen of our owne. *Ambros. lib.* 1. *de offic. c.* 15. *Euidens est meritorum aut præmia aut supplicia manere post mortem:* It is euident, that either reward or punishment of our merites do remaine after death: *Bellarm. c.* 4.

Our generall answere to these and the like places of the Fathers is this: First, that this word *promereri*, to merite, sometime signifieth nothing else but to please or be acceptable: as Heb. 13. 16. with such sacrifice, *promeretur Deus*, God is merited, as the vulgar latine readeth; the worde is εὐαρεστεῖται, is pleased: and so the vulgar text translateth, Hebr. 11. 6. Without faith it is impossible to please God: and in this sense *Ignatius* is to be vnderstoode.

Secondly, *promereri* signifieth as much as *satagere*, for a man to endeuour or put forward himselfe, or to doe seruice; as the Latine phrase is vsed, *mereri sub aliquo*, to serue vnder one: so *Hilarie* is to be interpreted: for otherwise, heauen is not merited, *de nostro*, of our owne. And as it followeth, *præstandum aliquid est ex proprio*, somewhat must be performed of our owne: but he that meriteth, must not doe somewhat, but the whole: it signifieth therefore seruice rather and diligent endeuour, than desert properly.

Thirdly, sometime *meritum*, merit is taken absolutely, for *opus*, worke: as *Augustine* so taketh it, *Tract.* 3. *in Ioann. Deus coronat dona sua, non merita tua: (i. opera)* God crowneth his gifts, not thy merits, that is workes: for if they be properly merits, they should be crowned. So then, merit noteth the substance of the worke, and not the qualitie: and thus the word also may haue a tolerable sense.

Fourthly, the fathers vse the word merit, properly referring it vnto ỹ efficacie of Christs death, and the merit thereof: *Augustine serm.* 13. *serm.* 14. *Per meritum eius cui nihil facere potes, resurget, &c.* The bodie shall rise by his merit, to whom thou canst doe nothing &c. that is, by the merit of Christ. In this sense *Bernard: Meum meritum misericordia domini, non sum inops meriti, quamdiu ille misericordiarum non est:* My merit is Gods mercie, I am not without merit as long as he is not without mercie: *Cantic.* 61. Gods mercie in Christ, or Christs merit by Gods mercie is our merit.

Fiftly, *mereo*, signifieth absolutely to get, to compasse, obtaine: as *Plaut. Meruit illa virum dote*: She got or obtained an husband, with her dowrie. Thus *August. serm. de tempor.* 252. *Nullis præcedentib. meritis per gratiam dei meruimus fieri templum dei:* Without any merits going before by grace we merited (that is obtained) to be the temple of God, &c. otherwise the grace of God properly is not merited. And how can we merit without merit, as here it is said? And *Ambrose* saith: *Lex spiritus dat libertatem, solam fidem poscens, &c.* The law of the spirit giueth libertie requiring only faith, that because it beleeueth, that which it seeth not, *de conditione erui mereatur*, it may deserue to be deliuered: that is obtaine, *in* 2. *Cor.* 3. for otherwise faith meriteth not: As *Ambrose* againe, *Veniam tanquam ex fide speremus, non tanquam ex debito, &c.* Let vs hope for pardon as of faith, not of debt, *lib.* 2. *de pœniten. c.* 8. But if it were by the merit of faith, it should be of debt. And *Augustine: Non pro merito accipies vitam æternam, sed pro gratia, fides enim gratia:* Thou shalt not receiue life eternall for merit, but for grace, for faith is grace: *Tract.* 3. *in Ioann. Ergo*, there is no merit of faith properly. If the fathers be vnderstood in any of these senses, when they speake of merit, though the phrase be not proper, it is tolerable: otherwise if they be construed to ascribe the kingdome of heauen any way to mans merit, they speake contrarie to themselues, as after in our arguments followeth to be shewed.

The Protestants.

WE confesse a necessarie vse of good workes: As first, they doe serue as notable meanes and instruments to set forth Gods glorie by, Matth. 5. 16. Secondly, by them also our faith is shewed, published and made known, for the good example of others, Iam. 2. 18. Thirdly, our own

conſcience alſo is thereby quieted, and our election daily made more ſure vnto vs: we doe grow and increaſe in the certaintie and aſſurance thereof, 2. Pet. 1. 10. But we acknowledge no power, force, or efficacie at all in them to deſerue and merite any thing at the hands of God, neither doth the Scripture in any place ſo ſpeake.

Argum. 1. If man conſider his deſerts, he ſhall finde, that he is worthie of nothing but death: To vs (ſaith the Prophet) belongeth ſhame, Dan. 9. 9. There is nothing elſe by debt due vnto vs: In Pſal. 18. expoſit. 2. as *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Nihil præceſſerat in meritis noſtris, niſi vnde damnari deberemus:* Nothing goeth before in our merites, but that whereby we ought iuſtly to be condemned. And againe, *Omne peccatum noſtrum eſt negligentia, omnis virtus & ſanctitas eſt Dei indulgentia:* All euill and ſinne in vs, In Matth. ſerm. 8. is of our owne negligence; all goodnes and holines, of the free mercie of God. *Si miſericordia Domini multa, multus ego in meritis:* If the mercies of God be many, my merites are many. Gods mercies are our merites: our due debts are nothing elſe but puniſhment for ſinne.

Argum. 2. Betweene the deſert or merite, and the wages or recompence, there ought alwaies to be ſome proportion: a like ſtipend for a like labour: But heauen without compariſon exceedeth the worthines of our workes: *Ergo*, it is not giuen as a debt, but as a free gift: therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, that the afflictions that are preſent, are not worthie of the glorie that ſhall be reuealed, Rom. 8. 18. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quàm parvo conſtat regnum cœlorum? duobus minutis emit vidua regnum cœlorum:* How little doth the kingdome of God ſtand vs in? a certaine widow for two mites bought the Kingdome of heauen. Shall we thinke that the widowes caſting in of two mites deſerued the kingdome of heauen? Farre be it from vs ſo to thinke: it is then a gift of fauour and mercie, not wages of debt. Homil. 8.

Argum. 3. Theſe places of Scripture do plentifully teſtifie againſt merits, aſcribing all to the mercie of God.

1. Pſal. 103. 4. *Which crowneth thee in mercie and compaſſion.*

2. Dan. c. 9. 18. *We do not preſent our ſupplications before thee, for our owne righteouſneſſe,* but for thy great mercies.

3. Luke 17. 10. *When yee haue done all, ſay ye are vnprofitable ſeruants.*

4. Rom. 6. 23. *The wages of ſinne is death, but life eternall is the grace of God through Chriſt*: Life eternall then is not ſo the wages of good workes; as eternall death is of euill.

5. Rom. 8. verſ. 18. *The afflictions of this preſent time, are not worthie of the glory, which ſhall be reuealed.*

6. Rom. 3. 27. *Your reioycing is excluded by the law of faith: Ergo*, workes merite not, for then we might reioyce in them.

1. *Anſw.* Firſt, the Crowne is ſaid to be of mercie; becauſe the merites, which deſerue the crowne, are giuen vnto vs of mercy. Secondly, or Gods mercie is ſeene in pardoning our veniall ſinnes, while he giueth the crowne to our good workes. *Bellarm. c. 5. reſpon. ſ. ad argum.* 1.

1. *Contra.* Firſt, this is like the anſwere of the Pelagians, that graunted, that free will was of grace, becauſe it was Gods grace and gift in giuing freewill to man at the firſt; as here he ſaith it is Gods mercie in giuing vs merites: But as *Auguſtine* anſwereth to that cauill, *epiſt.* 95. *Gratia iſta ſenſu ſumpta non legitur apud Apoſtolos:* Wee reade not of grace taken in that ſenſe with the Apoſtles, &c. ſo neither do we reade of mercie ſo taken. 2. The Prophet ſaith in the ſame verſe, *which redeemeth thy life*; and before, *which forgiueth thy ſinne*: they may ſay as well, that Gods mercie is ſeene in giuing men power to redeeme themſelues and their ſinnes, as in giuing them power to merite. 3. If man meriteth the crowne, and Gods mercie forgiueth onely veniall ſinnes, then man doth more then God: for, to get the crowne, is more, then to wipe away veniall and ſmall ſinnes: and if a man may merit the crowne, how is it, that by his merites he alſo cannot extinguiſh his veniall ſinnes? there is no coherence in this broken ſtuffe. 4. Mercie and merit, grace and worke cannot ſtand together, Rom. 4. 4. *To him that worketh, it is not counted of fauour, but of debt*: but this fellow correcteth the Apoſtle, and ſaith; Yes, it is of fauour and mercie that they merite, and ſo challenge as of debt. *Auguſtine* well ſaith, *Non pro merito accipies vitam æternam, ſed pro gratia; ſidet enim gratia eſt, & vita æterna eſt gratia pro gratia:* Thou ſhalt not receiue life eternall for merite, but for grace; for faith is a gift or grace, and life eternall is grace for grace, *tract.* 3. *in Ioan.* But this conſequent were not good, if the ſame thing were both grace and merite.

2. *Anſw. Daniel* in that place doth not deſire the crowne of life, but onely deliuerance from captiuitie, whereunto their ſinnes had brought them, *ibid. reſp. ad loc.* 2.

Contra. 1. If *Daniel* aſcribeth not a temporall deliuerance to his merite, but Gods mercie; how much leſſe can our eternall and ſpirituall deliuerance be deſerued. 2. *Daniel* vtterly excludeth himſelfe from all merite, in confeſſing with the reſt, Dan. 9. 5. *We haue ſinned, and committed iniquitie:* as *Hierome* ſaith, *in 7. ad Roman. Daniel, quem iuſtum fuiſſe nouimus, quaſi de ſe dicit cum aliis, peccauimus: Daniel*, whom we know to haue been iuſt, doth confeſſe as of himſelfe with others, we haue ſinned, &c. If a righteous and iuſt man be a ſinner, what place is there for merit? ſinners

muſt

muſt clayme mercie, not chalenge merite : as the Publicane, Luke 18. *Lorde be mercifull to a mee ſinner.*

3. Firſt, we are vnprofitable ſeruants of our ſelues, but by grace made profitable. 1.

Secondly, we are ſaid to be vnprofitable in reſpect of God, becauſe the profite of our workes redoundeth not to him. 2.

Thirdly, we are taught ſo to ſay for humilities ſake, though indeed we are not vnprofitable. 3.

Fourthly, or the meaning is, that for all our ſeruice, wee can demaund no reward, ſeeing that God without reward might bind vs to do all we do, but that *gratuito pacto*, he dealeth with vs more graciouſly and liberally by his free couenant, in reſpect whereof wee may ſay with the Apoſtle, There is a crowne of righteouſneſſe laid vp in ſtore for me. *Bellarm. ad loc.* 3. 4.

Contra. 1. By grace indeed we are made profitable, becauſe it is not in vaine in vs, but not profitable to merite or deſerue any thing; but profitable, in that we are not *vnfruitfull*: as the Apoſtle ſheweth, Tit. 3. 8. 14. 2. Our Sauiour ſpeaketh here of ſeruants, and there of ſuch as are in the ſtate of grace; for before grace, we are not obedient ſeruants, but ſtubborne enemies: So *Ambroſe* ſaith, vpon this place; *Agnoſce te ſeruum plurimis obſequijs deſœneratum, neq; te iactes ſi bene feciſti, quod facere debuiſti:* Acknowledge thy ſelfe a ſeruant diuerſly bound, neyther boaſt, if thou haue well done, that which thou oughteſt to do, *in* 17. *Luc.* But we cannot do any thing well of our ſelues, but by grace: *Ergo*, euen hauing receiued grace, we are in this ſenſe vnprofitable ſeruants. 1.

Contra. Firſt, it is true, that God in himſelfe is not by our ſinnes hindred, or by our righteouſneſſe furthered or profited, Iob. 35. 6. *If thou ſinneſt, what doſt thou againſt him? if thou be righteous, what giueſt thou vnto him?* and therefore good workes *properly are ſaid to be profitable to men*, Tit. 3. 8. And, though before men Gods glory be ſet forth by the ſeruice of the Saints, yet the profite, vſe and benefite thereof extendeth vnto themſelues. 2. Wherefore, euen in reſpect of our ſelues we are ſaid to be vnprofitable ſeruants: becauſe by our ſeruice we deſerue no thankes at Gods hands, Luke 17. verſ. 9. *Doth he thanke that ſeruant?* and thus *Ambroſe* expoundeth; *Sicut tu ſeruo tuo gratias non agis, &c. nec in te patitur Dominus vnius vſum eſſe operis, vel laboris, &c.* As thou doeſt not giue thy ſeruant thankes, &c. ſo the Lorde doth not ſuffer thee to haue vſe of any one woorke or labour, becauſe as long as wee liue, *wee muſt alwayes worke*; in 17. Luc. The vſe then and profite of our ſeruice, wherein wee are ſaid to be vnprofitable, is referred to our ſelues. 3. *Bernard* ſhall here anſwere for vs, writing vpon theſe words, *When yee haue done all that is commanded, ſay yee are vnprofitable ſeruants: Sed hoc inquies propter humilitatem monuit eſſe dicendum: planè propter humilitatem, nunquid contra veritatem:* You will ſay, we are taught thus to ſpeake for humilitie: indeed for humilitie, but not againſt the veritie? *ſerm. de triplic. cuſtod.* 4. He anſwereth well, that wee cannot challenge the crowne and reward by our workes, but, *ex gratuito pacto*, of Gods gracious couenant: which is none other thing, then we our ſelues affirme: the crowne of righteouſneſſe, whereof S. *Paul* ſpeaketh, dependeth not vpon the merite of our workes, but of Gods gracious promiſe: and ſo *Bernard* expoundeth the Apoſtle, 2. Timoth. 4. 8. There is laid vp for me a crown of iuſtice, &c. *Eſt ergo, quam Paulus expectat, corona iuſtitiæ, ſed iuſtitia Dei non ſua, iuſtum eſt enim vt reddat quod debet, debet autem, quod pollicitus eſt: & hæc eſt iuſtitia Dei, de qua præſumit Apoſtolus, promiſſio Dei:* There is then a crowne of righteouſnes, which the Apoſtle doth expect, but of the righteouſneſſe of God, not his owne; for it is iuſt that God ſhould render that he oweth, and he oweth what he promiſed: this is the Iuſtice of God, whereof the Apoſtle preſumeth, euen his promiſe, *ſo de liber. arbitr.* 2.

4. *Bellarm.* Eternall life is ſaid to be the grace of God, becauſe our merites whereby eternall life is procured, are of grace: for otherwiſe eternall life is as well the ſtipend of iuſtice, as death is the ſtipend of ſinne: *Bellarm. reſp. ad loc.* 4. 4

Contra. 1. This is a moſt corrupt gloſſe, by grace to expound workes: for the Apoſtle maketh a diſiunction and oppoſition betweene works and grace, Rom. 11. 6. *If of grace then not of workes, for then grace were no more grace.* And if it be anſwered, he meaneth workes of nature, not of grace: the Apoſtle ſaith againe, Tit. 3. 5. *Not by the workes of righteouſneſſe, but by his mercie he ſaued vs:* Here euen works of iuſtice and grace are oppoſed to mercie and grace: wherefore grace and workes being ſo diuers, the one cannot be contained in the other.

Secondly, *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Non pro merito accipies vitam æternam, ſed pro gratia, &c.* Thou ſhalt not haue heauen by merite, but by grace: *tract. 2. in Ioan.* This were no good diſiunction, if merite could be conteined in grace. And againe he ſaith, *Deus videtur vitam æternam tanquam debitam reddere, ſed fidei debitam:* God ſeemeth to giue eternall life as due; but due vnto faith, which is the grace of God, &c. *ibid.* Due, not to the merite of faith, but the grace and gift of faith. Thus better doth he vnderſtand the Apoſtle, *that life eternall is the gift of God*, then this corrupt gloſſer.

Thirdly, *Bernard* ſaith, *Merita omnia Dei dona ſunt, & ita homo magis propter ipſa Deo debitor eſt, quam Deus homini:* All our merites are Gods gifts, and ſo a man rather for them is a debter to God, then God to man, *de annunt. Mar. ſerm.* 1. Therefore our good workes cannot merite of God, ſeeing

ing he meriteth of vs, becauſe he giueth vs grace to bring forth good workes.

5. Our afflictions indeed are not worthie in themſelues of heauen, becauſe they are but ſhort, and the reward is eternall: but yet, as Chriſts paſſions being but ſhort, for the worthineſſe of his perſon, were æquiualent to euerlaſting puniſhment, ſo our afflictions for the worthineſſe of charitie, are worthie of euerlaſting glory: as the Apoſtle ſayth, 2. Cor. 4. 17. *Our light affliction doth worke vnto vs an eternall waight of glorie: Bellarm. c. 3. argum. 6.*

Contra. 1. It is not farre from blaſphemie to aſcribe the like force to charitie in making our temporarie works æquiualent to the eternall reward, as to the dignitie of Chriſts perſon in the execution of his paſſion to be worthie to ſatisfie for euerlaſting puniſhment.

Secondly, the Apoſtle in ſaying, *Our affliction worketh, &c.* expoundeth himſelfe in the 18. verſ. *While we looke not on the things that are ſeene, but on the things which are not ſeene:* which is the office of faith: affliction then as it ſheweth our faith, is ſaid to worke, not as the cauſe, but as the way and meane: and the Apoſtle ſaith no otherwiſe then Saint *Peter*, 1. Pet. 1. 7. *That the triall of your faith, may be found vnto your praiſe, &c.* Affliction then worketh, as the triall of our faith: and it worketh no otherwiſe, but becauſe it ſhal be *found*, and God wil not forget the ſeruice of our loue. Thirdly, otherwiſe the Apoſtle ſaith directly, that *the afflictions are not worthie, &c.* that is, not at all worthie of ſo great a reward: So *Ambroſe* expoundeth, *Quid poſſumus dignum facere præmijs cæleſtibus?* what can we do worthie of the heauenly reward? what merit can man bring, that this mortall ſhould put on immortalitie? *Indigna ſunt huius temporis paſſiones ad ſuperuenturam gloriam:* the paſſions of this life are vnworthie the glorie to come, *ſerm. 20. in Pſal. 119.* So alſo *Gregorie*; *Beata vita nullo poteſt æquari labor, nulla opera, paſſiones nullæ:* To bleſſed life, no labour, worke, ſuffring can be equall, *in Pſal. 142.* *Bernard*; *Quid ſunt merita omnia ad tantam gloriam?* What are all our merites to ſo great glory? *ſerm. 1. de annunt. Mar.*

6. *Bellarm.* Faith doth indeed exclude their reioycing, that glorie in themſelues and their owne ſtrength, but not that reioycing whereby we reioyce in our workes and merites by grace, *reſpon. ad loc. 7.*

Contra. 1. Faith excludeth all reioycing euen in good workes wrought by grace: for the Apoſtle ſaith, that reioycing is excluded by the law of faith, and not by the law of workes: if faith then exclude reioycing, we muſt reioyce in nothing but faith. 2. Rom. 4. 2. The Apoſtle ſayth, *If Abraham were iuſtified by workes, he hath wherein to reioyce, but not with God:* he ſpeaketh of *Abraham* as a faithfull man, and of his workes, as good workes; euen at that time when he beleeued, and it was counted to him for righteouſneſſe; as it followeth in the next verſe. 3. *Bernard* alſo ſaith, *Perfecta & ſecura gloriatio eſt, cùm veremur omnia opera noſtra, ſicut teſtatur Iob de ſeipſo; omnes iuſtitias noſtras non aliud eſſe quam pannum menſtruatæ:* then our reioycing is perfect, when we feare all our workes, as *Iob* teſtifieth: all our righteouſneſſe is as a ſtayned clout, *ſerm. de triplic. gradu.* A man then is not to reioyce in any of his workes, no not in his righteouſneſſe. 4. S. *Paul* further ſaith, Epheſ. 2. 9. *Not of workes, leaſt any man ſhould boaſt himſelfe:* hee muſt not boaſt of workes: and what workes, the Apoſtle ſheweth in the next verſ. 10. *We are his workemanſhip created in Ieſu Chriſt to good workes: Ergo*, we muſt not boaſt nor reioyce no not in good workes. And thus notwithſtanding all theſe cauils, I truſt it euidently appeareth by theſe Scriptures alleaged, that our workes are no way meritorious of life euerlaſting.

Argum. 4. S. *Paul* ſaith, *Faith is counted to him for righteouſneſſe, that worketh not,* Rom. 4. 5. *If it be of grace, it is no more of workes, for then grace were no more grace: If of worke, then not of grace; for then worke were no more worke,* Rom. 11. 9. Wee ſee that the righteouſneſſe of faith or of grace, and the righteouſneſſe of workes, cannot ſtand together, nor be matched one with the other.

Our aduerſaries haue here two euaſions: Firſt they graunt, that the beginning of our iuſtification, which they call the firſt iuſtification, is meerely of Gods grace, neither can we haue any acceptable workes before we are iuſtified: but in the ſecond iuſtification, which is the increaſe of the former iuſtice, a man may merite by good workes, *Rhemiſt. Rom. 2. 3.*

Anſ. This is but a late and new deuice of the firſt and ſecond iuſtification: as afterward we wil ſhew in the proper place. The Scripture teacheth vs, that not onely the beginning of our righteouſneſſe, but the finiſhing and perfecting of it, is onely by grace in Chriſt, Epheſ. 2. 5. 6. *When wee were dead in our ſinnes, he hath quickened vs together in Chriſt, by whoſe grace yee are ſaued, and hath rayſed vs vp, and made vs ſit together in heauenly places:* We ſee that this ſaluation by grace bringeth vs vp to heauen: *Ergo*, both the firſt and ſecond iuſtification are of grace, for they can bring vs no further then to heauen.

Rhemiſt. 2. Workes done of nature without, or before faith, cannot merite: but works done by Gods grace may, and are ioyned with it as cauſes of ſaluation.

Anſw. Not onely the workes of nature, but euen of grace alſo are excluded: Wee are ſaued (ſaith the Apoſtle) by grace through faith, not of workes: And then hee ſheweth what workes, namely good workes, ſuch as the Lord hath ordayned for vs to walke in, Epheſ. 2. 9, 10. *Ergo*, works

workes alſo of grace, wrought in vs by the ſpirit of God, are ſhut out from being any cauſes of our ſaluation. I conclude with *Auguſtine*, vpon thoſe words of the Pſalme, *Let the Lord alway be magnified: Peccator es? magnificetur, vt vocet: confiteris? magnificetur, vt ignoſcat: iam iuſtè viuis? magnificetur, vt regat: perſeueras vſque ad finem? magnificetur, vt te glorificet:* Art thou a ſinner? Let God be magnified in calling thee: doeſt thou confeſſe thy ſinnes? let him be magnified in forgiuing them? doeſt thou liue well? let him be magnified in directing thee: doeſt thou continue to the end? let him be magnified in glorifying thee. God is as much to be praiſed for all things wrought after our calling and conuerſion, as for mercie ſhewed before: All then is wholy to be aſcribed to Gods grace and mercie: nothing is left for our merite or deſert.

Bernard hath of this matter an excellent ſpeech: *Si à Deo voluntas eſt, & meritum; Deus igitur author eſt meriti qui voluntatem applicat operi, & opus explicat voluntati: Alioqui, ſi propriè appellentur ea, quæ dicimus noſtra merita, ſpei quædam ſunt ſeminaria, occulta prædeſtinationis indicia, futuræ felicitatis præſagia; via regni, non cauſa regnandi; denique quos iuſtificauit, non quos iuſtos inuenit, magnificauit:* If our will bee of God, then alſo our meriting: for God is the author of the merite, in applying our will to the work, and fitting the work to our will: otherwiſe to ſpeake properly, our merites ſo called, are but the ſeedeplat of our hope, the ſignes of predeſtination, and the forerunners of our happines, the way to the kingdome, not the cauſe thereof: laſtly, whom God hath iuſtified, not whom he found iuſt, he glorifieth. What more euident teſtimonie can we haue againſt meriting of heauen? *Bernard* retaineth the name, but denieth the thing. De liber. arbitr.

Concil. Araufican. can. 18. *Debetur merces bonis operibus ſi fiant, ſed gratia, qua non debetur, præcedit, vt fiant:* A reward is due to good workes, if they be done; but grace, which is not due nor of debt, goeth before, that they may be done. All therefore is to be aſcribed to grace.

Now whereas we doe alleage many teſtimonies of the Fathers againſt merites: *Bellarmine* would ſhift vs of with this anſwere, that they ſpeake of man, *qualis eſt ſine gratia Dei*, as he is without grace, that he cannot merite by his owne ſtrength: I will therefore ſhew out of the Fathers, that euen a man in the ſtate of grace cannot merite.

Ambroſe de vocat. gent. lib. 1. *c.* 5. *Nulla tam præclara opera exiſtere, quibus hoc, quod gratis tribuitur, pro retributionis indicium debeatur.* There are no ſuch excellent workes, to the which, that which is freely giuen, ſhould by way of retribution be owing, &c. if to no excellent workes, then not to the workes of grace of man is God endebted.

Auguſtine cont. Pelag. artic. 3. *De meritis in hoc ſeculo Chriſtianus extolli non debet, quia nemo hîc ſine peccato eſt, quicquid ergo in hac vita conſecutus fuerit, donum eſt, non meritum, &c.* A Chriſtian muſt not be lifted vp for his merites in this world, becauſe no man here is without ſinne, whatſoeuer he hath in this life is a gift, not a merite, &c. he ſpeaketh of Chriſtians that are vnder grace.

Bernard, Quarant alij meritum, nos gratiam inuenire ſtudeamus; Maria non prætendit meritum ſed gratiam querit: Let other men ſeeke for merite, let vs ſtudie to finde grace: *Marie* pretendeth not merite, but ſeeketh grace, &c. *Serm. in natiu. Mar.* *Marie* was in the ſtate of grace, and yet depended not vpon any merite.

The holy Martyrs haue moſt confidently ſealed this trueth: *Alexander Seton* Martyr: *They that teach that workes doe merite, doe make workes the tree, which are but the fruite of iuſtice, wrought by him that is already a iuſt man: Chriſt was promiſed to be our onely iuſtifier: God ſayd to Abraham, In thy ſeede ſhall all people be bleſſed; he ſaid not in thy ſeedes, or in the workes of thy ſeedes, but in thy ſeede, that is Chriſt.* Againe, the ſame holy Martyr and Preacher thus witneſſeth moſt confidently: *He that can ſhew me in any Scripture, that workes doe merite, or be any meanes to our iuſtification: for the firſt Scripture, I will, without any further iudgement, loſe both mine eares; for the ſecond, my tongue; for the third, my necke:* Fox. pag. 1206. Yea this holy Martyr, though no Scripture were ſhewed him, neither ſhall euer be ſhewed, yet he moſt conſtantly gaue his life in the defence of this truth. But in defence of popiſh merites, I haue not heard of any that hath aduentured ſo farre.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, CONCERNING the name of merite.

The Papiſts.

Bellarmine would beare vs in hand, that the name of merite is either conteined in Scripture, or collected from the ſame: *Lib.* 5. *de iuſtif. c.* 2. 80. Error.

Argum. The places of Scripture, which he pretendeth for proofe hereof are theſe.

1. Eccleſiaſt. 16. 12. *He iudgeth a man according to the merite of his workes.*

2. Heb. 13. 16. *With ſuch ſacrifices, promeretur Deus, God is merited.*

3. The Scripture maketh mention of dignitie or worthines, which is the ſame that Merite is: 2. Theſſ. 1. 5. *That ye may be counted worthie of the kingdome of God:* Apocal. 3. 4. *They ſhall walke with me in white, for they are worthie.*

4. There

4. There is often alſo mention found in Scripture of reward: Matth. 5.12. *Your reward is great in heauen.* 1. Corinth. 3.8. *Euery man ſhall receiue his wages according to his labour.* And in diuers other places; as Geneſ 15.1. The Lorde ſaith to *Abraham, I am thine exceeding great reward:* But where there is a reward, there merit goeth before.

The Proteſtants.

1. *Anſ.* FIrſt, the Greeke text readeth onely κατὰ ἔργα, according to their workes, not the merit of their workes. Secondly, and in the ſame place he ſaith, *As his mercie is great, ſo is his puniſhment:* ſo that mens good workes are rewarded not of merit, but of mercie. Thirdly, neither is it all one to ſay, according to their workes, and after the merit of their workes, as he might haue learned out of *Gregorie* alleaged before: *Aliud eſt ſecundum, aliud propter opera reddere:* It is one thing to render according, and another to render for workes, *in Pſal.* 142. Fourthly, if wee had no other anſwere, the authoritie of this booke bindeth vs not, being no part of the Canonicall Scripture.

2. The word is εὐαρεστεῖν, *God is pleaſed:* as Hebr. 11.6. the ſame word is vſed: *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God:* We graunt that God is well pleaſed with good workes, as proceeding from our faith in Chriſt: for ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, verſ. 15. *Let vs by him offer the ſacrifice of praiſe.* By faith then in Chriſt God is pleaſed with our ſacrifice: what is this to merit?

3. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith: *That you may be counted worthie: Digni habeamini.* This worthines then is onely by imputation of Chriſts worthines. Secondly, they are worthie to haue white robes: becauſe *their robes are made white in the blood of the Lambe,* Apoc. 7.14. *and the Lambe onely is found to be worthie,* Apoc. 8.4.9. The worthines of the Saints is none other, but the worthines of the Lambe, accounted theirs by faith: for if they be worthie, then is not the Lambe *onely worthie.*

4. Firſt, the reward is counted of fauour *as well as of debt,* Rom. 4.4. Pſal. 103.4 *Which crowneth thee in mercie.* Secondly, ſeeing God himſelfe is our rewarde, how is it poſſible, that man can merit God? *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Filium hominis non meruiſſe vt dei filius eſſet:* That the ſonne of man merited not to be the ſonne of God: *de corrept. & grat. c.* 11. Euen ſo neither can man merit to haue God. Thirdly, further S. *Ambroſe* writing vpon that parable, Matth. 20. where the laſt hired labourers receiued as much as the firſt, that did endure the heate of the day, concludeth thus: *Vt intelligas donum ſe gratiæ, non operum accepiſſe mercedem:* That they may vnderſtand that they receiued a gift of grace, not a reward of their labour: *de vocat. Gent. lib.* 1. *c.* 3. Thus we ſee, that out of the Scripture there can be no ſhew made for the vſe of this word *merit,* being aſcribed to the workes of men.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE diſtinction of merits.

The Papiſts.

81. Error. THey make two kindes of merit: *Meritum de congruo,* merit of congruitie: ſuch are the preparatiue workes before iuſtification, as were the prayers and almes deedes of *Cornelius,* Act. 10. which though they be not ſimply meritorious, *ex debito iuſtitiæ,* by the due debt of iuſtice, yet they deſerue at Gods hands of congruitie, becauſe he doth graciouſly accept them, *Act.* 10. *ſect.* 5. The other kinde, they call *Meritum de condigno,* merit of condignitie, when the reward is iuſtly due by debt: ſuch are the workes done in the ſecond iuſtification, which are truly meritorious, and worthie of heauen, *Gabriel. Biel. Rhemiſt. Rom.* 2. *ſect.* 3.

Ex Tileman. loc. 11. err. 22.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, we vtterly denie any ſuch merit of condignitie: for Saint *Paul* ſaith, That the afflictions of this life are not condigne of the glorie to come, Rom. 8.18. Condignitie then is wholy remoued and taken away.

Secondy, a reward of congruitie in ſome ſort wee graunt, but neither for any thing done before faith or iuſtification: for it is impoſſible without faith to pleaſe God, or doe any thing acceptable vnto him, Heb. 6.6. Neither is it of congruitie for the merit of our workes: but it is (*congruum*) it is agreeable to the mercie and iuſtice of God in reſpect of his promiſe graciouſly made in Chriſt, to reward the faithfull obedience of his ſeruants: ſo then the congruitie is on Gods behalfe, not in reſpect of our workes.

We are iuſtified, ſaith the Apoſtle, *gratis per gratiam,* freely by grace, Rom. 3.24. *Ergo,* there is no merit either of congruitie or condignitie, ſeeing all is done freely.

In Pſal. 5.5. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quid ille latro attulerat de fauce ad iudicium, de iudicio ad crucem, de cruce in Paradiſum?* I pray you what merit did the theefe bring with him from the priſon to iudgement, from the iudgement place to the croſſe, from the croſſe to Paradiſe? Here was neither merit of congruitie, nor condignitie.

THE

THE FIFT PART, OF THE MANner of meriting.

The Papiſts.

OVr works (they ſay) are pleaſing and acceptable vnto God, euen after the ſame manner, that Chriſt and his works were, *Tapper. ex Tolemaudoc.* 11. *art.* 14. Chriſts paines of their owne nature, compared to his glorie, were not any whit comparable, yet they were meritorious and worthie of heauen, not for the greatnes of them, but for the worthines of his perſon: So our workes, not of their owne nature, but as they are of grace, are meritorious of the ioyes of heauen, *Rhemiſt. Rom.* 8.18. 81. Error.

The Proteſtants.

Firſt, it is a great blaſphemie, to ſay, that Chriſts paſſions in themſelues deſerued not that glorie, which he hath purchaſed for vs: neither that there was any compariſon betweene them: for then, how could he haue fully ſatisfied the wrath of God? Chriſt hath payed the raunſome for our ſinnes: We are redeemed with his precious blood, as of a lambe vnſpotted, 1. Pet. 1.19. His blood was the price of our redemption: therefore of it ſelfe meritorious. It was not in reſpect of Chriſt, of grace; but of merit in him: Vnto vs his redemption is of grace, Rom. 3.24. Wherefore his paſſion being the paſſion of the Sonne of God, was a ful ſatisfaction, and worthie deſert of that glorie, which he hath purchaſed for vs.

Secondly, it is another great blaſphemie to match and compare in the way and manner of meriting, Chriſts workes and ours together. For firſt, there is no merit at all in vs vnto ſaluation: we haue no merits but Chriſts, and are ſaued onely by faith in him, not by workes, Epheſ. 2.8. Secondly, by your owne confeſſion, our works are not of their nature meritorious, but of grace: but Chriſts works were of themſelues full of merit, without any externall helpe, or acceſſion of grace: for in himſelfe did all fulnes dwell, Coloſſ. 1.19.

Auguſtine very well ſheweth the great difference in the way of meriting betweene Chriſt and vs, thus writing: *Quantum intereſt, cum duo ſint in carcere inter reum & viſitatorem eius: illum cauſa premit, illum humanitàs adduxit: ſic in iſta mortalitate nos reatu tenebamur, Chriſtus miſericordia deſcendit:* Looke what difference there is, when two are in priſon together, betweene the priſoner, and his friend that commeth to viſite him; the one is there of neceſſitie, the other commeth of good will: ſuch difference there is betweene Chriſt and vs: for when wee were detained in the priſon of this mortalitie, for the guilt of our ſinnes, Chriſt came in mercie to viſite vs. How can there now be any proportionable or like way of meriting, in the guiltie priſoner, and the innocent and friendly viſiter? Tract. 1. in Epiſt. Iohan.

THE SIXT PART, OF THE QVALITIE and condition of merits.

The Papiſts.

Bellarmine ſaith, that the good workes of the righteous, are properly and verily meritorious of eternall life, euen, *ex condigno*, of condignitie, or worthines, in the higheſt degree: *Beller. c.* 16. and that *non ſolum ratione pacti, ſed operis*, in reſpect of the worke, as well as of the couenant or promiſe. 83. Error.

Argum. 2. Timot. 4.8. Saint *Paul* ſaith, that God the iuſt iudge ſhall giue him a crowne of glorie: but it is the part of iuſtice to giue vnto euery man as he hath deſerued: the Apoſtle therefore worthilie deſerued this crowne: it was of iuſtice, not of mercie: *Bellarm. ibid.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. THis crowne laid vp for the Apoſtle, was both of mercie, in that the Lord graciouſly promiſed it: Iam. 1.12. *He ſhall receiue the crowne of life, which the Lord hath promiſed to all, that loue him.* It was alſo of iuſtice: *Iuſtum eſt* (ſaith *Bernard*) *vt reddat, quod debet; debet autem, quod pollicitus eſt:* It is right and iuſt, that God ſhould pay what he oweth: now he oweth that which he hath promiſed. All therefore was of Gods mercie toward the Apoſtle, not of his deſert. Gods iuſtice in keeping his promiſe, reſpecteth not any deſert in man, but dependeth vpon the conſtancie and truth of his word in himſelfe.

Argum. Saint *Paul* ſaith, Rom. 8.18. That *the afflictions of this life are not condigne of the glorie, &c. Ergo*, there is no ſuch condignitie.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that in their owne nature they are not worthie, but as they proceed from the grace of God, they are, *cap.* 18.

Contra. 1. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh in this place of no other ſuffrings, but thoſe which are wrought by grace in the children of God: as verſ. 17. *Suffer with Chriſt, that ye may be glorified with him.*

Therefore the Apostle excludeth euen such suffrings, as are wrought by the spirit. 2. Grace or fauour, and desert cannot stand together: Rom. 4. 4. *To him that worketh, the wages is not counted of fauour, but by debt.* Wherefore if heauen be merited, it is of debt, grace and fauour is excluded: therefore to say, that workes are meritorious by grace, and that their worthines and condignitie is partly of grace accepting, and partly of the worke deseruing, is to affirme contrarie things, and to match things of diuers and vnlike nature together.

Herein also hee may be ouerthrowne by his owne positions: First, he saith that God doth reward, *supra condignum*, aboue the worthines or condignitie of our workes, *cap.* 19. then it will follow, that there is no such condignitie, because the reward exceedeth their worthines: but betweene the wages and the worke, there should be an equalitie. Againe, heauen is the greatest reward that can be, and therefore if God doe giue a reward beyond their desert, heauen is not deserued, for a better reward than heauen there cannot be.

Secondly, *Bellarmine* confesseth, that neither the grace of iustification, *cap.* 21. nor the gift of perseuerance to the end, or a mans reparation after his fall, can be merited, *ex condigno*, of condignitie: much lesse can the kingdome of heauen be so merited, which is a more excellent thing, than any of the other: our glorification farre exceedeth in excellencie our iustification and perseuerance: if the lesse then cannot be so merited, neither can the greater.

The author of the Sermons *de tempor. ser.* 210. *Cum dies iudicij aduenerit, etsi coronam non meremur accipere, vel ad peccatorum indulgentiam mereamur peruenire, &c.* When the day of iudgement shall come, if wee deserue not to receiue the crowne, let vs deserue to attaine at the least to pardon of our sinnes, &c. *Ergo*, it is more to merit the crowne, than to merit forgiuenes: but this cannot be merited by their owne confession: *Ergo*, not the other.

We haue witnesse of a Synode of their owne: *Senonens. synod. decr. de fide. 16. Faciet tandem misericordia dei vnicuiq; locum iuxta meritum operum suorum, non absoluta condignitate quidem, (neque enim condigna sunt passiones, &c. Rom. 8. 18.) sed gratuita magis & liberali repromissione, &c.* At the length the mercie of God shall make a place to euery one according to the merit of their workes, not by an absolute condignitie, (for the afflictions of this life are not condigne, &c. Rom. 8. 18.) but rather by a gracious and liberall promise, &c. *Ergo*, our workes are not properly *ex condigno*, meritorious.

Diuers also of the Schoolemen are of the same opinion, that good workes, *ex condigno*, of condignitie, are not meritorious of life eternall: *Sir Thom. Waldens. tom. 3 de Sacramental. c. 7. Durand. in 2 senten. dist. 27. qu. 2. Gregor. in 1. sentent. dist. 17. qu. 1. artic. 2.*

THE SEVENTH PART, WHETHER ANY confidence is to be reposed in merits.

The Papists.

84. Error. First, *Bellarmine* saith, that the trust which the righteous haue in God, ariseth not onely of faith, but springeth also from their merits: *lib. 5. de iustificat. cap. 7.*

1. *Argum.* 1. Timoth. 3. 13. *They that haue ministred well, get themselues a good degree, and great libertie or confidence in the faith:* Confidence or trust is then wrought in vs by our faithfull seruice.

2. Rom. 5. 4. *Patience bringeth forth experience, experience hope.*

3. Hebr. 10. 32. 35. *Ye endured a great fight of afflictions, cast not therefore away your confidence.*

4. If our heart condemne vs not, wee haue boldnes toward God: *Ergo*, our confidence ariseth vpon our workes: *Bellar. ibid.*

The Protestants.

1. *Ans.* WE denie not, but that by a sanctified life, and good workes, we may grow vp to the assurance of our election, yet not by the merit or worthines of the workes, but as they haue relation vnto faith, whereof they are liuely signes: for to speake properly, it is faith whereby *we haue peace toward God*, Roman. 5. 1. And in this place the Apostle saith, *They haue confidence in the faith, which is in Christ:* Their confidence is grounded vpon faith, vnto the assurance whereof they are conducted and guided by their faithfull seruice.

2. All these depend vpon the second verse: *By whom we haue accesse through faith vnto this grace, &c. and not so onely, but we reioyce in tribulations.* All these then are rehearsed, as fruites issuing from our faith, reioycing in tribulation, experience, hope. Againe, hope maketh not ashamed, vers. 5. *because the loue of God is shed abroad in our hearts:* but this loue of Christ wee know no otherwise than by faith: Ephes. 3. 17. *That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith:* then it followeth, vers. 19. *and that ye may know the loue of Christ, &c.*

3. This confidence springeth of faith, vers. 32. *After ye had receiued light, ye endured a great fight:* and therefore vers. 22. it is called πληροφορία πίστεως, *the assurance of faith.*

4. The

4. The peace of conscience worketh confidence, and faith bringeth this peace of conscience, Rom. 5. 1. And in this place, Verse 10. *Let vs not loue in word, &c. thereby we know we are of the truth, and shall before him assure our hearts.* The thing in the text, which is faith, is the ground of this assurance; the way whereby to know it, is by loue. These places will hold no water for them.

Arg. That works of themselues giue vs no assurance, but as they haue their actiuitie from faith, Saint *Peter* teacheth vs, 2. Epist. 1. 10. *Giue diligence to make your calling sure in doing these things:* and what things he meaneth, it is before shewed, verse 5. *Ioyne to your faith, vertue; vnto vertue, knowledge:* workes then breede no assurance or confidence, but as they are ioyned with faith, and issue out from the same. Rom. 5. 1. *Being iustified by faith, we haue peace toward God:* Peace and confidence floweth from iustification by faith: Hebr. 10. verse 22. *In assurance of faith.* Faith then giueth assurance.

The Papists.

BEllarmine againe faith, that our confidence ariseth not onely from good workes, but that our confidence and trust may be repoted also in our merits: so that in his opinion, it hath both the beginning from thence, and againe hath recourse thither. And thus merits (falsely so called) shall be both the efficient cause of our confidence, as also the matter or obiect thereof, wherein it should rest and be repoted. 85. Error.

1. *Argum.* 1. Timoth. 4. 7. *I haue fought a good fight, I haue finished my course, &c. hereafter is laid vp for me a crowne of righteousnes, &c.* Saint *Pauls* confidence and assurance of life eternall is grounded vpon his meritorious workes. *Bellarm.*

2. Nehem. 5. verse 19. *Remember me O Lord in thy goodnes, according to that I haue done for this people.*

3. Psal. 18. 20. *The Lord rewarded me according to my righteousnes.*

4. Isay. 38. 3. *Hezekiah* thus praieth: *Remember me O Lord, how I haue walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart, and haue done that, which is good in thy sight: Ergo,* we may repose confidence in our workes.

The Protestants.

1. *Answ.* SAint *Pauls* confidence is not builded vpon his owne works, but vpon the righteousnesse and surenes of Gods promises: *which God the righteous Iudge* (saith the Apostle) *shall giue me at that day:* As *Bernard* saith: *Est ergo, quam Paulus expectat ista iustitia, sed iustitia domini sua: hec est iustitia, de qua præsumit Apostolus, promissio dei.* It is the crowne of righteousnes, which the Apostle looketh for, but not of his owne, but Gods righteousnes: the promise of God is the righteousnes, whereof the Apostle presumeth: *de libero arbitrio.* Saint *Pauls* confidence then is in the promise of God, not in his owne merits.

2. *Nehemiah* saith, *Remember me in thy mercie:* And chap. 13. 22. *Remember me O Lord concerning this, and pardon me for thy great mercie:* verse 31. *Remember me O my God for good.* His confidence was not in his workes, but in Gods mercie.

3. First, *Dauid* speaketh not of his righteousnes toward God, but of his innocencie against *Saul:* and who doubteth, but that the testimonie of a good conscience, and the innocencie of a iust cause doth make vs bold and confident against our enemies? But the question is of confidence toward God: in which respect *Dauid* saith, verse 2. *The Lord is my rocke, in him will I trust.* He doth not trust in his owne innocencie.

4. Iosias *Hezekiah* his truth (that is faith) wherein he walked, and the perfitnes of his heart, which is vnited by faith (for by faith God purifieth our hearts, Act. 15. 9.) that made him confident: which his confidence of faith, was indeede sealed vnto him, and confirmed by his godlie life.

Argum. Saint *Paul* vtterly disclaimeth and renounceth his owne workes; hee counteth all things but losse and dung in respect of Christ, that he might be found in him, *not hauing his owne righteousnes, but that which is through faith in Christ,* Philip. 3. 8. 9. *Paul* therefore trusteth not to his workes, he will put no confidence in doing. Againe hee saith, *I know nothing by my selfe, yet am I not hereby iustified,* 1. Cor. 4. 4. Therefore he hath no confident opinion in himselfe: but his confidence is stayed vpon the loue of God in Christ Iesus.

Bernard well saith: *Discamus de nostra omnino industria, quæ sit autem de nostris differat meritis:* Let vs learne to distrust our owne industrie, or rather our merits: *in fest. Paul. serm. 2.*

Prætendat alter meritum, mihi adhærere deo bonum, ponere in domino spem meam: Let another pretend merite, it is good for me to cleaue to God, and in the Lorde to put my trust: *in Psalm. 90. serm. 9.*

OF GOOD WORKS IN PARTICVLAR, DEVIded into three parts, of prayer, fasting, almes deedes.

THE FIRST PART, OF PRAYER.

THe seuerall questions are these: First, of the fruits of prayer. Secondly, of the condition and qualitie of prayer. Thirdly, of the order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE FRVITS.

SVch fruites of prayer, as wee learne out of the word of God, wee most willingly acknowledge. First, it comforteth the soule being in heauines: If any be afflicted, let him pray, Iam. 2.13. Secondly, it obtaineth wisedome for vs, and all spirituall grace, Iam. 1.5. Thirdly, by prayer the good creatures of God are sanctified to our vse, 1. Tim. 4.5. Fourthly, by prayer are wee preserued from all spirituall danger, Luk. 22.31.32. *I haue prayed for thee Peter, &c.* And other such fruits and vses prayer hath: But these fruites following we doe refuse.

The Papists.

86. Error. BEllarmine maketh these two fruits of prayer: that it is satisfactorie, and meritorious.

Argum. 1. For the first he reasoneth thus: Euery good laborious worke is satisfactorie: prayer is a laborious worke: *Ergo lib. 1. cap. 3.*

Answ. 1. Though one man may satisfie and recompence another, yet no worke of ours can worke any satisfaction before God: but Christ onely by his death, hath made satisfaction for vs all: *All things are set at peace, through the blood of his crosse*, Coloss. 1.20. 2. Againe, whereas they must be good workes, whereby God should be satisfied, seeing God is the giuer of euery good gift and worke, and all our good workes proceed from him, he thus should be satisfied with his owne, which were no satisfaction. 3. Further, prayer is no laborious work to the spirituall man, though it be to the flesh: for in the inner man there is a spirituall delight in all good things, Rom. 7.22. 4. And what if it were laborious? as though God delighted in the punishment, sorrow, and cruell of his children, as the Idolatrous Priests of *Baal* conceiued of their Idoll, that by launcing of their flesh, they should be the sooner regarded and heard.

Argum. 2. That prayer also is meritorious, he would thereby proue it, because God is said to reward them openly, that pray secretly: Matth. 6.6. his reason is this, reward is of merite, prayer is rewarded: *Ergo*, it is of merite.

Answ. The proposition is not true, for reward may as well be of fauour, as of desert; *He that giueth but a cup of cold water, shall not lose his reward.* Matth. 10.42. Heauen is not merited by so small a gift: this reward then is of mercie: wherefore this place sheweth, that prayer is not in vaine, but is accepted of God, that it is meritorious it proueth not.

The Protestants.

FIrst, prayer is not satisfactorie: no imperfect thing can satisfie before God, but our prayers are imperfect, Rom. 8.26. *We know not what to pray as we ought*: *Ergo.* Againe, that onely satisfieth God, whereby his wrath is once for euer appeased; neither need that satisfaction often to be repeated: the reason is, because if God be once satisfied, he is not mutable, he so continueth. But prayer must often be repeated, *Onely Christ hath once for euer, &c.* Heb. 10.14. he hath once for all appeased the wrath of God, which satisfaction cannot be repeated: *Ergo*, the death of Christ is onely satisfactorie: prayer is not. *Augustine* speaking of *Peters* repentance, which was tempered (no doubt) with prayer, saith: *Lachrymas lego, satisfactionem non lego.* I reade of *Peters* teares, but of no satisfaction: *de temp. serm.* 117. See more of this, *centur.* 14. *quest.* 7. *part.* 4.

Secondly, prayer is not meritorious, nor any other religious acte done by vs: where merite or desert is, there somewhat is performed to him, at whose hands we deserue: But by our workes, prayer, almes deedes, or whatsoeuer, we profite not the Lord: as Iob. 35.7. *If thou be righteous, what giuest thou vnto him, or what receiueth he at thy hand?* vers. 8. *Thy wickednesse may hurt a man, as thou art, and thy righteousnesse may profit the sonne of man*: *Ergo*, prayer doth not merite at Gods hand.

Againe, we must not pray, as the heathen did, Matth. 6.7. but they thought to be heard for the merite of their long prayers: *Ergo*, it becommeth not Christians to pray with any opinion of merit to be heard. Further, that cannot merit at anothers hand, the benefit whereof wholy redoundeth to our selues: But prayer is wholy for our benefite; we doe pray for such things, as we neede, Matth. 6.8. therefore it cannot merite before God. We haue also a direct place in Scripture against the merite of prayer: Daniel 9.18. *We doe not present our prayers before thee for our owne righteousnesse, but for thy great mercies.*

Bernard

Bernard saith well: *Considerare debet is, qui orat, tres ipse duo: nec prosus meriti sibi se acceptorum putet, sed de Dei misericordia impetraturum:* He that prayeth must consider two things in himselfe, that he thinke not to receiue any thing for his owne merites, but onely for the mercie of God. *In Psalm. 91.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE CONditions required in Prayer.

WHere be diuers conditions and qualities, which must alwaies concurre in a faithfull prayer: First, that we pray in charitie, without wrath, 1. Tim. 2. 8. Secondly, we must pray with the deuotion and intention of the heart: God will be worshipped in spirit, Ioh. 4. 24. Thirdly, we must perseuere and continue in prayer: 1. Thess. 5. 17. *Pray continually.* Fourthly, we should pray onely for things necessarie, Matth. 6. 32. *Your heauenly father knoweth, you haue need of all these things:* These and such other conditions prescribed in the word of God, we holde to be necessarie in prayer: but these following we refuse.

The Papists.

81. Error. FIrst, *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that it is not requisite to pray with faith, whereby we beleeue and are perswaded, that God will heare vs: but it sufficeth onely in generall to beleeue, that God is most mightie and most mercifull, both able and willing, to grant our prayer, if there be no defect in vs.

Argum. 1. Dauid, when he prayed for the life of his childe, was not assured, that God would heare him: for he saith, *Who can tell, whether God will haue mercie on mee, that the child may liue?* 2. Sam. 12. *Bellarm. cap. 9.*

2. So saith *Paul* prayed doubtfully, that the pricke of the flesh might be taken from him: for he prayed of faith, and yet beleeued not, that he should obtaine that he prayed for, for then it should haue been a false faith, seeing he obtained not his request: *ibid.*

The Protestants.

Answ. INdeede, when we pray for temporall things, we haue no warrant otherwise to receiue them then as God seeth them to be good for vs: but for spirituall blessings, we may pray absolutely with all assurance and confidence to be heard in Gods good time: As *Dauid*, though here praying for the temporall life of his sonne, be not sure to obtaine; yet when he prayeth for some spirituall grace, as for the forgiuenesse of his sinne, Psalm. 6. 1. he is assured, that his prayer is receiued, vers. 9. *The Lord hath heard my petition, he will receiue my prayer.* This difference betweene the request of things spirituall, and temporall, *Augustine* well noteth: *Sanitatem quis petit, cum aegrotat; & tamen forte adhuc ei aegrotare vtile est, potest fieri vt hic non exaudiatur: at verò cum illud petis, vt te vsq; Deus vitam aeternam, securus esto, accipies, &c.* A man asketh health when he is sicke, and is not heard, for it may bee good for him yet to be sicke; but when thou prayest for eternall life, be secure and out of doubt for this matter, thou shalt haue it, but the time is not yet. In Psalm. 59.

2. S. *Paul* also prayed instantly, euen thrice, and therefore he prayed with faith, not doubting: for though in that particular he was not assured to be heard, yet he doubted not but that God would graunt to him that which was needfull; and therein he was heard: for the Lord said, *My grace is sufficient for thee:* So our Sauiour prayed for the passing away of the cuppe of death, therein he was not heard; yet he was heard in generall, in that he submitteth his humane will to his Fathers will, and was heard in that which he feared, Hebr. 5. 7. Shall we therefore inferre, that Christ prayed doubtfully?

Argum. That we ought to pray confidently with a liuely faith, nothing doubting, but that God will graunt vs all things needfull which we aske in Christ, the Scripture euidently teacheth: 1. Tim. 2. 8. *We must pray without doubting: let him aske in faith and waver not.* Iames 1. 6. *The prayer of faith shall saue the sicke.* Iames 5. 15. This confidence in our prayers, springeth, as we see, from faith, not from a vncertaine and doubtfull hope, as the Iesuites seemeth to affirme.

Christ also saith, *whatsoeuer ye shall aske of the father in my name, he will giue it you:* Iohn 16. 23. here is the ground of our confidence in prayer, the promise of God in Christ Iesus, therefore all doubting must be renounced.

Chrysostome saith well, *Si dixeris, nisi accepero non recedam, prorsus accipies:* If thou saist, I will not goe away till I haue receiued that I aske, thou shalt surely receiue it. *Homil. 24. in Matth.*

Estius vpon these words: Iacob 1. 6. *Let him aske in faith doubting nothing*, inferreth, *Persuasissimum esse oportet, exaudiri nos à Deo:* We must be perswaded, that we shall be heard in heauen; *vt 1. Pet. 3. 12.*

The Papists.

89. Error. SEcondly, *Bellarmine* saith, that he that prayeth, must not be in any deadly sinne, but come with some actuall and inherent righteousnesse: for God heareth not sinners, vnlesse it be extraordina-

rily sometime, or when they begin to repent them of their sinne, whereof notwithstanding they haue no certaintie, *cap.9.*

Argum. Psalm.66.18. *If I regard wickednesse in my heart, the Lord will not heare me: Ergo*, the prayer of wicked men is not heard.

Isay 1.15. *Though ye make many prayers, I will not heare, for your hands are full of blood.*

The Protestants.

Answ. WE grant, that they which delight and continue in their sinne, are not heard of God, Prou.15.8. *The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord:* yet it followeth not, but that the sinner, which repenteth him of his sinne, though his conscience be not yet fully cleared, may pray vnto God aright, and be very sure that his prayer is heard.

Argum. This is proued by *Dauids* experience: Psalm.32.5. *I acknowledged my sinne before thee, neither did I hide mine iniquitie, &c.* and thou forgauest the punishment of my sinne: the prayer therefore of penitent sinners is infallibly heard, which *Bellarmine* denyeth. We haue not onely the examples of holy men, but the promise also of God, for the hearing of sinners prayers: as it appeareth by *Salomons* prayer made at the dedication of the temple, with the which God was pleased: a part of which prayer is this, that if they, which haue sinned, returne and pray vnto God, and confesse their sinnes: *Then heare thou in heauen*, saith *Salomon*, 1.King.8.49. God was pleased with this prayer of *Salomon*, and euery part thereof.

Augustine saith, *Si peccatores Deus non exaudiret, frustra publicanus oculos in terram demittens, & pectus suum percutiens diceret, Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori:* If God did not heare sinners, in vaine should the Publicane casting his eyes down vnto the ground, and knocking vpon his breast, haue said, *Lord be mercifull to me a sinner. Tractat.44. in Iohann.*

Bellarmine aunswereth, that sinners are heard praying for any spirituall or temporall gift, when they are in the way to repentance, as the Publicane was: but then they are heard, *Non ex iustitia, sed ex misericordia:* Not of iustice as worthie, but of Gods mercie: neither are they heard certainly or infallible.

*Contra.*1. Neither is the most righteous man heard for his righteousnesse, as *Daniel* was a righteous man: yet he prayeth thus, Dan.9.18. *We present not our supplications before thee for our owne righteousnesse, but thy great mercies.* 2. The Publicane was heard certainely being a sinner, so are all other praying in faith, as our Sauiour saith, Mark.11.24. *What soeuer ye desire, when ye pray, beleeue that ye shall receiue it, and it shall be done vnto you.*

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE ORDER and manner of Prayer.

IT hath these seuerall parts: first, of the time and number of canonicall houres: secondly, of the matter of prayer: thirdly, the maner: fourthly, of the persons.

THE FIRST PART, OF CANONICALL houres.

The Papists.

90. Error. THey haue their nocturne houres, and diurne or day houres appoynted for prayer: In the night, the third, sixt, ninth, and twelfth houre, which were called the foure watches of the night: In the day they obserue the prime, the first houre, the third, the sixt, the ninth, and the twelfth: and they haue their complin immediatly after the euening or twylight.

Argum. These canonicall houres the Iesuite would warrant by the example of *Dauid*, who prayed God seuen times a day, Psalm.119. *Dauid* also kept his nocturnes: At midnight will I rise vp, and praise thee, Psalm.119. Thou shalt heare my voice in the morning, Psalm.5. In these houres also the greatest mysteries of our redemption were wrought by our Sauiour Christ: as in the vespertine, or twelfth houre he instituted the Sacrament, at complin he was taken, in the prime led to *Pilate*, in the third houre condemned, in the sixt crucified, in the ninth he gaue vp the Ghost: these houres therefore are consecrate by Christs example vnto prayer: *Bellarm. cap.*

The Protestants.

*Answ.*1. FIrst, we denie not, but that at all times and houres both of the day and night, it is lawfull to pray, so oft as we are aright disposed thereunto, as the Prophet *Dauid* did.

Secondly, further we also grant, a politike vse in the Church of set houres for prayer, both publikely in the Church, and priuately in families, for order and decencie sake; so it be done without any superstitious opinion of the houre and necessarie limitation of our prayers thereunto: and in this sense we refuse not the counsell of the author of the Epistle *ad Demetriad.* which goeth vnder *Hieromes* name: *Quamquam nullam prorsus horam a spirituali profectu vacuam esse conuenit &c.* Although

though it be not conuenient, that any houre should be vtterly void of spirituall exercise, yet there should be some determinate and appointed number of houres, *quò plenius Deo vacet, & quo te ad summam illam intentionem quasi lege quadam contineat*: in the which you should more fully be vacant for God, and which as by a law should bind you to a greater intention of the minde: I thinke the morning the fittest time for this, and the greater part of the day, *vsq; ad horam tertiam*, till the third houre, or three a clocke, &c. Here are three reasons giuen of set houres, which wee mislike not. 1. That we may set al other businesse aside, and be vacant onely for God. 2. That the houre comming, we may prepare our selues more zealously to pray. 3. That the morning be chosen, as the fittest time of the day: But of the vespertine and complin and prime, here is no mention.

3. Yet it followeth not, that our prayer should be tied and limited vnto certaine houres. Neither hath *Dauid* any such meaning, in saying, seuen times a day, he meaneth, that often times in a day he prayed God: Vers. 97. *He meditated in the law of God continually*: And Psalm. 55. 17. these seuen times, he reduceth to three times, *Euening, morning, and at noone will I pray*: he kept therefore no certaine time. Further, if they stand so strictly vpon *Dauids* example, why do they not keepe their nocturne houres? as *Dauid* saith, *he rose at midnight, and his eyes preuented the night watches* Psalm. 119. Their nocturne watches are too painfull for them.

Secondly, concerning the example of Christ, wee say that not onely these houres, but euery houre of the day and night was consecrated with some vertuous act of his: that, as *Leo* saith of festiuall dayes, that if we should keepe all dayes holy, wherein Christ did any notable thing, *Omnia tempora, continuatis erunt deputanda festis*: All times should be festiuall: so if all houres should be obserued for prayer, wherein Christ wrought any part of our redemption; then we should do nothing else but pray. See our reasons against their popish nocturnes and canonicall houres: *Contro. 6. quæst. 6 part. 3. & contro. 9. quæst. 8. appendix. ad 4. partem.* Leo 1. epist. 4. cap. 4.

S. *Ambrose* saith notably vpon these words, *I preuented the morning light*, Psal. 119. vers. 144. *Quia ergo Dominum deprecatur, non vult præscripta præsoletur, &c. sed semper in corde sit Christus, semper in ore sit Christus*: He that prayeth to the Lord, let him not stay as it were, for the prescript times; but let Christ be alwayes in his heart, alwayes in his mouth, *serm. 19. in Psal. 119.*

They are not themselues agreed concerning the time of their canonicall houres; as for *completorium*, the *complin*, *Rabanus* holdeth, that it should be celebrate *hora undecima* in the eleuenth houre, that is the houre before Sunne set, the last but one, *lib. 2. de instit. Cleric. c. 8. Smaragdus Abbas* saith *horam duodecimam*, that the twelft, that is the last houre of the day, belongeth to *Complin*: *adstruunt ad cap. 16 regul. S. Benedic.* The rest do generally hold, that *Complin* is in the beginning of the night.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE MATTER of diuine seruice and prayer.

IN the matter of their seruice wee take exception against two partes of their liturgie, chiefly: first, wee mislike the reading of the fabulous stories of their saints liues in stead of the Scriptures, which onely ought to bee read in the Church, as it may thus appeare: Nehem. 8. 3. 18. did reade from morning to midday onely in the booke of the law: The Iewes did reade the Prophets onely in their Synagogues vpon the Sabboth day: Act. 13. 27. and *Moses*, Act. 15. 21. And Christ sendeth vs no whither but to the Scriptures: *Search the Scriptures*, Iohn 5. 91. Error.

See the consent of antiquitie: *Concil. Laodicen. can. 59. Non oportet libros extra canonem legere. Carthag. 3. can. 47. Placuit vt præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in Ecclesia legatur sub nomine diuinarum Scripturarum*: It was decreed, that nothing be side the canonicall Scriptures, should be read for Scripture in the Church.

Gelasius also thus decreed of this matter: *Gesta sanctorum Martyrum, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, singulari cautela, in Ecclesia Romana non leguntur, quia & eorum qui conscripserunt nomina ignorantur, & inepta superflua aut minus apta scripta putantur*: The deedes of the Martyrs, we haue prouided, not to be read any more in the Romane Church, as afore time; because their names are not know, he that writ them, and therein is much superfluous and vnfit matter there written: *decret. de Apocryphis*. Yet for all this, the Iesuite would beare vs downe, that it is a commendable vse of the Church to reade such stories still: *Bellarm. cap. 14.*

Secondly, 1. we condemne that idolatrous and blasphemous song, called (*Salue Regina*) endited to the honour of the Virgine *Marie*; but to the dishonour of Christ. 91. Error.

2. They call her in this song, *matrem misericordiæ*, the mother of mercie: which is a title proper vnto God, to be called the father of mercie, 2. Cor. 1. 3.

3. They call her our life: but Christ onely is the way, the trueth and the life, Iohn 14. 6.

4. Another title is (*dulcedo*) our sweetnes, or comfort: but the Lord our God, onely is the God of all comfort, 2. Cor. 1. 3.

5. This song calleth *Marie* our hope: But the Scripture holdeth them accursed that make man their confidence, Ierem. 17.5.

6. They pray vnto *Mary* in this song, *Vt post hoc exilium Iesum ostendas*, that shee would shew vnto vs Iesus after this life: contrary to the Scripture; for God the father bringeth vs to Christ, Iohn 6.44. and it is the office of Christ to shew himselfe to vs, Ioh. 4.21. It is great Idolatrie then to ascribe this office proper vnto God, to any other: yet notwithstanding all these blasphemies, this song is defended by the Iesuite: cap. 17.

Bellarmines answere is here most absurd.

1. *Marie* is called or saluted by the name of Queene; as all other Saints are; Matth. 5.3. *Blessed are the poore in spirit, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen, lib. 1 de bon. operib. c. 13.* and she more singularly is called a Queene, being the mother of the King of kings.

Contra. 1. If *Marie* be no otherwise a Queene then all other Saints are, as it is said, Apocal. 1.6. *He hath made vs Kings and Priests*; then euery faithfull woman in earth is a Queene as well as she. 2. Why do you then robbe other Saints of this title, and giue it onely to her, if it be common to the rest? 3. We are all indeed Kings and Priests, *but vnto God*, that is, spiritually, by faith, we are not made kings one to another. 4. As *Marie* was the mother of the King of kings, so was she the mother of God; if the first make her a Queene, the second must make her a Goddesse: and seeing Christ was a King, while he liued in the flesh, and is noted to haue beene obedient to his parents, Luke 2.51. hee should haue done his mother wrong, in not giuing vnto her the name of Queene, which was due vnto her.

2. She is called the Mother of mercie, because she was the mother of Christ, by whom we obtaine mercie: and for that she prayeth dayly for mercie for vs, and obtayneth, *ibid.*

Contra. 1. Christ also is called the Sonne of *Dauid*, and the sonne of *Adam*, Luk. 3.38. Say also, that *Adam* and *Dauid* were likewise Fathers of mercie. 2. *Marie* obtaineth no mercie for vs: he only is our aduocate for mercie, that is the propitiation for our sinnes, 1 Iohn 2.2. 3. *Marie*, while she liued, had need of mercie herselfe; acknowledging Christ to be her Sauiour, Luke. verse 47.

3. She is called life, because she was the mother of Christ our life, and by him made the mother of all that liue spiritually; as *Eua* was the mother of all liuing the naturall life, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. It is a great blasphemie to say that *Marie* is to the mother of the spirituall life, as she was of the naturall: what is this els, but to make *Marie* the Sauiour of the world? 2. The prerogatiue to be Christs mother spiritually, Christ giueth to all faithfull beleeuers and followers, Mathew 12.50. Will you say also that euery faithfull woman that spiritually beareth Christ, is life. 3. Ierusalem, which is from aboue, *is the mother of vs all*: Galath. 4.26. The Church of God is the mother of the spirituall life: haue we then two mothers? 4. Christ saith, *I am the way and the life*, Iohn 14.6. If *Marie* be the life, make her also the way.

4. Shee is called the sweetnesse, because of the innumerable benefites wherewith she continually comforteth the afflicted, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. The Prophet *Dauid* saith, Psal. 34. *Taste and see how sweet the Lord is, blessed is he that trusteth in him*: will you haue also the Virgine *Marie* trusted in, or so trusted in, as that they are not blessed, that trust not in her? 2. Christ saith, Ioh. 14.16. *I will pray the Father, & he shall giue you another comforter*. Doth he meane his mother shall be this comforter? or will you make two comforters, whereas Christ will send but another beside himselfe? how then is the Virgine *Marie* become a comforter of the afflicted? 3. S. *Paul* saith, *God, which comforteth the abiect, comforted vs*, 2. Cor. 7.6. Is not God sufficient to comfort the afflicted, but yee must also make the Virgine *Marie* a comforter? miserable comforters are ye, that driue vs to such comforts.

5. We may trust in men, so that we chiefely trust in God: as Christ saith of the Iewes, *There is one which accuseth you, euen Moses in whom ye trust*, Iohn 5.45. and thus also may we trust in the virgine *Marie*, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. By trusting in *Moses*, our Sauiour vnderstandeth *Moses* law or *Moses* writings: so to beleeue *Moses*, is to beleeue *Moses* writinges: Iohn 5.46.47. And where it is saide, Act. 15.20. *Moses hath in euery citie them that preach him*: is it to be vnderstood of *Moses* person, or *Moses* doctrine? And thus the Iewes themselues shew how they trusted in *Moses*, Iohn 9.29. *We are Moses disciples, we know that God spake by Moses*: their trust then was in his doctrine. 2. But, that God onely is to be trusted in, the Prophet teacheth, Psal. 73.25. *Whom haue I in heauen, but thee?* S. *Ambrose* well saith, writing vpon these wordes, 1. Cor. 3. *What is Paul, what is Apollos, but your Ministers? Vt quid ministri sunt, spes in homine sit, sed in Domino cui ministri sunt*: Because they are ministers, let not trust be in them, but in the Lord, whose Ministers they are.

6. Like as S. *Paul* saith to Timothie, 1. Tim. 4.16. *Take heede vnto learning, and thou shalt both saue thy selfe and them that heare thee*: and S. *Iames* 5.20. *He that turneth a sinner, &c.* shall saue a soule from death: as men may saue others by preaching, prayer, conuerting; so the Virgins

prayer

prayer is ſayde to ſhewe vs Chriſt by her interceſſion, *Bellarmin. ibid.*

Contra. 1. If *Marie* do but ſhew you Chriſt by her mediation, then other Saints, whom yee make your mediators, do as much; yea you do not pray in theſe yeares vnto them. 2. Men as inſtrumentall meanes by their preaching and prayers are ſaid to ſaue others, becauſe theſe are duties prescribed, and commanded in the word: as Preaching, 1. Timoth. 4. 16. *Take heed vnto doctrine:* Prayer, Iam. 5. 16. *Pray one for another:* but where hath *Marie* any ſuch office committed to her to ſhew vs Chriſt, or to be a Mediator to that end? 3. Chriſt ſaith, *I will ſhew mine owne ſelfe vnto him:* Iohn 14. 21. what need we then a Mediator to him, to ſhew himſelfe? Yea, and he himſelfe is our Mediator herein: *Father I will, that they, which thou haſt giuen me, be with me, &c. that they may behold my glory,* Iohn 17. 24. Do ye thinke that Chriſt is not a ſufficient Mediator of himſelfe, but that you muſt ioyne another with him? Thus we ſee, notwithſtanding all theſe ſhifts, and miſtie conceites, that they cannot bring any good defence or excuſe for this their idolatrous ſong of (*Salue Regina.*)

Now let vs ſee what teſtimonie we haue from themſelues: *Eſſene.* thus rehearſeth out of *Alfonſus de Sacrament. lib. 3. c. 13. Multi aliquot errorie verba per imperitiam precatores effundunt, &c. in quibus multa reperiuntur contra catholicam fidem:* Many in their prayers vnskilfully do vtter erroneous wordes, &c. wherein many things are contayned, contrarie to the Catholike faith, *digreſſ. lib. 1. c. 11.*

2. *Nicolaus Clamengius* thus complayned in his time: *Quo fit vt hac tempeſtate legatur ſuper diuinis Canon, &c.* How in theſe dayes the diuine law is read, is manifeſt: *vix ſola librorum capita recitantur, &c.* ſcarcely the titles of the bookes are read: I know a Cathedrall Church in this Kingdome, wherein, when the actes of the Saints are rehearſed, from the beginning to the ende, when as they come to the reading of Scripture, *Lector ſingulis lectionibus vix quatuor lineas explet:* the reader hardly endeth foure lines, *ex citation. Eſſenes ibid.* This was another fault in the popiſh liturgie, that they excluded the reading of Scripture.

3. *Lodouicus Viues lib. 2. de corrupt. artib.* giueth this teſtimonie of their legend: *Quam indigna hæc & hominibus ſanctorum hiſtoria, quam neſcio cur auream Legendam appellent, cum ſcripta ſit ab homine ferrei oris, plumbici cordis: quid fœdius dici poteſt illo libro? &c.* How vnworthie a ſtorie both for God and men, which I ſee no reaſon, they ſhould call a golden legend, ſeeing it was made by a man of iron lips, and a leaden heart: what can be ſaid to be more filthie then that booke? &c. Yet out of this booke the greateſt part of the leſſons vpon the Saints dayes were taken: Thus their liturgie was filled with lies and fables.

4. *Lindanus lib. 3. de interpret. ſcriptur. c. 3.* reporteth theſe words of *Agobertus* Biſhop of Lions, *Antiphonarium correximus, amputatis, quæ ſuperflua, lenia, falſa, blaſphema, ridicula, phantaſtica multa videbantur:* We haue corrected the Antiphonary, cutting off many things that ſeemed ſuperfluous, light, falſe, blaſphemous, ridiculous, phantaſticall, &c. Is not here a goodly beadrowle of the vertues and ſingular qualities of their holy liturgie? and theſe are the complaints of their owne ſide: and therefore we can iudge no leſſe, but that their popiſh prayers and ſongs are ridiculous, blaſphemous, ſuperſtitious, &c.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE MANner of their Church-ſeruice.

COncerning their Church muſicke, and the ſinging of their ſeruice, we haue ſhewed our opinion before, where we entreated of the Canon of the Maſſe: We do not condemne the commendable vſe of ſinging in the Church, which ſerueth to many good purpoſes, but wee onely would haue the abuſe removed: the chiefe faultes committed in popiſh Church muſicke are theſe.

1. The yrkeſome length and tediouſneſſe thereof, produced with their multiplicitie of vnedifying ſongs and leſſons: which abuſe hath beene much complayned of in time paſt: *Epiſcopi Tripartit. lib. 3. cap. 1. In multis Eccleſijs faciunt lectiones adeo prolixas in matutinis, quod fere nullus audiat totas matutinas, & ſiqui remanent ibi, dormiunt:* In many Churches they make their leſſons ſo long at morning ſeruice, that few tary the whole; and they that ſtay, fall aſleepe.

2. Their ſongs are let forth in an vnedifying tongue, contrary to Saint *Pauls* rule, 1. Cor. 14. But of this matter we haue alreadie entreated at large, *Controu. 1. appendic. ad tertiam quæſtionem:* ſo that we need not to handle it againe here.

3. They ſing that, which is not to be ſung, as the leſſons and lectures out of Scriptures, and prayers, which are to be ſaid, and not ſung: as *Hieronme* ſaith; *Non decet orationem cantare:* hee that prayeth muſt not ſing: *prefation. lib. 2. in Habacuke.*

The Apoſtle alſo diſtinguiſheth prayer and ſinging, Is any afflicted? let him pray: is any merry? let him ſing, Iam. 5. 13.

Concil.

Concil. Bracarens. 1. 30. *Placuit, vt nihil veteris Testamenti pactio cum sanctis in Ecclesia psallatur:* That no part of the olde Testament should be sung in verse. The decree is against the singing of lessons. Other corruptions and superstitions in their singing service, we haue noted before, in the treatise of the canon of the Masse, whither we referre the Reader.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE PERSONS THAT are bound to the Canonicall houres.

The Papists.

91. Error. THis duetie, saith *Bellarmine*, belongeth onely to Monkes, and those which are of the Clergie.

Argum. 1 Chron. 15. 16. *Dauid spake to the chiefe of the Leuites to appoint certaine of their brethren to sing with instruments of Musicke.* As the Leuites were bound in the time of the lawe, to sing the songs of the Church, so onely are the Monkes and Clergie now.

The Protestants.

Answ. FIrst, the argument followeth not, because the Leuites then were deputed to the office of singing, that therefore the Clergie is onely bound to doe it now: for that legall distinction betweene the Priests and the people, is now taken away: And Christ hath made vs all Kings and Priests now, Apocal. 1. 6. to offer vp the spirituall sacrifice of praise and thanksgiuing. Secondly, the Leuites did not onely sing the songs of the Church, but they as more skilfull men, were appointed to moderate the voyce of the people, who did sing together with the Leuites, 1. Chron. 15. 28. All Israel (not the Leuites onely) brought vp the Arke with the sound of instruments, chap. 16. 36. Let all the people say so be it, and praise the Lord. Thirdly, your Monkes, whether are, or ought to be no Priests, but lay men; and are not therefore of the Leuiticall order, and yet you permit them to sing Psalmes: why may not other lay men doe the like? Fourthly, we graunt that all things should be done in the Church in order: and therefore that it is the office of the Minister to moderate the assemblies of the people in their Christian exercises of giuing of thankes, and prayer. But notwithstanding the people may ioyne with their Pastor, both with voyce and consent of heart, in the common Psalmes and prayer, so that all things be done decently, and in order.

Argum. The People in *Dauids* time did vse to praise God together with the Leuites, 1. Chro. 16. 36. In *Nehemiah* his time, at the dedication of the Temple, the people praised God together with the Leuites, chap. 12. 31. *I appointed two great companies to giue thankes: and the one went on the right hand of the wall, &c.* And in these companies were the people, verf. 38. halfe of the people was vpon the wall. The Iesuite also brought in *Dauids* example, who praised God seuen times a day, for the warrant of his canonicall houres: But *Dauid* was neither Monke nor Priest: wherefore the office of praise and thanksgiuing belongeth not onely to such.

THE SECOND PART OF FASTING, the particulars whereof follow.

The Papists.

94. Error. FIrst, they hold that the holy time of Lent, as they doe fondly call it, as though any time in their sense were holier than another, is an Apostolike tradition, warranted by the example of *Moses, Elias*, and our Sauiour Christ, that fasted 40. dayes, *Chemnit. Mouth. 4. sect. 2. Bellarm. lib. 2. de bon. operib. cap. 14.*

Bellarmine further sheweth seauen causes of the institution of Lent.

1. That Christians may solemnely repent for the sinnes of the whole yeere.
2. That they may be prepared to receiue the Communion at Easter.
3. To fulfill that saying of Christ, Matth. 9. 15. *When the Bridegroome shall be taken away then shall they fast.*
4. That they may be prepared to celebrate the feast of Christs passion and resurrection.
5. That they might fast and pray, for such as were newly conuerted to the faith, which were baptized at Easter.
6. That wee might consecrate by fasting vnto God the tenth part of our life, for 36. dayes are the tenth of the yeere.
7. That hereby wee should imitate Christ, so neere as wee can, that fasted 40. dayes and 40. nights: *Bellarm. cap. 16.*

The Protestants.

1. *Answ.* FIrst, shall it then suffice a man once in the yeere to repent for his sins? Is not the Lords prayer daily to be sayd, wherein wee pray for remission of sinnes, which cannot be obtained

tained without repentance? Secondly, or was it Lent, when *Peter* exhorted the people to publike repentance, Act. 2. 38. *Repent and be baptized.* Thirdly, *Quid enim quod differas, vt plura peccata committas?* Why should you deferre your repentance, to commit more sinnes, saith *Ambrose de pœnit. lib. 2. c. 11.* This therefore could be no cause of the institution of Lent.

2. In the Primitiue Church they receiued the Communion often, euen euery Lords day at the least: Act. 20. 7. *The first day of the weeke,* (which is the Lordes day) *they came together to eate bread.* Saint *Ambrose: Accipe quotidie, quod tibi quotidie prosit: qui non meretur quotidie accipere, non meretur post annum accipere:* Receiue that daily, which thou hast vse of daily: hee that is not fit to receiue daily, is not fit after a yeere: *de sacram lib. 5. c. 4.* If Lent were instituted vpon this occasion, it was no Apostolicall institution: for then the Communion was ministred often, and not onely at Easter.

3. First, that saying of Christ was spoken onely to his Apostles, that enioyed his carnall presence. Secondly, if it be largely taken, then the Montanists did come neerer to the sense, that obserued the Lenton fast straight after Christs ascension. Thirdly, or if they will expound the taking away of the Bridegrome, of Christs death, by this reason they should not fast before the celebration of the passion, but after.

4. First, by this reason, we must haue a Lent also before the Natiuitie, and another before Pentecost, seeing these also are great feasts, and a preparation ought to goe before. Secondly, this proueth Lent not to be Apostolicall, seeing the feast of Easter was not then vniformely obserued, nor many yeeres after. Thirdly, the Sabboth was as great a festiuall as any beside, being immediatly instituted of God: yet one day of preparation sufficed for that.

5. First, we haue now no Catechumeni, or Conuerts from Paganisme: therfore by this reason, the Lenton obseruation should cease, hauing no vse that way. Secondly, neither did the Apostles deferre the baptisme of Conuerts til Easter, but baptized them, as occasion serued: Act. 2. 38. S *Peter* saith at the feast of Pentecost, *Repent and be baptized, &c.* Wherefore this reason sheweth, that Lent was not Apostolicall.

6. First, if 36. daies be the tenth of the yere, why do you obserue 40. daies for the Lenton fast? Secondly, these fellowes will set God to schoole, that hee should rather haue taken the tenth day for the Sabboth, than the seauenth; so strict they are in tithing of dayes. Thirdly, not the tenth day, but euery day of our life ought to be consecrate to God; as *Ambrose* saith of *Iob: Sanctus Iob quotidie pro filijs offerebat sacrificium:* Holy *Iob* euery day offered sacrifice for his sonnes: *de sacram. lib. 5. c. 4.*

7. First, *Ambrose serm. 23. Quadragesima quadraginta duos dies habet, &c.* Lent hath 42. dayes according to *Moses* 42. mansions: *serm. 34.* He deriueth this obseruation from *Noahs* flood, *quia tot dierum spatio pluuia defluxerunt:* because so many dayes the raine was in falling, &c. If this bee so, then is it not grounded vpon the imitation of Christ. Secondly, *Moses* fasted 40. dayes, and *Elias*; yet none in the old law did institute a fast vpon this example: neither are wee to ground the like vpon Christs miraculous abstinence now. Thirdly, that fasting of our Sauiour Christ, and the holie Prophets was miraculous, and no more to be imitated, than Christs walking on the sea, or raising of the dead, as *Augustine* saith: *Non tibi dicit, non eris discipulus meus, &c.* Hee saith not, thou shalt not be my disciple, vnlesse thou walke vpon the sea, or raise the dead, but learne of me, because I am humble and meeke. Againe he saith, *Non ergo, quia Christus statim post baptisma ieiunauit, tanquam regulam obseruationis tradidisse credendus est, sed plane illo exemplo docuit ieiunandum esse, quando forte acriore luctamine cum tentatione confligitur:* In that Christ fasted after his Baptisme, it is not to be thought, that he gaue vs a rule to obserue, but taught vs by his example, that then wee must fast, when we are more strongly tempted. Præfat. in Psal. 30.

George Marsh holy Martyr thus witnesseth: *Let the fasting of Christ while hee was tempted in the wildernesse, be vnto vs an example of sober liuing, not for the space of fortie daies, (as the Papists doe fondly fansie of their owne braine) but as long as we are in the wildernesse of this wretched life.*

Further, that the obseruation of Lent was no Apostolike tradition, it appeareth, because it was not vniformely kept of the Church a long time after them: for as *Irenæus* witnesseth, some fasted one day, some two dayes, some fortie houres day and night: but if it had been necessarily inioyned and prescribed by the Apostles, such varietie of custome could not haue sprong vp; at the least, not haue been suffered in the Church. Againe, *Epiphanius* saith, that the Wednesdayes fast was an Apostolike tradition; as likewise to obserue the feast of the sixe daies of Easter, with bread, salt, and water: which obseruations are not kept amongst the Papists themselues, yet haue they as good testimonie of antiquitie to be Apostolike traditions, as the Lent fast. Thirdly, in *Augustines* time, there was no necessarie enforcement for euery man to keepe Lent: *Si aliquis* (saith he) *ieiunare non potest, eleemosyna sine ieiunio bona est:* If any man be not able to fast, alms without fasting is good and profitable. Wherefore seeing the Lent fast was then voluntarie, it is euident that it was not an Apostolike prescription, which should haue bound all men necessarily. Serm. de tempor. 61.

The:

That Lent is no Apostolicall tradition, it further appeareth, both because of the vncertaine prescript of the time, as also the diuersitie of the manner in keeping the strict time of Lent.

As touching the first, it was decreed: *Concil. Aurelianens. 4. can. 2. Vt quadragesima aequaliter ab omnibus teneatur, non quinquagesima, aut sexagesima:* That fortie dayes should be obserued for Lent, not fiftie, or threescore. *Agathens. can. 12. Vt omnes in quadragesima exceptis diebus dominicis ieiunent:* That euery man should fast fortie daies, excepting the Lords dayes. *Gregorie* the first, *Quadragesimali ieiunio 4. dies addidit*, to the fortie dayes fast added foure dayes more. *Par. 3. dist. 5. c. 16. Telesphorus* Bishop of Rome decreed, *Vt 7. hebdomadas plenas ante pascha omnes clerici à carne ieiunent:* That Clergie men should fast seuen whole weekes before Easter, that is 49. dayes. *Dist. 4. c. 4. Concil. Triburiens. can. 58.* They which had committed murther, were inioyned thrice in a yeere to fast fortie dayes, before Easter, before S. *Iohn Baptists* day, and before the Natiuitie. And thus wee see some fasted fortie dayes, some fortie sauing the sixe Lords dayes, some 44. some 49. some 120. dayes, that is three Lents.

Further, thus it is extant in their own decrees: *Distinct. 4. c. 6. Gregor. Sacerdotes à quinquagesima propositum ieiunandi suscipiant:* The Priests must begin to fast from the 50. day: *contr. par. 3. dist. 3. c. 6. Quadragesimam non quinquagesimam teneatur.*

Distinct. 76. c. 8. Quadragesimae ieiunijs contristaremur: Wee must sorrow with the fast of fortie dayes. *Ambros. serm. 23. Quadragesima quadraginta duos dies habet:* Lent hath 42. dayes.

Dist. 76. c. 10. Post pascha, &c. After the Pasch to Pentecost, they that will may fast: *quia Antonius, Paulus, & caeteri patres bis diebus in eremo leguntur abstinuisse, neque soluisse abstinentiam, nisi tantum die dominico:* Because *Antonie, Paul*, and other fathers are read to haue fasted these dayes, neither to haue loosed their fast, but onely vpon the Lordes day, &c. Here is another Lenton fast from the Pasch to Pentecost tolerated.

Par. 3. dist. 5. c. 16. Gregor. Sex dies dominici de abstinentia subtracti, &c. Sixe Lords dayes are taken from the fast, and so there remaine but 36. and to fill vp the number of fortie dayes, he borroweth foure dayes from the weeke before.

Ibid. c. 25. Quadragesimam abstinentia celebramus, cùm bene viuimus, &c. We keep the Lenton fast, when we liue well: *ex Augustin.* By this decree there seemeth to be no necessitie of the Lenton fast at all. And this difference we finde for the time of Lent.

The like diuersitie is to be seene in the manner of the obseruation: *Liberius* decreed, that the husband all Lent long should absent himselfe from his wife. *Concil. Triburiens. can. 35. That no Iudge should keepe assises in Lent time:* Yet the contrarie is practised euen among the Papists: *Toletan. 10. cap. 1. Quadragesima nihil conuenit, de sanctorum solemnitatibus celebrare:* That no Saints dayes should be kept in Lent: Yet the Annuntiation falleth in Lent, which they make a festiuall of our Ladie. *Nicolaus 1. de bellis, can. 4.* That all Lent time they must abstaine from warre. *Sabgunstad. cap. 19. Vt dum poenitens quadragesimam ieiunet, non migret à loco ad locum:* That while the penitent man keepeth his Lent, he should not trauell from place to place.

Beside: *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 12. leg. 6. Tempore quadragesimae criminales causae non agitandae:* In Lent time criminall causes must not be handled.

Caus. 22. qu. 5. c. 17. Non iurandum à septuagesima: From Septuagesima Sunday till Easter no man must sweare.

Caus. 33. qu. 4. c. 3. Diebus ieiuniorum nullus coniungatur vxori: No man must in the fasting dayes haue companie with his wife.

C. 8. Non nuptias celebrare: It is not lawfull to celebrate mariage.

C. 9. Nec natalitia martyrum: Nor the Saints dayes.

C. 11. Nec conuiuia facere: Nor to make feasts in Lent.

Part. 3. dist. 1. c. 50. Non nisi vespertina hora ieiunium soluunt: The fast must not be loosed till the euening.

Thus by those vncertainties it may appeare, that the Lenton fast is an humane inuention, rather than an Apostolicall institution: for then it should haue remained alwaies the same, without any addition, or alteration: the contrarie whereof we haue seene.

The Papists.

95. Error. 2. A Second abuse in their fasting, is to appoynt prescript times, necessarily to fast in, as in Lent, on Friday, Saturday, and vpon Ember dayes, which are prescribed for the foure solemne times of giuing orders: And this also they say, is an Apostolike tradition, Act. 13. 3. They fasted and prayed, and layd their hands vpon them, *Rhemist. ibid. Bellar. lib. 2. de bon. operib. in particul. cap. 17. 18.*

2. *Bellarmine* also groundeth the foure quarters fasts vpon the example of the Iewes, Zach. 8. vers. 19. that fasted the fourth, fift, seuenth, and tenth moneths: but Christians should not be inferiour to them in fasting.

3. Likewise, Act. 27. 9. where Saint *Luke* saith, *Sayling was now ieopardous, because the fast was passed.*

passed. *Bellarmine* would haue this vnderstood not of the fast of the Iewes, but of the solemne fast of the Christians in the tenth moneth: *Bellarm. c.* 19.

4. Other fasts also he vrgeth, as the fast of Aduent, the fast in Rogation weeke, the Vigill fasts, or on Saints eeues, as very ancient, and commendable, and fit still to be retained, *cap.* 20. 21. 22.

The Protestants.

Answ. 1. FOr prayer and fasting to be vsed at such times as Ministers are ordained, we doubt not but it is an Apostolike tradition, because we finde it written in the Acts of the Apostles: but it was fasting from all meate and drinke, which the Apostles vsed, not abstinence from flesh onely, as vpon your Imber dayes. Neither doe you obserue those dayes of fast for any such purpose: for your Imber dayes are kept amongst you, though there be no orders giuen in the whole dioces.

2. It is not fit that Christians should imitate the superstitious fasts of the Iewes: such as these were not commaunded of God, but inuented and taken vp by themselues: as the Prophet *Zacharie* reproueth them, Zach. 7. 5. *When ye fasted and mourned in the fift and seuenth moneth; did ye fast vnto me?* 2. Againe, those fasts were taken vp among the Iewes vpon speciall occasions: the fast of the fourth moneth, because then the citie was broken vp, Iere. 52. 6. 7. of the fift, when the temple was destroyed, Ierem. 52. 12. of the seuenth, when *Gedaliah* was slaine, Ierem. 41. 1. of the tenth, when the citie began to be besieged, Iere. 52. 4. But seeing that the Christians haue no such occasions, as these were to the Iewes, they haue no reason to keepe the like fasts. 3. *Origen* to this point saith well: *Paulus dicit, &c.* Paul saith, if thou wilt obserue any one of the obseruations of the law, thou art subiect to the whole lawe: *Qui ergo obseruat ieiunia, ascendat ter in anno ad Ierusalem:* Hee therefore that will obserue their fasts, let him goe vp thrice a yeere to Ierusalem; *Hom. 9. in Leuitic.*

3. Saint *Luke* describeth the solemne fast of the Iewes, which was about October, when sayling began to be ieopardous; as both *Chrysostome* and *Oecumenius* do interprete it: And whereas *Bellarmine* saith, that Saint *Luke* wrote an historie for the Christians, not for the Iewes: it is true, but yet he distinguisheth the times by the feasts of the Iewes: as Act. 20. hee nameth Pentecost: yea hee refuseth not by way of description to vse the Heathen names, as of *Castor* and *Pollux*, Acts 28. 11. which was the badge of a ship.

4. As touching these set times of fast, there hath been great diuersitie and vncertaintie in the Church, whereby it appeareth to be a meere humane constitution.

Concerning the foure solemne fasts of the yeere: first, at the first there were but three: *Calixtus* made them foure, *dist. 76. c.* 1. Secondly, they were appointed to be celebrated the first weeke of March, the second of Iune, the third weeke of September, the fourth weeke of December: *ex Synodo Meruntio dist. 76. c.* 2. Thirdly, after this another rule was made, *Synode Suteguntina*, that if the Calends of March fell out vpon Friday, Saturday, Sunday, the quarter fast should be kept the second weeke of March: and so vpon the like occasion, the third weeke of Iune, the fourth weeke of September, &c. Fourthly, *Vrbanus concil. Turonen.* taketh a new order, that the fast time should be in the beginning of Lent, the second in Pentecost weeke, *dist. 76. c.* 4. Fifthly, *Eliberin. c.* 23. *Ieiunia per singulos menses placuit celebrari, exceptis duobus Iulio, Augusto, ob eorundem infirmitatem, &c.* Fasts must be kept euery moneth, except Iuly, August, which are but faint moneths. Sixtly, *Concil. Gerundens. c.* 2. *Sequenti die post Pentecosten, & calendis Nouembris per triduum ieiunetur:* Let them fast the day after Pentecost, and in the Calends of November for three dayes space. Seuenthly, *Turon. c.* 18. *Post quinquagesimam Monachi tota hebdomada ieiunent, pallea usque ad Kalendas Augusti: ter in Septimana, &c.* After Pentecost the Monkes must fast a whole weeke; and then till the Calends of August thrice in a weeke; September whole; in November thrice in a weeke; in December till the Nativitie euery day. Eightly, *Metis. concil.* 9. *A festa S. Martini vsque ad natalem, secunda, quarta & sexta ieiunent:* From S. *Martins* day (which is the 11. of Nouember) vntill the Nativitie, let them fast Monday, Wednesday, Friday.

If all these times be laid together, we should doe nothing else but fast all the yeere long: Thus it falleth out, that when men leaue the simplicitie of trueth, and certaine direction of the word to follow their owne inuentions, they erre infinitely, and wander they know not whither.

3. Prescript and set times of ciuill abstinence frō some meats, for the benefit of the Commonwealth, as your Lent and Iubet dayes, are still retained in England, and no otherwise, wee condemne not: But to appoynt ordinarie times of necessarie and religious fasting, without speciall cause, was of the ancient Church accounted heresie in *Montanus, Euseb. lib.* 5. *cap.* 18.

This also was the practise of the Church of God in the old Testament, vpon speciall occasion, not at set and ordinarie times, to inioyne publike fasting, as the Prophet saith, *Blow the Trumpet in Sion, sanctifie a fast, call a solemne assemblie.* Ioel 2. 15. which sheweth that their publike fasts were not vsuall and ordinarie, but especially sanctified, and solemnely proclaimed.

6. As for the fixed and set fasting dayes in the weeke, in *Augustines* time, onely the Churches

of Rome kept the Saturdayes fast, all the East Churches, and many of the West obserued it not. And whereas some alleaged, that *Peter* fasted vpon Saturday, being the next day, which was the Lords day, to encounter with *Simon Magus*, *Augustine* saith, it was *opinio plurimorum*, the opinion of many, *quam tamen falsam esse perhibent plerique Romani*: yet many of the Romanes hold it but for a fable. And so he generally concludeth, concerning prescript dayes of fasting: *Quibus diebus non oportet ieiunare, & quibus oporteat, precepto Domini vel Apostolorum non inuenio definitum*: Vpon what dayes we ought to fast, vpon what dayes not, I finde it not defined by any precept giuen by our Lord or any of the Apostles, *Epistol.* 86.

Concil. Colonien. part. 9. *cap.* 4. *Ecclesia liberum facit quolibet tempore quibuslibet vesci, modo id vel charitas, vel necessitas suadeat, adhibito tamen vtriusque medici si presto sint, aut saltem alterius, i. animæ consilio*: The Church giueth libertie to eate all things at all times, where charitie, or necessitie requireth, with the counsell of both Phisitions, or at the least of the phisition of the soule: *Ergo*, prescript times of fast by this Councell are not allowed, where all things at all times are lawfull to be eaten.

7. And concerning the Saturdayes fast, it is directly forbidden in ý sixe general *Trullane Concel. can.* 55. *Si quis inuentus fuerit in sancto dominico vel sabbato ieiunans, si Clericus deponatur*: If any man fast the Lordes day, or the Sabboth day, if hee be a Clergie man, let him be deposed; if a lay man, let him be put from the Communion.

Likewise, *can. Apostol.* 65. *Ieiunans diem dominicum aut Sabbatum, vno tantum dempto, deponitur*: He that fasteth th Lords day, or Saturday, one day onely excepted, let him be deposed.

How dare then *Innocentius* contradict the Apostles Canons, thus decreeing, *epist.* 1. *c.* 4. *Sexta feria & sabbato perpetuo ieiunandum esse*: Friday and Saturday must be kept continually fast.

Honor. 3. doth also contradict this decree: That if the day of the Natiuitie fall vpon Friday, it should not be kept fast: *decr. Greg. lib.* 3. *tit.* 46. *c.* 3. how then doth *Innocentius* decree stand, *perpetuo ieiunandum*, that we must fast Friday for euer?

8. It is euident, that this prescription of fasting dayes is contrarie to the doctrine of the Apostle: Galat. 4. 10. *Ye obserue dayes, moneths, times, yeeres*: so they fast certaine dayes euery weeke: and certaine moneths euery quarter, and certaine times euery yeere, as in Lent: and they obserue also for yeeres the yeere of Iubile.

Origen well saith, *Hom.* 9. *in Leuitic. Si vis ieiunare secundum Christum, omne tibi tempus aptum & totius anni*: If thou wilt fast according to Christ, all the time of the whole yeere is fit, &c. And *Hom.* 10. *in Leuitic. Est certe libertas Christiana per omne tempus ieiunandi non obseruantia superstitiosa, sed virtute continentiæ*: It is Christian libertie to fast at any time, not of a superstitious obseruation, but of a vertuous continencie.

Hieronie also: *Vtinam omni tempore ieiunare possimus, &c.* I would we might fast at all times, as the Apostles did in Pentecost, and vpon the Lords day: *dist.* 76. *c.* 11. This superstitious addicting of times and dayes to fast, misliked these fathers.

The holy Martyrs haue witnessed this truth: *Thomas Losebie, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thirtil*, and others, put to death, for saying, *that the appointing of dayes for fasting, and abstaining from flesh vpon fasting dayes, and especially in the time of Lent, is not allowable by Gods word, but is hypocrisie, and that men ought to haue libertie at all times to eate all kindes of meate*: *Fox pag.* 1975.

The Papists.

3. A Third abuse in popish fasting, is the difference that they make betweene meates and drinkes: as the forbidding of flesh-eating vpon fasting dayes for more holines, and the eating of egges, butter, and cheese in Lent: as it was decreed at Lucerna in Heluetia, *anno* 1524. Fox. pag. 867. Abstinence also from some meates vpon certaine daies for religion, is warranted by the Rhemists; as God prohibited *Adam* the eating of some fruites in Paradise for obedience, and in the law for signification, *Annot.* 1. *Timoth.* 4. *sect.* 6.

Bellarmine being here charged, that the Papists differ very little from the old Heretikes the Tatianes and Manichees, which condemned the eating of flesh as vncleane in it selfe; would thus excuse the matter.

First, they condemne not flesh absolutely, because out of Lent they allow it. Secondly, and in Lent to those that are sicke. Thirdly, and though some Monkes, as of *Bennets* order and the Cathusians doe altogether abstaine from flesh, no man is compelled to be of that order; neither doe they iudge or condemne others that eate flesh, *Bellar. cap.* 4.

Answ. First, that which the Manichees counted alwaies vncleane, the Papists in times prohibited hold to be vncleane: what else moued B. *Stokesley* to cause poore *Frebarnes* pigge to be buried in Finsburie field, for the which his wife longed? See afterward Err. 99. they are therfore halfe Manichees. Secondly, neither did the Manichees compell any to be of their sect, and as *Augustine* saith, *Escarum vsum discipulis permittunt*: They allowed their disciples to eate flesh: *cont. Adimant. cap.* 15. as the Carthusian Monkes allow others. Thirdly, this sheweth they count flesh vncleane, because

because they vse other delicate meates with wine and spices, which doe more prouoke lust, than flesh doth: as *Augustine* writeth of some: *Ipsa vasa in quibus cocta carnes, &c.* They feare as vncleane the vessels wherein flesh is sod, but they feare not the immoderate filling of their bellie. Serm. 37.

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, now Antichrist sheweth himselfe in his colours, making it as lawfull for him, to forbid the vse of some meates for religion, now vnder the Gospell, when God hath made them all lawfull and free, as God himselfe might forbid the vse of some, for obedience in Paradise, or signification in the Law. Secondly, Saint *Paul* calleth it the doctrine of diuels, to commaund to abstaine from meates, 1. Timoth. 4. 3. Again, *Let no man condemne you in meate and drinke*, Colos. 2. vers. 16. The Rhemists answere, that the Apostle speaketh in the first place against those heretikes, that condemned meates as euill by creation, such were the Manichees: and in the second, against the Iudaicall obseruation of meates. But they onely prohibit the vse of some meates for the chastising of the bodie.

Answ. First, not onely the Manichees and other heretikes preferred some meates before other, as more holie, but euen the Papists also in the prescript times of their fasts doe commaund to abstaine from meates for pietie and religion: and therefore they are counted most holie amongst them that neuer eate flesh. And *Durand* testifieth, that fish in interdict dayes, is rather vsed than flesh, because flesh and not fish was accursed in the dayes of *Noah*. Yea they commaund abstinence from meates vnder paine of damnation: what is this else, but with the old heretikes to condemne the creatures of God themselues? Secondly, the popish prohibition of meates, is no lesse superstitious, than was the Iewes: For they prohibited such meates also, as by the law were counted vncleane, as to eate beasts that died alone, or were torne with beasts, or strangled, or touched any vncleane beast, as likewise they inioyned penance to them, that did eate or drinke, where a dogge or cat had lapped, or a mouse had been drowned, and such like, *Fulk. annot. 1. Timoth. 4. fol. 6.* Durand lib. 6. de alijs cibis.

Thus Pope *Zacharie* giuing instructions to *Boniface*, forbiddeth him to eate, *Ciconias & Leporet*, Storkes, and Hares or Conies: and as touching *Lardum*, Larde or Porke, he giueth counsell, that it should not be eaten, *priusquam super fumo siccetur, aut igne coquatur*, before it be dried in the smoke, or boyled with fire.

So *Synod. Trullan. can. 67. Damnamus eos, qui cuiuscunque animalis sanguinem aliqua arte condiunt, & sic comedunt:* We condemne those, that doe dresse the blood of any beast by arte, and so eate it. A graue decree for a Councell to forbid the eating of puddings. *Vormatiens. can. 63. Si porci cadaver manducauerint, carnes eorum comedere non licet, vsque dum macerantur per annum:* If swine chaunce to eate a carion, their flesh must not be eaten, till they haue been dried a yeere.

I pray you how farre are they now from the superstition of the Iewes? Nay they goe beyond them: for the legall difference of meates for signification, was instituted of God for those times: but this superstitious distinction of meates vnder the Gospell, which giueth vs the free vse of all the creatures of God, which are sanctified by the word and prayer, 1. Tim. 4. 5. is brought in by Antichrist, who is an enemie vnto God.

3. Neither doe they abstaine from flesh and other meates for chastising of the flesh: for they permit the vse of all other meates vpon their fasting dayes, that may prouoke lust, flesh only excepted, as the eating of spices, and other daintie and delicate confections, the drinking of wine, and all kinde of fish. Euen like as *Augustine* reporteth of the Manichees, that would drinke no wine, nor eate flesh: but in stead of wine, they had *Pomorum nonnullorum expressos succos vini speciem satis imitantes, atque id etiam suauitate vincentes:* The sweete liquor of pleasant fruites like to wine in colour, but excelling it in sweetnes: and for flesh they had their straunge and exquisite fruits, with great varietie of dishes, seasoned and strawed with pepper. This was the Manichees fast: and this is the popish custome in their fastings at this day. De moribus Manich. lib. 2. cap. 13.

Hereof *Hierome* thus complained: *ad Neopotian. Audio quosdam aquam non bibere, nec vesci pane, sed sorbitiunculas delicatas non calice sorbere, sed concha:* I heare how some will drinke no water, nor eate bread, but yet drinke not out of a cup, but in a shell more delicate suppings.

Decret. 30. c. 13. Siquis carnem manducantem ex fide cum religione: If any man condemne one eating of flesh in faith, with religion, let him be accursed, &c. But the Papists condemne one eating flesh in Lent. *Ergo.*

Decret. distinct. 41. c. 1. Fieri potest, vt sine aliquo vitio cupiditatis sapiens pretiosissimo cibo vtatur, &c. It may so fall out, that a wise or godly man may vse a most precious meate, without any vicious lust, and affect sinne in eating course herbes, &c. *Sanius quisque maluerit pisce vesci more domini, quam leuticula, &c.* A man were better to eate fish as Christ did, than Lentiles with *Esau, &c.*

Cabilonens. sub Carolo, can. 35. Ille magis parsimonia seruire conspicitur, qui sibi non solum quarundam rerum perceptiones, sed delectationes corporis penitus interdicit: Hee is thought to be more giuen to parsimonie, which doth not only refraine from receiuing some things, but euen from the plea-

sures of the bodie. *Concil. Colonien. part. 9 cap. 5. Admonendus est populus, cum ieiunandum erit non minus prolixa & sumptuosa illa piscium fercula, quàm carnium vitanda; bellaria item illa, magis quàm carnes inflammantia:* The people must be admonished, that when they fast, they ought no lesse to refraine from the long and sumptuous seruices of fish, as from the flesh dishes, and from those iunkets, that do inflame no lesse than flesh. But our aduersaries are farre off from keeping these rules in their fasts.

George Marsh Martyr, thus witnesseth: *In this point doth our superstition exceede the superstition of the Iewes, when we abstaine from one thing, and fill our bellies with another: Fox* pag. 1570.

Laurence Staple persecuted because he vsed to eate egges on Friday, *and thought it was no great offence vnto God.* pag. 1043.

Now if our aduersaries forbeare some meates for chastisement of the bodie, why might it not be as lawfull to eate butter, and egges, in the time of Lent, as vpon other fasting daies: but that they make difference of the times, as one being holier than another, and so allo a difference of meates, some being more agreeable to holie times, than other?

Wherefore to conclude this point: ciuill abstinence from flesh, as for policie sake, and the better maintenance of the Common-wealth, that there should be a vent for fish, as well as for flesh, and that euery man might liue of his trade and calling: as also for the health of the bodie, to abstaine from hurtfull meates: as likewise to keepe a temperate and sober diet, and to take heede of surfetting and drunkennesse: these kindes of abstinence, in making difference of meates, we mislike not: but for pietie or religions sake to distinguish them, it is to too great superstition.

Our arguments further out of Scripture against the difference of meates, are these.

1. Matth. 15. 11. *That which goeth into the mouth, defileth not the man.*

2. 1. Corinth. 10. 25. *Whatsoeuer is soldin the shambles, eate yee, asking no question for conscience sake.*

3. Coloss. 2. 20. *If ye be dead with Christ from the ordinances of the world, why are ye burthened with traditions, touch not, taste not, handle not?*

4. 1. Timoth. 4. 3. *Forbidding to marrie and commanding to abstayne from meates, the Apostle calls the doctrine of diuels: Ergo,* a difference of meates for religion or conscience sake is superstitious.

1. *Bellarm.* Meates properly defile not the soule, but by reason of the concupiscence ioyned with them; as in gluttonie, drunkennesse and disobedience.

Contra. 1. In gluttonie, drunkennes, the concupiscence commeth from within that defileth, namely the vnsatiable greedinesse of the flesh: otherwise it is not the quantitie or qualitie of the meate which entreth that defileth. 2. Likewise disobedience proceedeth from the heart, comprehended *vnder euill thoughts,* Matth. 15. 19. *Out of the heart proceed euill thoughts:* but disobedience to superstitious and vnlawfull precepts is no sinne; such as are these in commanding abstinence from meates for religion.

2. Yet S. *Paul* forbiddeth flesh offered to idols to be eaten, if it offend the conscience of our weake brother, 1. Cor. 10. 29. much lesse would he haue the Church-fast broken, to the great offence of others, *Bellarm. c.* 8.

Contra. 1. Not the breaking of superstitious lawes, but the obseruing rather doth minister offence: still he beggeth the thing in question; that the superstitious inhibiting of eating of flesh is a lawfull constitution of the Church. 2. If then flesh may be safely eaten at all times, but where our brothers conscience is offended, it is not simply vnlawfull: neyther do wee denie, but that in this Christian libertie, respect is to be had to our brothers weaknesse: as the Apostle saith, 1. Corinth. 10. 29. *Why should our libertie be condemned of anothers conscience?* 3. Hereupon we inferre that there ought to be no other restraint of eating of flesh for religion, but the conscience of him that may be offended.

3. 4. In both these places the Apostle condemneth those, which did forbid flesh; as vncleane of it selfe, as though by the very handling thereof they were defiled, *Bellarm. ibid. respons. ad* 3. 4.

Contra. 1. In the first place the Apostle speaketh of such, as with a shew of holinesse refused to taste meate: but there is no shew of holines but it is meere prophanenesse absolutely to condemne meates, and a plaine doctrine of diuels, 1. Tim h. 4. 1, therefore the Papists that place holinesse in not touching or tasting of flesh, and would not seeme simply to condemne them, are here signified. 2. In the second place the Apostle speaketh generally of all that forbid meates for any doctrine or religion: whenas they make it vnlawfull, to *receiue them with thankesgiuing,* and *refuse them.* 1. But thus do the Papists forbid meates for religion and doctrine, so that the creature of God is refused: *Ergo,* 2. The Apostle maketh but two impedimentes of not receiuing and eating meates: Want of faith and knowledge; Want of thankesgiuing: but with them it is not lawfull for beleeuers, and such as giue thankes, to receiue Gods creatures: therefore they are these forbidders. 3. Againe the Apostle speaketh of the last times, and of such as should make a generall Apostasie from the faith: this doth most fitly agree to the now present popish Church: the old

heretikes

heretikes the Tatinnes and Manichees, were aboue a thousand yeeres agoe, and neuer any heretikes swarued more vniuersally in the whole body of religion from the faith, then they do.

Origen shall conclude, *Abstinere à cibis, quos Deus creauit ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione, acceptum esse non potest Deo:* To abstayne from meats, which God hath created to be receiued with thankesgiuing, cannot be acceptable to God: *homil. 9. in Leuit.*

Augustine: Non propter peccatum, sed propter pomum mortem primus homo inuenit; & Esau primatus sui propter gallinam non propter lenticulam perdidit: The first man found death, not for eating flesh, but fruite: *Esau* lost his birthright, not for capons, but for corne: *tract. 73. in Ioan. Ergo*, there is no difference to be made of meates for religion.

The Papists.

FOurthly, their religious kind of fasting they hold not to be a general abstinence from all meats and drinkes, but onely from some certaine kindes, as from flesh, and wine, as *Timothie* refrained from drinking of wine, and in stead thereof vsed water; 1. Timoth. 5. verse. 23. *Rhemist.* *Daniel* for 3. weekes space abstayned from flesh and wine, Dan. 10. 3. *Bellarm. l. 5.* 97. Error.

The Protestants.

Answ. FIrst, for chastising of the body, it is lawfull to abstaine either wholy for a time, or in respect of the quantitie or qualitie of the meates, which may more prouoke carnall lustes, not in the prohibition of the whole kind, as the Papists do of all flesh, be it neuer so grosse or small in quantitie. Likewise it is lawfull for chastising of a mans body to abstaine from any kinde, as of wine, fruites, spices, flesh, so that the vse of them be not forbidden, as though in the very abstinence there were religion, *Fulke. ibid.* *Daniel* abstayned from pleasant and lasciuious meate to be the better prepared for that heauenly vision; *Timothie* refrayned the drinking of wine, to keepe his body in subiection: but neyther of them placed any religion herein; for hee afterward by the aduise of the Apostle did drinke wine: and so *Augustine* in the like case saith, *Quanto honestius est, vt qui &c.* How much more honest a thing is it, that he which for the infirmitie of his stomacke cannot drinke water, should vse wine moderately, *Serm. 137.*

Secondly, but the true and properly religious faste of Christians, is a generall abstinence from all meates and drinkes, during the time of such fasting: Esther 4. 16. Nehem. 9. 4. Where the maner of their fast is described: how the law was read vnto them foure times in the day, and as oft did they worship the Lord and confesse their sinnes. It was the custome of the Church also in *Augustines* time, in the dayes of faste, not to abstayne onely from flesh, or some certaine kinde of meat, as the Papists vse, but altogether to continue fasting till the euen. *Rogo vos (fratres)* (saith he) *vt in isto sacratissimo tempore, exceptis debitis dominicis, nullus prandere præsumat:* I pray you, brethren, that in this holy time, none of you presume to dine at all, except it be vpon the Lords dayes. De tempor. serm. 66.

So likewise was it concluded, *Concil. Aurelianense 2. can. 2. quadragesima ab omnibus æqualiter teneatur: sed neque per sabbata abstinentia quibusdam soluat quadragesimale ieiunium, nisi tantum die dominico prandeat:* Let the Lent or 40. dayes fast be kept indifferently of all, and let no man, no not vpon the saturdayes vnlesse for infirmities sake breake his lenton fast, vnlesse he take his dinner vpon the Lords dayes onely. Their fast then vpon other dayes, was continued from morning till night, without taking their dinner: *Ergo*, they that will keepe a true religious fast, if they are able, ought for the time wholly to abstayne.

Bellarmine here seemeth to consent with vs, propounding this proposition to proue, *vnicam in die refectionem, &c.* That there should be but one refreshing in a fast, & that to be supper, *cap. 21.* this he taketh vpon him to confirme by Scripture, as Iudg. 20. 26. They fasted all that day till the Euening: 2. Sam. 3. 31. *Dauid* would eate no bread till the Sunne went downe: he alleageth also to the same purpose diuers testimonies of the fathers: thus farre he agreeth with vs, but afterward he turneth cat in pan (as we say) and alloweth the contrarie practise in the popish Church, that vse to take their dinner in their fastes: But *Augustine* flatly reproueth this abuse, *Vidisti alium in die publico ieiunio velle prandere, admone illum in charitate admones:* Thou seest another, that a publike fast being inioyned, will take his dinner, admonish him in loue, *de tempor. serm. 102.*

George Marsh holy Martyr: We neuer reade that the Iewes euer tooke it for a fast to abstayne from flesh, and to eate fish, or white meate, *Fox.* pag. 1570. col. 2.

The Papists.

FIftly, they erre, in affirming fasting to be a meritorious worke, *Rhemist. 1. Corinth. 15. verse. 32.* and immediatly and properly a part of Gods seruice, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de bon. oper. c. 11.*

Bellarmine thus reasoneth out of Scripture:

1. Luc. 2. 3. *Anna* serued the Lord with fasting and prayer night and day.

2. Rom. 12. 1. *I beseech you brethren, giue your body a liuing sacrifice acceptable to God, &c. which is your reasonable seruice of him.* Fasting then, by the which the body is mortified, and made a sacrifice, is a seruice acceptable to God.

3. 1. Sam. 7. 6. The people fasted and prayed, and God was pleased: 1. Reg. 21. *Achab* by his

fasting did mittigate Gods wrath: the Niniuites by their fasting appeased Gods wrath: *Ergo*, fasting is satisfactorie and meritorious, *Bellarm. cap.11.*

Answ. First, we doubt not, but that fasting is a worke acceptable to God, being referred to the right end, as to chastise and humble the bodie, 1.Cor.9.27. and to make our prayers more feruent, 1.Cor.7.5. But otherwise there is no holines or vertue in fasting of it selfe, neither is it by the worke wrought of any merite or worthinesse: For our prayers, which are a more principall worke, then fasting is, yet of themselues by any worthinesse in them, are not regarded of God: for *Salomon* saith, When thou heares, haue mercie, 1.King.8.30. It is of the Lords mercie, that our prayers are heard, not of any worthinesse in them.

Now for our further answere in particular: 1. *Anna* her seruing of God, consisted chiefly in her prayer, vpon the which her fasting waited as an handmaid, to make it more feruent.

2. We denie not, but that fasting is a very good meane to helpe to mortifie the flesh, and to make it seruiceable to God, and so an exercise by faith acceptable to God: but it followeth not, that immediatly and properly it is a part of Gods seruice, which consisteth in the inward worship: the Apostle saith, *bodily exercise profiteth little*, 1.Timoth.4.8. that is, of it selfe without faith and godlinesse, it is not auayleable.

3. First, beside the fasting of the people, they shedde teares in such abundance, that they are said to haue drawen water: they also confessed their sinnes: their prayers and teares made their fasting acceptable: but they were so farre from satisfying God, that for all this they were afraid, and desired *Saul* to crie vnto God for them.

As concerning *Ahab*, how could he satisfie or merite, being a man sold to worke wickednesse, 1.King.21.25. and so without faith? his temporall repentance was rewarded with a temporall reward: this was of Gods mercie, not of his merite.

It was not the act of fasting in the Niniuites, but their true repentance ioyned with it, that pleased God, Ionas 3.10. *God saw their workes, that they turned from their euill wayes, &c.* Neyther did their repentance satisfie: for they were fearefull and doubtfull, vers.9. *Who can tell if God will turne?* it was therefore Gods acceptance, they haue no confidence in their repentance.

The Protestants.

OVr contrarie arguments, that fasting is not a worke meritorious or satisfactorie, nor properly the seruice of God, out of the Scripture are these.

*Argum.*1. Isay 58.5. *Is this such a fast, that I haue chosen, that a man should afflict his soule for a day? &c.*

2. Ioel 2.13. *Rent your hearts, and not your cloathes:* it is not then the affliction of the flesh, but the contrition of the heart that God requireth.

3. 1.Tim.4.7,8. *Exercise thy selfe to godlines, for bodilie exercise profiteth little, godlines is profitable to all things.*

4. Luk.18.12. The Pharisee alleaging his fasting is not iustified.

5. Coloss.2.23. S. *Paul* calleth the religion, which is in not sparing the bodie, ἐθελοθρησκίαν, a voluntarie worship, deuised of man.

1. *Bellarmin.* The Lord doth not simplie reiect fasting, but onely such a fast, as is not ioyned with pietie and iustice: *c.12. resp. ad.1.*

Contra. You haue answered well: for if fasting without godlines and iustice profite not, then is it not in it selfe meritorious, neither hath any force, but by the faith and true contrition of the heart: iustice it selfe, and true contrition, which giue strength to fasting, are not meritorious, much lesse is fasting it selfe.

2. The renting of the garments is not simplie forbidden, but when it is not accompanied with the contrition of the heart, *Bellarmin ibid.*

*Contra.*1. Neither doe we say that fasting is forbidden simplie, but that in it selfe it is the lesse principall, and without the deuotion of the heart not at all accepted, and therefore it hath no merite, hauing no life, nor force of it selfe. Contrition of the heart merriteth not: for *David* sacrificing a contrite heart vnto God, Psalm.51.17. yet prayeth for mercie, vers.1. *Ergo*, much lesse doth fasting merite, which is quickened by the deuotion of the heart.

3. By bodilie exercise either may be vnderstoode fasting without almes or mercie, or the exercise of the bodie: such as champions vsed in their fight: which was vnprofitable to attaine any thing in the next life, *Bellarm ibid.*

*Contra.*1. By godlines cannot properlie almes be vnderstoode, or any other externall or bodilie action: for the Apostle opposeth godlines to bodily exercise: but that which is contrarie or opposite to bodily, is spirituall. 2. Yet admitting this exposition, fasting cannot be meritorious, seeing it hath no power without almes, which neither are themselues meritorious: with such sacrifice indeede the Apostle saith, *God is pleased*, Hebr.13.16. but offered vnto God through Christ, vers.15. 3. What need had S. *Paul* to giue *Timothie* warning to take heede of bodilie exercise, being

being so weake, and full of infirmities, that he giueth him counsell afterward to drinke wine? 1. Tim. 5. 23. by bodilie exercise then, he vnderstandeth all externall seruices, and outward ceremonies, *not tending to edifying by faith*, 1. Tim. 1. 4. which also include superstitious pharisaicall fasting.

4. The Pharisee was not iustified because he thought to be iustified by his fasting, but because he boasted of his workes and despised others, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. The Pharisee is not onely reiected for his disdaine and contempt to the poore Publicane: but for his hypocrisie in setting forth his owne righteousnesse, which notwithstanding he thanketh God for after a sort. First, the occasion of the Parable doth insinuate so much, vers. 9. *He spake this Parable vnto certaine that trusted in themselues, that they were iust and despised others*: they trusted to be iust toward God by their workes, and also despised their brethren: here are two faultes, both which the Pharisee was infected with. Secondly, this appeareth by the contrarie in the Publicane, who pleadeth for mercie, as the other stoode vpon merice. Thirdly, so *Ambrose* expoundeth, *Verecundia pretulit Publicanum, qui ne oculos audebat leuare ad cælum*: Modestie preferred the Publicane, who durst not lift vp his eyes to heauen: *Offic.* 1. c. 18. The Publicanes humilitie was toward God, in not presuming to lift vp his eyes to heauen; therefore the Pharisees pride was toward God in boasting of his workes.

1. Will worship is not opposed to that which is not written, but to that which is not grounded vpon reason: for though it be not commaunded, if it be reasonable, it is no Will worship. 2. The Apostle reproueth them for their immoderate fasting, not yeelding necessarie things to the flesh. 3. They did abstaine of a superstitious opinion, in abhorring flesh as euill and vncleane in it selfe, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. The Apostle expoundeth himselfe, vers. 22. *Which are after the doctrines, and commaundements of men*: so that it is a Will worship which is after mans, and not Gods commaundement: therefore all worship not prescribed in the word, is Will worship: and this Will worship had a shew of wisdome, and so of reason, yet was a voluntarie seruice.

Secondly, this is not the chiefe thing that is reprehended, the not sparing of the flesh (for herein, as the Apostle sheweth, consisted their *shew of wisdome*) but for that they followed the doctrines of men, and neglected the commaundement of God, concerning the internall worship: *and the not sparing of the flesh*, is expounded, *the not satisfying of the flesh*, which of it selfe is not so euill a thing: beside many of their Monkes and Heremites haue offended this way, in pinching and pining their bodies, by their immoderate fasting to death.

Thirdly, the Apostle speaketh of those, which of Iewish superstition, rather then heathen prophanenes abstained from meate. First, there had bin no shew of wisdome, in condemning the creatures of God simplie. Secondly, he calleth them στοιχεῖα, the elements of the world, vers. 20. which the Apostle expoundeth to be the ceremonies of the Iewes, Galath. 4. 9. 3. vers. 17. they were such ceremonies, as were shadowes of Christ: but these were the Iewish, not heathen obseruances. Thirdly, he saith, verse 20. δογματίζεσθε, ye are burdened with traditions: which traditions, δόγματα, he saith were fastened to Christs Crosse, vers. 14. which were the traditions of the lawe, not of the Gentiles.

Augustine saith very well, *Si voluimus bene iciunare à cibis, autè omnia iciunemus & à vitijs. Quid prodest, palidum esse iciunijs, si odio & inuidia liuescas?* What doth it helpe to fast from meate, if we fast not from sinne? What auaileth it to be pale and wan with fasting, if thou fretteſt with hatred and enuie? *Ergo*, the externall or outward acte of fasting of it selfe is little or nothing worth. De tempor. Serm. 64.

Synod. Moguntin. cap. 47. Non existimet Christiani sola carnis abstinentia se Deo gratos esse, cum meminerint primos homines, qui carnem nondum gustauerant, ob vitæ nequitiam diluuio deletos: sed cum abstinentia carnis, cæterorum ciborum moderationem & perpetuam sobrietatem coniungant: Let not Christians thinke, that they are accepted of God, onely for their abstinence from flesh, when they may remember, that the men of the olde world, that tasted no flesh, were for the wickednesse of their life destroyed in the flood: but let them ioyne with their abstinence from flesh, the moderate vse of other meates, and the perpetuall sobrietie of their life.

This truth the Martyrs haue sealed, that our fasting, nor yet any thing else that we doe meriteth at Gods hand. *George Marsh* Martyr, holdeth it to be Iewish to thinke, that we doe God great pleasure when we fast, pag. 1570. In this faith died *Iohn Warne*, that we obtaine nothing at Gods handes through our workes, pag. 1581. col. 1.

S. *Hierome* saith, *Caue ne si iciunare cœperis, te putes esse iam sanctum: has enim virtus adiumentum est, non perfectio sanitatis: prouidendum est ne cum licita cauemus, hoc tibi illicitorum securitatem faciat*: Take heede, when thou beginnest to fast, that you thinke not your selfe to be holy: this vertue is a helpe, it is not the perfection of health: take heede, least in contemning things lawfull, you be secure in vsing vnlawfull: *ad Celantiam*: *Ergo*, fasting is not meritorious.

The Papists.

99. Error. Sixtly, and lastly, they grieuously offend in their fastings, in laying so streight and hard a yoke vpon mens shoulders, as charging them vnder paine of damnation to keepe their fasting daies, making it deadly sinne, yea, heresie to transgresse them, as one *Lawrence Staple* was troubled and Fox p 1043. persecuted, *Anno* 1531. because in Lent hauing no fish, he did eate egges, butter and cheese: Nay they were so cruell, that hardly they suffered women in childebed to haue any flesh in their houses, as *Anno* 1532. Two young girles were constrained to abiure, because they were found vpon Saint *Peters* euen eating broath made of mutton, their mother lying in childebed. How was poore *Frebarne* tossed to and fro, and brought into great danger, because a Pigge was found in his house in Lent time, for the which his wife longed?

Argum. That Ecclesiastical lawes enioyning fasts for religion do simply binde in conscience, *Bellarmine* would thus proue out of Scripture.

1. Ierem. 35. 14. The Rechabites are commended for keeping the institution of *Ionadab* their father, not to drinke wine.

2. Hester. 9. 22. *Mordecai* instituteth a new fast to be obserued for euer.

3. Zachar. 8. 19. There is mention made of foure fasts; of the fourth, fift, seuenth, tenth moneths, which were not commaunded of God.

4. Act. 15. 29. Abstinence from strangled and from blood is enioyned by the Apostles to be obserued of all the Church, *Bellar. c. 7.*

1. *Answ.* First, the institution of *Ionadab* was according to the law of the Nazarites, prescribed Numb. 6. that were to drinke no wine nor strong drinke by Gods precept, and therefore it did binde the Rechabites in conscience: but now there is no such lawe of abstinence giuen by Christ vnder the Gospell, and therefore the argument followeth not. Secondly, neither did the Rechabites hold themselues so bound in conscience, but that by necessitie they might be dispensed with: for one of their fathers precepts was, to dwell in tents, vers. 10. yet because the host of the Assyrians was in the land, for that time, they came and dwelt in the citie.

2. First, we reade of a feast instituted yeerely to be celebrated by *Mordecai*, not of a fast. Secondly, yet we doubt not but that the Magistrates may enioyne a publike religious fast, as *Hester* did, chap. 4. 16. which is not a prohibition from flesh meate, but a generall restraint of all meate, not for set and stinted times, but vpon extraordinarie occasion. This maketh nothing for their ecclesiasticall iniunctions, for the perpetuall restraint of some kinde of meate onely.

3. First, those fasts mentioned in *Zacharie* are reproued by the Prophet, Zach. 7. 5. *Did ye fast vnto me?* Secondly, Zach. 8. 19. He saith onely that *the fasts shall be turned to ioy and gladnes*: which is no approbation of them, but onely a declaration and promise, that the like calamities shall not fall vpon them, as before, by occasion whereof they tooke vp those fasts: such were the sacking of the citie, and destruction of the temple. Thirdly, in their fasts they abstained wholy from al meate, *weeping and separating themselues*, Zachar. 7. 3. and their eating and drinking is opposed *to their fasting*, vers. 6. what is this to popish fasting, which is not a totall abstinence, but from some kinde onely?

4. First, Ecclesiasticall gouernours haue not like authoritie now to make lawes to binde the conscience, as the Apostles had. Secondly, they did not inhibite things strangled for any religion in the abstainer, but for the conscience of others, namely the Iewes that might be offended: which we hold to be the only religious restraint of not eating. Thirdly, this constitution of the Apostles was but to endure for a time: how doth this then warrant a perpetuall yoke of abstinence for religion to be layd vpon the Church?

The Protestants.

First, no positiue law not grounded vpon Scripture, can so binde any man, that in the breaking thereof hee shall sinne deadly, and of this sort is the fast of Lent and other dayes for religion, which were ordained without warrant of Scripture: *Lambert ad articul. 17. pag. 1110.* Ciuill and politike lawes for the restraint of flesh at certaine seasons, made by the godly and wise Magistrate for the benefit of the Common-wealth, not for any religion, are in conscience to be obeyed so far forth, as we by the law of God are bound in conscience to obey the Magistrate in al lawful things: but simply they do not binde the conscience inrespect of the thing commaunded. Seeing the rest of the Sabboth being commanded of God, might yet vpon necessarie cause be broken, how much greater liberty ought the people to haue had in the obseruation of these daies which were only inioyned by men? yet was it counted an heynous sin, to eate flesh vpon a day interdict, and a small offence or none to violate the rest of the Sabboth?

Secondly, S. *Paul* could see no such necessitie of fasting and abstinence, when he willeth *Timothie* to drinke wine, and no longer water, for his infirmitie sake, 1. Tim. 5. 23. But if there were religion in fasting and abstinence, it ought not to be intermitted for bodily health.

Further, the Apostle calleth these the precepts and commaundements of men, *Touch not, taste not,*

not, handle not; which things periſh with the vſing. Coloſſ. 2. 21. they concerne not the conſcience: but Gods precepts in religious matters doe not periſh with the vſing: but in the keeping or breaking thereof, the conſcience is either accuſed, or excuſed.

Saint *Iames* alſo ſaith, Iam. 4. 12. *There is but one lawgiuer, that is able to ſaue and to deſtroy: Ergo,* men haue no power to make lawes to binde mens conſciences, either to ſaue them by keeping thereof, or deſtroy them by breaking.

Canon. Apoſtol. 68. Si quis impediatur imbecillitate corporis, non tenetur ieiunare quadrageſimam: If any be hindred by the weaknes of their bodie, they are not bound to keepe the Lenton faſt. *Celeſtinus part. 9. cap. 4. Eccleſia liberum fecit quolibet tempore quibuſlibet veſci, modo id vel charitas, vel neceſſitas ſuadeat:* The Church giueth libertie at all times, to eate all manner things, if charitie or neceſſitie require. *Synod. Moguntin. cap. 47. Tempora ieiunandi, prout ſalubritati corporum & animarum expedire videbatur, ab eccleſia ordinata:* The times of faſt were ordained by the Church, as it was thought meete for the health of bodie and ſoule. Men therefore are not bound to faſt, if thereby their health be empayred: for no man euer hated his owne fleſh, as S. *Paul* ſaith.

In *Auguſtines* time there was no ſuch ſtrict neceſſitie of faſting: *Qui ieiunare non praualet, in domo ſua præparet, quod accipiat:* He that is not able to faſt, let him prepare in his houſe for his owne eating. And againe, *Si poſſibilitas non fuerit ieiunandi, ſufficiat eleemoſyna ſine ieiunio:* If a man haue not poſſibilitie to faſt, in ſtead of faſting, it ſhall ſuffice to giue almes: *ſerm. de tempor. 62.* What is become now of your Lent and Imber dayes, which you preſcribe as neceſſarie to bee kept of all?

THE THIRD PART, OF Almes deedes.

THe difference betweene our aduerſaries and vs is chiefly in theſe two poynts: firſt, concerning the fruits and benefits, that come by giuing of almes. Secondly, of the manner.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE fruits of Almes deedes.

The Papiſt.

FIrſt, *Bellarmine* ſaith that almes deedes are meritorious; they doe merit eternall life. 100. Error.

Argum. Matth. 25. *Receiue the kingdome prepared for you: for when I was hungrie you gaue mee meate, &c. Bellarm. cap. 4. lib. 3. de bonis operib. in particular.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, this place prooueth not that almes deedes merite heauen: but it rather ſheweth, that Chriſt in mercie crowneth the charitable workes of his children: heauen is giuen though not for their good workes, yet according to their good workes: this kingdome was prepared for them before the beginning of the world, verſ. 34. before they had yet done any almes deedes: therefore they could not merit that which was prepared for them, and giuen them, before they had done any good thing.

Argum. Rom. 6. 23. *Life eternall is the gift of God through Chriſt:* If it be a franke gift, then is it not merited. No man can merit by doing that which was his dutie to doe: Luk. 17. *Doth the maſter thanke his ſeruant, becauſe he did that, which was commaunded vnto him, I trow not?* If the maſter be not bound to thanke his ſeruant, becauſe hee did no more than his dutie, much leſſe is the Lorde bound to reward vs. But all our almes deedes, and whatſoeuer elſe, that wee doe, are but of dutie. *Ergo.*

Auguſtine ſaith: *Ne putetis fratres, quia faciendo ſunt quotidie adulteria, & quotidianis eleemoſynis mundanda ſunt, ad illa ſcelera maiora non ſufficiunt eleemoſyna vt illa mundent:* Thinke not brethren, that ye may commit adulterie daily, and by daily almes be cleanſed, *Almes are not ſufficient to purge theſe great ſinnes, de* 10. *Chord. cap.* 11. If almes are not auaileable to purge our ſinnes, much leſſe to purchaſe heauen for vs.

The Papiſt.

ALmes deeds are a diſpoſition vnto the grace of iuſtification proceeding from Gods motion, and by his ſpeciall helpe. 101. Error.

Argum. 1. Prou. 15. 28. *By mercie and faith ſinnes are purged.*

2. Luk. 11. 41. *Giue almes, and all things are cleane vnto you.*

3. Luk. 19. 8. When *Zacheus* had ſaid, *halfe of my goods I giue to the poore,* Chriſt ſaith vnto him, *This day is ſaluation come to thy houſe.*

4. Act. 10. 4. The Angell ſaith to *Cornelius, Thine almes and thy prayers are come vp into remembrance*

brance before God: send therefore to Ioppa, and call for one Simon. Cornelius by his almes obtaineth faith: *Bellarm. lib. 3. de bon. operib. cap. 4. 5.*

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, there is no such text in the Hebrue, nor yet in the old Latine copie: as may appeare by the annotations in the margent of the vulgar Latine vpon this place: yet admit the reading: it is faith working by almes that purgeth sinnes, and not almes it selfe.

2. Our Sauiour is to be expounded by the verse going before, Luk. 11. 39. *Ye make cleane the outside of the cup, &c. but the inward part is full of rauening, &c.* Our Sauiour then teacheth them how to make the inside of the platter cleane also from couetousnes by the contrarie vertue of liberalitie: he speaketh not of cleansing the heart before God, but how to cleanse their outward acts before men, and to make amends by their almes for their greedie rauening. In like sort *Daniel* aduised the King to breake off his sinne of mercilesse crueltie by almes and charitie, Dan. 4. 24. So then couetousnesse is cleansed or broken off by almes and mercie, as drunkennesse and surfetting by abstinence. This exposition *Bellarmine* himselfe misliketh not, *cap. 3. obiect. 1.* Againe, *Origen* expoundeth it thus: Like as Christ saith here, *giue almes of that which is within*, so Mat. 23. 26. he saith, *cleanse first the inside of the platter*: that is (saith he) the heart: *Qui facit eleemosynam vt gloriam ab hominibus consequatur, &c.* He that giueth almes to get the glorie of men, doth cleanse the outside of the cup, &c. *& quicquid boni fecerit homo non ex conscientia munda, &c.* And whatsoeuer a man doth not of a good conscience before God, he cleanseth the outside of the cup, but inwardly he is full of euil, *Hom. 25. in Matth.* So in this sense our Sauiour sheweth in what manner the Pharisees should giue almes, with a cleere and sincere conscience, and so the heart being cleane, all their outward acts should be cleane. This place then maketh nothing for iustification by almes before God.

3. First, Christ signifieth, that saluation was come to the whole house and familie of *Zacheus*, because he himselfe was alreadie the childe of *Abraham*. Secondly, for before this Christ had looked vpon *Zacheus* as he looked vpon *Peter*, and called him first and inspired him with grace. So *Hierome* well interpreteth: *Christus Zachæum latentem in arbore, quasi in peccatorum tenebris obumbratum sollicitè vt ouem perditam requirit aspectu, & venire cunctantem vocat:* Christ doth carefully seeke *Zacheus* as a lost sheepe with his sight, lying hid in the tree as in the darknes of sinners, and foreslowing to come hee calleth him: *de duob. filys. Zacheus* almes then was a fruit of his calling alreadie begun, not a preparation to his calling.

4. Neither was *Cornelius* without faith: for he *feared God, and prayed continually*, Act. 10. 2. But prayer is a fruit of faith; Iam. 5. 15. *The prayer of faith:* From this faith proceeded his almes, which faith was afterward encreased and confirmed by the preaching of *Peter*.

Argum. But that almes being without faith, are no disposition or preparation to iustification is euident: first, Hebr. 11. 6. *Without faith it is impossible to please God.* Secondly, Hebr. 13. 15. *By Christ we must offer vp our sacrifices, by the which God is pleased.* Thirdly, Tit. 1. 15. *Vnto the pure all things are pure:* And our hearts are purified by faith, Act. 15. 9. Wherefore almes are impure, if the heart be not first purified and cleansed by faith. Fourthly, Rom. 3. 24. *We are iustified freely by grace: Gratis per gratiam:* If *gratis*, freely, then our workes as almes deedes are no preparation, motiue or insinuation thereunto, for then it should not be freely.

And whereas *Bellarmine* speaketh of almes hauing Gods speciall helpe, this is no other but the helpe of grace and faith, that is, Gods speciall assistance; as Saint *Paul* saith, *Our abilitie or sufficiencie euen to thinke that it is good, is of God; Ambrose* also saith: *Plenè & veraciter confitenda est gratia dei, de cuius hoc primum munere est, vt auxilium ipsius sentiatur:* Fully and truly the grace of God must be confessed, of whose gift this is first, that his helpe is felt or perceiued: *Ambros. epistel 84.*

Concil. Arausican. 2. can. 25. Hoc salubriter profitemur & credimus, quod in omni opere bono non nos incipimus, &c. This we safely professe and beleeue, that in euery good worke we doe not begin, and afterward are helped by Gods mercie: *sed ipse nobis nullis precedentibus meritis fidem & amorem sui prius inspirat, vt quæ sibi sunt placita, implere possimus:* But he without any merits of ours before going inspireth faith and loue, that we may fulfill those things which please him, &c. *Ergo*, faith is first inspired before we can doe any thing that pleaseth God.

Decr. part. 1. qu. 1. c. 26. Gregor. Vbi Christus non est fundamentum, nullum est boni operis ædificium: Where Christ is not the foundation, there can no good worke be in the habitation: *Ergo*, almes goe not before iustification, because the building is not before the foundation.

The Papists.

101. Error. THirdly, almes deedes are a sufficient satisfaction for our sinnes before God.

Argum. Toby 4. Almes doe deliuer from death, *Bellar. cap. 4.*

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, the authoritie of this booke, being not Canonicall, bindeth vs not. Secondly, almes deliuer from death, and suffer not to goe into darknes: that is, thereby we finde fauour among

among men, and are preſerued from daunger: So *Toby* expoundeth himſelfe: *Thou laieſt vp a good ſtore for thy ſelfe againſt the day of neceſſitie*, verſ.9. that is other men, which were before by him relieued, ſhall now in the time of his neceſſitie ſuccour him: and not ſuffer him to periſh in penurie and darkenes. So alſo Eccleſiaſticus, lay vp thy almes, *They ſhall keepe thee from affliction*, chap.29.12. *They ſhall keepe a mans fauour*, verſ.13. *They ſhall fight for thee againſt thine enemie, better then the ſhield of a ſtrong man*: This it is then to be deliuered from death, and darkenes, namely from outward perill and danger among men: if theſe Apocryphall bookes doe yet aſcribe more vnto almes deeds, as making them auailable to redeeme our ſinnes, which is contrarie to the Scripture, we doe refuſe them.

Argum. Pſalm.49.7. *A man can by no meanes redeeme his brother, he cannot giue his ranſome to God*, verſ.8. *So precious is the redemption of their ſoules*: All ſoules are of alike price, and are redeemed alike, a man cannot any way redeeme another mans ſoule, and ſo conſequently not his own: almes deedes therefore haue no force to redeeme the ſoule: they are of too great a price.

Auguſtine thus writeth: *Fateor, quia peccaui, &c. ſed penitentia mea non ſufficit ad ſatisfactionem; ſed certum eſt, quod miſericordia tua ſuperat omnem offenſionem*: I confeſſe I haue ſinned, but my repentance ſufficeth not to make ſatisfaction, but thy mercy exceedeth all my offences, *lib. meditation. cap.*39. *tom.*9. If repentance worke no ſatisfaction, much leſſe almes deedes, which are farre inferior vnto it.

This alſo is the confeſſion of the holy Martyrs, that there is no ſatisfaction for ſinne, in our owne workes. *Iohn Warne* Martyr, *I doe beleeue, that my ſinnes are forgiuen onely through Ieſus Chriſt, of whom I profeſſe, that I haue my whole and full ſaluation, which commeth not through our workes, but freely by grace: ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, that through the blood of his croſſe, he hath reconciled all things in heauen and in earth*, Coloſſ.1. *Fox.* p.1581.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE MANner in diſtributing of Almes.

THat almes ought to be giuen, firſt cheerefully, the Scripture teacheth vs, *God loueth a cheerefull giuer*, 2.Cor.9. Againe readily without any delay: *Say not to thy neighbour goe and come to morrow, if it be in thy power to giue him now*, Prou.3. Further, we muſt giue bountifully, when occaſion ſerueth, and other mens neceſſitie requireth, 1.Cor.8.3. to their power, and beyond their power they were willing, 2.Cor.8.3. Theſe and other ſuch conditions are to be obſerued in chriſtian times, but we deny this that followeth.

The Papiſts.

ALmes muſt be done, *intentione placendi Deo*, with an intention to pleaſe God thereby. 103. Error.

Argum. Matth.6.2. Our Sauiour Chriſt reproueth the Phariſees, becauſe they gaue almes to haue praiſe of men: but we muſt giue our almes in ſecret, that God may reward vs, verſ.5. As they ſeeke the praiſe of men, ſo we muſt ſeeke the praiſe of God: *Bellarm. cap.*13.

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. OVr Sauiour Chriſt biddeth vs not in this place in giuing our almes to propound, and ſet before vs the praiſe and reward of God: but onely to take heede of the praiſe of men, and to ſhunne the ſame by giuing in ſecret: the praiſe or reward at Gods hand followeth vpon this ſimplicitie and ſinglenes of heart in giuing of almes: but we muſt doe well for conſcience ſake, not onely for hope of reward: although we graunt that our almes deedes are well pleaſing and acceptable vnto God through Chriſt: Hebr.13.16. *With ſuch ſacrifice God is pleaſed*. Yet we ought to doe them of duetie, without any other reſpect.

Argum. If Magiſtrates muſt be obeyed for conſcience ſake, Rom.13.5. not for feare of puniſhment or hope of reward: if ſeruants muſt yeeld obedience to their maſters in ſinglenes of hart and with good will, Epheſ.6.6. much more for very conſcience ſake muſt we ſerue the Lord: if they muſt be obeyed for the Lords ſake, much more the Lord for his owne ſake. But now if in giuing almes we reſpect the reward at Gods hands, then doe we it not of conſcience, nor for the Lords ſake, but for the rewards ſake.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Da de quo dederat tibi Deus: ipſe te diuitem fecit, ergo illi redde, quod ſuum eſt*: Giue of that, which God gaue to thee: he made thee rich; therefore render to him his owne: *Homil.*47. We are bound therefore of dutie to giue, which is ſufficient to moue vs, without reſpect to the reward.

Bernard alſo ſaith notably: *Cauſa diligendi Deum Deus eſt, modus ſine modo diligere: non ſine premio diligitur Deus, etſi abſque premij intuitu diligendus*: God himſelfe is the cauſe why wee loue God: hee is not beloued without a reward, yet is hee to bee loued without reſpect had to the reward. Lib.de diligend deo.

The

The Papists.

104. Error. LAstly, the *Rhemists* charge vs very vntruely, to be enemies to good workes: and most slaunderously affirme of vs, that we condemne them as vncleane, sinful, hypocritical; in c. 2. to the Romans, *sect.* 3. and it is the generall accusation of the Papists against vs, that we preaching only faith, haue destroyed good workes, and slaked mens charitie and deuotion thereunto.

The Protestants.

THis is an vncharitable slaunder, and a most false accusation, that the doctrine of faith is a destruction of manners: or that we, preaching iustification onely by faith, do hinder good workes: for first, for the doctrine it selfe, though we affirme, that faith onely iustifieth; yet we also vrge good workes as necessarie fruites, and liuely testimonies of our faith. Secondly, concerning our selues; we do continually call vpon the people to shew their faith, by their workes: wee say with S. *Paul*, that *they, which haue beleeued in God, might be carefull to shew forth good workes*, Tit. 3. 8. and *let ours also learne to shew forth good workes for necessarie vses, that they be not vnfruitfull*, verse 14. Yet the same Apostle ascribeth iustification to faith onely without workes, Rom. 3. 28. We also say with *Hieronie, Inter Christianum & Gentilem non fides tantum debet sed vita discingere; & diuersam religionem per diuersa opera monstrare*: Betweene a Christian and a Gentile, not faith onely, but our life must make a difference; and wee must shew a diuers religion, by diuers and differing workes, *Hieron. ad Celantiam.* Thirdly, that it may appeare to all the world, how shamelesse these men are in forging vntrue reportes of vs, I will by particular instance of some speciall charitable workes, done vnder the Gospell, and especially within these fourtie yeeres of the happy raigne of our blessed Soueraigne, briefly shew, that the doctrine of faith hath not beene among vs vnfruitfull.

And to begin with the raigne of K. *Edward* of blessed memorie; what worke can they shew done in the time of superstition, equall to that excellent foundation of that good *Iosias* of three hospitals in London, erected for the poore, namely, Christs hospitall, S. *Thomas* hospital, and Bridewell? the first for poore and friendlesse children, to bring them vp and instruct them: the second for the maymed and impotent poore, to heale and refresh them: the third for valiant and sturdie vagrants, to discipline and correct them.

But of all other times (thanks be giuen vnto God) this space of fourtie yeeres profession of the Gospell, vnder the leading and direction of our happie *Deborah*, hath excelled: I cannot rehearse the hundreth part of such fruites as the Gospel hath brought forth in this land: I would they were come to my knowledge, that I might make some memorall of them: I will onely testifie that I know, and giue an instance of that place, which I in affection loue, and in dutie owe deuotion vnto, namely, the Vniuersitie of Cambridge: wherein the charitable beneuolence, bountifull liberalitie, large expenses, bestowed 1. in the founding and erecting of Colledges: 2. augmenting some already erected, with larger reuenues: 3. the adorning and beautifying of the buildings, within the compasse of these 40. yeeres, may compare with any time of the like or longer continuance in any age.

First, there haue been of late within lesse then twentie yeeres by many, two famous Colledges raysed out of the ground: the one called *Emmanuel* Colledge, founded by the right honourable Sir *Gualter Mildmay*, consisting of a Master and twelue fellowes, 14. schollers, and 10 poore schollers: whereof 7. fellowships were giuen by the founder, by Sir *Robart Iermin* 1. Sir *Francis Hastings* 1. M. *Skinner* 1. M. *Taylor* 1. M. *Fuller* 1.

The other erected by the honorable Countesse of Sussex, called Sidney-Colledge, consisting of a Master and 10. fellowes, and diuers schollerships maintained by the gift of the founder: and since encreased by a fellowship of Sir *Iohn Harts* gift of London.

Secondly, these Colledges haue beene augmented and encreased in reuenues.

To *Peter-house*, sixe Bibleclarkeships giuen by the honorable Lord *Eward North*: three by M. *Willshaw*: one by the most reuerend the L. Archbishop of Canturburie that now is: three Bibleclarkes and one Fellow by D. *Pearne* late Master of the House: two fellowships and foure bibleclarkships by the vertuous and charitable Lady *Marie Ramsey* of London.

Clare Hall by the gift of *Edward Leeds* sometime Master of the house maintaineth 20. Scholars.

Pembroke Hall hath beside the foundation one fellow and two schollerships, and a Greeke Reader, by the liberalitie of Archbishop *Grindall*: one schollership by the gift of *Iane Cox* wife of the late reuerend Bishop of Elie of good memorie: seuen schollerships giuen by *Thomas Wats*: one schollership by M. *Marshall*.

Bennet Colledge hath 2. fellowships and 15. schollerships added to the foundation, by *Matthew Parker* Archbishop of Canturburie, beside a goodly Library, and diuers rich pieces of plate, giuen vnto them by the said right reuerend Prelate.

Trinitie Hall is encreased to 6. schollerships, beside the foundation, by the liberalitie of *Matthew Parker, Gabriel Dunne, Henry Harnie, Humfrey Busbie.*

Caius

Caius Colledge maintaineth by *D. Caius* liberalitie, three fellowships, twentie scholerships: by *Ioane Traues* of London widow, foure scholerships: by *Humfrey Burbie* one: by *Matthew Parker* one scholership, by *Richard Wilson* one fellowship, by the liberal gift of *Iodoca Franklin*, twelue scholerships and sixe fellowships.

Queenes Colledge by Sir *Thomas Smiths* gift enioyeth two fellowships, with a Geometrie and Arithmetike Reader.

Christs Colledge that sacred Cell of Theologie, hath one fellowship, & three scholerships founded by *K. Iohn*, *King Edward*: by Sir *Gualter Mildmay* it enioyeth a yeerly pension of twentie pounds, wherby a Preacher is maintained, and a Greeke Reader, to each of them foure pounds being allowed, the residue is for the maintenance of sixe schollers. To this societie Master *Bunting* a right Worshipfull and Christian Gentleman hath lately assured fortie markes by the yeere: whereof fifteene pound is allotted for three schollers, fiue pound for a preacher, and fiue pound for the maintenance of common fires; the rest to be distributed at the discretion of the house.

In Saint *Iohns* Colledge six scholerships founded by the right Honourable Ladie *Mildred Burgley*, three scholerships by Sir *Henry Ballysley* of London, one scholership by Mistres *Francis Iermin*, fortie pound by the yeere giuen by the three Honourable Sir *William Cecill* late Lord Treasurer, and the most worthie Chancellor of that Vniuersitie.

Magdalen Colledge hath beene encreated with three fellowships, and six scholerships by Sir *Christopher Wray* his gift late Lord chiefe Iustice: with one scholership, by *Edmund Grindall* the latemost Reuerend Archbishop of Canterbury: with three scholerships by Master *Roberts* of Norfolke: and by the bountifull gift of Master *Spenlaffe* of Lincolne, it receiueth fortie pounds yeerely.

Trinitie Colledge hath encrease of 75. pound of yeerely reuenue by *Thomas Allin*, and of seuen pound ten shillings, by Mistres *Francii Iermin*.

In the third place for the cost and charge of building; *Emanuel* Colledge was builded with no lesse summe then of 2750. pounds.

The building of Sidney Colledge cost 2600. pound.

The translating of the edifices of Trinitie Colledge is valued at the charge of 4000. pound bestowed by the liberality of the most Reuerend the now Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; the right Honourable the Earle of Essex now their louing Chancellor; Master *Vincent Skinner*; Doctor *Nevill* the Master of the said house; Doctor *Barrow*; and at the commendable and worthy charges of the said house.

The beautifull enlarging of Saint *Iohns* Colledge will surmount to the summe of 3700. pound, at the charge of a most Honourable personage, that desireth not yet to be knowen or seene in this charitable worke: whose noble liberalitie is so much the more worthie of eternall memorie, which seeketh to approue it selfe rather by secret charitie vnto God, then by outward ostentation to the world.

Other Colledges also haue beene much enlarged and beautified in their buildings; as *Caius* Colledge, *Magdalens*, *Bennet* Colledge, *Peter* house; the particular summes whereof came not to my hands: the charge of these together could not be so little as 2000. pound, beside Queenes Colledge, where the Masters lodging hath beene lately very much enlarged and beautified, partly at the charge of Doctor *Tyndall* Master there, Deane of Ely, and of the house, to the summe foure or fiue hundred pounds: So that I account, that in the Vniuersitie of Cambridge there hath been bestowed in the edifices & buildings of the Colledges not so little as 15000. pound: The encrease of the yeerly reuenue will arise, if it be laid together, to twelue or thirteene hundred pound or thereabout: So that within the space of these fortie yeeres, the whole accession and encrease in the buildings and reuenues of the Colledges in Cambridge, will draw verie neare to fortie thousand pounds. I thinke for so much time, we may compare with the like space of yeeres in any age whatsoeuer: I speake of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge. And I doubt not, but the like might be said for our famous sister the Vniuersitie of Oxford: but neither had I readie any such particular direction, or could presently procure it, for this, as for the other: and I thinke, though those worthie foundations haue had most bountifull benefactors, yet they were without the compasse of this time, wherein I giue instance. Yet I cannot here omit to make mention of some worthie coste bestowed in that excellent Vniuersitie now in the time of the Gospell: as in the enlarging of *Martine* Colledge, with a goodlie peece of newe building by the prouident care of the president there, and liberall charge of the house.

And now of late I am certainly enformed of the bountiful disposition of diuers honourable and worshipfull persons in adorning and augmenting the Vniuersitie librarie there: to the finishing of which worke there hath beene giuen by the right Honourable Earle of Essex an hundred and fiftie pound; by the Lord Viscount *Mountague* an hundred pound; by Sir *Robert Sidney* an hundred pound; by M. *Bodlie* of London bestowed in repayring of the said librarie fiue hundred

pound, beside by the said worshipfull and well disposed Citizen an hundred markes by the yeere is intended for the maintenance and keeping of the said library.

Other godly workes done in that Vniuersitie, I am forced to omit, because I know them not. Neither doe I professe in this place to set downe all other worthie works and foundations of hospitals, almes houses, free schooles, which haue beene erected since the time of the gospell in this land; whereof I much desire that I might haue attayned to any certaine knowledge, that they might also haue beene remembred. I haue onely heard of a goodly hospitall erected by the late Lord *Cobham* at Cobham in Kent: of another at Greenwich by Master *Lambert*: one at Westminster by the Ladie *Dakers*: one at Aignam in Hartfordshire by Master *Plat*: a free schoole founded by Sir *John Hart*. Neither can I heere conceale y worthie foundation of an hospital, with a free schoole at Croydon, raised from the ground by one, rayled vp of God for the good of many, a most reuerend prelate before named; which said hospitall is founded for the releefe and maintenance of thirtie poore folke or aboue, with a warden and ouerseer: to the which is annexed a free schoole, with a Master and an Vsher: the reuenue said to the house, and intended to be laid, is estimate at two hundred pound yeerely: the edifice of the hospitall with the chappell built in most comely manner, is thought to haue cost not so little, as two thousand pound: for this so christian and acceptable a worke done to the honour of Christ, and the releefe of his poore members, we are much to thanke God, that hath stirred vp the heart of so reuerend a person, to adorne his honourable profession with such a charitable act.

And further, the Citie of London hath abounded to Gods glorie with such examples: Sir *Thomas Gresham* beside the erection of an hospitall, hath founded a Colledge of Readers, wherof three are of Diuinitie, Law, Phisicke; and foure other for the liberall sciences; to each of them is allowed yeerely fiftie pound, with a most beautifull house appointed to that vse.

By the Merchant Taylors also was built, & so by them maintayned, an hospitall in East Smithfield: another by Master *Care* sometime the Queenes Sadler in Southwarke: By Master *Smith* the Queenes Embroderer another at Lambert hill: By Master *Balthasar* the Queenes Confumaker likewise an hospitall euen now erected at Totnam by London.

Many other hospitals, almes houses, free schooles, haue beene in euery corner of this land built to Gods glory, since the flourishing of the Gospell and Christes truth amongst vs: all which, if they were numbred together, a whole booke would not containe the names of them; those, which I for want of knowledge haue omitted, are before God remembred.

It hath beene also credibly told me, that one Master *Sutton* of Cambridgeshire, whom God hath blessed with a great measure of substance, is purposed to erect a goodly foundation for an hospitall, and to endowe the same with more then a thousand pound by the yeere: whose heart as God hath moued to so godly a worke; so I wish vnto him all strength & good direction for the accomplishing thereof: that if it would please him by the worthie example of that Honourable man Sir *Gualter Mildmay*, to see his charitable purpose effected in some good sort, while he liueth, & to employ part thereof for the maintenance of learning in the Vniuersitie adioyning, or where else it pleaseth him, I thinke nothing could be wanting in so Christian an enterprise: who by this means shall both shew himselfe a faithfull steward of his Masters goods, and be a worthie example to all other rich men.

These and many other such charitable workes doe glister as pearles, and the workers thereof, doe shine as starres amongst vs: their religious actes are as the pomegranates in *Aarons* priestly garment, and themselues as the tinkling bels hanging thereon, doe sound abroad the praises of the Gospell. Those godly benefactors, whom I for want of knowledge haue not remembred, are before God registred: and they which are not here mentioned in the lines of this leafe, their names are written in the booke of life. And this I trust may serue for a full and sufficient answere to the Rhemists vniust acculation, that we condemne good workes: though we abound not in fruite, as we should, yet (God be thanked) we are not fruitlesse: and so I conclude with that saying of *Hierome*, *Veneratio Dei non proficit ad salutem, nisi præcepta creatoris impleueris:* The veneration of God doth not profite, where the obseruation of his precepts doth not preuaile, *Hieron, Fabiolæ tom. 4.* And heere an end of this Centurie.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OR CENTVRIE, CONTAINING SVCH CONTROVERSIES AND QVESTIONS OF RELIGION, AS DOE ARISE betweene the Protestants and Papists, about the natures of Christ:

FIRST OF AND CONCERNING THE HVMANE NATVRE OF CHRIST, THEN OF HIS diuine, lastly of them both *together*.

HEREVNTO ALSO IS ADDED A BRIEFE ANSWERE TO BELLARMINES *treatise of Indulgences and of the Iubilee.*

AT LONDON
Imprinted by FELIX KYNGSTON, for THOMAS MAN, dwelling in Pater noster rowe at the signe of the Talbot. 1600.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR ROBERT CECILL KNIGHT, PRINCIPALL SECRETARIE TO THE QVEENES MAIESTIE,

Master of the Court of Wardes, and of her Maesties most honorable priuie Councell.

RIght Honorable, as the first fruits of my labours I presumed to present to your honorable father of worthie memorie; so these my latter trauailes, I haue been bold to offer to your Honors view: and as in the first edition of this booke, among other notable patronege of learning and religion, your name was remembred; so I thought it not fit, that the same (hould now be omitted. Your Honor vouchsafed to patronize this worke in the infancie thereof; the growth also and encrease, of right is yours. He which in seede time scattereth with his hand, is worthie in the reaping season to fill his bosome: as then I sowed to your Honor, so now I reape: the fruits then but greene, are now by Gods blessing, as by the comfortable Sunne-shine, brought to some ripenes: then I did but promise, and now in some measure (I trust) I haue performed: the labour is mine, the honor yours. It is our part to finde out, your Honors to defend the trueth, and to maintaine by authoritie, that which wee labour out by our industrie; wee discouer error, your Honors destroy it; to vs it belongeth to confute it, to the Magistrate to confound it: and as Augustine saith, Nos pro vobis orando pugnamus contra inuisibiles, vos consilio pugnatis contra visibiles inimicos: VVe fight for your Honors by our prayers against the inuisible, you fight by your counsell and authoritie against the visible enemies. Epistol. 1. posterior.

And I haue been the bolder to write to your Honor of the Controuersies of religion, who both do know and are able to vnderstand them, and are not only (I trust) exercised, but expert in them: and I doubt not but that your Honor retaineth, as the ancient name, so your fathers excellent iudgement in religion: and as you succeede him in our ward dignitie, so to be like him in the loue of the veritie. As Ambrose well saith, Prærogatiuam generis morum magis similitudo sibi vendicat, quam ordo maiorum: The likenes in manners, rather than the descent of the elders, doth chalenge the prerogatiue of blood. That is true nobilitie which is ioyned with synceritie: vertue in affection sheweth a noble condition: and he is worthily exalted, that is not with any vnworthie vice assaulted: and he is iustly honoured, Lib. 1. in Luc.

honoured, that honoureth him by whom he is honoured. I trust of you both it may be said, as Hierome *writeth of noble* Nebridius: Affluentiam diuitiarum materiam habuit virtutum: *The measure of his wealth was the matter of vertue: the store of his goods did make a proofe of his goodnesse.*

Epistol. ad Saluiniam.

But concerning the matter of this treatise, I haue laid open, and made bare and naked as it were, the whole bodie of Papistrie; their errors I haue descried, their heresies condemned, their cauils confuted, their hypocrisie discouered, their superstition reuealed. All their vnsound opinions, vnsauourie errors, vntrue positions, I haue collected together and reduced to fiue Centuries, that is so many hundreds: and as Hierome *saith, writing against* Iouin. Proposui aduersarij sententias, & de tenebrosis libris eius quasi de foueis serpentes protraxi, neque sinam venenosum caput, spiritus maculosi corporis protegi: *I haue propounded the aduersaries sentences, and haue drawne them forth of his darke bookes, as the serpents out of their holes, neither will I suffer the adders poysoned head to lurke in his speckled bodie,* lib. 1. cont. Iouinian.

Concerning the manner of handling these questions, as the aduersarie seeketh vnder the shadow of scripture to hide his errors; so I haue laboured by the light thereof to disperse their darknes: they (as Augustine *saith)* Quærunt de medicina vulnus, & de scripturis conantur torquere vinculum, vnde laqueum mortis incijciunt animæ suæ: *They make the salue a sore, the plaster a plague, they wrest the scripture to make a wreath to wrinch their owne soule. As they play with the backe of scripture, so I haue turned the edge against them: as they would draw a clowde ouer the light, so I by the beames thereof haue chased away the mist: where they sucke poyson, we finde pearles; where with they would wound men with error, wee winde our selues out of their snares. And as* Hierome *saith,* Diuinis vocibus debeo in modum Dauid citharizantis lenire furorem pectoris tui: *I with the diuine voyce of Scripture, as* Dauid *playing vpon his Harpe, must allay their rage, and with diuine melodie asswage their furie.*

De diuers. serm. 7.

Apolog. 1. cont. Ruffin.

If any man thinke this labour superfluous, and that our faith ought not to bee drawne to questions, and that controuersies breede rather contention, than bring contentment, and tend rather to diuision, than tender edifying; and that consent in faith is better, than contention about faith, and vnitie to be preferred before varietie: I answere, health is better than wounds, and soundnes than sicknes; yet the bodie when it is wounded, must be healed; so error when it is spread, must be dispersed, and heresie set a foote must be confuted; and poyson infecting must be kept from festring. Peace is to be embraced, but where the truth is not defended; vnitie is to be desired, but where the veritie is not defeated; and loue to be maintained, where religion is not impugned. And here I say againe with Hierome, In vno tibi consentire non potero, vt parcam hæreticis, & me catholicum non probem, si ita causa est discordiæ mori possum, tacere non possum: *In this one thing I cannot consent vnto you, to spare an heretike, and to proue my selfe no Catholike; if this be the cause of our discorde, I had rather dye, than hold*

Apolog. 3. aduers. Ruffin.

my

my peace, &c. And againe, Sit inter nos vna fides, & pax illico sequetur: *Let there be one faith among vs, and peace will soone follow.*

Further, I haue in this fift and last centurie especially laboured in setting forth the holy suffrings of Christ not only in bodie, but in soule for our redemption, which truth I haue maintained by warrant of scripture, and consent of the fathers, against the cauillous obiections of Bellarmine, *and our English Rhemists but especially of one* Feuardentius *a Frier of Paris, who hath of late stepped forth, and boldly denied, that* Christ did feele in his soule the wrath of God kindled against our sinne: Dialog. 5. de Christo patient. pag. 443. and that Christ did beare the punishment due to our sinnes onely in his bodie, pag. 448. confut. 8. *The contrary truth, that Christ did beare our whole punishment both in bodie and soule, I haue proued by the Scriptures: not doubting to say with the Prophet, that* Christ did make his soule a sacrifice for sinne; *with our Sauiour himselfe, that his soule was heauie to death; and that he felt himselfe in that instant* forsaken *of God; with Saint* Paul, *that* Christ was made a curse for vs. *To this doctrine the fathers giue testimonie:* Origen; Data anima Christi in redemptionem pro multis: *Christs soule was giuen to be a redemption for many.* Cyrill: Carnem suam in redemptionis precium pro omnium carne dependit, & animam suam similiter pro omnium anima redemptionis precium constituit: *He gaue his flesh a price of redemption for the flesh of all men, and his soule like wise hee appointed a price of redemption for all mens soules.* Ambrose: Repleta est malis anima mea, anima mea vtique, non diuinitas: *My soule is filled with euils, my soule, not my diuinitie, &c. And againe,* Hoc obtulit Christus, quod induit; induit, quod antè non habuit: *Christ offered that which he put on, or tooke of man, and he tooke that he had not before.* Hierome: Quod nos debebamus pro nostris sceleribus sustinere, ille pro nobis passus est; ex quo perspicuum, sicut corpus flagellatum, ita animam verè doluisse: *That which we should haue sustained for our sinnes, he suffered for vs: whereby it is euident, that as his bodie was whipped, so his soule was truly grieued.* Augustine *also vpon these words,* Psal. 20. 3. Holocaustum tuum pingue fiat, *Let thy burnt offring be fat and well liking:* Deus crucem qua totus oblatus es Deo in lætitiam resurrectionis conuertat: *God turne thy crosse, wherein thou wast offered whole (both in bodie and soule) vnto God, into the ioy of the resurrection, &c. Thus then hath bin the faith of the holy Prophets, Apostles, and the ancient confessors of the faith, that Christ both in bodie and soule payd by his owne suffrings the punishment of sinne due vnto vs: therefore as* Ambrose *well saith:* Quanto maior est iniuria, tanto maior debetur gratia: *The greater Christs iniurie, so much more bounden are we in dutie: and for vs to ascribe the whole worke of our redemption to Christs bodily suffrings, and so to exclude his spirituall tentations, what is it else, but as* Hierome *saith vpon another occasion,* Christum honorifica afficere contumelia?

Now I returne vnto your Honor, whom I make not a beholder only, but a controller of this combat; not a witnesse of our fight, but a iudge, as Augustine *well*

Isai. 53. 10.
Matth. 26. 38.
Matth. 27. 46.
Galath. 3. 13.
Orig. tract. 12. in Matth.
Cyrill de rect. fide ad Theodos.
Lib. 3. de fid. cap. 3.
De incarnat. cap. 6.
In 53. c. Isaiæ.
In Psal. 20.
Lib. 1. de fid. cap. 4.
Pammach. & Ocean.

In præfat. ad Simplic.

faith, Oro non solum vt curam legentis impendas, sed censuram corrigentis assumas: *I pray you not to be a reader of my words, but a corrector of the worke. I am well assured, that I haue throughout maintained the truth: and if in the manner of the handling thereof I chance to misse, I say againe with* Augustine: Nunquam errari tutius existimo, quam cum in amore nimio veritatis erratur: *I thinke a man cannot erre better, than in the too much loue of the truth.*

De mender. cap. 1.

As your Honor is well perswaded, so we hold you a patrone of the truth, and as God hath giuen you fauour with your Prince, and honour with men, so we trust it shall make for the aduancement of Gods glorie, the setting forth of the truth, and maintenance of religion and learning. Hierome *thus reporteth of one* Nebridius *a noble man in his time in great fauour with the Emperour*: Quicquid ab imperatore poscebat, eleemosyna in pauperes, pretium captiuorũ, misericordia in afflictos erat, vnde ipsi principes libenter præstabant quod sciebant non vni sed pluribus indulgeri: *Thus honour & fauour employed to Gods glorie and the common good is encreased, and firmely established.* Nehemias *in making request for the temple, lost not but gained fauour with his King: but I need not, neither doth it become me thus to write to your Honor, of whose wisedome and moderation the whole land hath experience. And I may say, as* Hierome *in the like vseth this comicall speech*: Vix dum dimidium dixeram, iam intellexerat: *I say no more, then with* Augustine: Perseuerate in eo, quod estis, proficite ad id quod eritis: *Let vs perseuere in that wee are, and proceede to that, which by Gods grace we shall be. I wish to your Honor all perfection of vertue with God, and encrease of fauour with men, both strength to continue that you are, and grace to attaine to that perfection of wisedome, counsell, vertue, which you desire, and we all expect: that your honourable endeuours may be acceptable to God, gratefull to her Maiestie, profitable to all. Thus fearing to be troublesome to your Honor, I conclude with that saying of* Hierome: In te nunc puta cunctorum ora, oculosque conuersos, & ad spectaculum vitæ tuæ totam consedisse Angliam: verùm quid ego de hominibus ago, Deus ipse cum omni angelorum militia certamen tuum expectat, huic tanto spectaculo vide quem animum, quam debeas afferre virtutem: *All mens eyes are vpon your Honor, the whole land is setled to behold your life: not men onely, but God and the Angels expect your faithfull seruice: to this so great expectation God will (we trust) giue you a minde and vertue answerable: who will reward their labour* eternally, *that serue him in the warfare of this life* faithfully. *Amen.*

Epistol. ad Saluinian.

Miner. & Alexandro.

De continent. cap. 22.

Hieron. ad Demetriadem.

Your Honors readie in all dutie to be commaunded in Christ,

Andrew Willet.

THE TWENTIETH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE.

WE haue now, through Gods gracious assistance, entreated of al those questions, wherein wee dissent from our aduersaries, both as touching all the offices of Christ, his Propheticall office, kingdome and Priesthood: as likewise concerning the benefits purchased by the death of Christ, the benefits of our redemption, and saluation. Now, in the last place we are to prosecute such matters in question betweene vs, as doe concerne the natures of Christ: and this treatise containeth three Controuersies. First, of the humane nature of Christ. Secondly, of his diuine nature. Thirdly, of them both considered together.

THE FIRST PART OF THIS CONTROuersie, concerning the humane nature of Christ.

THis part is diuided into these questions. First, of the vbiquitie of the humanitie of Christ. Secondly, whether he encreased in wisedome. Thirdly, whether he suffered in soule. Fourthly, whether he descended into hell. Fiftly, concerning the place of hell.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE VBIQVITIE of the bodie of Christ, whether his humanitie be euery where.

The Papists.

THey doe seeme in wordes mightily to impugne this opinion of the Vbiquitaries, as they are called, which doe erroniously hold, that the humanitie of Christ is euery where, as his Deitie is, and that the proprieties of one nature are really imparted vnto the other: whereupon it followeth, that the humanitie of Christ is euery where, because it is verily vnited, and made one person with the Godhead in Christ. This opinion the Papists would be thought to detest & abhorre: and *Bellarmine* bestoweth great paines by sundrie arguments to confute it: as by diuers places of scripture, Matth. 28. He is risen, he is not here, vers. 6. Iesus said, *Lazarus* is dead, and I am glad for your sakes, that I was not there, Ioh. 11. 4. *Ergo*, Christ, as he is man, is not euery where. Againe, the opinion of the Vbiquitaries doth ouerthrow the article of Christs ascension: for if Christs bodie be euery where, as they hold, he can neither ascend nor descend: *Bellar. de Incarnat. verbi. lib.* 3. *cap.* 11. 12. 1. Error.

The Protestants.

IT is true Catholike and sound doctrine, that the humane and diuine nature are truly vnited in Christ, and doe make but one person, or hypostasis, neither by confusion of the natures, nor conuersion of one into the other, but by vnitie of person: for as the bodie and soule make one man, so God and man is one Christ. And the better to vnderstand this mysterie, wee must set downe these three positions.

1. Though the two natures in Christ be so vnited, that they make but one person, yet neither the natures are confounded, nor yet the proprieties: but as Christ is both God and man, so there is in him a double power, will, and vnderstanding, one humane and created; the other diuine and vncreated.

2. By reason of this vnion, all the excellent graces of the spirit in the highest degree, and aboue measure, are giuen and bestowed vpon the humanitie of Christ, Ioh. 3. 34. but such notwithstanding, as destroy not his humane nature, but are qualities created, as his humanitie also was created.

3. There is also a mutuall communication of the proprieties of both natures each to other, though not really in respect of the natures: So we say *in Concreto*, in the concrete, that is, taking the whole person of Christ, that *Christus homo*, that is, the man Christ is omnipotent, is euery where: and *Christus Deus*, that is, Christ being God, dyed for vs, was buried, rose againe: but in the abstract

abſtract it is great blaſphemie to ſay; that the Godhead of Chriſt dyed, was buried, or roſe againe, or that the humanitie of Chriſt is omnipotent, or in euery place.

The Vbiquitaries now hold, that there is a reall communication of the proprieties of both natures: and therefore doubt not to ſay, that the fleſh and bodie of Chriſt is euery where in all places at once. The Papiſts in outward ſhew are enemies to that opinion: but in deede, and in truth, as it ſhall now appeare, they are not farre off from being in the ſame error.

Firſt, the ſame arguments which they yrge againſt the Vbiquitaries, doe returne vpon themſelues: for although they will not ſay, that Chriſts bodie is euery where, yet they hold that it may be in a thouſand places at once, yea and more to, if the Sacrament be at once in ſo many places celebrated: for Chriſts bodie is really and verily in the Sacrament. But thoſe places alleaged, *He is riſen, he is not here*, and the reſt, doe proue that Chriſt can be but in one place at once. This their opinion alſo is againſt the article of Chriſts aſcenſion, and abiding in heauen till the day of iudgement: for if the ſame bodie wherein Chriſt ſitteth in heauen, be in the Sacrament; either when he is preſent in earth, he is abſent in heauen, contrarie to the ſcripture, Act. 3. 21. which ſaith, *The heauens muſt containe him till that all things be reſtored:* or elſe, if he be in both places at once, they muſt needes make his bodie infinite, and ſo deſtroy the nature of his humanitie, which can be but in one place. If they ſay it is another bodie and fleſh, which Chriſt by his diuine power maketh to be preſent in the Sacrament, that were much more abſurd: for then Chriſt ſhould haue many bodies, and other fleſh than that which was borne of the Virgin *Mary*. We ſee then they are not farre off from the opinion of the Vbiquitaries.

Secondly, the Rhemiſts doe approue that argument, whereby *Hierome* proueth that the Saints may euery where be preſent at their bodies and monuments: *They follow the Lambe, whither ſoeuer he goeth*, Apocal. 14. 4. but the Lambe is in euery place: therefore they that be with the Lambe Chriſt, be preſent euery where. Whereupon it followeth, that the Lambe Chriſt in humanitie muſt be euery where: for how can he be preſent elſe in innumerable places at once, where any reliques or monuments of Saints are? Neither can they excuſe this vbiquitarie preſence of the humanitie of Chriſt and the ſoules of Saints, by their agilitie and celeritie: becauſe they can quickly paſſe from one place to another: for if they muſt be preſent at their monuments, whenſoeuer they are called vpon, they muſt of neceſſitie be often in many places at once: for in one and the ſame inſtant, men may reſort to their monuments which are in diuers places farre aſunder. Thus they are driuen not onely to graunt an vbiquitie or omnipreſence of the humanitie of Chriſt, but euen of Saints alſo: which thoſe whom they call Vbiquitaries would neuer graunt.

Thirdly, the bodie of Chriſt is viſible and palpable now in heauen, and hath a place according to the quantitie of his bodie: *Bellarmine* confeſſeth as much, *cap.* 12. But that bodie which is in the Sacrament hath none of theſe properties, it is neither ſeene, nor felt, neither hath a place according to the quantitie of a bodie, for they cloſe it vp in ſmall round cakes. Wherefore deſtroying theſe properties of the humanitie of Chriſt, they may as well, and doe in effect, take away the other, namely, the being of Chriſts bodie in one place: for it is as proper to the bodie of Chriſt to be ſeene and felt, as to be in one place at once.

Fourthly, *Bellarmine* graunteth, being vrged with that argument, that Chriſts ſoule was in Paradiſe after his paſſion, and therefore not in hell: hee confeſſeth, that it was not impoſſible that Chriſts ſoule ſhould be in two places at once, *lib. 4. de Chriſti anima, cap.* 15. Yea he ſaith, that Chriſt may, if he will, turne all the world into bread, and the bread ſo made conuert into his fleſh; and ſo his bodie may be as well in euery place of the world, as now it is in the Euchariſt, *lib. 3. de incarnat. cap.* 11. What great odds now, I pray you, is there betweene the opinion of the Vbiquitaries and of the Papiſts? but that they ſay, that the bodie of Chriſt is euery where ordinarily by the power of the Godhead: the other ſay, his fleſh is in many places at once by a myracle. The one ſaith, Chriſts bodie actually is in euery place: the other ſaith, it is actually in many places at once, and may be in all places, if Chriſt will: which is true in reſpect of his omnipotent will, if Chriſt would deſtroy his bodie: but we are ſure Chriſts will cannot be contrarie to it ſelfe, to deſtroy his owne bodie. We confeſſe then with *Hierome: Stultum eſt illius potentiam vnius corpuſculi paruitate finiri, quem non capit cœlum, & tamen qui vbique erat in filio hominis totus erat: in omnibus locis verſabatur, cum Thomæ in India, &c.* It is a fooliſh thing, that the power of Chriſt ſhould be determined in the ſmalnes of a little bodie, whom the heauen is not able to receiue: and yet he that was euery where, was all and whole in the ſonne of man: in all places hee was conuerſant, with *Thomas* in India, *Peter* at Rome, with *Andrew* in Achaia, *Paul* in Illyricum, &c. *tom. 4. Marcell.* All this wee acknowledge to be true of Chriſt as hee is God, according to his owne promiſe made to his Diſciples, *I am with you to the end of the world*, Matth. 28. 20. But to imagine Chriſts bodie to be in all places, or many places at once, is to limit his power and preſence within the compaſſe of his bodie, which *Hierome* here ſaith is a fooliſh matter. The Maſter alſo of the Sentences ſaith well: *Chriſtus*

Tota ubique tamen est, sed non totum; totum ad naturam refertur, totus ad hypostasin: Whole Christ is euerie where, but not wholly; whole is referred to his person, wholly to his natures. *lib. 3. distinct. 23 litera e.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, WHETHER OVR SAviour Christ did verily encrease in knowledge and wisedome, as he was man.

The Papists.

CHrist, they say, in the very first creation of his soule, and from his conception, was endued with the fulnes of all wisedome, grace, and knowledge; neither can he be said properly to haue encreased in any of these gifts. 2. Error.

1. Christ was annoynted from his mothers wombe, and then the spirit of God was vpon him: for the Angels that appeared to the shepheards cal him Christ, Luk. 2. 11. And *Iohn* saith, *The word was made flesh, full of grace and truth*, 1. vers. 14. Therfore euen then he had receiued all aboundance of grace and knowledge, *Bellarm. de Christi anima. lib. 4. 2.*

Answ. 1. We grant, that our Sauiour was the Iesus and the Christ euen from his Natiuitie: not that then he actually straightwaies entred into those offices, or receiued plenarie power of all the graces of the spirit in his humanitie, but because he was euen from his mothers wombe consecrated and appointed thereunto: for if no more followeth, because he is called Christ, that he then had his actuall annoynting fully, then that, because he was called Iesus from his Natiuitie, he had actually performed our redemption. The full annoynting of the spirit was fulfilled in his Baptisme, when the holy Ghost came downe in the likenes of a Doue: and then beginning to preach, in his first sermon at Nazareth, he shewed the accomplishment of the prophecie of *Esay*, The spirit of the Lord is vpon me, &c. Luk. 4. 18.

2. Neither doe the words of *Iohn* import so much, as they gather. *The word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst vs, full of grace and truth*: which is not to be vnderstood onely of the very first assuming of the flesh, but of the dwelling of the word in the flesh amongst vs, and so appeared to be full of grace and trueth. As it followeth, Iohn 1. 16. *Of his fulnes haue we receiued grace for grace:* this receiuing of the fulnes of Christ, was not performed in his infancie, but afterward by his holy doctrine and preaching, and the Apostle saith, *That when he ascended vp on high, he led captiuitie captiue, and gaue gifts vnto men*, Ephes. 4. 8. We denie not but that this fulnes of grace was in Christ in his first incarnation, yet after encreased and made more full in his humane nature.

Argum. 2. Christ was the Sonne of God in his verie incarnation, and euen then was the humanitie perfectly vnited to the Godhead: therefore immediately vpon this vnion and coniunction of both natures in one person, must needs follow the fulnesse of grace in the humane nature. Againe, *Adam* was created in perfect wisedome, therefore much more the second *Adam*. *Bellar. cap. 4.*

Answ. 1. If presently vpon the vniting of the two natures together, it had beene necessarie that the humane nature of Christ should haue receiued whatsoeuer by the presence of the diuine nature was to be conferred vpon it, then Christ straightwaies must also both in bodie and soule haue beene glorified: for it cannot be denied, but that as the bodie of Christ after the resurrection receiued more glory then before; so also his soule being the other part of his humanitie, was more glorified. By this it is euident, that the humanitie receiued not at once the fulnes of all grace and glory in the first vniting of the Godhead.

2. *Adam* was created perfect in bodie and soule: and if Christ therefore ought to haue his fulnes of the gifts of the soule in his natiuitie as *Adam* had his in the creation, why ought he not also to haue had a perfect bodie, as *Adam* was created withall? Wherefore as it was no dishonour to Christ to growe vp in stature of bodie, so neyther was it to encrease in the giftes of the minde.

Againe we confesse, that Christs soule in his perfect growth was farre more excellent then *Adams* in his perfection of creation. 3. In the first instant of his conception we doubt not also, but it exceeded in heauenly grace all the soules that euer came into the bodie by natiuitie; yea and *Adams* soule likewise, if it had beene sent into the like bodie. 4. and the like equiualent perfection being admitted in Christs soule, proportionable to their state: yet as *Adams* soule should haue encreased, if he had not fallen; so Christs soule being most perfect in that infantile estate might and did receiue a greater fulnes.

Argum. 3. First, Christ created his owne soule. Secondly, he himselfe by his diuine power infused knowledge and grace into it: therefore at the first he gaue vnto it the very fulnes and perfection of knowledge. Thirdly, Christ is the head of men and Angels, therefore he had a most wise soule, it is not fit that the head should be lesse wise then the members. *Bellarm. c. 4.*

Answ.

Answ. 1. We denie not but that Christ, if it had pleased him, could haue created himselfe a most perfect soule that should not haue receiued afterward any accession of knowledge: but it pleased him to be herein like vnto vs, that as he grew vp in stature of bodie, so likewise to encrease in the inward graces. 2. As he created himselfe a soule; so likwise he made his owne body; as he infused grace to his soule, so he did giue life to his flesh: yet it followeth not, that Christ did or was to make at the first incarnation a perfect bodie to himselfe. 3. We acknowledge notwithstanding the soule of Christ in his growth and perfection to haue beene most wise, and exceeding the wisedome of the soules of any of his members: *for God gaue not him the spirit by measure.* Iohn. 3.34. as others haue.

The Protestants.

That Christ was euen from his birth and first conception perfect God, and perfect man, we do assuredly beleeue, and that, in the very incarnation, the diuine and humane nature were vnited together. Also we grant, that the Lord Christ might haue created to himselfe a soule full of all wisedome and knowledge, as he might haue made himselfe a perfect bodie: but seeing it pleased him to be borne of a woman, and first to dwell in the bodie of an infant, we doubt not to say, as the Scripture teacheth vs, that he also encreased in wisedome.

1. He was so all things like to his brethren, only sinne excepted, Hebr. 2.17. 4.15 *Ergo*, he grew vp and encreased in knowledge, according to the manner of men, which may be done without sinne.

Bellarmine answereth, he was like vs in all things which concerned the perfection of nature, and the worke of redemption: for if he should haue beene like vs in all things; then could he not haue beene borne of a virgin, not free from the rebellion of the flesh. *Bellarm. c.5.*

Contra. 1. He did not take vpon him the perfection onely, but the imperfections also of our nature, such as might receiue, without sinne, as in the bodie hunger, thirst, wearines; in the soule, sorow, feare, &c. 2. It was requisite euen to the worke of our redemption that he should be like vs in euery respect both in soule and bodie without sinne: *That he might be mercifull, and a faithfull high Priest in things concerning God:* Hebr. 2.17. 3. From this similitude of Christ with vs, sinne is excepted, Hebr. 4.15. and so both the cause of sinne which is originall corruption, and therefore Christ was to be borne of a virgin, and the effects of sinne, as is the rebellion of the flesh; which could not any way be fastened vpon Christ being free from sinne.

2. The Scripture saith plainely, which cannot lye, that Iesus grew vp and encreased in wisedome and stature, Luk. 2.52. And least they should answere, that this encreasing was onely in the opinion of men, it followeth, And in fauour with God and men: he encreased in wisedome, stature and fauour, not onely in shew before men, but in truth before God: and as verily and indeed he grew vp in stature, so also in wisedome.

3. Christ testifieth of himselfe, that neither the Angels nor the Sonne of man, as he is man, knoweth of the day or houre of his comming to iudgement, but the father onely, Mark. 13.31. *Ergo*, Christ as he was man had not at once all fulnes of knowledge. *Bellarmine* thus expoundeth this place, *Filius dicitur nescire, quia non scibat ad docendum alios:* The sonne is said not to know because he knew it, not to reueale it to others, but to keepe it secret to himselfe.

Answ. First, then by the same reason, the Angels doe know it also: but that they are charged not to declare it to men: for the text saith, that neither the Angels, nor the Sonne of man knoweth the time. Secondly, in this sense also the father might be said not to know it: for neither hath he reuealed it to any. Lastly, although we doe affirme according to the Scripture, that the childe Iesus did increase in the gifts of the minde, as he did in the stature of his bodie; yet we do put great difference betweene him, and all other children that euer came into the world: for as his conception and birth were not after the common manner; (for he was conceiued by the holy Ghost, and brought forth without trauell and labour: as *Augustine* saith, *Nec concipiendo libidinem; nec pariendo perpressa est dolorem*: In conceiuing she felt no carnall desire; in bearing she suffered no paine: Dey. Hæres. cap. 5. so likewise, the holy and blessed babe, in the constitution both of bodie and soule excelled the common condition of all other infants: for as he was void of original sinne, so he was without the effects and fruits thereof, which do shew themselues in children: for neither suffered he the like pangs and infirmities in bodie, being in his infancy, as other children do, that are vexed and tormented in bodie: neither was he subiect to the vnreasonable and brutish motions of the minde, which are in children. Therefore *Augustine* saith, *Hanc ignorantiam & animi infirmitatem, quam videmus in paruulis, nullo modo fuerim in Christo paruulo suspicatus:* This kind of ignorance & infirmitie of minde, which is in children, I cannot thinke to haue beene in the babe Christ. And what ignorance and infirmitie he meaneth, afterward he expresseth, *Cum motibus irrationabilibus perturbantur, nulla ratione, nullo imperio cohibentur:* When their brutish & vnreasonable motions come vpon them, they are ruled neither by reason, nor any other gouernment. These infirmities both in body and soule we deny to haue been in Christ: and yet we doubt not to cōclude, that, as Christ grew in stature of body; as *Augustine* saith, *Mutationes etatū perpeti voluit ab ipsa exorsus infantia:* He passed De peccat. merit. & remis. 29. Ibid.

through

through the ages of mans life, beginning with his infancie: So likewise, as the Scripture saith, hee encreased in wisedome; Luk. 2. 52.

The testimonie of *Cyrill* is here most notable, *De incarnat. Domini cap. 12. Deus verbum humanitatem suam more suo proficere permittebat: & quasi paulatim diuinitatis suæ voluit gloriam declarare, & cum corporis ætate sua extendere; corporale quidem augmentum, & profectus gratiæ & sapientiæ humanæ magis mensuræ conuenit: ipsum Dei verbum per suam naturam perfectissimum confitemur, non ullum profectum sapientiæ vel gratiæ:* God the word suffered his humanitie to grow, and by little and little, as the age of his bodie encreased, so it pleased him to shew forth his diuine power: the growth of the bodie, and his encrease in grace and wisedome belong to his humane nature: as he was God he was most perfect, and needed no encrease. Hence we gather this argument: As Christ encreased in bodie, so in gifts of the minde, but he verily did grow in bodie. *Ergo.*

Saint *Ambrose: Secundum hominem profecit, sicut scriptum est, & Iesus proficiebat ætate & sapientia, profectus ætatis, profectus sapientiæ; sed humana, ætas non diuinitatis, sed corporis est: Ergo si proficiebat ætate hominis, proficiebat sapientia hominis: sapientia autem sensu proficit, quia à sensu sapientia: sensum ergo proficiebat humanum: sensum ergo suscepit humanum:* He encreased in the sense or vnderstanding of man, as it is written, Iesus encreased in age and wisedome: the encrease of age, is the encrease of wisedome, but humane; for age is not of the diuinitie, but of the bodie: therefore if he encreased in the age of man, he encreased in the wisedome of man: but wisedome encreaseth by sense, for wisedome is of the sense: wherefore humane sense encreased in him, and he tooke vpon him humane sense: *lib. de incarnat. c. 7. Ambrose* thinketh, that Christ verily encreased in wisedome, not in the opinion of men only, as the Master doth glosse vpon him: *lib. 3. dist. 13. liter. E.* His reasons are these: first, hee exempteth nothing from encreasing but his diuine nature, then all the rest encreased. Secondly, as hee encreased in stature of bodie, so likewise in wisedome. Thirdly, his wisedome encreased as his sense and experience encreased; which was verily and in deede, not in opinion onely.

Hierome: Virginitat. laus. Dominus noster, qui nobis viuendi exemplum reliquit, proficiebat non ætate tantum corporea, sed sapientia & gratia, &c. Our Lorde, who left vs an example of liuing, did encrease not onely in his bodily age, but in wisedome and grace, before God and men, &c. Here also are three reasons: first, Christ encreased to giue vs an example: but wee must not encrease onely in opinion. Secondly, hee encreased not onely in bodie, but in soule: *Ergo*, hee encreased in soule. Thirdly, *before God and men*: but there is no encreasing before God in opinion onely.

Origen also vpon these words, *Iesus encreased in wisedome & stature*, Luk. 2. 52. *Quis est hominum? &c.* There is no man, but doth encrease in stature, this is no great matter to be written of Christ: therefore vnderstand *ætate animæ proficiebat*, hee encreased in the stature of his soule: whereupon the Apostle vnderstanding this stature to be vnderstoode of the inward man, writeth: *Vntill we all meet together in a perfect man, to the measure of the age of the fulnes of Christ*, Ephes. 4. 13. *Hom. 12. Leuitic.* He doubteth not to affirme, that we must encrease and grow in the inward man, as Christ did: *Ergo*, he did verily and in truth encrease.

AN APPENDIX, OF THE MANNER of Christs birth.

The Papists.

THey say, Christ came out of his mothers wombe, the clausure not stirred: as he passed thorow the doores when he came in to his disciples, the doores being shut, Ioh. 20. 19. and as hee passed thorow the stone, arising out of the Sepulchre, *Rhemist annot. Ioh. 10. sect. 2. Bellarm. de Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 9.* 3. Error.

The Protestants.

1. IT can neuer be prooued, that Christs bodie came either thorow the wood of the doores, or thorow the stone of the Sepulchre, or clausure of his mothers wombe. And concerning the last, the Scripture is euident to the contrarie, where it is said, that our Sauiour Christ was presented to the Lord, according as it is written: *Euery male that first openeth the matrix, &c.* Luk. 2. 29.

2. Wee graunt, that both the birth of Christ, his rising out of the graue, his comming in, the doores being shut, was straunge and miraculous, because one substance gaue place to another for a time, and after the passing of his bodie, the place remained whole and shut as before: but not in the very instant of passing. The red sea gaue place to the Israelites while they passed, and closed together againe: so did the prison doores open miraculously to the Apostles, Act. 5. 19. An incredulous Iew seeing the eare of *Malchus* so soone healed, would not haue thought that *Peters* sword went between it and his head, as we are sure it did: So we say concerning the birth of Christ, that the place gaue way while hee passed, and closed vp afterward againe as before. *Augustine* bringeth in Christ, thus speaking: *Ego viam meo itineri præparaui*: and a little after, *transito meo il-*

lius non est corrupta virginitas: I made a way for my selfe out of the wombe: neither by my passage was her virginitie lost. Christ had a way out of his mothers wombe: but if the clausure had not giuen place, there had been no way made. Epistol. 57. Againe he saith, *Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, vnsquam erunt, & quia vnsquam erunt, nec erunt:* Take away space of place from bodies, and they shall be no where; and if they be no where, then are they not at all. But the Papists in saying that Christ went thorow the very substance and corpulence of things, doe take away from his bodie his proper place: for two substances cannot be in one place, and therefore they destroy the nature of his bodie.

Gaij decret. Iacuit in sepulchro, & remoto lapide monumenti tertia die caro resurrexit: He lay in the graue, and the third day, the stone being rolled away, his flesh rose againe. This decree saith, that Christs bodie went not thorow the stone, but the stone was first remoued.

But this matter I haue entreated of at large before, *Controuers. 13. art. 17. argum. Pap. 2.* whither I referre the reader.

THE THIRD QVESTION, WHETHER Christ suffered in soule.

FIrst, before I come to the handling of this question in the seuerall parts thereof, I will lay open the slaunderous and malicious accusations, which the Papists charge this opinion with, and especially one Frier *Fenardentius*, that hath directly of this argument written against Master *Caluine*, that worthie Minister of Christ of blessed memorie. And against this Frier, together with *Bellarmine* and the *Rhemists*, I purpose to deale *ex professo*, in this question. If any other from amongst our selues haue therein written somewhat diuerslie from the common opinion, I leaue them to their owne best thoughts: and being desirous to maintaine peace, and not to encrease domesticall contentions, I say with *Hierome* writing to *Augustine: Non audeo scribere contra Episcopum communionis meæ.*

Error seu falsi. 4. First, then he chargeth *Caluine* and others, as though they should denie Christs prayer and request in the garden to *be holie, iust, righteous: Fenard. de Christo patiente. p. 415. p. 418.* First, Master *Caluine* himselfe confesseth, *Affectus in Christo vitio caruisse:* That Christs affections were without fault, being framed to the obedience of God: *in cap. 11. Ioann. vers. 33. And Christ tooke vpon him mans affections, but without any disorder.* Secondly, where M. *Caluine* then is alleaged to say, *Christi votum correxisse*, that Christ did correct his vow, which he brake into through griefe; and, *inconsiderate effluxisse*, and that it came from him inconsiderately: *in cap. 12. Ioann. vers. 27.* though this speech seeme somewhat hard, yet hee is to be expounded by himselfe, and not his wordes to be so much pressed, as his meaning to be accepted: for *Caluine* is farre, from charging Christ, with any imperfection or corruption in his desire: but doth interprete himselfe, that Christ prayed, *ex infirmitate carnis*, from the sense of his humane nature, and of a meere humane desire, which may without sinne wish to escape griefe and trouble, conditionally so it may stand with Gods will, as here our Sauiour prayeth. Thirdly, Master *Beza* may very well explicate Master *Caluines* meaning: whose words and sense cannot be misliked, where he saith, that these words of our Sauiour, *Yet not my will, &c. are not a correction, but the explication of the condition:* neither doth this shew a repugnancie or contrarietie of Christs humane will, and Gods, but onely a diuersitie: *Bez. annot. in 26. Mat. v. 39.* As *Damascene* well saith, ἐν ἀνθρώποις γνώμης, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσεως ἐστὶ νόσος: Christ prayed not with a contrarie will, but proper to his humane nature: *lib. 3. de fide cap. 14.*

Secondly, *Caluine* is charged to say, that Christ had forgotten, that he was sent to be the redeemer of the worlde, and that he refused to accomplish the worke of our redemption: *Fenard. p. 423. 426.*

Master *Caluines* words are these, that *Christ through the vehemencie of his agonie remembred not, or thought not vpon the heauenly decree: Vt non reputaret in ipso momento, &c.* That he did not thinke in that moment, that he was sent, *hac lege*, with this condition to be the Sauiour of the world: *in cap. 26. Matth. v. 39.* And againe in the same place: *Mediatoris officio defungi, quantum in se est, renuit:* He refuseth, as much as in him lieth, or in his humane nature to doe the office of a Mediatour.

First, I here say with *Augustine*, if Master *Caluine* should seeme to any somewhat to exceede in termes: *Nunquam errari tutius existimo, quam cum amore nimio veritatis & reiectione falsitatis erratur:* I thinke a man cannot erre more safely, than in the too much loue of the truth, and reiecting of falsehood.

Secondly, Master *Caluine* is very farre himselfe from charging Christ with any such forgetfulnes or vnwillingnes: for thus he saith: *Quia non destitit mundi esse seruator, &c.* Because hee neuer ceased to be the Sauiour of the world, he was alwaies endued with an heauenly power to the fulfilling of his office: neither can it be, that he should forget those, which doe commend their saluation vnto him: *in Luc. 23. 43.* how then could he be forgetfull of himselfe, and his own office?

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Master *Caluine* further expoundeth himselfe in these very words: first, he saith, *In ipso momento*, in that very moment onely, and, *quantum in se est*, in respect of his humane nature, Christ prayed, that the cup might passe, his humane nature now fullie shewing it selfe: so that this passion in Christ proceeded onely from his humane infirmitie; and it was but for a momente, Christ in that very instant remembring himselfe: Ioh. 12. 27. *What shall I say? Father saue me from this houre, but therefore came I into this houre.*

Fourthly, Saint *Augustine* saith as much: *Hec humana voluntas erat proprium aliquid & priuatum eius*: This was his humane will, praying now for somewhat proper and priuate to himselfe, *per. 1. in Psal. 32.* If it were priuate that he prayed, then it was beside the publike office of the Mediatorship. And againe, Psal. 93. *Ostendit hominis voluntatem, et si in illa voluntate perseuerasset ad id quod cor ostendere videretur*: He shewed the will of a man, and if he had continued in that will, his heart had not been aright. So then *Augustine* affirmeth, that for a moment Christs humane will desired something priuate: *Caluine* saith no more.

Damascene also saith, that Christs humane will, [illegible] being first tempted of his naturall infirmitie, *ἐνέργησε*, was afterward strengthened by his diuine will, and receiued courage against death: *lib. 3. de fid. c. 18.* Wherefore *Feuardent.* sheweth his Frierly cauilling spirit, in wresting that as spoken of Christ absolutely as he was the Mediatour, which onely brake foorth from his humane infirmitie, yet without sinne; and maketh that to be as a setled disposition in Christ, which was but a momentanie passion.

Thirdly, he chargeth *Caluine*, as though hee should say, that the bodily death of Christ profited nothing: and therefore he taketh vpon him to proue, that *the bodily death of Christ did much further the saluation of mankinde*: which no man is so impious to denie. Error seu fal. 6.

First, these are *Caluines* words: *Nihil actum erat, si corpore tantum mortem defunctus fuisset*: Nothing had been done, if Christ had onely performed a bodily death: *lib. 2. Institut. c. 16. s. 10.* He denieth not the profitable and necessarie vse of the bodily death; but saith it was not auaileable alone without the soule. The Frier himselfe saith in effect as much: *Did. 5. p. 452. Tales fuerunt pœnæ, quæ non tantum secundum corpus, &c.* Such were the paines which Christ onely suffered not for vs according to his bodie, which without the soule is altogether impassible, but in the soule also.

Secondly, *Damascene* saith, [illegible] The soule being passible, doth suffer together with the bodie, *lib. 3. de fid. cap. 26.* If then the bodie without the soule is impassible, and the soule doth suffer with the body, why is *Caluine* blamed for saying, that Christs bodily death onely had not been auaileable?

Thirdly, Master *Caluine* himselfe euery where magnifieth the bodily death of Christ: as he is alleged by *Feuard. Quisquis nutritium sibi esse cupit Christi carnem, &c.* Hee that desireth the flesh of Christ to be his nourisher, must consider the same offered vpon the crosse, as the price of our reconciliation: *in Luc. c. 22. vers. 16.* How then is hee not ashamed to charge him with so notorious a lye, as though he held the bodily death of Christ altogether vnprofitable?

Fourthly, *Feuardentius* slandereth *Caluine*, as though hee should say, *Christum omnia reprobis & damnatis debita supplicia pertulisse*: That Christ did beare all the punishments due vnto the reprobate: p. 443. And thereupon inferreth, that whereas these foure are the punishments of the reprobate: 1. *That they shall for euer want the vision or sight of God.* 2. *They shall for euer be perplexed with the horror of a guiltie conscience.* 3. *By their owne fault, they are deprined of all the gifts of the spirit.* 4. *Instead of vertues, they are defiled with all wickednesse*: p. 446. 447. He would by *Caluines* sentence force all these vpon Christ. Errot seu fal. 7.

Contra. 1. Though in some sense Christ may be said to haue suffered the paines of the damned, though not all, nor in that manner, as they suffer them; yet, because the Scripture so speaketh not, I could wish, for feare of offence, that such phrases had been forborne: that neither the aduersarie should haue catched any aduantage thereby, nor the weake consciences taken offence.

2. That Christ notwithstanding did beare some punishments due vnto the reprobate, as *desertion* for a while and *derelition*, the Scriptures (we see) doe warrant it.

3. Whereas *Caluine* saith: *Vt dependeret omnes, quæ ab illis exponenda erant pœnas, &c.* that hee might pay all punishments to be required of them: *Institut. lib. 2. c. 16. sect. 10.* he meaneth, as *Augustine* in the like case expoundeth the word (*omnis, omnia*) not *singuli generum*, but *genera singulorum*, not euery paine in particular, but in generall: as by all punishments, the kinds of all punishments are vnderstood, that is in the bodie, and soule, though not euery particular punishment in the bodie and soule.

4. *Caluine* himselfe excepteth the manner: *Excepto quod doloribus mortis, &c.* It must be excepted, that Christ could not be held in the sorrowes of death, as the reprobate are: *ibid.* The punishment then, which Christ did beare, and the reprobate suffer, differ in the perpetuitie: wherefore the Frier impudently doth obiect the two first punishments produced, which doe include a continuance and perpetuitie for euer.

5. *Caluine* according to the Scriptures professeth, that Christ in all his actions & punishments was immaculate and without sinne: such punishments then of the reprobate, as are not suffered without sinne, of the which sort are the two last rehearsed, Christ by the sentence of *Caluine* is to be freed: so then none of these foure punishments can be fastened vpon Christ in *Caluines* iudgement: so that the Frier is sent away here with a flea in his eare.

Error seu fall. 8. Fiftly, he obiecteth, that *Caluine* should affirme, that Christ doubted of his eternall saluation: These are *Caluines* words, *testatur lib. 2. c. 16. sect. 12. Some will crie out against me, as though I did great iniuria to Christ: Quia minime constat an vnquam fuerit eum de animæ salute timere:* Because it is not conuenient, that he should feare the saluation of his soule: *Fenard. p. 458.*

First, Master *Caluine* is flat of a contrarie iudgement, that Christ neuer doubted his saluation, neither did his faith faile: *in eo dira cruciatus illius fuit vim fidei:* in his greatest perplexitie his faith was not violated: *fixa stetit fides eius in corde,* his faith stood firme in his heart: *in c. 27. Mat. ver. 46.* He might be ashamed therefore to presse *Caluines* words against his owne meaning.

Secondly, *timere,* to feare, is not *dubitare,* to doubt: for feare may proceede from the infirmitie of nature without sinne, but doubtfulnes springeth of diffidence or distrust. And here *Damascene* helpeth vs with a very good distinction of feare: There is [illegible], a naturall feare; and a feare, [illegible], that proceedeth of diffidence or distrust: the first was in Christ; as the Apostle saith, Hebr. 5. 7. *He was heard in that he feared, but not the second: Damas. de fid. lib. 3. c. 23.*

Thirdly, why doth not the Frier open his throte against *Ambrose,* who doubteth not to say of Christ: *Dubitare ille nos finxit, ne tu si caperis dubitare desperes:* His doubting doth strengthen vs, lest thou, when thou beginnest to doubt, shouldest despayre: *de incarn. c. 4.*

Error seu fall. 9. Sixtly, another lye wherewith the Frier slandereth *Caluine* is this, that he should say, that Christ was, *reipsa peccator,* a sinner indeed: *non tantum nostrorum, sed priorum peccatorum reus,* not guiltie onely of our sinnes, but of his owne. *p. 462.*

First, *Caluine* onely saith: *Oportuit eum stare ad dei tribunal, vt cæteris nostrorum maleficiorum reus:* He was to stand before Gods iudgement seate, as guiltie of all our sinnes. Hee tooke vpon him our person, and vndertooke our sinnes; as the Prophet saith, Isay. 53. 6. *God hath layd vpon him the iniquitie of vs all:* And the Apostle saith, *He was made sinne for vs, that knew no sinne, that we should be made righteousnes in him.* As we are sinners in our selues, yet made righteous by imputation of his righteousnes: so Christ being righteous in himselfe, was a sinner for vs, and in our person by imputation of our sinnes. This is neither heresie nor blasphemie.

Secondly, *Damascene* hath a distinction to this purpose: that there is [illegible], an appropriation naturall and personall; the naturall appropriations in Christ are such, as he receiued together with our nature: the personall, which agreed not to him, but as he tooke vpon him our person, as to be forsaken, to be accursed, *lib. 3. de fid. c. 25.* so Christ in our person stood as guiltie before God.

Error seu fall. 10. Seuenthly, he challengeth *Caluine* to say, *Quod Christum Deus exhorreret, detestaretur, &c.* That God hated, detested and abhorred Christ: *Fenard.* pag. 468. *Caluine* saith not so, but thus; *Species Christo obiecta est, quasi Deo aduersa, &c.* It so seemed vnto Christ (for that moment) as though God were his aduersarie; *vers. 26. Matth.* Now it is one thing for God to be an enemie indeed, another to be felt and feared for a time as an enemie: *Iob* complayneth in the bitternesse of his soule of God, *He counteth me as one of his enemies,* Iob. 19. 11. Though *Iob* so feared, yet neither was God his enemie, nor he as one of Gods enemies, yet beloued of God: so Christ was alwayes the beloued sonne of God, yet in that instant, the punishment of our sinnes lying vpon him, he felt the wrath of God as of an enemie. 2. This is agreeable to the Apostle, who sayth, that *Christ vpon the crosse hath slaine hatred to himselfe,* Ephes. 2. 16. but otherwise, how hath he slaine it, but by bearing it for vs. 3. *Beda* saith, *in ad Galat. Quid mirum si maledictum est Deo, quod odit Deus, &c.* No maruell, if that be cursed of God, which God hateth: Christ then vndergoing the curse and malediction, did beare also the hatred. 4. Here then these considerations are necessarie, 1. that Christ was not wholy or finally accursed, hated or forsaken of God, but *ex parte,* in part, and for a time: 2. that it was rather in Christs sense and feeling, then in Gods reiecting of him. 3. that Christ in himselfe was alwayes beloued and blessed of God: he stood onely accursed for vs by reason of our sinnes laid vpon him: as *Augustine* saith, *Benedictus in iustitia sua; maledictus ob peccata nostra:* Blessed in his innocencie, cursed for our iniquitie, *lib. 14. contr. Faust. ad c. 12.*

Error seu fall. 11. Eightly, he belyeth *Caluin* to say, *Patrem reipsa filium suum, cum pateretur, deseruisse:* That the father did truely and indeed forsake his sonne, when he suffered, pag. 472.

Caluine so saith not: his wordes are these, *Alienationem Dei mente concepit, sicut sensu dicebat:* He conceiued in his minde, that he was alienated from God, according to his present sense and feeling: *in c. 27. Matth. vers. 46. Nec vero fidè conqueritur se à patre derelictum:* Neither doth he fainedly complaine that he was forsaken of God, *Instit. lib. 2. c. 16. sect. 12.* It is one thing to be indeed forsaken finally and totally of God; another, so to thinke and conceiue for the time: *Dauid*

said

said in his haste, *I am cast out of thy sight*, Psalm. 31.22. Yet was hee not cast wholly out: for it followeth, *Yet thou heardest the voyce of my prayer*: So *Beda* witnesseth *in* 15. *Marc. Vt homo loquitur meos circumferens metus, quod in periculis positi à Deo nos deseri putamus*: Hee speaketh as a man bearing about in himselfe our feare; because being in danger, wee thinke we are forsaken: The same saith *Caluin*, and no otherwise, that Christ truely complayned in his owne sense, that he was forsaken of God; yet God in his eternall purpose neuer did forsake him.

In the ninth place, the Frier obiecteth, that *Caluine* should affirme, that Christ despayred: pa- Error seu gin. 480. *Caluines* wordes are these: *Absurdum videtur elapsum Christo desperationis vocem &c.* It fall. 12. may seeme absurd, that a voyce or word of desperation fell from Christ, the answere is easie, that this desperation proceeded from the sense of the flesh, *Heb.* 5. *Matth.* 27.

First, Frier *Feuardentius* needed not to haue taken such exception against *Caluine* for these words, seeing his fellow Frier *Ferus* hath the like: nay, he sayth more, *Non solum supplicium à nobis auertit, verum etiam desperationem nostram in se transtulit*: Christ did not onely take vpon himselfe our deserued punishment, but also our desperation: And againe, *Vt desperationem desperatione, mortem morte, infernum infirmo vinceret*: That he might ouercome desperation with desperation, death by death, hell with hell, *lib. 4. in Matth.* 27.

Secondly, he reporteth M. *Caluines* words otherwise then they are: for thus he writeth: *Sed absurdum videtur Christo elapsum esse desperationis vocem: solutio facilis est, quanquam sensu carnis exitium apprehenderet, fixum tamen stetisse fidem eius in corde, qua Deum præsentem intuitus est, de cuius absentia conqueritur*: It seemeth absurd, that a voice of desperation should fall from Christ: the solution is easie; although the sense of the flesh did apprehend destruction, yet faith was fixed in his heart, whereby hee did behold God as present, of whose absence hee complaineth. And againe, *Discrimen notat animus inter naturæ sensum, & fidei notitiam &c.* We haue noted a difference between the sense of nature and the notice of faith: so that nothing hindreth, but that Christ both in his mind might conceiue an alienation of God, according to his common sense, and yet together by faith, did hold or receyue God to be mercifull. Thus wee see, how maliciously this Frier clippeth and culleth, changeth and turneth *Caluines* wordes, contrary to his owne minde: he iarre from ascribing despayre vnto Christ; but onely affirmeth that he was tempted of the infirmitie of his flesh: *Cum desperatione luctatus est, non tamen victus, neque vnus qui desperari sunt possunt Deum appellauit suum*: he did wrastle with despaire, but was not ouercome; for they that are desperate cannot call God, their God, *in Matth.* 24. *v.* 46.

Damascene affirmeth as much, that Christ was tempted of his naturall infirmitie, but strengthened by the diuine will: and these were, *voluntas humana*, the words of his naturall feare or infirmitie, *lib.* 3. *de fide c.* 18. And though from vs such words cannot proceede without sinne, yet we must so thinke of the integritie of Christs nature, that he had the very force and fulnesse of humane affections, yet without corruption, though we be not able to iudge of it: as *Augustine* saith, that we cannot iudge *de moribus sanctorum*, of the manners of the Saintes by our selues, *Sicut de diuersis humanæ febribus iudicare non possumus*, wee do not suffer those that are sicke of feuers, to iudge of the taste or sweetnesse of meate: *contr. Faust. lib.* 22. *c.* 48. If we must not measure the acts of the Saints by our owne, how much more vnable is the corruption of our flesh to comprehend the perfection of Christs humane nature: So then it is euident, that this is but a frierly tricke, and a slow de he, that either *Caluine* or any other Protestant beside chargeth Christ with despayre.

In the tenth place this doctrine is charged with a great absurditie, or rather blasphemie, that Error seu Christ should suffer the death of the soule or the second death. *Feuard.* p. 453. lin. 3. which is con- fall. 13. trary to the Scriptures: which euery where testifie of Christ, *vt vitam daret, & gaue life to the world*, *Iohn* 3: how then could he die the death of the soule? *Feuard.* 297. *l.* 19. 2. It is also contrary to reason: for seeing as the departure of the soule is the death of the bodie; so the departure of God is the death of the soule: as *Augustine* saith, *de verb. Apostol. serm.* 30. Christ being personally vnited to God, could not die the death of the soule, *Feuard. pag.* 474. *lin.* 19. Thirdly, the fathers make but two deaths of the soule: the first is *sinne* in this life, the other *damnation* in the next, but neither of these agree to Christ: *Augustine* saith, *Epist.* 99. *Certi animus Christi, nullo mortificatus peccato, vel damnatione punitus est, &c.* Surely the soule of Christ was neyther mortified with sinne, nor punished with damnation, for which two causes the death of the soule is vnderstood: and *Fulgentius* saith, *Anima Christi inferni doloribus non torquebatur*: Christes soule was not tormented in hell, *Feuard. pag.* 357. *lin.* 26.

1. *Contra.* First, we willingly giue consent to these Scriptures, reasons, and fathers, that Christ cannot be said in any such sense to die the death of the soule, either by *sinne* or *damnation*, eyther by a voluntary or necessary separation from God: therefore all that labour may be spared, to accumulate reasons, or multiplie testimonies of fathers, to free Christ from such death of the soule, which without blasphemie cannot be affirmed of Christ.

Secondly, though the conclusion be granted, yet the premisses are too weake to enforce it: first,

it followeth not, *Christ in life in his soule: Ergo his soule died not:* as it is no consequent, *Christs bodie giueth life, Ergo,* it died not: the contrarie rather is inferred, that Christs flesh by dying, gaue life to the world, Iohn 6.51. Secondly, it is no good argument, Christs soule *was neuer separated, but personally vnited vnto the word, Ergo, it died not:* for his bodie was alwaies personally vnited to the soule [illegible] though not [illegible], as *Damascene* saith, *cap.* 27. *Hypostaticalle, though but locallie:* so likewise was the bodie alwaies personally vnited to the Godhead, euen then, when it lay in the graue, yet the bodie dyed.

Thirdly, neither doe we much presse or vrge this phrase of speech, that Christ dyed the *death* of the soule. First, because we finde it not so euidently vsed in Scripture. Secondly, and we haue other phrases as fit to expresse the sufferings of Christ in soule. Thirdly, and for that it may giue occasion of stumbling to the weake, and of gainesaying and exception to the contrarie minded.

Lastly, yet notwithstanding, because some in defence of this truth haue so spoken and written, I will briefly shew in what tolerable sense Christ is affirmed to die in the soule: and that there is *another death of the soule, then either by sinne or damnation.*

First, as the bodie is not said onely to dye, when the soule departeth from it, but when it is pressed with dangerous and deepe afflictions, which threaten death: so in like sense the soule may be said after a sort to die, not only, when it is finally separated from God, but perplexed and troubled with the horror and feeling of Gods wrath and indignation. The first is proued by S. *Paul*, 1. Cor. 15.31. He there saith, *I dye daily:* that is in respect of his great afflictions and persecutions, that threatned death: otherwise the bodie by the separation of the soule dieth but once, and not daily: Thus Christ then in some sort is affirmed to die in soule, not in any separation made betweene his soule and God, but in the feeling and fearing of Gods indignation, which in the reprobate is the forerunner of their finall separation.

Secondly, whereas the Lord threatneth *Adam* thus: *In the day that thou eatest thereof, morte morieris, ye shall dye the death:* Genes. 2. 17. This must be vnderstoode of the death of the soule: as *Felix epistol. ad Petrum Antiochen.* expounded it: *Adam qua die comedit ex ligno in ipsa secundum animam mortuus, nam ipsius corporis mors post 930. annos contigit: Adam* the same day he did eate of the tree, died according to this soule; for the death of his bodie followed 930. yeares after: and this death of the soule which *Adam* incurred, was not his sinne, but caused by it, for his disobedience in eating was punished by this death: this death of his soule was a punishment of the first death by sinne: And S. *Ambrose* well noteth this difference betweene, *morte mori*, and *viuens vita moritur qui viuit corpore, sed alia in morietur sua*, He in liuing dieth, that liueth in bodie, but dieth in his acte or worke: as the Apostle saith, 1. Tim. 5. 6. *She that liueth in pleasure, is dead, while she liueth: but to die the death, is to die both in bodie and soule: to perish.* 9. Neither was this death of the soule, whereinto *Adam* fell actuall condemnation for euer; for *Adam* was not condemned but saued by faith in Christ: *Ergo* by this death of the soule, a third kinde is signified, namely, the guilt or debt, horror or danger of the proper death of the soule, which is condemnation.

Thirdly, this threatning of *Adam, Thou shalt die the death, was truly performed in Christ*: but if this death to *Adam* threatned be the death of the soule, and not of the bodie, as I haue proued, because *Adams* bodie died not *in that day, &c.* how could the death of *Adams* soule be *truely performed in Christs bodie?* So that this maketh a strong argument, to proue a kinde of dying in soule in Christ: that death which was to *Adam* threatned, Christ suffered: I thinke this will be confessed; that it was truely performed in Christ, but not in his bodie, *Ergo* in his soule: And so it followeth in the epistle of *Felix* before alleaged: *Itaque Deus donum diuisum non fecit, sed totum simul Adam ex virginis vtero sumpsit, vt etiam perditum totum saluum faceret:* God gaue not halfe a gift, but he tooke whole *Adam* of the virgins wombe to saue the whole, that was lost: the reason thus standeth: to redeeme the whole, Christ must die in the whole, for he tooke the whole to redeeme the whole; if it had not been needfull to die or suffer in the whole, he needed not to haue taken the whole: but Christ redeemed the whole, *Ergo* he died in the whole. Thus then it appeareth, how both without feare of sinne or damnation, a kinde of death may be affirmed to haue been suffered by Christ in his soule: which phrase of speech notwithstanding vpon the reasons before alleaged, I wish rather to be more sparingly vsed, if not altogether forborne and discontinued.

Thus haue I shewed what vntrue accusations this holy truth of the sufferings of Christ is charged with, and how it is againe discharged: for we neither affirme; 1. that Christs prayers in the Garden were vniust or vnholy, but sober, temperate, godly, onely shewing his humane desire to escape death, yet conformable to his fathers will. 2. Or that Christ was forgetfull of his office. 3. Or that his bodily death profited not. 4. Or that Christ suffered all the punishments of the damned and reprobate. 5. Or that Christ doubted of his saluation. 6. Or that he was venie, and in deed a sinner. 7. Or that God in deed hated, and detested Christ. 8. Nor yet that Christ was indeed forsaken of God. 9. Nor that Christ despaired. 10. Nor that he suffered the true and proper death of the soule. These ten seuerall chalenges, whereby they practise to make this doc-

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trine odious, I haue answered: and all those blasphemies, which they would fasten vpon vs, and Christs holy cause, we wipe them off, as *Paul* did the Viper, without any hurt to our cause, no more than the Viper did to the Apostles hand.

Wherefore, that the trueth may appeare to the sight of all men of vnderstanding, I will speake of euery thing distinctly, and deuide this question of Christs inward sufferings into these considerations following.

1. Whether the bodily passion of Christ were sufficient for the redemption of the world.
2. Of the feare and astonishment of Christ, and the cause thereof.
3. Whether he suffered properly and immediatly in soule.
4. Whether he suffered the sorrowes and paines of hell.

And to this question is adioyned as an appendix, whether hell fire and torment be onely corporall.

5. Whether Christ stoode before God, as guiltie of our sinnes in our person.
6. Whether in Christ there were any horror or perplexitie of conscience for the sinne of the world, which he bare.
7. Whether Christ in Gods iustice ought to haue dyed for vs as our suretie.

Hereunto is added as an appendix, whether Christs blood were giuen to the diuell as a price for our redemption.

8. Whether Christ felt the wrath of God in his soule.
9. Whether he truely complained as forsaken of God.
10. Whether he did beare the curse of God in his soule.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE BODILIE death of Christ were sufficient for mans redemption.

The Papists.

THis is so affirmed by the Rhemists: *Annot. Mat. 27. sect. 3. Bellar. c. 8. de Christi anim. arg. 1. Fenar. dialog. 5. de Christo patiente. p. 439.* The least droppe of blood, the least teare, the least grone in Christ had been sufficient in respect of the dignitie of the sufferer: *Fenard. p. 450.* they reason thus. 14. Error.

Argum. 1. The Scriptures euery where ascribe our whole redemption to the death, and blood of Christ: Ephes. 1. 7. *We haue redemption through his blood.* Coloss. 1. 20. *He hath set at peace through the blood of his crosse, &c.* Hebr. 9. 12. *Christ by his owne blood entred once into the holy place:* and euery where the Scripture setteth forth the death and blood of Christ: *Ergo,* that onely was sufficient, without any other suffering: *Bellarm. ibid. argum.* 1. *Fenard. p. 441.*

Answ. 1. If these places be literally pressed, for the sufficiencie of Christs blood only, then all his sufferings before in his life, his hunger, thirst, buffetings, reproches, slaunders were superfluous. Secondly, then his flesh also should be excluded, which is not his blood: for *his flesh is our meate, his blood our drinke,* Iohn 6. 55. Thirdly, and seeing Christ shed not onely *blood vpon the crosse* but water: as S. *Iohn* saith, *he came by water and blood,* 1. Iohn 5. 6. if blood be strictly taken, then the water was spilt in vaine out of his side: wherefore by the blood of Christ by a figuratiue speech, the rest of his painefull sufferings both in bodie and soule are insinuated.

2. For if blood be taken simplie, we shall finde, that it was no part of his death, for his side was pearced after he had giuen vp the Ghost, yea after he had said, *it is finished,* that is the worke of our redemption: Iohn 19. vers. 30. 34. And so S. *Ambrose* saith, *Post mortem, percussus est non ante, vt exitus eius voluntarius non necessarius videatur:* He was pierced after death, not before, that his departure might seeme voluntarie, not necessarie. In deede his crosse was embrued with his blood before, which the nayles forced from his hands and feete, and the thornes from his temples, and the whipping before from his side: but that blood which issued forth with water, which S. *Iohn* especially noteth, came out of his side after the surrendring of his spirit: which was the most notable part of his bodilie sufferings: as *Origene* saith: *Petra nisi fuisset percussa non daret aquas, sic percussus Christus in cruce noui testamenti fontes produxit:* Vnlesse the rocke had been smitten, it had yeelded no water, and Christ being stricken, brought forth the fountaines or streames of the new Testament: *Hom. 11. in Exod.*

3. Neither is this vnusuall in Scripture: by one part to expresse the whole: as when the word is said *to be made flesh,* Iohn 1. 14. the soule is vnderstoode: for Christ tooke not a soule without a bodie. Likewise Hebr. 10. 5. *A bodie thou hast ordained:* certainely a bodie with a soule also: and he tooke the seede of *Abraham,* Hebr. 2. 16. that is both humane flesh and soule: and *he was made of the seede of Dauid according to the flesh,* Rom. 1. 3. The Apostle hereby expresseth the whole humane nature of Christ: In like manner in the death of Christs bodie, suffering of his flesh, shedding of his blood, euen the passions of his soule are comprehended.

4. Wherefore, as in these places alleaged, we reade the blood of Christ, or the blood of the

crosse, so other where in more generall tearmes the Apostles call it the dying of Christ, 1.Cor.4.10. the *sufferings of Christ*, 1.Pet.4.13.

5. S. *Ambrose* giueth this reason, why the soule of Christ is signified by the blood: *Caro saluatoris pro salute corporis, sanguis pro anima nostra effusus est: sanguis enim pro anima, sicut praefiguratum est in Mose. in* 1.Cor.11. The flesh of our Sauiour for the sauing of the bodie, his blood was shed for our soule: for the blood is the life or the soule, as was prefigured in *Moses*; for so it is written, *the blood is the life*, Genes.9.4. Leuit.17.14.

6. First, that the blood of Christ in Scripture is said to *redeeme, cleanse, sanctifie vs, &c.* it is euident: but by *blood*, we must vnderstand the other sufferings and partes of Christ, as I haue shewed before: if blood alone sufficed, what did Christs flesh? what did the water, whereby Christ came, and not onely by blood, 1.Iohn 5.6. or Christs spirite, which he surrendred vnto God, are they excluded? Secondly, Christs blood we confesse in Gods omnipotencie to haue been sufficient to redeeme vs, though but one droppe had been shed; but it so stoode not with the decree and purpose of God: wherefore from his power to his will, from his omnipotencie to his ordinance, from that he can doe, to that which he will doe, the argument followeth not.

7. Neither is an vnregenerate soule onely called by the name of flesh in Scripture, as *Bellarmine* imagineth, *lib.5.de stat. peccat.c.7.2.* For of *Adam* and *Eue* it is said, before sinne entred, or the soule was vnregenerate, or corrupted, they *two shall be one flesh*, Genes.2.24. which signifieth not onely a coniunction of bodie, which is in wicked couples, but an vnitie of soule and affection: and where S. *Paul* saith, *We are members of his bodie, of his flesh, and of his bones*, Ephes.5.30. speaketh the Apostle of the vnregenerate parte? Likewise, where the Scripture saith: *Videbit omnis caro salutare Dei*: All flesh shall see the saluation of God, Luk.3.6. S. *Augustine* prooueth by this place, that the soule is comprehended vnder the name of flesh, *lib.83.quaest.80.* And it is euident, that the regenerate and faithfull are here vnderstoode: for the vnbeleeuers and vnfaithfull cannot see the saluation of God. *Ambrose* also thus expoundeth these words of Christ, the spirite is readie, the flesh is weake: *Vt in spiritu Deum, in carne hominem significaret*: To signifie God in the spirit, and man in the flesh: *in 8. ad Rom.* Christs whole humanitie then is signified by flesh.

8. It is euident, that by Christs flesh, in Scripture his whole humanitie, and so consequently his soule is expressed. First, the Apostle thus testifieth, Rom.1.3. *Christ was made of the seede of Dauid according to the flesh, and declared mightilie to be the sonne of God, touching the spirit of sanctification, &c.* Here whole Christ is described vnto vs as God and man: the soule then of Christ is comprehended vnder the name of flesh, or else it is excluded, and so the Apostle should set before vs an vnperfect Christ. Secondly, likewise Heb.2.14. *For as much as the children were partakers of flesh and blood he also himselfe tooke part with them*; tooke he part with them in the flesh onely, and not in the soule also? Thirdly, where it is said, *The word was made flesh*, the soule is not onely here by consequence implied, but properly in the signification included. First, the *Apollinarist* heretikes confessed humane flesh in Christ, and denied him an humane soule, supplying it by his diuine spirite, they therefore tooke this consequent not to be necessarie: wherefore, it is more safe to affirme here an *inclusiue signification*, then an *exclusiue implication* onely of the soule, because of the heresie of the *Apollinarists*, as we reade of one *Eutychius*, a *Monothelite* heretike, condemned in the Councell, *Chalcedon. act.1.* who affirmed: *Hominem non assumpsit Christus, sed carnem assumpsit*: Christ tooke not man, but tooke onely flesh.

2. Saint *Paul* doth very well expound the Euangelists meaning, when he saith, *Christ being in the forme of God, &c. tooke vpon him the forme of a seruant, &c. and was found in shape as a man*, Phil.2.7. Thus is that which the Euangelist saith, *The word was made flesh*, that is man, and dwelt among vs.

3. Thus the Fathers expound by flesh in this place the whole humane nature: *Cyrillus contra Vinguit. c.23.* [illegible] Christ taking flesh of the woman, came forth man, and the same also God. *Athanasius* [illegible] *Christum filium dei secundum spiritum, filium hominis secundum carnem*: Wee confesse one Christ the sonne of God in the spirit, the sonne of man after the flesh. *Ambrose in Psal.* [illegible] vpon these words: *Particeps sum omnium timentium te*: I am partaker with all those that feare thee. *Christus habet participes carnis, quia carnem suscepit, &c.* Christ hath vs partakers of his flesh, because hee tooke flesh, partakers of Baptisme, because he was baptized, &c. In all these places by the flesh the Fathers vnderstand the whole humanitie of Christ.

1. *Argum.2.* The true sacrifice for sinne was shadowed and foreshewed by the sacrifices of the Law: but those sacrifices onely foreshewed a bodily and bloodie sacrifice: ergo the true sacrifice for sinne was made by the bodie and blood of the Redeemer. So reasoneth *Bellarm. argum.3. Fenardent.p.439.artic.9.*

1. *Answ.* First, the proposition if it be generall is false: for all the true sacrifice for sinne and euery part thereof was not, neither could be shadowed forth by the sacrifices: they onely signified the visible part, which they were apt to expresse; the inuisible part by the visible sacrifices of beasts

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could not be described: as the blood of the propitiatorie sacrifice must be the blood of the sonne of God: this the sacrifices could not point at, nor yet the inuisible suffrings of the soule. If the proposition be not general, then the argument concludeth not consisting al of particulars. 2. We graunt also the conclusion, if it be but particular, not of the whole true sacrifice, but of a part: for we confesse that the blood of Christ was a part of the true sacrifice, but not the whole: chuse then, which you will: if the proposition be generall, we denie it; if particular, it concludeth not.

2. Secondly, we denie the assumption: 1. For in the sacrifices of the Law there may be found somewhat, which may represent the suffring of Christ in soule: as Leuitic. 16. 8. there were two hee goates presented vnto the Lord, the one of them was sacrificed, the other sent into the wildernesse, vers. 21. The scape goate may signifie Christs soule, which died not vpon the crosse as his bodie did. 2. Againe, the holocausts or burnt offrings which were wholy consumed and burnt vpon the altar, may betoken the whole and absolute offring of Christ in soule and bodie.

Thirdly, though the scape or liue goate were not sacrificed to death, yet was he presented before the Lord, vers. 8. reconciliation was made by him, vers. 10. the iniquities of the people layd vpon him, vers. 21. So although Christs soule died not, as his bodie, yet was it in the proper suffrings thereof a meane of reconciliation together with the bodie.

4. What though some of the Fathers expound the scape goate to bee the wicked of the the people? yet all are not of that minde, neither the same alwaies hold that sense. 1. *Origen* thus expoundeth, *Hom. 9 Leuitic. Si ira ascendit in cor tuum, si inuidia &c. paratus esto, vt abjcias in eremum*: If anger rise into thy heart, if enuie, cast it forth, and send it as the scape goate into the desert, &c. Hee expoundeth the scape goate not to bee wicked men, but carnall affections in good men. 2. It is manifest that the scape goate was a figure of Christ: for as the sinnes of the people were put vpon the head of the goate, vers. 21. so God did lay vpon Christ the sins of vs al, Isai. 53. 6. and the priest by this scape goate did make reconciliation: wherefore it is but wrested to signifie the wicked: wee must take heede that the Fathers fansies leade vs not from the euident sense of Scripture. 3. *Origen* himselfe that is alleaged applieth the scape goate vnto the crosse of Christ, *Hom. 9 in Leuitic. Iuxta quod dicitur, quia affixit cruci suæ potestates, sortem in eis spoliatas complens, & tanquam bonus paratus abdicit in eremum*: In that it is said, he fastened the powers to his crosse, &c. he fulfilled in them the lot of the scape goate, and as a man readie or prepared carried them into the wildernesse. Thus *Origen* referreth the accomplishment of that figure of the scape goate to the crosse of Christ: who in respect of his bodie, that died, was not that *bonus paratus*, that readie messenger: *Ergo*, in respect of his soule.

Fiftly, in what sense the sacrifice of the crosse is called an holocaust, Saint *Cyprian* sheweth *serm. de passion. Sine hoc holocausto poterat deus tantum condonasse peccatum, &c.* God without that holocaust might haue forgiuen so great sinne, &c. And elsewhere he giueth the reason, why he calleth it an holocaust: *Christus totum effudit spiritum in cruce vt nos respiraremus, quicquid erat humoris aquei reliquum expressit vt nos ablueremur, quicquid resederat in corde sanguinis emisit, vt nos confirmaremur*: Christ did shed forth his whole spirit vpon the crosse, that wee might be refreshed, the water that was left in his bodie he sent forth, that we might be washed: the relidue of his blood came forth, that we might be cleansed. Thus Christ then made an holocaust or whole sacrifice of himself, both in his spirit and in his blood.

Argum. 3. The Sacraments of the Gospell doe set forth vnto vs the memoriall of Christs passion: but they represent not the suffrings of Christs soule, but onely the passion of his bodie: *Ergo*, his bodily passions were sufficient, *Bellar. cap. 8. lib. 4. de Christi anima, argum. 3. Perkinsius p. 440. artic. 11.*

Answ. First, for the proposition, if Christs passion be taken for the effect of Christs crosse in the remission of sinnes, it is true, that the same is sealed vnto vs and set forth in the Sacraments: but if by Christs passion all the necessarie parts, circumstances and concurrences of Christs crosse be implied, the proposition wanteth his due waight: for therein is not represented the Godhead of Christ, which was the onely vpholder of his crosse: nay, all the visible parts of the crosse are not expressed in the Eucharist; as the water, which issued out of Christs side. 2. The visible parts then of Christs crosse are represented by the elements, and in these visible parts spirituall graces and effects: the inuisible power of his Godhead and the spirituall suffrings of his soule cannot so well by terrene elements be described.

Secondly, for the assumption: 1. it is not true that the bodie and blood of Christ onely are represented in the Eucharist: for the bodie and blood of Christ is not set before vs as dead flesh or blood without a soule: for *Christ dyeth now no more*, Rom. 6. 9. If then the life and soule of Christ is signified together with his bodie and blood, why not the suffrings also of the soule? 2. Saint *Ambrose* (whom I alleaged before) sheweth how the soule is resembled by the blood *Sanguis pro anima, sicut transfiguratum est in Mose*: The blood is taken for the soule, as it was prefigured in *Moses* in 11. 1. *ad Corinth.* 3. And therefore it is called *calix sanguinis*, the cup of his blood: and by the

cup

cup is signified not onely the bodily suffrings of Christ, but his soule sorrowes: as when he prayed to his father, that the *cup might passe*, he did not meane onely his bodily death, but his spirituall agonie also.

3. Thirdly, the argument may be returned thus: In Baptisme is sealed vnto vs the true propitiation for our sinnes: in Baptisme is sealed onely the blood of Christ shed for vs signified by water: *Ergo*, the blood of Christ onely without his flesh or bodie is the true propitiation. What other answere can here be made, than the same which was giuen before, that either all the circumstances and concurrences of Christs passion are not set forth in Baptisme, but the effects onely, or that by one part of the crosse the rest are expressed?

Argum. 4. The Rhemists seeme to frame an argument from the nature of a testament: *Christs death* (say they) *was necessarie for the full confirmation, ratification and accomplishment of the new testament: Annot. in Hebr. 9. vers. 20.* where if their meaning be, that Christs death was necessarie to the confirmation of the testament, and that without it could not be ratified, wee willingly yeeld: for as the Apostle saith, a testament is confirmed when men are dead, Hebr. 9. 17. But if they will further presse this similitude, and reason thus: A mans death is sufficient to confirme his testament, without any other suffrings in soule, therefore Christs bodily death was sufficient to confirme his testament: we doe then further answere as followeth.

Answ. First, similitudes must not be forced to agree in euery point, as in this example there is great difference betweene the testaments of men, and the testament of Christ: first, the reason why mens testaments stand is giuen in the lawe, *Quia nihil velle non possunt:* Because they can now will no more; *Constantin. Cod. lib. 1. tit. 5 l. 1.* but Christ is able to will still. Secondly, it is a rule in law, that *Scripta voluntas dispositiui valet, non enuntiatiue:* A written will is of force in disposing, but not in affirming, *Diocletian. Cod lib. 3 tit. 38 leg. 10.* that is, whatsoeuer is affirmed in a will, is not alwaies receiued; but whatsoeuer is bequeathed or disposed, standeth: but it were blasphemie to say, that Christs testament doth not hold affirmatiuely. Thirdly, by the law a will standeth not, *si liberos praeterierit in tabulis*, if a man doe passe by his sonnes in his will, and bequeath them nothing, *Cod. lib. 6 tit. 28 leg. 1. Alexander.* yet Christ in his testament reiected the Iewes, and receiued the Gentiles: yet who will say, that his will herein standeth not? Fourthly, if any man did *contra leges testari, aut iuri publico derogare*, did make a will contrarie to the publike lawes, it was of no force, *Diocletian. Cod. lib. 6 tit. 23 leg. 13.* But Christs testament did derogate and abrogate the ceremoniall lawes of *Moses*, yet notwithstanding remaineth in force. Fiftly, the Apostle saith, the will of men is of no force, as long as hee that made it is aliue, Hebr. 9. 17. but Christ now liueth, and henceforth dieth no more, Rom. 6. 9. yet his testament is in force, though much be presumed in the world against it; as *Augustine* saith: *Mortuus sine sensu iacet, & valent verba ipsius; sedet Christus in coelo, & contradicitur testamento eius: in Psal. 21.* A man lieth dead without sense, and his last words stand; Christ sitteth in heauen, and yet his testament is contradicted. Sixtly, in some cases by the Ciuill law a will vnwritten preuailed against a will written: *Cod. lib. 3 tit. 36 leg. 5. Alexander.* If a man in his testament did bequeath or award his seruant to bonds, and afterward change his mind, *licet non scripserit, valebit*, although hee wrote it not, it shall stand: but nothing that is vnwritten ought to be receiued against the written testament of Christ. In these and many such other points Christs testament and mans testaments doe differ: they therefore must be made to agree onely, wherein the Apostle compareth them, that as touching the death of the bodie, it is necessarie for the confirmation both of mens testament and Christs: but as concerning the spirituall paine of the soule the reason is not alike, there is no cause or necessitie thereof toward the constitution of a mans will, as there was in Christ toward the finishing of the sacrifice of the new testament.

Secondly, the Apostle concludeth, that no death, but of the bodie, is necessarie for the confirmation of a testament: which we graunt, and further acknowledge that Christ onely died properly in his bodie: the proper death of the soule (which is either by sinne or damnation, in the finall separation of Gods fauour) Christ died not: such a death and damnation of the soule who is so blasphemous to attribute to Christ? in confuting that, which no man denieth, labour may well bespared. And therefore as *Hierome* saith, *Non possum te existimare victorem, nisi aduersarium videro vulneratum:* He cannot haue the victorie, that doth not wound the aduersarie, *Apolog. ad Pammach.* Therefore these darts, which they cast in the ayre, *Feuard. p. 453.* pierce not our cause, neither can those strokes wound the bodie, that touch it not.

Thirdly, the Apostle by this similitude onely inferreth, that without the death of the bodie a testament is not ratified: as vers. 18. *neither was the first ordained without blood:* So without Christs death the new testament could not be confirmed: doth it therefore follow that nothing else is required? Many things beside the bodily death must concurre to make a mans testament: first, he must be *sanae mentis*, of a sound and perfect minde; and therefore a mad man, except hee haue *dilucida intervalla*, some intermission of his fits, cannot make a will, *Cod. lib. 6. tit. 22 leg. 9.* Secondly, *Pupillus non potest testari:* A pupill, that is vnder the gouernment of others, cannot make a will:

ibid.

ibid. tit. 21. leg. 18. Iustinian. Thirdly, *Filius familias non potest*: A sonne that is vnder his father can not: *ibid. tit. 22. leg. 11.* Fourthly, *Si testes non fuerint in conspectu testatoris, &c.* If the witnesses be not in the sight of the testator, the will is not good, *Cod. lib. 6. tit. 23. leg. 9. Diocletian.* Fifthly, *Si compulsus sit testari, &c.* If a man be compelled to make a will, it is not good, *lib. 6. tit. 34. leg. 1.* Sixtly, *Mutus non potest, nisi sciat scribere*: A dumbe man by the Ciuill law cannot make a will, vnlesse he can write, *lib. 6. tit. 22. leg. 10. Iustinian.* These conditions and many beside, are required as necessarie for the constitution of wils: so that the death of the bodie is not onely sufficient to adde strength to a will, though without it, it standeth not in force. In like manner without the death of Christs bodie the new testament was not ratified, and yet not onely by it: the innocencie of Christs birth, the righteousnes of his life, his obedience in his suffrings vpon the crosse must concurre with his death to establish the new testament. Wherefore the argument followeth not, the new testament was confirmed by Christs bodily death: *Ergo*, hee suffred not the terrors of soule.

Fourthly, if this reason conclude any thing, it taketh away all compassion, sorrow, and affection in the soule of Christ, (which they themselues graunt, *Fenard. p. 452. lin. 25.*) as well as the terrors of conscience: for if the bodily death be sufficient for the establishment of the testament, then the soule neede not any way to bee affected at all. So then they may here say as *Hierome*, though not in the like case: *Nostra contra nos dimicat armatura*: Our owne weapons doe fight against vs: *ad Iouin. Hierosolymitan.*

Arg. 5. Christ was more effectuall to saue vs, than *Adam* to condemne vs, *Fenard. p. 383. conf. 4. & 452. lin. 20.* But *Adams* flesh by the which sinne entred, was sufficient to destroy vs: *Ergo*, so must Christs flesh be to redeeme vs.

2. Againe, the Apostle saith, Rom. 5. 19. *As by one mans disobedience many are made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous*: This obedience of Christ was in his death, *Fenard. ibid.* *Ergo*, by the obedience of Christ to death we are made righteous.

1. *Answ.* First, the assumption is false, if it be vnderstood so, that *Adams* flesh onely infected his posteritie: first, it would follow hereupon, that the flesh is the seate of sin, which is a popish error, and maintained by *Bellarm. de stat. peccat. lib. 5. c. 7. vid. supra contr. 18. qu. 4. par. 5.* Diseases and other outward infirmities are the infection of the bodie, but sinne is properly the infection of the soule: for seeing sinne is a spirituall euill, and the flesh but a terrene and earthie vessell, how can it be, that sinne should be propagated onely by the flesh?

2. The Scriptures are contrarie: Genes. 5. 3. *Adam begat a childe in his owne likenes after his owne image*: was this image in the bodie onely, and not in the soule also? whereby is vnderstood, that *Adam* begot a sonne in the like sinfull and corruptible state, Ioh. 1. 13. *Which are borne not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, &c.* Where is the fleshly will, whereof men are borne, but in the soule? Iohn. 3. 6. *That which is borne of the flesh is flesh, that which is borne of the spirit is spirit*: By flesh here is signified the vnregenerate part both of the soule and bodie: whatsoeuer then is fleshly and carnall in vs, whether in soule or bodie, is borne of the flesh: and so sinne propagated by them both.

3. *Obiect.* Then it will follow, that the soules of men, as well as their bodies are deriued from their parents, if originall infection be propagated by both.

Answ. First, I say with *Augustine* thus writing to S. *Hierome* of this very matter: *Illa de animarum nouarum creatione sententia si hanc fidem fundatissimam non oppugnat, (i. de originali peccato) sit & mea; si oppugnat, non sit & tua*: This sentence of the creation of new soules, if it do not impugne this grounded faith, (that is, of originall sin,) let it be my opinion also, if it do, let it not be yours neither: So I say, that if it did necessarily follow, if soules be created of God; that pollution should come onely by the flesh, I had rather leaue that vncertaintie, then go against a certaine truth: for what were this els, but to extenuate originall sinne, and in effect to make it no sinne at all; seeing it is the soule, not the flesh, that sinneth: as the Prophet saith, Ezech. 18. 20. *The soule that sinneth shall die.*

Secondly, neyther is it necessary to graunt, that soules should be deriued from the parents, if sin be propagated both by the bodie and the soule: S. *Augustine* sheweth how, *lib. 3. de liber. arbitr. c. 20. Quod si figillatim in singulis fiunt animis, conuenientissimum est, vt malum meritum prioris esset natura sequentis, vt bonum meritum sequentis natura est prioris*: Though that euery soule should seuerally be made in the bodie, yet it is most conuenient, that the euill merite of the first man should be the nature of the second, as the good merit (that is vertue) of the second is the nature of the first: that is, like as the image of grace renewed in *Adams* posteritie, is the same that *Adams* nature was before his fall: so the euilnesse in *Adam* corrupted, is become the nature of his corrupt posteritie.

The Master of the sentences is not here to be refused: *Ipsius carnalis concupiscentiæ causa non est in anima sola, nec in carne sola, ex vtroq; enim fit, &c.* The cause of carnall concupiscence is not in the soule alone, nor in the flesh alone, but is made of them both, *lib. 3. distinct. 17. b.*

Like

Like as a fountaine springing vp in a clay ground, presently receiueth of the nature of the ground: this clay water is neyther of the fountaine, for there is no clay, nor of the earth alone, for there is no water, but ioyntly from them both: so is the soule corrupted at the very first coniunction with the bodie: the sinne is not in the soule, which is created pure, nor in the flesh, which is not capable of sinne, but it springeth forth of the coniunction, and commixtion of them both.

4. How is it like, that *Adams* flesh should only infect his posteritie; seeing it was not the flesh, that first infected himselfe? as *Magister sententiar.* thus reporteth out of *Augustine, lib.2.dist.32. liter E. Non fuit corruptio corporis, quæ aggranat animam, causa primi peccati, sed pœna; nec caro corruptibilis animam peccatricem fecit, sed peccatrix anima carnem corruptibilem fecit:* The corruption of the flesh, which presseth downe the soule, was not the cause of the first sinne, but the punishment: neyther the corruptible flesh made the soule sinfull, but the sinfull soule made the flesh subiect to corruption. Sinne then entred into *Adam* by his soule first, and then his flesh: and so doth it enter vpon his posteritie.

Secondly, 1. though the crosse and passion of Christ did chiefly shew the obedience of Christ: *For he learned obedience by the things which he suffered*, Hebrewes 5.8. yet his obedience to his Father was seene through his whole life: as Iohn 4.34. *My meate is, that I may do the will of him that sent me.* 2. Christs obedience is set against *Adams* disobedience: As then *Adams* disobedience signifieth the whole masse of corruption in him; so Christs obedience betokeneth all his iustice and righteousnes. 3. So the Apostle expoundeth it himselfe, Rom.5.18. calling it *the iustifying of Christ.* 4. And though his obedience in his death were onely insinuated, where was this obedience, was it not in his will, when he saith, *Not my will, but thine be done?* and he submitteth himselfe to drinke of the cup, not onely to taste of the bodily death, but to endure all sorrowes beside, that should be laid vpon him.

S. *Ambrose* euidently declareth his mind of this matter, *de vocat. Gentium lib.1.c.3, inde (ex hominis prænaricatione) Multiplex corporis animiq; corruptio, inde ignorantia, difficultas, &c.* From mans transgression proceedeth the manifold corruption of soule and body, as ignorance, hardnes of vnderstanding, *cura, inutiles, sacrilegi errores, &c.* vaine cares, sacrilegious errors: if ignorance, error be propagated from *Adam*, then is not this propagation onely by the flesh, which is not subiect to ignorance, error; but the soule onely: *Origen* also thus witnesseth, *hom.8.in Leuitic. Audi Dauidem dicentem, in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, offendens, quod quæcunq; anima in carne nascitur, iniquitatis & peccati sorde polluitur:* Heare *Dauid* saying, I was conceiued in iniquitie, shewing that any soule whatsoeuer is borne in the flesh is polluted with the filthines of iniquitie and sinne. The soule then in the very first birth is polluted, and so the corruption is spread as well by the soule as the body.

Argum.6. The least teare, the least groane, the least drop of blood in Christ had been sufficient, because of the excellencie of the person of the sufferer: how much more his whole painfull passion in his bodie? *Fenardent. pag.450.*

Answ. First, the argument followeth not; the Sonne of God was able with his blood onely to redeeme vs, *Ergo*, he thought good so to do: he had been able without his blood, or death at all, in his omnipotent power to haue saued vs; but it seemed not good vnto him so to do.

Secondly, if Christs blood onely did it, then were these sorrowes of his soule, which you confesse he felt, superfluous: if they were not in vaine, his teares, his heauinesse, his groanes; then his blood onely without these redeemed vs not.

Thirdly, *Bernard* reporteth this to haue been the Error of one *Abaillardus, epist.191. Cur redemit nos per sanguinem, cùm potuit per sermonem?* Why did hee redeeme vs by his blood, when hee might haue done it by his word? *Bernard* answereth, *Quid prodest, quod nos instituit, si non restituit?* What had it auayled vs, if he had giuen vs institution, but not restitution? In like sort is it now vrged; what needed Christ to redeeme vs by his soule, seeing he did it in his bodie? we may also answere, *Quid prodest si nos restituit, si non plenè restituit?* What had it auayled vs, if hee restored vs, but fully had not restored vs?

Fourthly, we graunt, that Christ in respect of his great power, might haue redeemed vs not only without his suffrings in soule, but in bodie also: as M. *Calvin* saith, *Potuit nos Deus verbo, aut nutu redimere:* God might haue redeemed vs with his word, yea, with a becke: *in 15.Ioan.vers.13.* But this was not agreeable to Gods iustice; who had otherwise determined, that his Sonne should pay by his suffring the full price of our redemption: and therefore the Prophet *Esay* saith, 53.10. *The will of the Lord shall prosper in his hand.* And here *Origen* hath a very good distinction, *Quod ad potentiam Dei omnia possibilia, quod ad iustitiam Dei possibilia solum, quæ iusta sunt:* In respect of Gods power, all things are possible; in respect of his iustice, those things are onely possible, that are iust: *in Matth.tract.35.* So in respect of Gods power, Christ needed not to haue suffered, but in his bodie: but in regard of his iustice, it was not possible, but that Christ in himselfe should beare the whole and entire punishment due vnto our sinnes.

Lastly,

Laſtly, whereas the fathers doe moſt worthily amplifie the bodily ſuffrings of Chriſt, and the death of his fleſh, denying that he dyed in ſoule, and to this purpoſe they may eaſily be produced: Our anſwere is this: 1. That concerning the death of the ſoule, we willingly condeſcend, that it is not to be admitted in Chriſt. 2. If the fathers vrge the blood of the Croſſe, and the offring of Chriſts fleſh, they muſt be vnderſtood according to the phraſe of the Scripture, which by one part ſetteth forth the reſt: and Chriſts blood is eſpecially mentioned, becauſe it was the moſt viſible and conſpicuous part of his paſſion. 3. Yet not one of the fathers can be brought forth, which denieth Chriſts ſuffering in ſoule. 4. Nay, they do witneſſe and teſtifie for the ſame: as *Cyril* ſaith, *Neceſſe erat cum ſuo corpore admiratam ei animam dolere, vt dum timebat paſſiones ſubditam cervicem Deo ſubmitteret*: It was neceſſarie that his ſoule ſhould be grieued with the bodie, that while he feared his paſſions, he ſhould ſubmit his necke vnto God, *de incarnat. vnigen. c. 7.* If Chriſts blood ſtrictly taken had ſufficed, the griefe of the ſoule had not beene neceſſarie. And if it be anſwered, that hee meaneth the griefe of the ſoule, ariſing from the ſuffring of the body: I ſay further, 1. that if it were ſo, yet this griefe is ſomewhat els beſide his blood, which was before affirmed to be ſufficient: a ſufficiencie is without the neceſſitie of other things: but hee ſaith there was a neceſſitie of the griefe of the minde: *Ergo*, without it there was not a ſufficiencie. 2. He meaneth a deeper griefe, feare and ſuffring, then ariſing from the ſuffring of the bodie: he feared his paſſions; but the paſſion of his bodily death he feared not; that had beene great weakeneſſe: and he was heard in that he feared, Heb. 5. 7. but in reſpect of his bodily death, that it might paſſe, hee was not heard: therefore it was a greater griefe and feare that perplexed his minde.

The Proteſtants.

THat the bodily death of Chriſt was not the whole ſuffring and ſacrifice of his Croſſe, neither in reſpect of Gods iuſtice the whole and full price of our redemption; though in reſpect of Gods power, leſſe might haue ſufficed; thus we ſhew it:

Argum. 1. That which Chriſt tooke, he offered: Chriſt tooke not the body or fleſh of man only: *Ergo*, he offered not his body onely.

Anſw. If any thing be here denied, it will be the propoſition, which is further thus confirmed. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr. 2. 14. *For as much as the children were partakers of fleſh and blood, hee tooke part with them, that he might deſtroy thorough death, &c. and that he might deliuer all them, which for feare of death were all their life long ſubiect to bondage*: from this place I reaſon thus: *that which Chriſt by his death deliuered vs from, he tooke part with vs in*: but hee deliuered vs not onely from the death of the bodie, but from the feare and bondage *of the ſoule*: *Ergo*, herein hee tooke part with vs.

Secondly, they are S. *Ambroſe* words, *Hoc obtulit Chriſtus, quod induit*: Chriſt offered that, which he tooke or put on, *de incarnat. c. 7. Ergo*, he offered not his fleſh onely, becauſe he tooke it not alone.

Thirdly, he giueth this reaſon in the ſame place: *Quæ erat cauſa incarnationis, niſi vt caro, quæ peccauerat per ſe redimeretur*: What cauſe was there of his incarnation, but that the fleſh, that had ſinned, ſhould be redeemed by it ſelfe? The reaſon ſtandeth thus: 1. That which Chriſt tooke of mans nature, he tooke to redeeme by ſuffring in it: but Chriſt tooke not onely the fleſh of man, but his ſoule: *Ergo*, he redeemed mans ſoule, by ſuffring in it. 2. That part of man, which had ſinned, muſt be redeemed by it ſelfe: not mans fleſh onely, but his ſoule alſo had ſinned: *Ergo*, not the fleſh onely, but the ſoule muſt be by it ſelfe redeemed.

Argum. 2. The ſecond reaſon I take out of *Cyprian*; and it is framed thus: That which Chriſt offered vpon the Croſſe, he ſuffered in: Chriſt offered not his body onely: *Ergo*, he ſuffered not in body onely.

Firſt, the propoſition or firſt part is proued by the Apoſtle, Heb. 9. 25, 26. *Not that he ſhould offer himſelfe often, &c. for then he muſt haue often ſuffered*: So then there is no offering of Chriſt without ſuffring: and therefore he is ſaid to haue offered *a ſacrifice for ſinnes*, Heb. 10. 12. But a ſacrifice is not offered without ſuffring: for the ſacrifice was firſt killed, and then offered.

Secondly, S. *Cyprian* proueth the aſſumption, as I haue alleaged him before, *lib. de duplic. Martyr.* who applieth that place of Iohn, 1. Epiſt. 5. 8. *There are three that beare record in earth; the ſpirit, water and blood*; vnto the oblation of Chriſt vpon the Croſſe: *Triplex à Chriſto teſtimonium accepimus, &c.* We haue receiued a threefold teſtimonie from Chriſt; of the ſpirit, water, and blood: *Totum effudit ſpiritum, &c.* He did ſend forth his whole ſpirit, that we might be refreſhed; the water, that we might be waſhed; the blood that was left, that we might be confirmed: So there was nothing in Chriſt, that was not powred out vpon the Croſſe; his ſoule firſt and ſpirit, then all the moiſture and blood left in his body: Chriſt then offered not his bodie onely vpon the Croſſe: for he further ſaid, *Father, into thy hands I commend my ſpirite*: *Ergo*, he ſuffered not onely in body.

Argum. 3. That which Chriſt tooke of our nature, hee ſanctified in himſelfe, Hebr. 2. 11. *Hee that ſanctifieth, and they which are ſanctified, are all of one*: Our reaſon then ſtandeth thus: that

which Christ sanctified in himselfe, hee sanctified by suffring in it: So saith the Apostle, Heb. 2. 10. that *Christ was consecrate through afflictions:* and by the same meanes did Christ sanctifie himselfe, whereby we are sanctified: Ioh. 17. 19. *For their sakes doe I sanctifie my selfe, that they also may be sanctified:* But we are sanctified by Christs oblatiō vpon the crosse, Heb. 10. 14. *With one offring hath he consecrated for euer them that are sanctified.* The proposition then is true, that Christ was sanctified by his suffring and offring vpon the crosse, but both his bodie and soule was sanctified: *Ergo*, hee suffered not in bodie onely, but both in bodie and soule. This reason and euery part thereof is grounded vpon Scripture.

Argum. 4. Christ offered the true sacrifice of himselfe in the true tabernacle: his bodie alone is not, but bodie and soule both are this true tabernacle: *Ergo*, hee offered himselfe a sacrifice not in bodie onely, but both in bodie and soule.

First, the proposition is affirmed by the Apostle, Hebr. 8. 2. *that Christ is a minister of the true tabernacle*, that is, by the offring of himselfe who is both the Priest, the sacrifice and tabernacle.

Secondly, the assumption is thus prooued: first, his humane nature is called the *true tabernacle*, because it is not to bee shifted or chaunged, as the old tabernacle was, but to remaine for euer: and in this sense though the flesh of Christ was the true tabernacle, because it was incorruptible, yet his soule more properly: for his flesh was layd aside, and put off by death, but his soule remained with him still: herein then it was the true tabernacle indeede, being eternall and immortall. Secondly, Heb. 9. 11. *It is called a tabernacle not made with hands, which God pight & not man*, Heb. 8. 3. This more properly agreeth to his soule: for though his flesh was borne of a virgin, and so brought forth without the helpe or hands of man, in respect of the common birth; yet receiued he his flesh of his mother, ouershadowed by the holie Ghost: but his soule was immediatly and wholy sent from God, and so *this tabernacle* was not at all *pight by man.* Thirdly, that is the true temple and tabernacle, wherein the holie Ghost dwelled *bodily*, as the Apostle saith, Col. 2. 9. *In him dwelleth the fulnes of the Godhead bodily:* but the Godhead dwelt not only in Christs bodie, but in his soule: *Ergo*, both made this holie temple, and true tabernacle. Fourthly, to this purpose *Augustine* thus resembleth the holy soule of Christ, he calleth it *vas vnguenti*, the vessell of the holy oyntment, of the spirit; *& tanquam ferrum ignitum*; and as an yron red hot, in euery part thereof receiueth the fire: so was the fulnes of the Godhead in the soule of Christ, *de Trinitat. vnitat. cap.* 3. It followeth then, that seeing not the body and flesh of Christ onely make the true tabernacle, but his soule also, and that in the true tabernacle the true sacrifice of atonement was offered, that Christ offered not this sacrifice in his bodie onely.

Argum. 5. If the bodily suffrings of Christ had been sufficient, then his other suffrings in his soule had been superfluous; as the heauinesse of his soule, where he saith, *My soule is heauie vnto death*, Matth. 26. 38. *his sighs and groues*, Ioh. 11. 38. *his feare*, Heb. 5. 7. But these and the like passions in Christ, were not superfluous: for the Prophet saith, Iiay. 53. 11. *He shall see of the trauaile of his soule: Ergo*, his bodily suffrings were not alone sufficient.

Argum. 6. We will reason *ex confessis:* It is graunted by the rest, that Christ also beside his bodily suffrings had inwarde feare and griefe: *Bellarm. cap.* 8. *respons. ad argum.* 3. *Vt redemptio esset copiosa, voluit etiam pœnam mœroris, & timoris subire:* That the redemption might be the more full, Christ would vndergoe the paine of griefe and feare. *Fenardentius* thus confesseth, *p.* 455. *Tantam concepit de his tristitiam, &c.* Christ conceiued such sorrow and griefe for the sinnes of the world, *vt omnem verè respicientis animæ pœnitentiam exuperauerit, &c.* that he exceeded the griefe and sorrow of a soule truly penitent. Againe, *Tanta animi pœnitudine dolet, vt par ei nemo vnquam fuerit:* He was so much grieued in his soule, as that no man was euer equall to him. These sorrowes in Christs soule, were neither bodily, nor yet procured by his bodily paines, being occasioned by the sinnes of the world: This being then their owne confession, how can they ascribe our redemption wholy to the bodily suffrings of Christ, vnlesse they will make those other afflictions of Christ either fained, or superfluous, which farre be it from any Christian heart to thinke?

Argum. 7. The Fathers iudgement against the sole bodily suffrings of Christ, I haue alleaged before: as *Cyrill. resp. ad argum.* 7. *Ambrose argum.* 1. *Cypriane argum.* 2. and so I will conclude this place with another sentence of *Cyprian: Sine hoc holocausto poterat deus tantum condonasse peccatum, sed facilitas venia laxaret habenas peccatis effrænibus, quæ etiam Christi vix cohibent passiones, &c.* God could haue forgiuen vs our great sinne without this holocaust, or whole burnt offring: but then the facilitie of pardon would haue let loose the raines vnto vnruly sins, which are hardly restrained by the passions of Christ. Out of this sentence I obserue first, that *Cyprian* calleth Christs sacrifice an holocaust, an whole suffring, which could not be of one part onely, but of both: for that is not whole, which wanteth a part. Secondly, he granteth, that God in his infinit power could haue found out forgiuenes of sins by some other meane, but it pleased him otherwise: that by the manifold passions, which were layd vpon Christ for our sinne, wee should be brideled from committing the same. And so we conclude;

1. If

1. If what Christ tooke of the nature of man, he offered vpon the crosse;
2. If Christ suffered in all that, which he offered;
3. If that by his suffrings he sanctified the whole nature of man;
4. If in the true tabernacle of bodie and soule he offered the sacrifice;
5. If all other grieues and sorrowes, which Christ endured in his soule should be superfluous;
6. Seeing it is confessed by the aduersarie part, that Christ had greater sorrowe in his soule, than euer any man had;
7. The Fathers likewise set forth the holocaust or whole offring of Christ: Then it doth necessarily followe, that Christs suffrings and smart in his flesh onely wrought not our redemption; which though in themselues, in respect of Gods great power, had been sufficient, yet it so stoode with Gods iustice and euerlasting purpose, that his sonne in his owne person, should make a full satisfaction both in his bodie and soule for our sinnes.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE FEARE AND astonishment of Christ, and the cause thereof, that it proceeded from the very feare and feeling of Gods wrath, which Christ did beare and endure for our sinnes.

THE OBIECTIONS AND CONTRARIE argumens answered.

The Papists.

First, their opinion is, that the feare and agonie of Christ proceeded not from any feeling of Gods wrath or indignation, but *humani sensus mortem exhorrescentis affectum, &c. effundebat*: But he onely shewed the affection of humane sense fearing death, *Feuard p.430. sic Bellarm. cap.8. resp. ad argum.6.* They reason thus: 1. Error.

Argum.1. There are other causes of Christs heauines, feare, and agonie: First, the reiection of the Iewes. Secondly, the dispersion of the Apostles, *Bellarm resp. ad argum.8.* Thirdly, the lamentation for mans sinne: *Omnem verè respiscentis animæ pœnitentiam exuperauit*: He went beyond or exceeded the greatest repentance of the soule that may be, *Feuard. pag. 455.* Fourthly, the seueritie and iustice of God vpon him the Redeemer of the world, *Feuard. p.456. lin.13.* Fiftly, hee feared death in his humane sense, *Feuard. p.430. Ergo*, Christs feare and agonie arising of these causes, can not be assigned to any other.

Answ. First, the argument followeth not: these were the causes of Christs agonie: *Ergo*, the other was not: for they may all stand well together: that the consideration of these forenamed causes might moue Christ; and yet the feeling of Gods heauie wrath and displeasure for sin moue and trouble him much more.

Secondly, that Christ was heauie for the *reiection* of the Iewes, and *dispersion* of his Apostles, though it be graunted for reuerence to the Fathers; *Hilarie, Ambrose, Hieronie*, that so thinke; yet it concludeth not against vs: first, at other times those thoughts for the Iewes, and his Apostles troubled Christ; as Matth. 23. vers. 37. he propheciеth with griefe of the desolation of Ierusalem: Ioh. 17. 11. he had commended his Apostles to the protection and keeping of his father: so that though they should be dispersed by his death, yet hee knew they should be gathered together againe and strengthened: as he saith of *Peter, I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not*, Luc. 22. vers. 32. Christ therefore for that matter was setled. Secondly, but now it is euident, that Christ is properly touched with some inward obiect: in that he prayeth *the cup might passe from him selfe*: how could either the *reiection of the Iewes*, or the *dispersion* of his Apostles be this cup? Thirdly, he prayeth *that that houre might passe from him*, Mark. 14. 35. but neither the reiection of the Iewes, nor the dispersion of his Apostles fell out in that houre or instant. Fourthly, Christ was heard in that he feared, Heb. 5. 7. but he was not heard in this, that the Iewes should not be *reiected*, nor his Apostles *dispersed: Ergo*, this was not that hee feared. Fiftly, though the Fathers concent here be admitted, it concludeth not against vs: for none of them affirme, that Christ onely was troubled for these causes pretended. 1 2

Thirdly, Christs sorrow and lamentation for sinne by way of *compassion* or *commiseration*, caused not this agonie: first, for so he wept at other times for the sinne of the citie, Luk. 19. 41. he wept onely drops of water, not drops of blood, as now: but if it had been the same cause, it would haue then brought forth the same effect. Secondly, Christ speaketh here of an houre, to the which this griefe was peculiar: but to sorrow in compassion, was at all houres and times in Christ, and ought to be alwaies in Christs members. Thirdly, if Christ onely had sorrowed for the sinnes of other 3

in compassion, what needed he to haue bern comforted by the Angell? Luk. 22. 43. the obiect therefore of this griefe was inward. He sorrowed not now by way of *compassion*, but hee sorrowed for sinne by way of appropriation: our sinnes were now as appropriated to his person, and this *godly* sorrow for sinne, among other effects in the soule, hath *feare* and *punishment*, 2. Cor. 7. 11. then consequently in the soule of Christ, there was feare and chastisement for our sins now his by imputation, which is the same thing we affirme.

Fourthly: first, if the presence of the Maiestie of God were the cause of Christs feare and agonie in his prayer, why did not the like agonie fall vpon him, at other times, when hee presented himselfe before the Maiestie of God in prayer? Secondly, and Christ being innocent, iust and perfect, what cause had he to tremble in the presence of God in respect of himselfe, seeing that the Saints his members haue such confidence to stand forth boldly in Gods presence? Isay. 8. 18. *Behold*, (saith the Prophet) *here am I, and the children which thou hast giuen me.* Thirdly, Christ feared then and trembled before God as a Iudge, readie to execute wrath against sinne: Gods wrath then is cause of this agonie, which is the very poynt by vs maintained.

Fiftly, if Christ feared his bodily death and corporall affliction aboue his strength, hee feared more than Saint *Paul*, 1. Cor. 10. 13. *God is faithfull, which will not suffer you to be tempted aboue that you are able.* If Christ feared the separation of the soule from the bodie by death, hee should haue shewed himselfe weaker than his members. *Augustine* saith, *Paulus seruus exultat, cupio dissolui, &c. Christus imperator tristis est: Paul* the seruant desireth to be dissolued, and to be with Christ; and is Christ the Captaine heauie? *in Psal.* 93. And as for the separation of the humanitie from the diuine nature, if any man say Christ feared it, hee is in a great error: for the bodie still lying in the grane was hypostatically vnited to the Godhead, as *Damascene* soundly saith, [illegible]: The diuinitie remained inseparable from them both: *de fid. lib.* 3. *c.* 27. Hee neuer feared therefore the dissolution of the vnitie of his person.

Argum. 2. If the sense and feeling of Gods wrath was the cause of Christs agonie, they must cease with the agonie; for the cause remaining the effect also must continue: but his agonie ended in the garden, his hellish sorrowes (you say) endured vpon the crosse: *Ergo*, they were not the cause. And if the things which Christ afterward suffered, as his whipping, piercing of his hands and feete, and death it selfe did not amaze or astonish Christ; how much lesse did the feare and griefe thereof perplexe him in the garden, which were but *simplicia praeludia*, but forerunners only, of his suffrings that followed: *Feuard. p.* 424. *conf.* 4.

Answ. First, Christs feare in the garden proceeded not from the expectation of his bodily suffrings that followed, but as they were accompanied with the wrath of God: that which then hee feared and trembled at, he afterward felt in his soule, namely the wrath of God: and vpon the crosse he was no lesse perplexed, but indeede more vehemently touched in soule, when hee cryed out he was forsaken, than before in the garden. And as *Chrysostome* well saith, *Christus pluribus in morte vexatus doloribus, quam omnes tragoedi scribere possunt expirauit*: Christ being vexed with more sorrowes in his death, than all tragicall writers can describe, gaue vp his spirit: *Hom.* 31. *in Matth.*

Secondly, for further answere to the argument: first, the proposition followeth not, that the cause should cease, when the effect ceaseth; the cause indeede leaueth working, when the effect stayeth; but it hath still a being: Like as in the bodie vexed with tertian or quartan feuers, there is an intermission of the fits for a time, yet the same cause still liueth and raigneth in the bodie, which when it beginneth to worke againe, the fits are renued; so is it in the vexation and agitation of the minde. Secondly, 1. for the assumption, we say that there was in Christ an intermission of that inward perplexitie and vexation of his soule, that sore fit and agonie being past, which was afterward renued vpon the crosse. 2. The grieues and comforts of the soule doe ebbe and flow, compared in this behalfe to the waues of the sea, Psal. 42. 4. when one is lift vp by the wane he seeth the comfortable light; when he is cast downe, he beholdeth nothing but darknes. 3. This was *Iobs* case: first in griefe he complaineth, Iob. 19. 11. *he counteth me as one of his enemies*: then againe he receiueth strength, vers. 25. *I know my redeemer liueth*: after this his soule is cast downe againe; Iob. 30. 21. *Thou turnest thy selfe cruelly against me.* 4. *Augustine* very fitly thus resembleth this matter, writing vpon these words of the Psalme 10. *Palpebrae dei*: The eye-lids of God do examine the sonnes of men: *Interdum clausis dei oculis exercentur vt quarant; interdum apertis illuminantur vt gaudeant*: Sometime they are exercised or troubled, when God shutteth his eyes, that they may seeke; sometime they are illuminate with his open eyes, that they may reioyce. As is then the shutting and opening of the eyes; so sometimes the soule is obscured with griefe, sometimes lightened with ioy. In Christ then as the agonie ceased, so there was an intermission of the inward terror that caused it.

Argum. 3. Christs answere to *Caiphas*, his prayer for his enemies, his promise to the theefe vpon the crosse, his commending of his spirit to God, doe shew that Christ was not all this while astonished:

niſhed: ſic *Bellar. lib. 4. de Chriſti anima cap. 8. argum. 2. & Feuardent. p. 425. 6.* Thus they conclude, that Chriſt was not amazed or aſtoniſhed at all with the feare and feeling of Gods wrath.

Anſw. Firſt, there is none that affirmeth, that this amazing or aſtoniſhment of Chriſt continued ſo long together, from the beginning of his agonie to the end of his paſſion. Maſter *Caluine* ſaith onely, *In ipſo momento non reputabat:* In that moment he did not bethinke himſelfe, *in 26. Mat. verſ. 39.* S. *Peter* giueth a reaſon, Act. 2. 24. that it was *impoſſible that Chriſt ſhould be held of the ſorrowes of hell*, as their vulgar Latine readeth.

Secondly, the anſweres then of Chriſt at his examination, condemnation, ſuffering, doe ſhewe that hee was not then as a man amazed or aſtoniſhed: for in the beginning of his agonie in the garden he was affrighted and perplexed; but this his aſtoniſhment continued not in that meaſure, he eftſoones recouered himſelfe: As *Origen* writeth, *Non ſcriptum eſt, quia pauit, vel triſtatus eſt, ſed cœpit pauere: pij guſtant tantum dolorem, impij guſtant tantum fidem. Hebr. 6. 5.* It is not written, that he was afraid or ſorrowfull, but began to be afraid: the godly onely taſte griefe, the vngodly only haue a taſte of faith: *in Matth. tract. 35.*

Thirdly, neither neede it ſeeme ſtraunge, that our Sauiour ſo ſoone *correcteth*, or rather *directeth* his naturall infirmitie, ſaying, *not my will, &c.* for as *Auguſt.* ſaith, *Si in illa voluntate permaneret, vitio prauum cor oſtendere videretur:* If Chriſt had continued in his firſt will or deſire, he had ſhewed an heart not aright, *in Pſal. 93.* Therefore it became Chriſt forthwith to ſubmit his naturall infirmitie to Gods will and pleaſure, being free from all ſinne and diſobedience. Alſo *Damaſcene* confeſſeth, that Chriſts will was firſt *ὡς φυσικῶς ἀδύνατος ὑποβάλλουσα*, tempted of his naturall infirmitie, and by and by ſtrengthened by the diuine will.

Fourthly, the children of God are often ſoone recouered from the gulfe of griefe: as *Iob* in the ſame place, chap. 19. 11. 25. as I euen now alleaged, is an example of comfort, and diſcomfort. *Dauid* with the ſame breath ſaith, *I am caſt out of thy ſight:* And againe, *Thou heardeſt the voyce of my prayer, when I cryed vnto thee*, Pſal. 31. 22. If the members of Chriſt ſo ſoone ouercame theſe brunts of griefe; it is no marueile if Chriſt were thought not altogether rid, yet eaſed of it and refreſhed. Yet notwithſtanding, if it be graunted that this perplexitie of Chriſt did hang vpon him ſtill in ſome meaſure, from the beginning of his agonie vntill his death, as *Origen* ſeemeth to thinke: *Non ſemper, ſed vſque ad tempus mortis in me eſt, vt cum mortuus fuero peccato, moriar & vniuerſa triſtitia:* This heauines is not alwaies in me, but vnto ỹ time of death, that when I am dead to ſin, I ſhall be dead to al ſorrow, *Hom. 35. in Matth.* All this being admitted, yet Chriſt might both pray in faith, and confidently commend his ſoule vnto God, and make wiſe anſweres vnto his perſecutors: Firſt, his faith failed not in his agonie, though his carnall ſenſe were affrighted and aſtoniſhed, and therefore hee might and did effectually pray. Secondly, the vehement fittes of his agonie were ſometime ſlaked and intermitted, and as the terme of the law is, though in another kinde, as men naturally diſquieted in their minde, may haue *dilucida interualla*, lightſome ſeaſons, when they come to themſelues, *Cod. lib. 6. tit. 22. leg. 9.* So Chriſt in this ſupernaturall aſtoniſhment, had ſome ſpaces of intermiſſion. Thirdly, this agonie and combat which he had with the wrath of God, did not make him the more vnfit in his cariage to men; but that he might and did exhort his Apoſtles, reproue and refute his aduerſaries: like as *Iob*, though he complained of the terrors of God in his ſoule, Iob. 6. 4. yet knew well how to anſwere the deceitfull and comfortleſſe obiections and oppoſitions of his friends; ſo Chriſt in this agonie hauing to doe with God, not with men, though toward God he were aſtoniſhed in his ſenſe, his faith ſtill remaining ſound, yet toward men he was notwithſtanding moſt readie and expert in his heauenly anſweres and oracles.

Argum. 4. Firſt, Chriſts prayers were meritorious: *Precibus & meritis patrem nobis caleſtem propitium reddidit:* By his prayers and merits he made his father well pleaſed with vs. But what merit could there be in his prayer if he were aſtoniſhed? *Feuard. p. 421. conf. 12. lin. 4.* 1

Secondly, *Quæ conſtantia, &c.* What conſtancie, what fortitude of minde, if through feare and aſtoniſhment Chriſts memorie failed? *Feuard. p. 423. conf. 2. lin. 7.* 2

But Chriſt ſhewed in his agonie, faith, conſtancie, fortitude, obedience: *Ergo*, he was not aſtoniſhed.

Thirdly, if Chriſt feared his fathers wrath, then hee doubted: ſo *Feuardentius* inferreth vpon *Caluines* wordes, that becauſe hee ſaith, *Chriſtum timere*, that Chriſt did feare, therefore hee doubted, *p. 458.* 3

Fourthly, Saint *Peter* ſaith, Chriſt ſuffered for vs, leauing for vs an example that we ſhould follow his ſteppes, 1. Pet. 2. 21. but it were hard for vs, if Chriſt were aſtoniſhed with feare, and ſo beſide himſelfe, therein to imitate him: this place of the Apoſtle is vrged by the Frier, *p. 361. conf. 4. lin. 4.* 4

Anſw. Firſt, 1. if Chriſt had continued ſtill amazed and afrighted, and not eftſoone recouered himſelfe, the firſt argument might haue ſome colour, but the ſhortnes of that brunt nothing hindered his meritorious working. 2. It was a meanes rather to encreaſe his merite, in that he 1

yeelded not to this naturall feare and infirmitie, but in wrestling against it, and subduing his humane will to Gods will, his obedience became meritorious. 3. Yet I further boldly say, that euen this feare and astonishment of Christ being without sinne, and all other his naturall infirmities, of hunger, thirst, wearinesse in the bodie, feare, griefe, with the like in his soule, were meritorious: as *Hierome* well saith, *Manifestum ei esse poterit, qui Euangelia sollicita mente perlegerit, quomodo & cibus & potus eius & deambulatio, & vniuersa quæ gessit in corpore salutem hominum procurarint:* It may be manifest to him that carefully readeth the Gospell, how that Christs meate and drinke, his walking and all which he did in his bodie, did procure our saluation, *tom. 4. de fil. prodig.* 4. Christ amazed, astonished, merited not indeed for himselfe, neyther did he at any other time els: but for vs euen then and there he merited.

Secondly, 1. there was no distempered humor in Christ; but euen in his agonie, his heart was setled, his faith firme and fixed, without any distrust, or despaire. 2. It is vntrue, that there can be no faith, obedience, constancie, fortitude, while a man is in a traunce or astonished; for *Peter* shewed both, Act. 10. when hee fell into a traunce: First his faith, vers. 14. *I haue neuer eaten any thing vncleane:* his obedience, vers. 15. in that he rested notwithstanding in the answere of God, submitting himselfe thereunto. 3. Christ continued not in this astonishment long, but presently plunged out of it: and therefore all his prayer while, he was not in this traunce; but as on the one side he was assaulted in his humane sense with feare and griefe; so he recouered himselfe by his faith, and encountred with that brunt of sorrow: so the Apostle saith, *that Iesus for the ioy that was set before him, endured the Crosse*: Heb. 12. 2. And *Cyprian* thus witnesseth, *Sanguineo sudore madefiens, nostræ naturæ in se expressit imbecillitatem, ne nos in desperationem caderemus, si quum omnia mortem præsentem intentant, horrorem naturæ senserimus, &c.* Christ dropping with his bloodie sweate, did expresse the imbecillitie of our nature, least we should fall into despaire, if we feele the horror of nature, when all thinges threaten present destruction, *de duplic. Martyr.* Christ then *felt* our sorrowes, but *fainted* not, he was *distressed*, but *despaired* not, *vexed*, but not *vanquished*.

Thirdly, the argument followeth not, neither is it true, that feare is more intollerable in Christ then doubting. 1. *Damascene* vseth a good distinction of feare, *lib. 3. de fide c. 23.* that there is ἁπλῆ φοβος, and φυσικὸν, a naturall feare, such as this was in Christ to decline death; and a feare vnnaturall, which proceedeth from diffidence or distrust, which was not in Christ: all feare hath not distrust, but all doubting is ioyned with distrust and diffidence; therefore there may be feare naturall, where neyther sinne is nor distrust. 2. The Scriptures testifie of Christ, that hee began to be afraid, Marke 14. 33. ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, but doubtfulnesse or distrust is no where mentioned to haue bin in Christ: therefore the one was in Christ, and not the other. 3. *Origen* saith, *Proprium est omnis hominis primum quidem nolle pati aliquid doloris:* It is proper to euery man, first not to be willing to suffer any griefe, &c. *In Matth. Tract. 35. Chrysostom. Neque nolle mori carnem reprehensio:* Neither is it to be reprehended, if the flesh be vnwilling to die: *Ex Epistol. Agathon. ad Constantin:* Thus these Fathers doubt not to ascribe vnto Christ a naturall feare, and desire to escape sorrow, without sinne or doubtfulnes.

Fourthly, whereas the reason is thus framed: Christ in his sufferings is to be imitated of vs; but in his astonishment and amazednes, he is not to be imitated, or in that he was beside himselfe: *Ergo*, he was not in any of his sufferings so astonished or beside himselfe.

Ans. 1. It is deuised onely by them, not affirmed by vs, that Christ, in his agonie, was *beside himselfe*, which is nothing else, but to be madde: we affirme onely according to the Scripture, that Christ began to bee *amazed*, and with feare to bee astonished: Mark. 14. 36. So the word ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι there vsed, signifieth. 2. Christ is not to be imitated in all parts of his suffering, neither can be: for who is able to beare such a heauie burthen of Gods wrath and displeasure, as he did, which caused him to be astonished? Christ is to be imitated, wherein he may be imitated of vs, as he himselfe saith, *Learne of me, for I am humble and meeke:* so *Augustine* saith, *In Psalm. 90. præfat. Inque imitaturi sumus Christum, nunquid hoc à nobis exigit, vt talia miracula, qualia ipse fecit, faciamus, &c.* Wherein are wee to imitate Christ, doth hee require of vs to doe such miracles as hee did? &c. hee saith, *Learne of me, for I am humble and meeke.* If Christ be not to be imitated in his miracles, then not in this his astonishment: for so to be astonished as he was, and not faile in faith, was a great miracle. 3. Yet we haue here in Christ, that which is worthy & fit to be imitated of vs, namely his submission and obedience: that though his naturall desire caried him one way, yet he subdued it to the will of God, saying, *not my will, but thy will be done:* as *Augustine* saith: *Statim fac, quod ideo fecit, vt te doceret, non quod ego volo, &c.* Doe straightway as he did, to the end to teach thee, not that I will, &c.

Argum. 5. *Hilarie* may be obiected, as he is alleaged by the Master of Sentences, *Lib. 3. dist. 15. tit. 9. Nec fieri potest, vt timor eius significetur in verbis, cuius fiducia continuatur in factis:* It cannot be, that his feare should be signified in word, whose fiduce is continued in fact, *Lib. 10. de trinit. Hilarie* seemeth to exempt Christ from all feare and infirmitie, in his bloodie sweate and agonie; rather

ther ascribing the drops of blood to his power and diuine omnipotencie, then to his naturall infirmitie.

*Answ.*1. *Peter Lombard* in the same place bringeth in this answere, *Necessitas timendi non fuit in Christo?* There was not the like cause and necessitie of feare and griefe in Christ, which is in vs, and so he saith *Hilarie* is to be vnderstoode, not denying feare to be in Christ, but the like cause of feare.

*Answ.*2. It is true, that it was not infirmitie in Christ, but power to stand out in this agonie, and to striue against it, euen vnto blood, but yet the beginning of it proceeded of feare: *Damascene* saith, that our naturall passions were in Christ, φυσικῶς, ὑπὲρ φύσιν: according to nature, and aboue, or beyond nature: according to nature, in that he had them; but aboue nature, in that he gouerned and moderated them: *Lib.*3. *de fide.c.*20. So *Hilarie* saith, *Non secundum naturæ consuetudinem gessit, &c.* He did it not after the custome of nature: for he did gouerne and execute them aboue nature. 3. But otherwise, that his naturall feare and infirmitie gaue beginning to this agonie: *Ambrose* testifieth: *Audi vtramque vocem & carnis infirmæ, & spiritus promptiùs pater, si possibile, transeat calix, hæc carnis est vox; non quod ego volo, habes deuotionem spiritus:* Heare both voices, both of weake flesh, and of the readie spirit: Father, if it be possible, let this cup passe, this is the voyce of flesh; not that I will, here is the deuotion of the spirit, *lib.*4. *in Luc.*

THE TRVTH CONFIRMED.

The Protestants.

CHrist thorough the very feare and feeling, sight and sense of Gods heauie wrath and displeasure against our sinne layed vpon him, was in an exceeding great agonie, and therein his humane nature for a while was so amazed and astonished, that in that moment, he wished to shunne the cuppe prepared for him for the worke of our redemption; yet so, that he presently conformeth his will and desire, to the will and pleasure of God.

*Argum.*1. The Apostle saith, that Christ when he prayed in the daies of his flesh, *With strong cries and teares, was heard in that he feared*, but he was not heard nor deliuered from his bodily death, *Ergo*, it was not that which he feared: and so consequently it was the heauie wrath of God in his soule, which he feared.

*Answ.*1. *Bellarmine* answereth, that Christ was heard in that which he desired, namely, that the will of God might be done in his death, or that he might be deliuered from death by his resurrection: *resp. ad argum.*6.

2. It may also be answered, that Christ was heard in that he feared, and deliuered from his feare: he felt not then that which he feared: so then if he feared Gods wrath, he was deliuered from it before he felt it: *Feuard.* to this effect, *p.*464. *con.*4. *in.*11.

3. It will be answered, that εὐλαβεία, must be expounded, not feare, but reuerence: and so *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that *Chrysostome, Theophylact, Oecumenius* doe so interpret this place, that Christ was heard, *pro sua reuerentia*, for his reuerence to his Father, *Bellarm. ibid.*

*Answ.*1. *Bellarmine* confesseth, that this prayer of Christ, which the Apostle saith, he made with strong cries and teares, is the same which the Euangelists make mention of, when Christ was in his agonie in the garden: *Bellarm ibid.* First, but that prayer proceeded from griefe and feare: for his words shew his griefe, *My soule is heauie to death*; his gesture, in sweating drops of blood declareth his feare: yet Christ neither grieued at, neither feared the successe of his passion, that Gods will should not bee done in it, or his release from death by his resurrection: *Ergo*, in these things, at this time, and in this Prayer, hee was not heard. Secondly, the summe of his request is, that the cuppe might passe, which petition hee limiteth in deede with subiection to Gods will; but the *passing of the cuppe*, cannot bee referred to the resurrection: neither is the passing of the cuppe, the performing of Gods will in the not passing of the cuppe: this were to expound one contrarie by another. Thirdly, that thing against which Christ prayeth, made him heauie, but neither the redemption of man by his death, nor the hope of the resurrection could make him heauie, but rather ioyous, as the Apostle saith, *He endured the crosse for the ioy set before him:* Hebr.12.2. These were not then the subiect of his petition at this time, though I deny not, but Christ continually did pray, both for the finishing of our redemption, and the perfecting of the same by his resurrection: Wherefore seeing Christ was deliuered from his feare, but not from death, therefore death he feared not: as *Hierome* saith, *Erubescant, qui putant salutarem mortem timuisse, & passionis pauore dixisse, &c.* Let them blush at it, that thinke our Sauiour feared death, and thorough this feare said, *My soule is heauie, &c. In Matth.*26.

Secondly, that fearing is a kinde of inward feeling in the soule, 1. the Scripture confesseth, 1.Iohn 4.18. *Feare hath punishment*, κόλασιν: there can be no payne or punishment without feeling: Luk.22.44. *constitutus* ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ, being set or pitched *in an agonie:* an agonie is not without feeling.

ſing. 2. This is that which *Bernard* ſaith, that Chriſt had in his life, *actionem paſſiuam*, an action paſſiue; and in his death, *paſſionem actiuam*, a paſſion actiue: ſo was this paſſion of feare actiue, working a ſenſe and feeling in Chriſts ſoule. 3. But feare goeth before griefe, and the ſame thing is not felt which is feared, eſpecially where there is a deliuerance from the thing feared. *Anſw.* 1. Neither do wee ſay that Chriſt felt the ſame meaſure of Gods wrath, which hee feared: for Chriſt might feare to be left comfortleſſe and to be forſaken of Gods helpe in that combate: from this feare he was deliuered, for hee was ſupported and vphelde in this terrible aſſault, that hee did not ſincke downe in it. 2. So S. *Paul* prayed, that the meſſenger of Sathan, the pricke of his fleſh, might be taken from him, which he obtayned not, but a ſupplie of grace was giuen him, whereby he ſhould ſtand faſt in that tentation, 2. Cor. 12. as S. *Paul* was heard, not by remouing of the temptation, but by giuing of grace to ouercome it: ſo Chriſt was aſſiſted with the preſence of Gods power, the abſence whereof he feared, and from this feare hee was heard and deliuered, but not from all ſenſe and feeling of Gods wrath in his ſoule.

Thirdly, concerning the vſe of the word εὐλάβεια. 1. We denie not, but that both in Scripture and prophane authors, the word is taken for a religious warineſſe, and reuerence. 2. In like manner, it muſt be graunted, that it is alſo vſed to ſignifie feare, both in Scripture, and eccleſiaſticall and prophane writers: firſt, in the Scripture, Act. 23. 10. εὐλαβηθεὶς, *timens*; the Tribune feared leſt *Paul* ſhould haue beene pulled aſunder, &c. Heb. 11. 7. *Noe* fearing, prepared the Arke: what or for whom the Tribune feared, it skilleth not; we onely ſhew the vſe of the word, that it cannot be here tranſlated *reuerence*, but *feare*: We graunt alſo that *Noah* his feare was ioyned with faith, but Chriſts much more; a feare it was notwithſtanding, though not diſtruſtfull.

3. *Nazianzene* reckoneth δειλία, feare, among the infirmities of Chriſt, *orat. 2. de filio*: And *Theodoret* alſo followeth the ſame ſenſe vpon this place.

4. And for prophane writers, *Plutarch in Periele* teſtifieth that ἐυλαβεῖτο, hee feared the people, when hee ſpake vnto them. *Sophocles* ſaith, δειλίᾳ πεσεῖν, I am afraid to fall. 5. The circumſtance of the place alloweth this ſenſe: for both before mention is made of his teares, and prayers, and verſ. 8. *he learned obedience by the thinges which he ſuffered*: which do argue his feare rather then reuerence. 6. The vulgar Latine in the two places before alleaged tranſlateth the word εὐλαβηθεὶς, *timens*, fearing, and our vulgar tranſlation allowed with priuiledge readeth in this place, *hee was heard in that he feared*: the firſt ought to moue the Papiſts; the other ſhould preuaile with Proteſtants, who are not ſuddenly to depart from the receiued tranſlation.

Argum. 2. If the feare of the death of the bodie had ſo aſtoniſhed Chriſt, and caſt him into ſuch an agony, he ſhould haue ſhewed himſelfe weaker then many of his members, the Martyrs, that went boldly without feare to their death: *Ergo*, it was not the feare of bodily death, that troubled him.

Anſw. 1. This is the difference betweene the feare of death in Chriſt, and others: they do feare of neceſſitie, but Chriſt *timuit, quia voluit*, feared willingly: and therefore at other times, when he thought vpon his Paſſion, as at the inſtitution of his laſt Supper, he feared not, becauſe then he would not: but now in the garden he beginneth to feare, *quia voluit*, becauſe he would ſo do, *Bellarm. reſp. ad argum.* 3.

2. If Martyrs feare not death, it is becauſe God giueth them greater comfort, this benefite they receiue from Chriſt, *Bellarm. ibid.*

3. *Chriſtus, vt copioſa eſſet redemptio, &c.* Chriſt to make our redemption more full, would alſo take vpon him our feare, *Bellarm. ibid.* Chriſt then had greater cauſe to feare, in reſpect of his perſon and office being appointed to be our redeemer.

Contra. 1. Firſt, in ſome ſenſe it is true, that all Chriſts affections were voluntarie, in reſpect of his voluntary aſſuming of our fleſh: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Hos humanæ infirmitatis affectus ſicut ipſam carnem & mortem non humanæ conditionis neceſſitate, ſed miſerationis voluntate ſuſcepit*: Theſe affections of humane infirmitie like as fleſh it ſelfe and death, Chriſt tooke, not by neceſſitie of humane condition, but by the willingnes of his compaſſion, *in Pſal.* 87. but after Chriſt was incarnate, as it was neceſſary he ſhould haue our fleſh; ſo it was neceſſary he ſhould haue the infirmities and affections thereof without ſinne: but as *Peter Lombard* ſaith, *Hanc neceſſitatem habuit, non ex neceſſitate conditionis, &c.* Chriſt had this neceſſitie of retayning our affections, not of the neceſſitie of his condition, but willingly: it was now then a neceſſitie in Chriſt, which at the firſt was voluntary, *lib. 3. diſt. 16. liter. a.*

2. Another difference betweene Chriſts affections and ours is this, in vs they are violent, and immoderate; in Chriſt they were ſo temperate and ordered, that he alwayes ſubmitted them to the will of his Father: ſo that not the hauing of them, but the moderating of them was voluntarie in Chriſt: So *Hierome* ſaith, *Verè contriſtatus eſt, ſed non paſſio eius dominatur animæ*: He truely ſorrowed, but the paſſion did not rule ouer his ſoule, *in Matth. 26.*

3. Otherwiſe the affections of Chriſts ſoule were as neceſſarie, as the infirmities of his bodie,

as hunger, thirst, sleepe: els Christ should not haue been like vs in all things, if he had not beene subiect to the same infirmities without sinne: and this were to make Christs agonie to be in shew onely, what needed he to pray against this cuppe, to sweat drops of blood, to be comforted of the Angel, if he had beene accessarie to his owne griefe, and might of himselfe as man haue auoided them?

Secondly, as Christ gaue power to his members to die boldly, so much more had he power himselfe to be emboldned against the feare of death. 2. Whereas the Martyrs were armed with his example of patience against death; now should they haue been disarmed with his example of feare and weakenesse, if he had feared onely the death of the body. 2

Thirdly, 1. Christ had no greater cause in himselfe to feare bodily death, nor so great as others haue, because he was without sinne, and so death to him was without sting; for the sting of *death is sinne*: but no man els, though neuer so perfect is without sinne. 2. In respect of vs and our redemption, as Christ had greater cause, &c. so had he greater strength to beare it. 3

Fourthly, the fathers haue allowed and approued this argument, *Theodoret* vpon that place Hebr. 5.7. If blessed *Paul* feared not death, but desired to be dissolued, &c. how did God the word feare death? *August. in Psal. 93. Nullo modo formidaret Christus, quod non formidauit Paulus, cupio dissolui, &c. Melior enim esset seruus quàm Dominus*: Christ in no wise would feare that which *Paul* feared not; *I desire to be dissolued, &c.* for then the seruant should be better then the Master. 4

Argum. 3. Our third argument is taken from the prayer of Christ in the garden, Matthew 26.39. *O my Father, if it bee possible, let this cuppe passe from mee, neuertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.*

First, here Christ prayeth for a thing, in respect of Gods decree not possible, that the cuppe might passe from him: and therefore afterward he saith, vers. 42. *If this cuppe cannot passe away from me, &c.* 1

Secondly, he prayeth for that, which was not granted, that the cuppe of death and sorrow prepared for him might passe. 2.

Thirdly, he prayeth in his humane and naturall desire somewhat diuerslie from Gods will; yet with submission of his will vnto the will of God: what else could cause Christ in this manner to pray against his cuppe and crosse, but the exceeding feare and feeling of Gods heauie wrath, and reuill indignation, wherewith he was so amazed at the first and astonished, that in his humane weakenes he was caried (his diuinitie now hiding and repressing it selfe) to desire the passing of that cuppe, which he was to drinke of, for the redemption of mankinde. 3.

Answ. First *Feuardentius* answereth, that it was not impossible with God to saue his sonne from death, and to redeeme the world without his death or crosse; for Christ saith, Mark. 14.36. *All things are possible to thee.* And Hebr. 5.7. the Apostle saith, *He offered prayers to him, that was able to saue him from death.* p. 418. 1

Secondly, againe he saith, *Christum rem impossibilem, &c.* That Christ did not aske a thing impossible: *Vel absolutæ voluntati repugnantem*, or repugnant to Gods absolute will: *Feuardent. ibid. confutat.* 2. So then, hee seemeth thus to take this clause, *If it bee possible*, that is, agreeable to thy will.

Contra. First, we deny not, but in respect of Gods absolute power, it had been possible for Christ not to haue died, and man some other way to haue been saued; and so the places alleaged are to be vnderstoode: but in respect of Gods iustice, which could not otherwise be appeased, then by the death of his Sonne, it was not possible: thus the Scripture speaketh, Act. 4.12. *There is giuen no other name vnder heauen, whereby we must be saued.* Reuel. 5.3. No man in heauen was able to open the booke but the Lambe. Saint *Ambrose* bringeth in this distinction of things impossible: *Aliud secundum naturam*: Some things are impossible in nature, but so nothing is impossible to God, Matth. 19.26. *Aliud per definitionem immutabilis consilij*: Some things are impossible in respect of the decree of Gods immutable counsell, as Hebr. 6.18. It is impossible that God should lie, *lib. 4. de fide, c.* 3. and in this sense it was impossible, that Christ should not dye, because God had so determined: and *Origene* vpon this place, *Quod ad potentiam Dei omnia possibilia; quod ad iustitiam Dei possibilia solum, quæ iusta sunt*: In respect of Gods power, all things are possible, in respect of his iustice, those things are onely possible, that are iust: *In Matth. tract.* 35.

Secondly, that the possibilitie expressed in the first clause of Christs prayer, hath no reference to Gods will, it thus appeareth: first, Christ saith in generall, *all things are possible vnto thee*, Mar. 14. vers. 36. but if no more be possible to God, than he will; then it would follow, that he can doe no more than he doth, or will doe, which is a great error. Secondly, if this were the meaning, *if it be possible*, that is, stand with thy will, what needed that limitation, or explanation following, *yet not my will*, seeing he had expressed so much before? Thirdly, in respect of Gods will, it was impossible the cup should passe: as our Saviour saith, vers. 43. *If this cup cannot passe away from me, but that I*

must

must drinke it, thy will be done: how could the same thing be both possible & impossible in regard of Gods will? Fourthly, Christ was not ignorant of the will of God, and therfore knew well enough that it was not possible, neither stood with Gods will, that the cup should passe: this clause therfore, *if it be possible*, cannot be referred to the will of God, but rather to his power.

Secondly, it is replied, that Christ obtained that he asked: first, the Apostle saith, Hebr. 5.7. *he was heard*. Secondly, our Sauiour saith to his father, Iohn. 11.42. *Thou heares me alwaies*: *Feuard. p.464. con.4.* Thirdly, *Origen* thinketh, that the cuppe of Gods euerlasting wrath did passe both from Christ and vs, and so in that behalfe he obtained that he desired: *Orig. in hunc locum.*

Contr. First, the Apostle saith, he was heard in or frō his feare: Christ in his humane infirmitie (his diuine power for the time withdrawing it selfe) feared a greater measure of Gods wrath, least he should haue been left alone in it; from this feare hee was heard and deliuered. So then the cup of Gods wrath passed not from him, as in the beginning of his prayer his humane will tempted (as *Damascene* saith) of his naturall infirmitie desired, but from the manner and measure therof which he feared.

Secondly, Christ was indeede alwaies heard of God, so was he in this place: for though hee was in that moment stirred in his humane desire to wish the escaping of that cuppe (for it is a naturall instinct, and not in it selfe sinfull, to wish to decline euery thing that is hurtfull) yet he limiteth this desire, and squareth his will to his fathers: so that this was the summe of his prayer, that howsoeuer his humane desire wished to escape that cup, yet he was contented Gods will might stand; and so it did, and thus Christ was heard: though not in the sudden wish of humane infirmitie, yet in the aduised request of his filiall conformitie.

Thirdly, *Origen* indeede hath such a conceit: *Expediebat omnibus, vt transiret calix ab eo, propterea quòd biberat eum saluator*: It was expedient for all men, that the cup should passe from Christ, because hee dranke of it: so hee thinketh, that the cuppe of Gods euerlasting wrath passed from Christ and vs, by his drinking of it. This is contrarie to the Scripture: *If this cup cannot passe, but that I must drinke of it, thy will be done*, Matth. 26.42. Christs meaning was then, that the cup might so passe, that he might not drinke of it: how then could it passe by his drinking and tasting of it? Secondly, Christ feared not *eternall vengeance* after death, and so euerlasting destruction, it were not farre from blasphemie so to affirme: but he was heard in that which he feared: *Ergo*, herein he was not heard, neither did he desire the cup to passe in that sense, in the *appeasing of Gods euerlasting wrath*, which was indeede an effect of Christs crosse, but not of that part of his prayer in the garden, for the *passing of the cup*: though in the explanation, limitation and condition of his prayer I doubt not but that effect is comprehended.

Obiect. If Christ neither feared the death of the bodie, nor euerlasting death; what then did he feare?

Answ. I say with *Cyprian*: *Metus ille infirmitatis humanæ communem exprimebat affectum, vt difficultas extremi exitus timeretur*: That feare of humane infirmitie did expresse a common affection, that the difficultie of the last end should be feared, *serm. de passion.* So then Christ feared not the end of his life, but the difficultie thereof, that is, the bitternes of his fathers wrath, and the anguish of soule, that was ioyned with death. To this purpose the ordinarie glosse vpon the third to the Galathians: *Inspiens honorificentia, Christum a maledicto, quod morti coniunctum est, separat*: It is a foolish honoring of Christ to exempt him from the curse, which was ioyned with death, &c. So then it was Gods wrath and curse, which did concurre with Christs bodily death, which did so afflict and perplexe his soule.

Fourthly, that Christ in his humane desire wished for somewhat, that was not graunted; *Chrysostome* testifieth: *Neque nolle mori carnem reprehensio est, quia hoc naturæ est, ipsa autem, quæ naturæ sunt, omnia sine peccato ostendit*: Neither is it reprehensible to feare death, because it is of nature, but Christ shewed all that is of nature without sinne: *Ex epist. Agathon. ad Constantin.* Christ then in *Chrysostomes* iudgement would in his humane desire haue escaped death (though it was not that onely or chiefely which he feared, but as the sense of Gods wrath for sinne concurred with it) yet did he not escape death. *Athanas.* is also cited in the same place: *Humana voluntas propter infirmitatem carnis refugiebat passionem, diuinæ prompta erat*: His humane will because of the infirmitie of the flesh refuted the passion, his diuine will was readie.

Thirdly, it is replied that Christ prayed not contrary to Gods knowne will: First, Christ prayed in faith, and was most assured his prayer should take effect, *Feuar. p.464. conf.4. lin.13.* Therefore not against the knowne will of God. Secondly, he prayed the same prayer thrice, which had been a voluntarie spurning against Gods will, if he had prayed against it. Thirdly, he taught his Apostles to pray aright, and reproued the sonnes of *Zebedee*, *You know not what ye aske*: much more doth he pray himselfe aright: *Feuard. p.421. conf.11.* Fourthly, if he prayed directly contrarie to the will of God, he had sinned: but his prayers were iust and pure: *Feuar. p.419. conf.7.*

Contra. First this replie is altogether impertinent: First, we say not, that Christs will or prayer

was

was contrarie to Gods will, but diuers onely from it. Secondly, his whole prayer was not contrarie, or diuers or different, but onely the short motion in the beginning of his prayer was somewhat diuers. Thirdly, though Gods will were knowne vnto Christ, yet in this moment, wherein he stoode amazed and astonished, seeing his diuine power and knowledge, by the which Gods will was reuealed vnto him, did now withdrawe and represse it selfe, how could it otherwise be, but that this knowledge and reuelation of Gods will, was for the time as suspended also, and not obiected to Christs humane sense, being now fully possessed of this agonie?

Secondly, for answere to the arguments. First, notwithstanding the diuersitie of desire in Christs humane will, yet he prayed in faith, in that he submitted his will in all obedience to his Fathers. Secondly, he might repeate the same request of his naturall desire thrice, because so long his agonie continued, without any repugnance to Gods will, still remembring the same condition, in submitting his naturall desire to his fathers heauenly will. Thirdly, the prayer of the sonnes of *Zebedee* was rash and ignorant, because it was not conditionall nor limited, but humorous and disordered; failing both in the occasion, which was ambitious; and the manner, which was peremptorie and absolute: but Christ prayed from the feeling and necessitie of his humane infirmitie, and with the most obedient condition of his fathers will: and therefore his prayer so begun, and so ended and limited, was neither rash nor ignorant. Fourthly, first he prayed not contrarie to Gods will, but a diuers thing hee asked, yet with a subordination to Gods will. Secondly, it is not sinne for the natural affection to desire to decline that which is hurtfull or contrarie vnto life: as *Origen* saith, whom I alleaged before: *Proprium est omnis hominis fidelis primùm nolle pati aliquid doloris, &c.* It is proper euen to euery faithfull man, to be vnwilling to suffer any trouble, *Tract. 35. in Matth.* So it was no more sinne in Christ in his humane sense to desire to shun griefe and trouble, than it was for him, being hungrie, to couet to eate of the fruit of the figge tree, where was no fruit but leaues, Mark. 11. 13. Thirdly, but it will be obiected, that Christ knew Gods will to the contrarie, and therefore should haue sinned in making any such request.

Answ. First, I say with *Augustine: Si in illa voluntate permaneret, &c.* If Christ should haue staied in that minde or wil, then his heart might haue seemed not to be aright, *in Psal. 93.* Wherefore the present moderation of his humane desire, and the submission of it to Gods will, doe free our Sauiour from all corruption. Secondly, some doe giue this solution: *Non ideo petijt, vt impetraret, &c.* He did not therefore aske to obtaine, for hee knew God would not doe it: *sed vt membris formam praberet*, but to giue his members an example how to submit their will and desire to Gods: *sic Magister. lib. 3. dist. 17. later. c.* Thirdly, I answere, that in this very moment Christs humane infirmitie being astonished with this vehement obiect of griefe, and al amazed, did not turne it selfe to consider of Gods secret will and decree herein: Like as *Moses* and *Paul* knew very well, that they were both Gods elect ones, and could not finally perish: yet in the excesse of their zeale, beside this their knowledge, they wish one to be raised out of the booke of life, the other to be *anathema*, that is, accursed for the people of Gods sake, Exod. 32. 33. Rom. 9. 3. Did Saint *Paul* sinne against his owne knowledge, who hauing first said, that nothing could separate him from the loue of God in Christ, Rom. 8. 38. presently in his great zeale wisheth to be separated from Christ? If this were no sinne in the member, how could it be in the head? Further, wee must consider now of Christ as a perfect man (his Godhead now not shewing it selfe) and that, as *Damascene* saith, hee tooke vpon him φυσικὸν θέλημα, a nature of it selfe ignorant, but that it was by the conioyning of the diuine nature enriched with the knowledge of future thinges, *lib. 3. de fide. c. 21.* Whereupon our Sauiour doubteth not to confesse himselfe, as hee is man, ignorant of Gods secret will, Mark. 13. 32. what inconuenience then is it to graunt, that Christ as man (the light of his diuine knowledge for a time withholding the beames thereof) being plunged in this agonie in his humane sense, did either presently not know or not remember his fathers secret determination concerning his drinking of this cup?

Thirdly, that Christ prayed at the first for some what not obtained, and that he desired and willed a diuers thing from his fathers will in that instant: the fathers doe thus testifie: *August. Hæc humana voluntas erat proprium aliquid & priuatum orans:* This was his humane will praying for some what proper and priuate, *in Psal. 32. part. 1. Hieronym. in Marc. 14. Hic offendit humanam voluntatem, qua propter infirmitatem carnis recusat passionem, & diuinam, qua prompta est perficere dispensationem:* Here hee sheweth an humane will, which because of the infirmitie of the flesh, refuseth the passion, and a diuine will, which is ready to performe the dispensation. *Origen tract. 35. in Matth. Hæc voluntas, quam dicit, non sicut ego volo, &c.* This will, which hee saith, not as I will, is not according to his diuine and impassible substance, but his humane, and infirme. *Chrysost. ex epistol. Agap. ad Constantin. Si in diuinitate dictum est, aliqua est contrarietas; si de carne, nullum est scandalum:* If it be said of his diuinitie, there is some contradiction; if of his flesh, (*not as I will, &c.*) there is no offence. These fathers tooke this as a pregnant place to proue two wils in Christ, his diuine and humane, against the Monothelite heretikes: if Christ had then two wils, hee had two desires, and

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one diuers from the other: it is euident then, that Christ in his humane desire wished somewhat diuersly from his diuine, yet without sinne, because he eftsoones submitted his humane *affection* to the diuine *disposition*.

Argum. 4. That Christ was exceedingly amazed and astonished being in his agonie, the scripture euidently testifieth: he began ἀδημονεῖν καὶ ἀθυμεῖν, to be astonished with feare, and to faint or fall away in his soule: for so the words signifie: what else could be the cause thereof, than the present sense, which he had in his soule, of the wrath and indignation of God against sinne? what else caused him to pray so earnestly, to sweate drops of blood, to be all amazed, to neede to be comforted of the Angell? the feare of bodily death could not doe it, Christ was not so weake and infirme: if it were not the sense of bodily daunger, it was the feeling of spirituall griefe and terror of soule, which procured it.

Answ. First, the expiation of the sinnes of the world before God, whose iustice was to be satisfied, and the contemplation and beholding of the same in the soule of Christ, caused this great heauines in Christ, and in such measure, *vt par ei nunquam fuerit*, that no man was euer like him, *Feuard. dent. p. 455. lin. 37.* So then the presence of Gods Maiestie, and the pitifull beholding of mans miserie, did thus astonish him.

Secondly, the constant continuing of the same prayer three seuerall times, with intermission of time, *Feuard. p. 486. conf. 8. lin. 11.* and admonition to his Disciples, prooueth he had not forgotten himselfe, *Feuard. p. 425. conf. 5. lin. 8.*

Thirdly, this religious astonishment, though it might for the present suspend all other thoughts in our Sauiour, yet is there no neede it should depriue him of vnderstanding, sense and memorie, *Feuard p. 425. conf. 6. lin. 4.*

Contra. First, 1. If the pietie of Christ, or presence of Gods Maiestie had thus astonished Christ, why was hee not at other times astonished, when he came into Gods presence? as Ioh. 17. 13. hee saith in his prayer, *now I come vnto thee*: and pietie there was alwaies in Christ: if the same cause, why not the same effect? 2. What cause had Christ to feare the Maiestie of God in himselfe, being the dearely beloued sonne of God, most iust, righteous, holie, but onely as our pledge and suretie, presenting himselfe in our person, to answere our debts? 3. And if commiseration of humane miserie, had striken into him this astonishment, it must 1. follow, that either he was without commiseration at other times, which were blasphemie to say; or that his commiseration wrought not in him this proper effect, namely astonishment, which were great rashnes to auouch. 2. When Christ wept ouer Ierusalem, foreseeing their vtter desolation for euer, why did not this commiseration then also astonish him? 3. And where Christ prayeth to be deliuered from that houre, Mark. 14. 35. will they tye Christs pietie and charitie, which they say was now the cause of this astonishment, onely to this houre? Wherefore these were not the causes now: for at other times they could not haue wanted the same effects.

Secondly, 1. his repeating of his prayer thrice, his admonishing of his Apostles, doe proue that he had not forgotten himselfe, we graunt; neither doe we so affirme, as it is vnderstood; that Christ had cleane forgotten and was as beside himselfe: he was not so amazed or astonished, but that he had some intermission and breathing time, and comforts mixed with his tentations: neither yet so confounded, as that hee either forgot pietie in his obedience to God, or charitie and pitie in warning his Disciples. 2. The repeating of his prayer thrice for the passing of the cup, his praying to be deliuered from that houre, the comforting of the Angell, doe shew a continuance of the agonie and astonishment: and the text saith, he was γενόμενος, *constitutus*, set or setled in an agonie, Luk. 22. 44. you must then either graunt no agonie or astonishment at all, or else continue it all the while of his prayer, as the Euangelists doe.

Thirdly, there is no neede, notwithstanding Christ were amazed and perplexed with the feare of Gods iudgements, and so cast into a most vehement agonie, that hee should be depriued of *sense, vnderstanding*, or *memorie*: 1. If his memorie in one point were not extinguished, but ouerruled or ouercast with the vehement sense of his present agonie, must he therefore be wrapped in a totall confusion or obliuion? 2. In the middest of these stormes hee had some comfortable blasts; and though death and hell were before his sense, yet he was quickened and reuiued in his spirit. 3. *Moses* and *Paul* rauished with zeale, wished they might be castawaies; yet at other times their saluation was manifestly reuealed vnto them: shall we conclude therefore that they wanted sense, vnderstanding, memorie? Thus (I trust) are those obiections answered.

Argum. 5. Lastly, I will produce the testimonie of the Fathers, that Christ was not thus astonished for feare of the death of the bodie: *Hilarie lib. 10. de Trinitat. Anne timuit mori, qui agmatis obuius prodit, &c. pungenda carnis meæ tristis est? cuius attactu caro post eadem sanatur*: Did hee feare to die, which came against the armed troupes? was he sorrowfull for the pricking of his flesh, who by his touch healed the eare that was smitten off? *Augustin. in Psal. 93. Non timebat mori Christus tertio die resurrecturus*: Christ did not feare to die, being to rise againe the third day. And againe,

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in Psal. 100. *Non verè ille timebat mortem, qui potestatem habuit ponendi animam, &c.* Hee could not verily feare death, that had power to lay downe his soule, and to take it vp againe.

Againe, *Hilarie* saith, *Tristis est anima mea vsque mortem, nunquid ait tristis est anima propter mortem? aliud est vsque, aliud propter id metuere:* My soule is heauie vnto death; doth hee say my soule is heauie for or because of death? it is one thing to feare till death, another because of death: 6.31. *in Matth.*

Ambrose: Non propter mortem, sed vsque ad mortem: quia eum conditio corporalis affectus, non formido mortis offendit: Not because of death, but vnto death, for the condition of his corporall or natural affection, not the feare of deadly affliction doth offend him, *in Luc.* 12. And our countrie man *Beda* vseth the very same words, *in* 14. *Mark.*

Some other of the Fathers affirme, that Christ *non timuit infernum chaos, & torrentes flammas*, that Christ feared not the infernall gulfe, or the scorching flames, *Hilarie lib.* 10. *de Trinit. Bellarm. resp. ad argum.* 7.

We willingly graunt that Christ feared not hell fire, nor euerlasting destruction: those authorities presse not vs, but rather helpe our cause: for if Christ neither feared temporall, nor euerlasting death, as these Fathers witnesse, and the Apostle saith he feared, Hebr. 5.7. what then remaineth, but that he feared the cup of Gods wrath mixed with death? And as *Cyprian* saith before cited, *Difficultatem extremi exitus:* The difficultie or hardnes of his last passage, that is, in respect of Gods wrath tempered with it.

This then is the summe: first, that seeing Christ was saued frō that he feared, yet was he not saued from death; secondly, so he should haue been weaker than many Martyrs, that were not afraid of the death of the bodie; thirdly, seeing he was so astonished being in his agonie, that hee prayed for the passing of the cuppe, which was neither passible, nor graunted; fourthly, and was so astonished with feare, that his soule fainted within, his bodie did sweate blood without; fiftly, seeing the Fathers confesse, that this agonie proceeded not from any feare of bodily suffrings: it followeth that the feare and feeling of his fathers wrath thus troubled his soule. And thus much of this second part or argument, of the cause of Christs agonie and astonishment in the garden.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER CHRIST SVFfered properly and immediatly in soule.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

The Papists.

THeir opinion is, that Christ did not suffer in soule properly, but either, *ex corporis coniunctione & condolentia:* his griefe proceeded from the coniunction and fellow-feeling with the bodie, *Feuardent. p.* 454. or else from the commiseration and compassion that he had for the sinnes of his mysticall bodie: for the which, *tanta totius cordis pœnitudine dolet, vt par ei nemo vnquam fuerit:* He did so grieue throughout in his heart, that no man was euer like vnto him, *p.* 455. So hee concludeth, *pœnas peccatis debitas in corpore portasse, &c. igitur non in anima*, that he bare the punishment due to our sins in his bodie, and not in his soule, *p.* 448. To the like purpose *Bellarm. Defixit mentem in omnia tormenta impendentia:* Hee fixed his soule to beholde all the torments readie at hand, *lib.* 4. *de Christi anima, cap.* 8. *resp. ad argum.* 3. otherwise hee confesseth no suffring in Christs soule. Let vs see their arguments. 16. Error.

Argum. Feuard. thus reasoneth: First, 1. Pet. 2.24. *He bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree.* Secondly, Saint *Paul* saith, *God forbid that I should reioyce but in the crosse of the Lord Iesus*, Galat. 6.14. And 1. Cor. 2.2. *I esteemed not to know any thing among you, saue Iesus Christ and him crucified:* but his soule was not *crucified.* Thirdly, our Sauiour said, *It is finished*, Iob. 19.30. *Ergo*, if all his suffrings were finished vpon the crosse, there remained nothing to be suffered afterward, *Feuard. p.* 448. 8. 450. 12. 1 2 3

Answ. First, this place maketh rather against them: for the Apostle saith directly, *he bare our sinnes:* the flesh properly is not said to beare sinne, but the soule. Secondly, neither can sinne be here taken for the punishment of sinne onely, but for sinne it selfe: for Saint *Peter* expoundeth the Hebrue (נשא *nasah*) vsed by the Prophet Isay. 53.4. as the Septuagint do, by the Greeke, ἀναφέρειν, which signifieth to beare: so *Matthew* saith ἔλαβε, *he tooke our sinnes and infirmities*, Matth 8.17. as the Hebrue word is vsed, 1. Sam. 17.34. and Saint *Iohn*, 1. Ioh 3.5. *vt tolleret*, ἄρῃ, *that he might take away sinnes*: in which sense also the Hebrue is taken Amos 6.10. Wherefore if Christ so bare our sins, as *Peter* saith, that he tooke them vpon him, as *Matthew* expoundeth, and tooke them also away, as Saint *Iohn* inferreth; then he did not onely beare the punishment, but the sinne also: for hee did not take away, nor take vpon him the punishment onely, but the sinne also. Thirdly, neither can the word ἁμαρτία, sinne, vsed by Saint *Peter*, signifie properly the punishment of sinne: for S. *Iohn* 1

saith, that ἁμαρτία, is ἀνομία: *that sin is transgression, &c.* 1. Ioh. 3. 4: and the Septuagint vse both these words, expounding the one by the other: Isay. 53. 5. *He was wounded for our sinnes, and broken for our iniquities:* sinne therefore doth no more betoken the paine of sinne, than transgression, ἀνομία. Fourthly, the Prophet saith, *He hath taken our infirmities or sinnes, and carried our sorrowes,* Isay. 53. 4. the punishment or effect of sinne, the second clause of the sentence expoundeth by sorrowes or diseases: so that vnlesse we will make a superfluous repetition of the same thing, in the first clause, sinne it selfe, the cause of these sorrowes, must be contained: and the phrase also giueth this sense: for our sinnes ἔλαβε, *he tooke,* our sorrowes and diseases, ἐβάστασεν, *bainlanit,* hee did carrie or beare, as Saint *Matthew* expoundeth. Fiftly, Saint *Peter* himselfe ioyneth together, *the obedience, and sprinkling of the blood of Iesus,* 1. Pet. 1. 2. the one in his soule, the other in his bodie: and therefore it is farre from the Apostle to exclude the merit of Christs soule by his obedience and suffring. Sixtly, it will be obiected, that the Apostle saith, *he bare our sinnes in his bodie vpon the tree, and with his stripes* μώλωπι, *we are healed:* which signifie the stripes of his bodie.

1 *Answ.* First, we graunt he bare our sinnes vpon the tree of the crosse, for that was the very altar where this sacrifice was offered, the field where this battell was fought, and the very theater where Christ was to play the redeemers part. 2. *and in his bodie,* for his soule was not out of 1. his bodie, when he suffered: 2. and the bodie was the instrument of the soule: 3. and the visible part of his suffrings, and therefore namely expressed: 4. or else by a Synecdoche in the bodie the other part is signified: as where the Scripture saith, *a bodie thou hast giuen me,* Hebr. 10. 5. he receiued not a bodie without a soule: 5. otherwise, when the Apostle speaketh distinctly hee expresseth both parts: Hebr. 10. 10. *By the which will wee are sanctified by the offring of the bodie of Iesus:* we are sanctified both by the obedient will of Christ in his soule, and by the offring of his bodie.

2. The worde signifieth properly, *liuorem,* the blewnes or scarres remaining after stripes and wounds, Prou. 20. 30. wherein a figure must be admitted; by one part the whole being expressed: otherwise if Christs scarres and stripes of his flesh only healed vs, then his blood and death should be excluded: And it is no vnusual thing in Scripture, to attribute wounds and stripes to the soule; as Luk. 2. 35. *A sword shall pierce thy soule:* And 1. Cor. 8. 12. τύπτοντες, *beating or wounding their conscience:* there is no reason to the contrarie, but that stripes may be taken in the same sense here. Thus Saint *Ambrose: Sicut mors eius mortem abstulit; liuor eius vulnera nostra sanauit. ita mœrorem eius, mœrorem nostrum abolenit:* As his death tooke away ours, his stripes healed our wounds: so his griefe abolished ours, *lib. 2. de fid. c. 3.*

2 Secondly, 1. By the crosse of Christ all Christs suffrings whatsoeuer are signified: 1. Cor. 1. 17. *lest the crosse of Christ should be of none effect:* all the effectuall suffrings of Christ are contained in the crosse. Saint *Peter* so vnderstandeth Christs suffrings, 1. Pet. 2. 21. *Christ suffered for vs, &c.* 23. *when he was reuiled, reuiled not againe, &c.* but all his reuilings were not incident to his crosse properly. 2. Yea in Christ crucified wee vnderstand not onely his bodie launced and whipped, but his soule also with sorrow pierced: and S. *Paul* must be so vnderstood: *whereby* (saith he) *the world is crucified vnto me, and I vnto the world:* Saint *Paul* was not crucified and mortified in bodie onely to the world, but in soule and affection: so was also Christ crucified. 3. Saint *Ambrose* affirmeth the same, *lib. 5. in Luc. Mens mea in Christo crucifixa est:* My minde and soule was crucified in Christ: He saith not by Christ onely, that is, by the power of his crosse our soule is crucified, but in Christs person our humane soule, which he tooke together with our bodie, was crucified: as the same *Ambrose* saith *in Luc. 22. Suscepit animam meam, suscepit corpus meum:* He tooke my soule, he tooke my bodie.

3 Thirdly, 1. This place vrgeth not vs: for we affirme not, that Christ suffered any thing in soule after his death, all his suffrings in soule and bodie were performed vpon the crosse. 2. It rather maketh against them: for seeing it was needfull that Christ should suffer for vs both in bodie and soule; as the Apostle saith, *Hee tooke away the handwriting of ordinances that was against vs, which was contrarie to vs, and fastened to the crosse,* Coloss. 2. 14. If hee fastened to the crosse whatsoeuer decree was against vs and contrarie to vs, then the decree against our soules, as well as against our bodies: then it will followe, that if Christ fastened not to his crosse this decree against our soules, which must be by suffring in his soule, then hee was to suffer somewhat afterward. Let the Frier take heede of his owne net, our foote is not entangled in it.

1 *Argum. 2.* First, Genes. 3. 15. *The seede of the woman shall breake thy head, but thou shalt bruse his heele: Feuardentius* expoundeth this, by that place Ioh. 1. 14. *The word was made flesh:* So his meaning seemeth to be this, that that part onely, which was of the seede of the woman, namely the flesh of Christ, was onely bruised of the Serpent, *Feuardent. p. 276. conf. 8. lin. 17. 21.*

2 Secondly, none of the Prophets did write so of Christ, that he should suffer the anger of God in his soule, *Feuard. p. 440 lin. 3. 469. conf. 1. lin. 8.* So he thinketh, that the Prophets and Patriarkes beleeued the bodily suffrings of Christ onely, and by that faith were saued.

3 Thirdly, Hebr. 10. 12. *With one offring hath he consecrated for euer them that are sanctified:* with one

one offring, that is, of his bodie and blood, not with two offrings, of bodie and soule, *Feuardent. p. 449. conf. 10. lin. 6.*

Answ. First, 1. Similitudes and allegories doe not conclude certainly in euery point, but wherein the comparison standeth: as here the similitude is taken from the nature of Serpents, that being trode vpon, doe bite and sting the foote againe of him that presseth them: this similitude holdeth strongly for the victorie of Sathan, to the which end this promise is made to our parents: but if we applie it to other purposes, we shall straine it too farre. 1

2. Some by Christs heele doe vnderstand his members; as *Origen hom. 4. in Psal. 36. Ille nostrum obseruat calcaneum, cui vtique nunquam oportet nos nudam præbere plantam, sed semper esse debemus calceati pedes in præparatione Euangelij:* He doth obserue our heele, to whom wee must not offer our selues barefoote, but shod with the preparation of the Gospell of peace, &c. This I take to be the proper meaning of Christs heele.

3. Saint *Hierome* also giueth a good exposition of this place: *Traditionis in Genes. tom. 4. Quia nostri gressus præpediuntur à colubro, dominus conteret Satanam sub pedibus:* Because our goings are hindred by the Serpent, the Lord shall tread downe Sathan vnder our feete, &c. By our footsteps may be vnderstood our sinnes and infirmities which giue aduantage to the tentation of Sathan: and this exposition is agreeable also to the Scripture, Psalm. 49. 5. Why should I feare, when, *iniquitas calcaneorum circundabit me*, the iniquitie of my heeles dooth compasse mee? And Iob. 13. 26. 27. he calleth *peccata adolescentiæ vestigia pedum*, the sinnes of his youth the print of his heeles. In the first place the same Hebrue word is vsed, is the next the same sense of the word is retained.

4. This place also may be expounded by the like, Psal. 89. 51. *Probro afficiunt vestigia:* They slaunder the footsteps of thine annoynted. Whereby is signified the continuall practise of Sathan and his ministers, to slaunder the profession of the Gospell of Christ, whereby Christ is knowne and discerned in the world, as by the prints of his feete: All these expositions are sound, and consonant to the Scripture, and not much varying the one from the other: whether of these we take, this place maketh nothing for the collection enforced.

5. Or if we doe applie it to Christs person, why may not his whole humanitie be here comprehended, which is the inferiour part to his Godhead: and so this place may be expounded by that Exod. 33. 23. where *Moses* saw *posteriora dei*, the backe parts of God: *Origen* saith, *Nouissima pars hominis pes:* A mans foote is his last or hinder part, *in* 17. *Matth.* and so expounded this of Christs being in the flesh, when *Moses* saw him in the Mount. And *Augustine* likewise: *Anteriora faciei maiestatis, qua deo æqualis, posteriora vocantur, quia apparuit in postremo seculo* His fore parts are his face of maiestie, wherein hee is equall to God: his backe parts, because hee appeared in the end of the world, *lib. 2. de Trinitat. c. 17.* So then by Christs heele or backparts, his whole humanitie may be implied, which is but as his backe and meaner parts, in respect of his diuine Maiestie. 1

6. And this sense the text it selfe giueth, and the force of the similitude: for like as that part is bitten of the Serpent, wherewith he is troden vpon; so Sathan assailed that part in Christ, wherewith he was ouercome: but he ouercame him not onely with his flesh, but with the iustice and innocencie of his soule: as Christ saith, Ioh. 14. 30. *The prince of this world commeth, and hath nought in me.* And as *Augustine* saith: *Christus iustitia vicit diabolum non potentia:* Christ ouercame the diuell with his iustice, not by his power, *lib. 13. de Trinitat. cap. 17.* And againe, *Nec Christus ei aliquid extorsit violento dominatu, sed superauit lege iustitiæ:* Neither did Christ wrest any thing from him by violent subduing, but ouercame him by the law of iustice, *de liber. arbit. lib. 3. cap. 10.* Wherefore as Christ by the innocencie of his soule, together with his holie and obedient flesh subdued Sathan: so he seeketh to bite and vexe him in the same. Whether this text then, be vnderstood of Christ or his members, or both, the argument propounded concludeth not.

Secondly, the Fathers of the law and the Prophets beleeued not onely the bodily death, but the spirituall and soule suffrings of Christ: as *Dauid* prophecying of Christ, saith, Psal. 18. 5. *The sorrowes of hell compassed me:* but the Prophet *Isay* of all other saith most plainly, Isay. 53. 10. *He shall make his soule an offring for sinne:* vers. 11. *He shall see of the trauell of his soule, and shall be satisfied:* and therefore as *Augustine* saith: *Eadem fides & in illis, qui nondum nomine, sed reipsa fuerunt Christiani, & in istis, qui non solum sunt, sed vocantur: Moses veteris testamenti minister, hæres noui:* The same faith was in them, which not yet in name, but indeede were Christians, and in these, which not only be, but are so called: *Moses* was a minister of the old testament, but an heire of the new, &c. *contr. 2. epistol. Pelag. 3. 1.* 2

Thirdly, 1. Christs sacrifice consisting both of bodie and soule is but one entire sacrifice: as in the holocaust and burnt offring of the lawe there were diuers parts of the sacrifice, yet but one whole sacrifice. 2. Where the Apostle exhorteth that wee should offer vp our bodies, θυσίαν ζῶσαν, a liuing sacrifice, Rom. 12. 1. doth he meane our bodie without a soule? yet hee calleth it a sacrifice, one, not many. 3. Whereas it is obiected, that the Apostle expoundeth himselfe, what one sacri- 3

fice he meaneth, namely of his bodie, Hebr. 10.10. vers. 19. *By the blood of Iesus wee may be bold to enter:* vers. 20. *He hath prepared a way by his flesh.* I answere: first, Christs bodie, flesh and blood, are not all one, his flesh and blood are diuers parts of his bodie: then as by these seuerall parts named by themselues we vnderstand the rest; by blood, his bodie and flesh; by flesh, his blood and bodie: so what letteth, but that in these speeches all other necessarie parts of his suffring may be comprehended? Secondly, the Apostle doth chiefly stand vpon the externall part of Christs suffring, as the offring of his bodie, shedding of his blood, because it did more fitly answere to the blood of buls and goates, and the sacrifice of beasts, whereof the Apostle entreateth, chap. 9.10. Thirdly, the Apostle also speaketh in more general termes: *Christ offered himselfe*, Heb. 9.24. *Christ was offered*, vers. 28. If Christ, if himselfe, how Christ without a soule, how himselfe without a soule? If Christ then being both God and man, is but one, as *Leo* saith, *Vnus atque idem in vtraque forma Christus:* One and the same Christ in both formes and natures, *epistol.* 81. so likewise his bodie and soule being parts of the same nature, doe make but one sacrifice.

Argum. 3. 1. Christ neither tasted nor suffered the death of the soule, as *Augustine* saith: *Quod anima fuit mortificatus Iesus, quis audeat dicere cum mors animæ non sit nisi peccatum?* Who dare say that Christ was mortified in his soule, seeing the death of the soule is nothing but sinne? therefore hee was mortified in the flesh, *quia secundum solam carnem mortuus*, because hee dyed onely in the flesh, *epist.* 99.

2. The Apostle saith, Ephes. 1.7. *Wee haue redemption through his blood, euen forgiuenes of sinnes.* *Feuard. p.* 442. *conf.* 15. *lin.* 11. 1. Ioh. 1.7. *The blood of Iesus Christ cleanseth vs from all sinne*, *Feuard. p.* 441. *conf.* 13. *lin.* 5. If the shedding of the blood of Christ be the iust and full redemption of all sinnes, what neede the suffrings of his soule?

3. Christ suffered wrongfully, 1. Pet. 3.18. *He suffered the iust for the vniust*, *Feuard.* 448. But hee could not suffer the death of the soule wrongfully, because it is Gods immediate action: *Ergo*, he dyed not in soule.

4. All Christs suffrings were voluntarie: Ioh. 10.18. *No man taketh away my life, I lay it down of my selfe*, *Feuard. p.* 448. *conf.* 10. *lin.* 8. but the death of the soule hee did not willingly suffer, because it is an alienation from God, which cannot be without sinne.

5. Christ is the *Lambe that was slaine*, Apocal. 5.9. *Feuard. p.* 441 *conf.* 13. *lin.* 15. but his soule was not killed of the Iewes: *Ergo*, he was not crucified in soule, neither dyed any other death, beside the death of the bodie, *Feuard. p.* 440. *lin.* 4.

6. The Prophet saith, *The same soule, that sinneth, shall dye*, Ezech. 18.20. God in spirituall punishments, doth not punish one for another, *Bellarm. lib.* 2. *de amiss. grat. c.* 8. *arg.* 5. therefore Christ was not spiritually punished in his soule for vs.

1 *Answ.* 1. We most willingly confesse, that Christ in *Augustines* sense dyed not the death of the soule: we approue that sentence of his: *Mors domini nostri non fuit anima, sed in carne sola: mors nostra non in carne sola, sed in anima; in anima propter peccatum, in carne propter pœnam peccati: ille vero, quia peccatum non fecit, nec habuit in anima, non est mortuus nisi in carne tantum: igitur simpla eius mors profuit duplæ nostræ, &c.* The death of our Lord was not in his soule, but in his flesh only; our death is not in our flesh onely, but in our soule also; in our soule because of sinne, in our flesh for the punishment of sinne: but he because he did no sinne, neither had any in his soule, died but in his flesh onely, therefore his simple death was profitable to our double death, &c. *serm.* 181. *c.* 5. 2. But it followeth not, Christ dyed not in soule, *Ergo*, he suffered not in soule; or he dyed not this death of the soule by sinne, or damnation; *Ergo*, hee cannot be said any waies to haue dyed in soule. But I will forbeare to vse this phrase of Christs dying in soule, though it may haue a tolerable sense, as I haue shewed before, *resp. ad* 10. *calumniam.* Yet *Augustine* seemeth to me not to denie a sense of death in Christs soule, his wordes are these: first, hauing affirmed *Christum non meruisse vt ignem gehennæ pateretur, quia hæc mors non conditionis est, sed criminis:* That Christ deserued not the fire of hell, for this death is criminall, not conditionall. He then propoundeth this obiection: *Sed iniquies, mortem dei filius & in anima non pertulit, nec in maiestate sensit:* You will say, the sonne of God, did he not suffer and feele death in the maiestie of his soule? *& sensit & pertulit, sed participatione morbi alieni non proprietate vulneris sui:* He did both feele and beare it, but by the partaking of anothers disease, not by the propertie of any wound or infirmitie in himselfe, *act. cum Felician. cap.* 18. But whatsoeuer *Augustines* iudgement was herein, we simply denie the argument: for it followeth not, Christ dyed not in soule: *Ergo*, he suffered not in soule.

2 Secondly, 1. I haue shewed before how the Apostle is to bee vnderstoode, when hee maketh mention of the blood of Christ: *part.* 1 *resp. ad argum.* 1. that by one part the rest are signified: for if blood be taken strictly, then Christs flesh is excluded, and beside his blood, there issued out also water: all these were necessarie parts of Christs passion: the Apostle then so speaketh of one part, as he doth not except or seclude the rest. 2. It is vsuall in Scripture, by the flesh, to comprehend the whole man not vnregenerate only, but regenerate: as *Ambrose* interpreteth these words

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of Christ, *The spirit is readie, the flesh is weake*, Matth. 26. 41. *Vt in spiritu diuum, in homine carnem significaret*: That he might signifie God in the spirit, man in the flesh. But for more full answere I referre the reader to their place before remembred.

Thirdly, 1. concerning the death of the soule, which could not without iniurie be inflicted vpon Christ, I answere, that this question is altogether impertinent, and the argument superfluous: for we affirme not any such death in the soule of Christ. 2. Yet we are bold to auouch, that God was the author of the afflictions of Christs soule: So the Prophet saith, Isay. 53. 4. *He was plagued and smitten of God*: Act. 2. 23. *He was deliuered vp by the determinate counsell of God*. Yea euen the terrors and inward afflictions of Gods children proceede from God: Iob. 6. 4. *The arrowes of God are in me, and the terrors of God fight against me*. 3. Yet God is not vniust, neither iniurious, in giuing vnto his sonne this cup to drinke: 1. Because Christ willingly offered himselfe to vndertake this punishment for vs: Psal. 40. 7. *Then said I, Lo I come, I desire to doe thy will O God*. 2. *Because God layd vpon him the iniquitie of vs all*, Isay. 53. 6. he being the suretie for our sinnes, was in iustice to satisfie the debt. 3. Because God herein intended the redemption of mankinde, not hauing a pleasure in the death of his sonne; as *Origen* well saith of the tentation of *Iob*: *Non delectabatur, vt Iob torqueretur, sed vt diabolus vinceretur*: God was not delighted, that *Iob* should be tormented, but that Sathan should be conquered, *in 2. cap. Iob*. 4. The same obiection may be made as well concerning Christs suffrings in bodie, for God also was the author of them: as where the Prophet saith, *Smite the shepheard* Zach. 13. 7. yet the Euangelist saith in Gods person, *I will smite the shepheard*, Matth. 26. 31. *Euangelista ausus est Prophetæ verba ad dei transferre personam*: The Euangelist is bold to referre the Prophets words to the person of God, *Hieron. ad Pammach*. Whether God were the author mediatly or immediatly in respect of iustice, there is no difference: the Iudge that decreeth vniust thinges, and the writer or executor thereof are alike guiltie of iniustice. Isay. 10. 1. *Woe vnto them that decree wicked things, and write grieuous things*: wherefore if the suffrings of Christ in soule were vniust in respect of Gods decree, his suffrings in bodie should be so likewise; which we confesse notwithstanding in respect of the malice of Sathan, and the Iewes which procured them, and the innocencie of Christs person to haue bin most wrongfull and iniurious. 3.

Fourthly, 1. such a death of the soule, as bringeth with it a separation from God, Christ neither suffered willingly, nor vnwillingly: we denie any such death of soule to haue beene in Christ; and therefore all the obiections, which presse this absurditie, are altogether impertinent. 2. Concerning such passions in soule as we affirme Christ to haue endured, we answere as of the suffrings in his bodie; that he did beare them both willingly: for though in his humane and naturall desire without sinne, he wished the passing of the cuppe, yet conforming his will vnto Gods, he was obedient and willing: this the Scripture testifieth, that Christ prayed, that the cuppe might passe, which sheweth a will in him to haue escaped it: but yet he submitteth himselfe to his Fathers pleasure: *not as I will, but as thou wilt*, Mat. 26. 39. Thus the fathers do note 2. wils to haue bin in Christ when he made this requeſt. *Athanas. Humana voluntas propter infirmitatem carnis refugiebat passionem, diuina prompta erat*: The humane wil for the infirmity of the flesh, refused the passion; the diuine wil was ready: *ex epist. Agathon. ad Const. Origen*: *Cepit trepidare, & mœstus esse non quia trepidauit deitas sed quia carnis infirmitatem ostendit*: He began to feare and to be sad, not that his deity trembled, but because he shewed *the infirmity of his flesh*: *lib. 3. in Iob*. The Latine fathers speake more distinctly: *Hieron. in 14. Marc. Hic ostendit humanam voluntatem quæ propter infirmitatem carnis recusat passionem, & diuinam, quæ prompta est perficere dispensationem*: Here he sheweth an humane will, which because of the infirmitie of the flesh refuseth the passion; and a diuine, which was ready to fulfil the dispensation. *Ambros. Scias vitæ in voluntate esse hominis, quia mortem timemus; passionem autem Christi in voluntate diuina, vt pateretur pro nobis*: Know, that life is in the desire and wil of man, because we feare death; but the passiõ of Christ in the diuine wil, that he might suffer for vs, *lib. 2. de fid. c. 3*. Thus we see, that although Christ would not die in his humane infirmity, yet he was most willing in his obedient conformity. *Peter Lombard. lib. 3. dist. 17. b.* vseth to this purpose a good distinction, which safely may be receiued: that as there is in man *duplex affectus, rationis & sensus*; a double affection, or desire of sense and reason; so likewise was there in Christ, *vt mentis affectu vellet mori*: He was willing to die in the affection of his mind, *sensualitatis affectu nollet*; but in his sensual affection vnwilling, as he sheweth out of *Augustine* in the example of *Peter*, to whom Christ said, Ioh 21. 18. *When thou art old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, & another shal gird thee & lead thee whither thou woldest not*: whereupon *Augustine* thus writeth, *Ad illam molestiam nolens venit, sed volens eam vicit*: *Peter* came vnwillingly to this trouble, but he willingly ouercame it: and this affection not to be willing to die, is so naturall, *vt eum Petro nec senectus abstulerit*: that it left not *Peter* in his old age: the like affection and desire he sheweth to haue beene in Christ, when he said, *Let this cup passe &c.* 4.

Fiftly, 1. the argument followeth not, the Iewes crucified not Christs soule: *Ergo*, he was not crucified, or did not suffer in soule: for the Iewes onely crucified the externall flesh of Christ: but God gaue him the cup of inward sorrow to drinke: and therefore he prayeth his Father, *that the*

cup might be passe, hee prayeth to him to remoue it, that had prepared it; Rom.8.32. God is said to haue giuen his owne sonne to death. *Augustine: Ille quanti te æstimat vide, qui proprio filio non pepercit:* See how much he esteemed thee, who spared not his owne Sonne: *in Psal.*143. 2. This argument may be retorted: for if Christ suffered no more, then the Iewes inflicted vpon him; then he suffered nothing at all in soule, neyther by *compassion* nor *commiseration*, which is on the contrary part affirmed.

6. Sixtly, 1. the Prophet speaketh not only of spirituall, but of corporal punishments, that this is the perpetuall rule of Gods iustice, that one shall not be punished any way for anothers sinnes: for so was the Prouerbe among the Iewes; *Our fathers haue eaten sowre grapes, and our teeth are set on edge*, Ezech.18.2. They complaine not of spirituall and eternall punishment, but of those outward calamities, which they suffered: so then, neyther are children punished temporally for their parents sinnes, vnlesse they continue in the same; for then God will visite the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children, to the third and fourth generation of them, *that hate him*, as it is in the second commaundement; if both the fathers and children be alike hateres of God: So *Augustine* saith, *Malorum imitatio facit, vt non solum sua, sed eorum quos imitantur, merita sortiantur:* The imitating of the euill, causeth that they onely are not partakers of their owne, but of their deserts, whom they imitate, *in Psal.*108. Good children of wicked parents, if they be chasticed, it is not a iudgement for their fathers sins, to punish them, but Gods louing correction to admonish them. In this sense then, Christ who needed not by any correction to be admonished, should not for vs, no not corporally haue beene punished.

2. *The same soule, that sinneth, shall die:* this rule also holdeth in Christ, for his soule died not: the suffrings of soule we admit, but not euerlasting death, whereof the Prophet speaketh: for that death of the soule which followeth the sinne of the soule, is euerlasting death; but Christs soule as it was free from sinne, so was it from euerlasting death, or the feare thereof. Thus *Augustine* also saith, *Mortibus corporum legimus quosdam mortuos propter non sua, sed aliena peccata, vbi magis est in dolore cordis plaga viuentium, quàm in resolutione carnis pœna morientium: animarum verò morte alius pro alio non plectitur:* By the death of the body we reade that some haue died, not for their owne but others sinnes, where it was rather a plague of the liuing in the griefe of their heart, then a punishment of the dead in the resolution of their flesh, but in the death of the soule none dieth for another: *cont. aduers. leg. lib.*1 *c.*16. This death of the soule then Christ died not.

3. The Prophet also saith, *The sonne shall not beare the iniquitie of his father, &c.* but euery man shall beare his owne iniquitie: who seeth not, that the Prophet maketh exception of the person of the Mediator: for the Scripture testifieth of him, *that he bare our iniquities*, Isay.53.11. therefore as he bare our sinnes in himselfe, so also in Gods iustice, he was to beare the punishment for the same: then according to this rule, *the same soule, that sinneth, shall dye:* so because man had sinned, the man Christ taking vpon him the sinnes of mankind, was punished: thus *Origen* writeth according to the Scriptures; *Christus sine dubio, pro peccato, quod ex nobis susceperat, quia peccata nostra portauit, carnem incontaminatam obtulit hostiam:* Christ without doubt, for sinne, which he tooke of vs, because he bare our sins, *did offer vp* in sacrifice his vndefiled flesh, *hom.*3. *in Leuitic.* As Christ then tooke vpon him our sinnes; so he also answered the punishment.

*Argum.*4. The Scripture sheweth euidently, that our soules are redeemed by Christes blood, 1.Iohn 1.7. *The blood of Christ cleanseth vs from all sinne: Fenard. p.*441 *conf.*13 *lin.*5. the soule is cleansed as well as the bodie, Heb.9.14. *The blood of Christ doth purge our conscience from dead works. Fenard. pag.*442. *conf.*16. *lin.*8. the conscience is a member of the soule, Reuel.5.9. *Thou hast redeemed vs by thy blood*, say the blessed Saints in heauen, whose bodies remaine in the earth: *Fenard. p.*441. *conf.*13 *lin.*13.

Answ. 1. All this being admitted, that our soules are redeemed by the blood of Christ, we feare not the consequent, as presently followeth to be shewed; the places of Scripture alleaged directly proue the same; sauing that the collection out of the last place may be excepted against: for those 24. Elders do not describe the state of the Saints in heauen, but represent the Church militant on earth, whose conuersation notwithstanding is in heauen: this first the text giueth, 1. vers. 10. *We shall raigne on the earth*, that is, by their faith and vertue, it is not said in heauen. 2. They are said to be Kings and Priests; which chap.1. vers.16. is expounded of the liuing. 3. And indeed the office of our spirituall Priesthood in presenting our prayers vnto God, is more fit and proper for this life, then for the next; in the which, though wee denie not, but the Saints doe sing continually to the prayse of God, as the Angels do, Apocal.4.8. and do make their requests vnto God, for the accomplishing of his Kingdome, Apocal.6:10. yet *the prayer of faith*, which is the speciall obiect of our spirituall Priesthood, Iam.5.15. is onely incident to this life, for the which faith onely serueth. 3. And indeed vers.9. they seeme to speake of the whole number of the elect, redeemed out of euery kinred and people.

The fathers also thus expound this place, of the faithfull in earth: *Beda* vpon the 10. vers. *Here*

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is more plainely declared, that the beaſtes and Elders are the Church, which is redeemed by the blood of Chriſt, and gathered of the nations. Alſo hee ſheweth in what heauen they are, ſaying: *They ſhall raigne vpon the earth.* *Haymo* ſaith, *all the Elect are Kings, becauſe they ſuffer not the tyrannie of vices to riſe vp in themſelues, &c. while they do this by the Law of vertue, they raigne as it were vpon the earth.*

2. We graunt, that our ſoules are redeemed by Chriſts blood, but it doth not follow, that they are not redeemed by his ſoule alſo, and therefore that his ſuffring in ſoule ſhould be ſuperfluous: for by the ſame reaſon you might conclude againſt Chriſts fleſh: our ſoules and bodies are redeemed by Chriſts blood: *Ergo*, not by his fleſh: and ye may as well inferre out of theſe and ſuch like places, that Chriſt had no ſoule, as that hee ſuffered not in ſoule, becauſe the Apoſtles ſtill make mention of blood.

3. *Cyrill* ſaith, *Carnem ſuam in redemptionis pretium pro omnium carne dependit; & animam ſuam ſimiliter pro omnium anima in redemptionis pretium conſtituit:* Chriſt yeelded his fleſh the price of redemption for our fleſh, and his ſoule the price of redemption for our ſoule, *de rect. fid. ad Theodoſ.* *Cyrill* ſpeaketh not of the ſympathie of the ſoule of Chriſt, with his ſuffring fleſh, for all this is but *caro pro carne*, his fleſh giuen for our fleſh: but he inſinuateth ſuch proper paſſions of the ſoule, as are the price of redemption for our ſoules: he ſpeaketh of the price of redemption in the ſoule, and in the fleſh, not of one and the ſame price, and therefore not of one kind of paſſions: though in effect and in the whole all is but one price and one redemption, yet there are diuers partes and members of it.

4. We ſay then, that though in the vſe and application of Chriſts ſacrifice we ſpeake diſtinctly, that Chriſts ſoule was giuen for our ſoule, his fleſh for our fleſh, as *Cyrill* ſaith; thereby to ſet forth the proportion of Gods iuſtice, which muſt be ſatisfied with the price both of body & ſoule, for the redemption of our body and ſoule: yet we do not ſeuer nor deuide the power and vertue of Chriſts ſacrifice, but aſcribe the redemption of our bodie and ſoule ioyntly and equally to the ſacrifice of his body and ſoule. After the like maner in the Euchariſt, by way of application we ſeuerally and diſtinctly receiue the ſignes and pledges of Chriſts body and blood, namely the conſecrated bread and wine, the vertue notwithſtanding whereof is one and the ſame.

THE CONTRARIE PART CONFIRMED, THAT Chriſt ſuffered properly and immediatly in his ſoule, and not by way of compaſſion or fellow-feeling onely with his body.

Argum. 1. THat which Chriſt aſſumed or tooke of our nature, he aſſumed to this end, to ſuffer in it, and by ſuffering to ſaue and redeeme it.

But he tooke the whole nature of man, both bodie and ſoule: *Ergo*, he ſuffered in both: it will be here anſwered, that his ſoule ſuffered but by way of compaſſion and ſympathie onely with his bodie, *Bellarm. Feuard. vbi ſupra.*

Contra. This naturall or compaſſionate ſuffering of Chriſts ſoule, did not properly make to that part of our redemption, which was to be performed by his ſoule, neither was abſolutely neceſſarie to make Chriſts fleſh to haue life and ſenſe: ſeeing the deitie of Chriſt could haue giuen life, ſenſe and feeling to the fleſh, in ſtead of a ſoule: as *Felicianus* the *Arrian* obiected to *Auguſtine*, *Cur filij Dei habitus inſtar animæ communis animam eius non animaret:* Why might not the habite or forme of the ſonne of God, inſteed of a common ſoule animate or quicken his fleſh? *Conf. Felician. c.* 13.

1. It is not here affirmed, that the compaſſion of the ſoule with the bodie, did not properly belong to our redemption ſimplie, but to that redemption which was to be wrought by the ſoule. 2. And by way of ſuppoſition, becauſe it was not abſolutely neceſſarie, that the ſoule ſhould be giuen to the bodie onely, to giue life and ſenſe vnto it: becauſe as the Arrians obiected Chriſts deitie, might haue been inſteede of the ſoule: and we ſee that there may be ſenſe and feeling in the bodie, without a reaſonable ſoule: the motion and feeling belongeth to the ſenſitiue faculties, not to the intellectuall part: And to this purpoſe *Iodocus Clitoueus*, a writer of their own vſeth this diſtinction, that, *Anima non fuit medium neceſſitatis, ſed congruitatis vnions deitatem cum carne:* That Chriſts ſoule was not a meane of neceſſitie, but only of congruitie, to vnite the Godhead with the fleſh: *Enarrat. in lib.* 3. *de fid. Damaſc. c.* 27.

I will further confirme and ratifie our argument thus. Firſt, the aſſumption is euident, and need no proofe, that Chriſt tooke vpon him both our ſoule and bodie: the Apoſtle ſaith, *In all things it became him to be like vnto vs*, Hebr. 2. 17. Therefore hee had both bodie and ſoule, as we haue. Secondly, concerning the propoſition, *That what Chriſt tooke of our nature, he tooke it, by ſuffering in it properly and immediatly to redeeme vs:* firſt, it is confirmed by Scripture, Hebr. 2. 14. *Chriſt tooke part with them, that he might deſtroy through death, him that had power of death, &c.* verſ. 15. That he might *deliuer all them, which for feare of death, were all their life time ſubiect to bondage:* hence I

reason thus, that, wherein Christ deliuered vs, he tooke part with vs in, he deliuered vs from feare of death: *Ergo* he did therein communicate with vs: but this feare was the proper and immediate passion of the soule, namely the feare of death, and Gods anger. And the text giueth this sense: *because the feare of this death kept them in bondage:* but the feare onely of the bodily death doth not bring vs into such bondage: so is it expounded in the song of *Zacharie*, Luk. 1. 74. *That we being deliuered from the hand of our enemies should serue him without feare:* this then is a spirituall feare, from the which Christ did deliuer vs: *Ergo*, he did communicate with vs in this feare: for the Apostle saith: *In that wherein he suffered and was tempted, he is able to succour vs*, vers. 18.

Obiect. If Christ could deliuer vs from nothing, which he suffered not, then he doth not deliuer vs from eternall death, which he suffered not.

Answ. First, the Apostle speaketh not of Christs diuine power, and absolute abilitie, but of the possibilitie of his condition: that wherein he suffered, he is able to succour vs by the feeling of our infirmities, wherewith he was touched, and by the experience which he had in his owne flesh: so the Apostle expoundeth himselfe, Hebr. 4. 5. *We haue not a priest that could not be touched with the feeling of our infirmities.* Secondly, though Christ neither felt nor feared euerlasting death, yet he both felt and feared his Fathers wrath and displeasure that causeth it: and so he was not altogether without experience and feeling of our infirmities in that behalfe.

Obiect. If the feare that Christ deliuered vs from, be the feare of euerlasting damnation: this Christ neuer feared: and therefore he did not therein partake with vs.

Answ. It is not necessarie, that Christ should partake with vs in euery part and speciall kinde of our infirmities, and in the same manner: but it was sufficient that he tasted of them in such measure and degree, as became the dignitie of his person, and condition, being without sinne: and so we affirme, that though he feared not euerlasting death actually in himselfe, yet he feared and felt the wrath of God, which striketh into vs a feare of damnation.

4. The Fathers also doe thus strengthen our argument. *August. Si totus homo periit, totus saluatore indiguit, totum ergo hominem suscepit Christus. &c. Si animam non suscepisset, anima pœna addicta sine spe venia maneret:* If whole man perished, whole man needed a Sauiour, Christ therefore tooke whole man, bodie and soule: if he had not taken our soule, the soule should remaine addict to punishment without hope of pardon, *cont. Felician. c.* 13. By the same reason Christ must also suffer properlie in soule, because not by taking our soule, but by satisfying in his soule, our soule is deliuered.

Damascene: πάντα τῶν παθῶν ἀνθρωπε, ἵνα πάντα ἁγιάσῃ: He tooke all our passions or affections, to sanctifie them all in himselfe: but Christ was sanctified and consecrate by his death, Hebr. 5. 9. and so doth hee consecrate vs, Hebr. 10. 14. *With one offering hath hee consecrated for euer them that are sanctified: Ergo*, by his offering of our soule, and suffering in our soule, hath he consecrated our soule and affections.

Ambrose: Suscepit affectum meum, vt emendaret: He tooke my affection to amend it, &c. Now he hath amended it, in that he consecrated it by his offring, Heb. 10. 14. *Illud pro nobis suscepit, quod in nobis amplius periclitabatur:* He hath taken that for vs, which was most in danger in vs, &c. that is, our soule, as he expoundeth it, *de incarnat. c.* 7. But Christ hath not otherwise deliuered vs from the danger, but by entring into the danger for vs: this danger of the soule is the feare and feeling of Gods wrath.

Argum. 2. Whereby *Adam*, and wee euer since do most properly commit sinne, by the same hath Christ the second *Adam* made satisfaction properly for our sinne: but *Adam* and wee all do properly commit sinne in our soules, our bodies being but the instruments: *Ergo*, Christ by and in his soule hath properly made satisfaction.

First, 1. the proposition is confirmed by the Apostle, Rom. 5. 19. *As by one mans disobediunce we are made sinners; so by the obedience of one, many shall be made righteous:* Christ then satisfied for vs by the same wherein *Adam* disobeyed, and Christ obeyed, that is in his soule: for obedience belongeth to the soule, as *Agathoepist. ad Constantin.* vpon these wordes, Philip. 2. 8. *He became obedient vnto death: Quis non intelligat obedientiam humanæ competere voluntati:* Who doth not vnderstand, that obedience doth belong to the humane will?

2. It will be obiected, that Christ satisfied onely by his bodily death, *Feuard. p.* 400. *lin.* 4. and therfore not by his soule, because it dieth not: I answere, al Christs painful labors in his life, his hunger, fasting, tentations, whippings, mockings, were meritorious and satisfactory for our sins: without death indeed the satisfactory sacrifice was not accomplished, but not only by the very passion of death; for then the rest should haue beene superfluous: and this to be the Apostles meaning, appeareth by the verse following, vers. 16. *Where a testament is, there must be the death, &c.* He sheweth onely a necessitie of death, that without death the Sacrifice was not perfected.

3. That there is a kind of dying in the soule, whē it is pierced with griefe, beside the death of the soule either by sin or damnation, is not disagreeing to the scriptures: *Simeon* saith to *Mary*, Luk. 2. vers.

verl.35. *A sword shall pierce through thy soule:* As then the bodie dieth, being pierced with a sword; so the soule may be said to die or languish, when it is pierced with griefe: what else is crucifying, but dying? but the soule is said to be crucified, as S. *Paul* saith, Galath.6.14. *I am crucified to the world,* when as yet his bodie was aliue: So *Ambrose* doubteth not to say, *Mens mea in Christo crucifixa est:* My soule was crucified in Christ, *lib.5.in Luc.* that is, Christ in his soule was crucified: which he calleth our soule, because he did assume our soule and bodie: as elsewhere he saith, *Mea est voluntas, quam suam dixit, mea est tristitia quam meo suscepit affectui:* it is my will, which he calleth his, it is my heauinesse, which he tooke with my affections, *lib.2.de fid.c.3.* Yet was it properly and personally Christs soule and will, but ours by communitie of nature.

Secondly, for the assumption, 1. howsoeuer it be admitted, that the bodie is the instrument of the soule, both in sinning and suffring, yet the conclusion is this; that because sinne is committed in the soule principally and properly, therefore the satisfaction must be made in the soule principally and properly: if this conclusion be graunted, we haue that we would: for the bodily paines affecting the soule, are not the proper passions of the soule; neither is the soule said to suffer properly, when the bodie suffreth, but by way of compassion and consent. 2. Wee graunt, that in the proper and immediate suffrings of the soule, the bodie also is affected: as when Christ was in his agonie in the garden, his whole bodie was therewith stirred and moued, that it did sweat drops of blood: but it is one thing, when the griefe beginneth immediatly in the soule, and so affecteth the bodie, and when the paine is first inflicted vpon the bodie, and so worketh vpon the soule: there the soule suffreth properly and principally, of which suffrings wee speake; here neither properly nor principally, which is not the thing in question. 3. It is not the reasonable soule, that is affected with the bodie; for it is a ground in Philosophie, (that the soule suffreth not) but onely the sensitiue part: but the griefe that we speake of, which is satisfactorie for sinne, must be in the very reasonable soule, where sinne taketh beginning: and so *Ambrose* saith, vpon these wordes of Christ, *My soule is heauie to death: Ad rationabilis assumptionem animæ, & naturæ humanæ refertur affectum:* It is referred to the assumption of the reasonable soule, and humane affection, *de incarnat.cap.7.*

2. We confesse, that in the transgression, both *Adams* soule and bodie did properly sinne: yet not in euery act of the transgression: for *Adam* committed some sins, wherein the bodie was no instrument; as namely pride and infidelitie: as *Ambrose* saith, *Non Euam cibus flexerat, non mandatorum destituerat oblivio, sed promissi honoris ambitio illecebrosa decepit:* The meat did not turne *Eue,* nor the obliuion of the commandements did not ouertake her, but the ambitious desire of the honor, which was promised, deceiued her, *lib.4.in Luc.* Againe, *Peccatum Adæ non longè est ab idolatria, prævaricatus est, se hominem putans Deum:* The sin of *Adam* was not far from Idolatrie, he sinned, thinking that he being man, might be God: *in 13.Luc.* These sins of pride and infidelitie began in the soule, and had their determination there: in the committing of those sinnes, the bodie had no part: indeed with the eare they heard the suggestion of Sathan, but it was no sinne, till in their mind they had consented vnto it: wherefore seeing the first sinne committed was properly and wholly in the soule, for the same the soule must properly and wholy satisfie.

3. Then, because sinne tooke beginning from *Adams* soule, the satisfaction also must begin in Christs soule: as *Ambrose* saith, *Incipio in Christo vincere, vnde in Adam victus sum:* I beginne there to win in Christ, where in *Adam* I was ouercome, *lib.4.in Luc.* then it followeth, that the suffrings of Christs soule tooke beginning there, and were not deriued by sympathie from the stripes and payne of the bodie. We infer then that therefore Christs soule had proper and immediate sufferings, beside those which proceeded from the sympathie with the bodie, and all Christs suffrings were satisfactorie: *Ergo* Christ, did satisfie for our sinnes properly and immediatly in his soule.

*Argum.*3. The Prophet *Isay* saith, 53.10. *Hee shall make his soule an offring for sinne: Ergo,* Christ offered his soule, as well as his bodie. Againe, our Sauiour himselfe saith, Matth.26.38. *My soule is very heauie vnto death.* It was not the bodily death, which Christ feared; for then he should haue beene weaker then many Martyrs: therefore his soule was verily and properly stricken with heauinesse, not with the beholding of the bodily torments onely.

Answ. 1. It will be here answered, that *soule* in the Prophet is taken for life; as Iohn 10.17. *I lay downe my soule,* that is life, *Feuard. p.440.conf.10.in.8.*

2. Christ, though he feare death, is not weaker then the Martyrs: for they are ridde from feare, because God doth minister greater comfort vnto them: *Sed Christus timuit, quia voluit,* Christ did not feare of necessitie, but willingly, for it was in his power not to haue feared: And so *Augustine* saith, *Eum non infirmitate, sed potestate turbatum:* That Christ was troubled not through infirmities but by his omnipotencie and power, *Bellarm resp.ad argum.3.lib.4.c.8.*

Contra. 1. That, *anima,* soule is taken for life we graunt; as Psal.16.10. *Thou wilt not leaue my soule, or life in graue, &c.* And Iob.33.22. *His soule draweth to the graue, and his life to the buriers,* yet by this place of the Prophet it must be vnderstood properly for soule: 1. as it may appeare by the

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next verſ. 11. *He ſhall ſee of the trauaile of his ſoule, and be ſatisfied.* Here the ſoule muſt bee vnderſtood properly, and the trauaile of Chriſts ſoule is not the inſtruction of his life, but his ſuffring vpon the croſſe, as it followeth, *he ſhall beare their iniquities*: this was the trauaile of his ſoule vpon the croſſe in bearing our iniquities. Againe, *he ſhall be ſatisfied*, which was fulfilled, when hee ſaid, *conſummatum eſt*, it is finiſhed; before his death he was not ſatisfied, but longed continually for the finiſhing of our redemption vpon the croſſe: Luk. 12. 50. *I muſt be baptized with a baptiſme, and how am I grieued, till it be ended?* 2. The Prophet alſo maketh immediate mention of Chriſts *knowledge*: verſ. 11. *By his knowledge he ſhall iuſtifie many*: but knowledge is an adiunct properly of the ſoule, not of the life. 3. Verſ. 11. *He ſhall beare their iniquities*: verſ. 12. *He bare the ſinnes of many*: this was not onely in his bodie, but in his ſoule; as Saint *Peter* expoundeth, *He himſelfe bare our ſinnes in his bodie*, 1. Pet. 2. 24. that is, his ſoule bare our ſinnes in his bodie.

2 1. Whereas *Auguſtine* ſaith, *He was not troubled through infirmitie*: hee expoundeth that place 11. 33. Chriſt ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτὸν, troubled or ſtirred himſelfe when hee came to *Lazarus* graue, that is, was moued in compaſſion toward him: there is great difference betweene that trouble of Chriſts ſoule, and this heauines; there he ſtirred himſelfe to compaſſion, here hee is ſtirred of God; that paſſion proceeded of his pitie and loue vnto man, this is cauſed by the feare and expectation of Gods wrath. There are paſſions ordinarie and naturall, as of loue, pitie, which the heart raiſeth, and againe alayeth; there are paſſions extraordinarie and beyond nature, as when God caſteth darts and terrors into the ſoule, Iob. 6. 4. and theſe the heart hath no power of: wherefore *Auguſtines* ſentence cannot be applied to this agonie of Chriſt.

2. Or it is true which *Auguſtine* ſaith, euen of theſe extraordinarie paſſions of Chriſt, which ſhewed not his humane infirmitie onely, but his diuine power, in that he ſubdued theſe paſſions of his humane nature, and ſubiected them to the will of his father: ſo that as *Damaſcene* well ſaith, *lib. 3. de fid. c. 20.* Our affections were in Chriſt two wayes, κατὰ φύσιν, ὑπὲρ φύσιν, according to nature, and aboue nature: naturally he deſired the cup might paſſe; ſupernaturally hee was contented with his fathers will.

3. That Chriſt procured this ſorrow to himſelfe, is to make him acceſſarie to his owne death: his humane will was to haue the cup paſſe; how then is it true, *timuit, quia voluit*, he feared, becauſe he was willing to feare? he feared, becauſe it was proper to our humane nature to feare, which he tooke, as *Auguſtine* himſelfe ſaith: *Ex quo homo, ex hoc & infirmus; ex quo infirmus, ex hoc & oranſ*: As he was man, he was weake; as he was weake, he prayed, *Pſal. 29. enarrat. 2.* And if he had not feared and been perplexed indeede, what neede the Angell to haue been ſent to comfort him? Luk. 22. 43. Wherefore as *Ambroſe* well ſaith: *Scias vitam eſſe in voluntate hominis, quia timebat pati, paſſionem in voluntate diuina, &c.* Know that life was in his humane deſire, becauſe hee feared to ſuffer, but death in the heauenly will to ſuffer for vs, *lib. 2. de fid. c. 3.* Wherefore notwithſtanding any thing alleaged by *Bellarmine*, there yet appeareth no difference betweene the feare of Chriſt and his members, nor any prerogatiue in the head aboue the members, if Chriſt had feared onelie the death of the bodie. See before for a more full anſwere, *part. 2. argum. 2. replicat. ad Bellar.*

Argum. 4. The Apoſtle ſaith, Philip. 2. 7. *Chriſtus* ἐκένωσεν, *exinaniuit*, Chriſt did emptie or euacuate himſelfe: And as *Tertullian* expoundeth *contra Marcion. lib. 5. exhauſit*, he drew out himſelfe, or was exhauſt: which is agreeable to the propheſie of *Daniel. 9. 26. Meſſias ſhall haue nothing.* Hence wee conclude, that if Chriſt were exhauſt vpon the croſſe, if nothing was left him, that hee ſuffred in body and ſoule, that there was no part within or without free from the croſſe, but all was emptied and powred out for our redemption.

Againe, Heb. 9. 14. *Chriſt through the eternall ſpirit offered himſelfe to God*: whatſoeuer was in Chriſt, did either offer, or was offered, his eternall ſpirit onely did offer: *Ergo*, his whole humane nature both bodie and ſoule was offered. Thus *Origen* witneſſeth in theſe wordes, *Vide quomodo verus pontifex Ieſus Chriſtus adſumpto batillo carnis humanæ, & ſuppoſito igni altarii, anima ſine dubio illa magnifica, cum qua natus eſt in carne, adiecto etiam incenſo, qui eſt ſpiritus immaculatus, medius inter viuos & mortuos ſtetit, &c.* See how our true prieſt Ieſus Chriſt taking the cenſor of his humane fleſh, putting to the fire of the altar, that is, his magnificent ſoule, wherewith he was borne in the fleſh, and adding incenſe, that is, an immaculate ſpirit, ſtoode in the middeſt betweene the liuing and the dead, *Hom. 9. in Leuitic.* He maketh Chriſts ſoule a part of the ſacrifice.

Argum. 5. Chriſts loue vnto man in ſuffring for him, was in higheſt degree and greateſt meaſure, that could be: as the Lord ſaith, Iſay. 5. 4. *What could I haue done any more for my vineyard that I haue not done vnto it?* But if Chriſt had giuen his bodie onely, and not his ſoule for vs, hee had not done for vs all hee could, and ſo his loue ſhould greatly be empayred, and diminiſhed: *Ergo*, hee gaue his ſoule alſo together with his bodie to be the full price of our redemption.

1. It will be anſwered, that Chriſt ſaith, Iohn. 15. 13. *Greater loue hath no man than this, when one layeth downe his life for his friends, Bellarm. lib. 1. de baptiſ. cap. 6.* And the Apoſtle ſaith, *God commended his loue toward vs, that when we were ſinners, Chriſt dyed for vs*, Rom. 5. 7. *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Chriſt. anima,*

ma,cap.8.argum.1. Chriſts loue is ſet forth in his death: A greater loue there cannot be than this: *Ergo,* his ſoule ſuffered not, for that ſhould haue been a greater loue.

2. Chriſt was the more beloued of God, for giuing his life for vs: Ioh.10. *Therefore doth my father loue me, Fenard.p.470.conf.3.* Then conſequently hee did not loſe his fathers loue, in giuing his ſoule for vs, and bearing his fathers wrath.

Contra. 1. If that ſentence of Chriſt be applied ſtrictly to himſelfe, this ſenſe cannot hold: for 1
firſt Chriſt dyed for his enemies, Rom.5.10. therefore this is not ſimply the greateſt loue for a man to dye for his friends: it is a greater loue for one to dye for his enemies. Againe, *Moſes* wiſhed to be raſed out of the booke of life, Exod.34. *Paul* to be accurſed for the Iewes ſake, Rom.9.3. As *Hierome* ſaith, *Pro charitate Chriſti nolit habere Chriſtum:* For the loue of Chriſt hee will not haue Chriſt, *Algaſ.qu.9.* This was a greater loue, than to lay downe the bodily life onely: but a greater loue could not be in the members than in Chriſt.

2. The text then muſt firſt be vnderſtood of that kinde of loue, which was knowne and practiſed among men: ſome man might giue his life for his friend; but it was not to be found among men, for one to dye for his enemies: nay the Apoſtle ſaith, *doubtleſſe one will ſcarce dye for a righteous man,* Rom.5.7. much leſſe for a wicked man: but this loue Chriſt hath farre exceeded, in that hee dyed for vs being ſinners, and his enemies, as the Apoſtle there ſheweth. Secondly, by *anima,* ψυχὴ, life or ſoule in this place, if it be applied to Chriſt, it is not neceſſarie to vnderſtand the bodily life onely, but the whole ſtate of man: as where *Matthew* ſaith, chap.16.26. *What would it profit a man to winne the whole world, and loſe (animam) his ſoule or life?* Saint *Luke* hath, *If hee loſe himſelfe,* Luk.9.25. ſo that a mans ſoule or life, is taken for himſelfe, that is the whole man. So, where Saint *Iohn* ſaith, that *Chriſt layd downe his life for vs,* 1.Ioh.3.16. Saint *Paul* writeth thus, *he hath loued vs, and giuen himſelfe for vs,* Epheſ.5.2. Thirdly, what reaſon is there, that *anima,* properly ſignifying the ſoule, ſhould be taken for the bodie? which interpretation of the word, *Bellarmine* refuſeth and condemneth as coacted: Act.2.27. *Thou ſhalt not leaue my ſoule in graue, Bellarm.lib.4.de Chriſt. anim.c.12.loc.4.*

3. 1. S. *Paul* ſaith, that Gods loue is commended herein, that hee dyed for vs, that is, as Saint *Iohn* ſaith, *Herein wee haue perceiued loue, that Chriſt dyed for vs,* 1.Ioh.3.16. And chap.4.9. *In this loue appeared, or was made manifeſt Gods loue toward vs:* So that indeede by Chriſts bodily death, being conſpicuous and viſible (his other ſuffrings being inuiſible and not apparant) the loue of Chriſt was made manifeſt. 2. By the death of Chriſt all other concurrents and adiuncts of his croſſe are ſignified, his ſtripes, rebukes, blood, ſorrow, griefe, and whatſoeuer concurred either in his bodie or ſoule appertaining to, or accompanying his death: for by all theſe the loue of Chriſt was expreſſed.

Secondly, 1. neither doe we affirme, that Chriſt loſt his fathers loue or fauour, by entring into 2
that agonie: *Iob,* when hee complained in the anguiſh of his ſoule, that God was his enemie, Iob.30.21. and *Dauid* when he layd, *I am caſt out of thy ſight,* Pſal.31.22. had they then loſt Gods fauour? 2. Nay, this trauaile and labour of Chriſts ſoule was moſt acceptable vnto God, Iſay.53. verſ.12. *Therefore I will giue him a portion with the great, becauſe hee hath powred out his ſoule vnto death, &c. and bare the ſinnes of many.*

Thirdly, we ſee then notwithſtanding theſe doubts and obiections, that the force of this argument remaineth inuiolable; that the ſuffring of Chriſt in ſoule together with his body, doth more fully and amply commend and ſet forth vnto vs the loue of God, ſeeing now, as the Prophet ſaith, *he could not doe any thing more for vs, which he had not done:* So I conclude with that ſaying of *Ambroſe, in Luc.c.22. Minus contulerat, ſi meum non ſuſcepiſſet affectum, debuit dolorem ſuſcipere, vt triſtitiam vinceret, non excluderet:* He had beſtowed but little, if he had not taken mine affection: hee ought to take my ſorrow, to ouercome my heauines, and not to exclude it:

Beſide the teſtimonies of the Fathers, diſperſedly alleaged before in our ſeuerall arguments and anſweres, theſe alſo doe witneſſe with vs for the ſuffring of Chriſt both in ſoule and bodie.

Ambroſe: Chriſtus ex nobis ſuſcepit, quod proprium offerret pro nobis, vt nos redimeret: Chriſt hath taken of vs, which he ſhould offer as proper for vs, to redeeme vs, *de incarnat.cap.6.* Againe, *Quicquid induit, obtulit:* Whatſoeuer Chriſt tooke of vs, he offered, *de incarnat.c.6. Ergo,* he offered bodie and ſoule, for he tooke both.

Concil.Hiſpalenſ.2.c.13. vpon theſe words, *My ſoule is heauie: Anima paſſionibus obnoxia, diuinitas libera:* His ſoule was ſubiect to paſſions, his diuinitie was free, &c. If nothing were free but his diuine nature, then his ſoule was ſubiect to the proper and immediate paſſions thereof.

Hierome: Perſpicuum eſt, ſicut corpus flagellatum, ita animã verè doluiſſe, ne ex parte veritas ex parte mendacium credatur in Chriſto: It is euident, that as his bodie was whipped, ſo his ſoule was verily and truly grieued, leſt ſome part of Chriſts ſuffering ſhould be true, ſome part falſe, *in 53.cap.Iſaiæ. Ergo,* Chriſts ſoule as properly and truly ſuffered as his bodie: the ſoule had her proper griefe, as the bodie had whipping: the whipping then of the bodie was not the proper griefe of the ſoule.

Fulgentius:

Fulgentius: Totus homo semetipsum tradidit, & totus homo semetipsum obtulit: Whole Christ gaue himselfe, and whole Christ offered himselfe: *ad Thrasimund. lib. 3. Ergo,* he offered his soule, not onely to suffer by way of compassion with his bodie, as it may be answered: but he offered it as a sacrifice, and suffered all passions whatsoeuer incident to the soule, as the same author expoundeth himselfe: *Quia totum hominem Deus ille suscepit, ideo totius hominis in se passiones in veritate monstrauit, & animam quidem rationalem habens quicquid fuit infirmitatis animæ sine peccato suscepit, & pertulit, &c.* Because this God tooke whole man, therefore he shewed in truth in himselfe, the passions of whole man; and hauing a reasonable soule, what infirmitie soeuer of the soule without sinne, he tooke and bare: *ad Thrasimund. lib. 3.* If Christ then did take and beare all the passions of the soule without sinne, then the proper and immediate griefe and anguish thereof, and not the compassion onely with the bodie.

To these places may be added the testimonies of the Fathers before alleaged: as of *Ambrose. respons. ad 1. argum. part. 1. art. 6. & part. 2.* Of *Augustine, argum. 1 art. 4.* Of *Damascene* and *Ambrose* againe *ibid.* Of *Origene argum. 4.*

Now then to conclude: 1. If whatsoeuer Christ tooke of our nature, he tooke to this end, to suffer in it properly and absolutely. *Argum. 1.* If wherein *Adam* properly sinned, Christ properly must make satisfaction, *Argum. 2.* if Christ was heauie in soule, verily and in deed, and gaue his soule for our sinne, *Argum. 3.* if he exinanited and emptied himselfe, and offered his whole humanitie, *Argum. 4.* if Christs loue should be thereby obscured and empayred, if he with held to giue his soule for vs; *Argum. 5.* many of the Fathers also affirming the same, that Christ was crucified in his soule, that hee gaue his soule a price of redemption for our soule: who can then doubt of this, but that Christ *verily, properly, immediately,* suffered in his soule in all the proper passions thereof, as he endured paines and torments in his flesh?

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER CHRIST SVFfered in his soule vpon the Crosse the torments of Hell.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

Art. 17. THe Rhemists call it blasphemie, that Christ in his soule suffered the paines of hell vpon the Crosse: *annot. in 2. act. sect. 11. Bellarmine* also denieth: *Christum pertulisse dolores inferni:* That Christ did beare the sorrowes of hell, *lib. 4. de Christi anima. c. 8. resp. ad argum. 5. Fenardentius* agreeth with them, *Christo non fuisse certamen cum inferni doloribus:* That Christ in his death, had no combate with the sorrowes of hell. p 448. 8.

Obiect. 1. The bodilie sufferings and passions of Christ, were sufficiently meritorious, and efficiently satisfactorie for our redemption; therefore such infernall sufferings are superfluous: *Fenardentius* to this effect, p. 448. 8. and to this purpose they doe amplifie Christs bodilie paines in this manner: he had a most pure, tender, delicate bodie, and a most quicke, liuely, and feeling soule, so that the hurts and wounds, which seeme but light vnto vs, were most grieuous and sharpe to him: to adde then any other sufferings to these, were to diminish and empayre the glorie of them, *Fenard. p. 453.*

Answ. 1. We doe also magnifie and extoll the holy and painfull sufferings of Christ as much as they, and doe glorie in them; and with the Apostle doe reioyce in the crosse of Christ, Galath. 6. 16. And we meditate vpon the grieuous torments, which Christ endured for vs in his flesh: as *Augustine* doth thus excellently describe them: *Intuere dulcem natum toto corpore extensum, cerna manus innoxias pio manantes sanguine, candet nudatum pectus, rubet cruentum latus, tensa arent viscera, decora languent lumina, regia pallent ora, procera rigent brachia, crura pendent marmorea, &c.* Behold the sweete sonne strayned in his whole bodie, see his holy hands streaming with blood, his white naked breast appeareth, his side is red with blood, his bowels are pent with straining, his beautifull eyes doe languish, his princely countenance waxeth pale, his comely armes are stiffe, his marble legges hang downe: *lib. medit. c. 6.*

2. As we doe beholde the manner of his suffering, and the greatnes of his paine, so we acknowledge the price, merite, and efficacie thereof: we doubt not to say with S. *Ambrose: Christus ille Naboth, qui vineam sanguine defendit:* Christ is that *Naboth*, that defended his vineyard with his blood: *Adhort. ad virgines:* with S. *Hierome, Flammea illa romphea custos paradisi in Christi sanguine extincta est:* That fierie blade, the keeper of Paradise, is extinct in Christs blood, *Epitaph. Nepotian.* with *Bernard: Christus perfosso latere, tanquam conscisso sacco precium effudit redemptionis:* Christs side being opened, as out of a treasure bagge, issued the price of our redemption: but this extolling of the sufferings of his bodie, is no derogation to the holy conflicts of his soule: neither doth the argument follow: Christ suffered in bodie, *Ergo,* his soule suffering s were superfluous.

3. We graunt, that the least paine of Christs bodie, and the least droppe of blood had been sufficient,

ſufficient, in reſpect of Gods power and the dignitie of Chriſts perſon, to haue redeemed vs: as it is in your owne law confeſſed: *extrau. communi. lib. 5. tit. 9. c. 2. Clement. 6. Guttæ ſanguinis vnitæ propter vnionem ad verbum pro redemptione totius humani generis ſufficiſſet:* The leaſt drop of Chriſts blood for the vnion of Chriſt to the word, had ſufficed for the redemption of whole mankind, &c. As then the leaſt drop of blood had been ſufficient, if God had ſo purpoſed, yet was not therefore the great ſtreame of blood, that came from him ſuperfluous: ſo neither doeth the ſhedding of his blood with other paines in his fleſh, being in themſelues of great ſufficiencie, exclude the neceſſitie of his ſorrowes in ſoule: for it pleaſed God by the death of his Sonne, not to ſhew ſo much his abſolute power whereby he could haue ſaued vs without his death, but his vnſpeakeable loue in giuing his Sonne for vs, Rom. 8. 32. and the fulnes of our redemption, in that Chriſt left nothing vndone, that could be done for vs, Iſay. 5. 4. So that Chriſt now hauing paied the full price of our redemption, both in his bodie and ſoule, we may boldly ſay with the Prophet: *Apud eum copioſa redemptio:* With him is plentie of redemption, or a plentifull redemption, Pſalm. 130. 7.

Obiect. 2. In hell theſe things are to be conſidered: firſt, inward and outward darkenes: ſecondly, lake of fire and brimſtone: thirdly, fire vnquenchable. *Fenard. 444. conf. 2.* Fourthly, the worme and pricke of conſcience: fiftly, malediction: ſixtly, deſperation: *Fenard. 446. conf. 5.* Seuenthly, ſecond death and deſtruction of bodie and ſoule for euer: *Fenard p. 453. lin. 3.* But Chriſt felt none of theſe puniſhments: *Ergo* he ſuffered not the torments of hell.

Anſw. 1. In this queſtion of Chriſts ſuffering hell ſorrowes, that wee may walke ſafely and without offence, this firſt muſt be premiſed, that theſe ſufferings and ſorrowes be no otherwiſe attributed to Chriſt, then as they may ſtand with the dignitie and worthines of his perſon, the holines of his nature, and the performance of the office and worke of our redemption: firſt then for the ſoule of Chriſt to ſuffer in the locall place of hell, to remaine in the darkenes thereof, and to be tormented with ỹ materiall flames there, & eternally to be damned, was not for the dignitie of his perſon, to whom for his excellencie and worthines, both the place, manner and time of thoſe torments were diſpenſed with. Secondly, finall reiection, and deſperation, with the worme of conſcience for his own ſinne, agreeth not with the holines of his nature, who was the immaculate lambe, and therefore we doe not aſcribe them to him. Thirdly, deſtruction of bodie and ſoule, ſecond death, could not fall vpon Chriſt; for this were to haue deſtroyed the worke of our redemption, if he had been ſubiect to deſtruction.

2. For the worme of conſcience, though Chriſt in himſelfe being moſt holy and harmeleſſe, was free from it, yet as bearing our perſon, and taking vpon him our iniquities, he was not exempted, no not from our griefe and ſorrow for ſinne: ſo the Prophet ſaith, he was a man full of ſorrowes, Iſay 53. 3. *And he was ſmitten and plagued of God*, verſ. 4. *Hierome* alſo doubteth not to applie theſe words, Pſalm. 59. 5. *My faults are not hid from thee*, vnto Chriſt: *Hæc ex perſona Chriſti dicitur, ſi ille, qui peccatum non fecit, pro nobis doluit, & peccata noſtra portauit, quanto magis nos debemus vitia noſtra confiteri:* This is ſpoken in the perſon of Chriſt, if he that did no ſinne, ſorrowed for vs, and bare our ſinnes, how much more ought we to confeſſe our ſinnes, &c. he affirmeth Chriſt to haue ſorrowed for our ſinnes, as confeſſing them to be his owne.

3. Firſt, reiection with deſperation, and finall malediction could not be faſtened vpon Chriſts ſoule: yet the Scripture teſtifieth, that he was forſaken of God for the preſent in his ſenſe and feeling, ſo complaining vpon the croſſe, and that he was made a curſe for vs, Galath. 3. 13. Chriſt then was, as the Scripture ſaith, forſaken, that is, reiected of God and accurſed. Secondly, but here diuers neceſſarie conſiderations muſt be had: firſt, that Chriſt in the holines of his owne nature was neuer accurſed, or reiected, but alwaies beloued of God: but as now our perſon was appropriated to him, and as he ſtood a pledge and ſuretie for vs to pay our debt, ſo he was for the time reiected and accurſed. And to this purpoſe *Damaſcene* hath a good diſtinction, which I haue before remembred: that there are *δύο ἰδιώματα*, two kindes of appropriations in Chriſt, *φυσικὸν καὶ οὐσιῶδες*, one naturall and ſubſtantiall, the other *ἐπίκτητον καὶ γνωμικὸν*, perſonall or habituall: to the firſt belong all the properties of the humane nature, which Chriſt verilie tooke with his fleſh: of the ſecond ſort are thoſe, which are attributed to Chriſt, as bearing our perſon, in which reſpect he aſſumed to himſelfe our dereliction and malediction. *Damaſcen. lib. 3. de fid. c. 25.* Secondly, as *Auguſt* hath a diſtinction of election: that ſome are elected, *Non de præſcientia, ſed de præſenti iuſtitia.* Not of Gods preſcience, but of their preſent iuſtice, *Ambr. in 8. ad Rom.* So likewiſe we may ſay of Chriſts reiection, that he was neuer reiected in Gods preſcience, but according to the preſent ſenſe and feeling which was in his ſoule. Thirdly, thus then the contrarie arguments may be anſwered: firſt that this reiection of Chriſt, neither enforceth *deſperation*, ſeeing Chriſt was ſupported by the innocencie of his owne ſoule, nor yet a *ſeparation* from the vnitie of the Godhead, ſeeing this reiection was not finall: ſo that as Chriſts bodie was without life in the graue, yet not hypoſtatically ſeparated from the Godhead, ſo his ſoule was a while without feeling of Gods fauour; yet ſtill vnited in perſon to the Godhead. Secondly, Chriſt thus being made a curſe for vs, was not therefore

made vnable to blesse vs; but the Apostle inferreth a contrarie conclusion, that *Christ hath redeemed vs from the curse of the law, being made a curse for vs*: because he was accursed for vs, we are blessed thorough him.

4. Concerning hell flames: first, in that they are not eternall in Christ, the worthines of his person obtained: for his temporall enduring of hell sorrowes was as effectuall and meritorious, as if they had been perpetuall.

Obiect. And why I pray you may not the dignitie of his person dispense with the sufferings of the soule altogether, and that his bodily torments onely might be accepted? *Feuard. p. 450. con. 13. lin. 7.*

Answ. First, the dignitie of his person did beare him out in that, which was not meete for him to suffer, nor fit in respect of our redemption: for if he should haue suffered eternally, our redemption could not haue been accomplished: but for him to suffer in soule as he did in bodie, was neither derogatory to his person, nor preiudiciall to his worke. Secondly, by the same reason by the dignitie of his person he should be exempted also from his bodily sufferings, and so suffer nothing at all: so then the dignitie of his person was so farre forth dispensed with, as yet Gods iustice and equitie in the full redemption of man must be satisfied.

Secondly, 1. For hell flames, though we deny not, but they shall be materiall, though after a spirituall manner to worke vpon the immortall and neuer dying bodies of the damned; yet it must needs be confessed, that all the flames and fire of hell are not corporall and materiall: As that fire was not wherein the rich man was tormented, as *Augustine* saith, to this effect, *Talis flamma fuit, qualis aqua guttula, &c.* It was such a flame, as the drop of water, as the finger, &c. *lib. 21. de ciuitat. c. 10.* 2. That Christ felt in his soule the fierie flames of Gods wrath, which may be called the flames of hell, it need not seeme strange, seeing the Scripture resembleth the wrath of God vnto fire, Psalm. 89. vers. 46. *Shall thy wrath burne like fire?* and as Christ baptized with the spirite and fire, Matth. 3. 12. so it was fit he himselfe should be so baptized first, Luke 12. 50. S. *Ambrose* to this purpose applieth that place, Isay 6. 7. where the prophets lippes were purged with a coale from the altar: *Christus velut carbo secundum carnem exussit peccata nostra*: Christ as a coale in his flesh burned vp our sinnes. And againe, *Sicut habes in Zacharia, nonne hic titio eistius ab igni, & ille erat Iesus indutus vestimento sordido?* As you haue in *Zacharie*, is not this a firebrand taken out of the fire? and this was Iesus clothed with filthie rayment, *Lib. 1. de spirit. c. 9.* Thus Christ was first as a brand himselfe, touched or scorched with the fire of his Fathers wrath, and then as the coale from the altar he also purgeth vs.

Thus then we feare not to confesse with the Scriptures and fathers, that Christ bearing our sinne in himselfe vpon the crosse, did feele himselfe during that combate, as reiected and forsaken of God, and accursed for vs, and the flames of his Fathers wrath burning within him: so that to the honor of Christs passion wee confesse, that our blessed redeemer refused no part of our punishment, but endured the very paines of hell so farre, as they tended not neither to the *derogation* of his person, *depranation* of his nature, *destruction* of his office.

Thus also is *Feuardentius* further answered, who maketh these foure the punishments of the reprobate. 1. They shall for euer want the vision or sight of God. 2. They shall euer bee perplexed with the horror of a guiltie conscience. 3. They are depriued of all the gifts of the spirite. 4. In stead of vertues, they are defiled with wickednesse, pag. 446. Of these foure, the first is a dishonor to Christs glorious person, wherein he is perpetually vnited to God, and so cannot euer want the vision of God: the second should be an hinderance to the worke of our redemption: for he could not saue vs from our sinnes, if he were guiltie of his owne: the two last cannot be committed nor had without sinne, and therefore are a disgrace to the holinesse of his nature: wherefore none of these punishments, without blasphemie, can bee layd vpon Christ.

Obiect. 1. First, none in this life are in the true paines of hell: *Ergo*, neither Christ, *Bellarm. lib. 4. cap. 8. argum. 3.*

2. Hell paines are not meritorious, but Christs passions and suffrings are meritorious: *Ergo*, he suffered not the paines of hell; *Feuard. pag. 421. conf. 12. lin. 3. 4.*

3. Hell paynes are euerlasting, there is fire that neuer goeth out or is extinguished; *Feuardent. pag. 444. conf. 2. lin. 9. Ergo*, Christ was not in those flames.

4. Christ was mightier then hell, he loosed the sorrowes of hell: *Ergo*, he was not tormented in hell, *Feuard. pag. 475. lin. 3. ex Fulgent.*

5. The Apostle saith, Rom. 8. 17. *If we suffer with him, we shall be glorified with him*: we by partaking with Christ in the like passions, shall attaine to be fellowes with him in his kingdome, *Rhemist. annot. in hunc locum*: Must wee suffer then the paines of hell, before we can attaine heauen?

6. S. *Peter* saith, *Christ suffered for vs, leauing vs an example to follow his steppes*: this place is vrged by *Feuard. pag. 361. 5.* If Christ then must be imitated of vs in all things, then in his hell sufferings.

7. *Christus*

7. *Christus est purior cunctis angelicis choris:* Christ is purer then all the companie of Angels, *Feuard. pag.454.lin.12.* if Christ were not free from hell, how can they be; seeing he was *personaliter vnitus*, personally vnited to the Godhead, *pag.474.lin.20.* as the Angels are not: and if the elect members of Christ are sure they shall not fall from their election, and so consequently not come into hell, much more Christ, &c. *Feuard. p.483.conf.3.*

8. There is no goodnesse, charitie, vertue in hell, therefore Christ full of all grace and vertue, could not be there, *Feuard. p.447.conf.6.*

Answ. 1. The argument followeth not, men in this life cannot feele the true paynes of hell, *Ergo*, not Christ: for who but Christ did beare the iniquities of men? as the Prophet saith, Isay 53.6. *Fecit in eum concurrere peccata omnium:* God made all our sinnes to runne together as in an heape vpon him: who then but Christ could feele and suffer the true punishment of sinne in this life? 1

2. The true paines, though not the full paynes of hell may be felt in this life; as likewise the true, though not the full ioyes of heauen: first, for the ioyes of heauen, the Apostle saith, Ephes.2.6. *Hee hath made vs sit together in the heauenly places in Christ Iesus:* What is this els, but euen while we liue, by faith to possesse the very ioyes of heauen? So *Paul*, not yet out of his body, was taken vp into Paradise, 2.Corin.12.4. whereof *Hierome* thus writeth: *Paulo in tertium cœlum patuit ascensus, quem neq; ignea illa romphaa ab aditu Paradisi potuit excludere:* A way was open for *Paul* to ascend into Paradise, whom the fierie blade could not shut out, *ad Marcellam.* *Augustine* also saith, *Tu si vis, cœlum eris; si vis esse cœlum, purga de corde tuo terram:* Thou mayest be heauen, if thou wilt purge earth out of thy heart, and thou shalt be heauen, *in psal.96.* Wherefore euen a man while he liueth, may feele the true ioyes of heauen.

If the soule may in this life haue a taste of the true ioyes of heauen, then consequently it may be perplexed with the true sorrowes of hell, though not in that manner nor measure: for if horrible desperation, and a comfortlesse conscience of sinne belong to the true paynes of hell, what did *Cain* want of the feeling of hell torments, when he said, His sinne was greater then could be forgiuen, Gen.4.13? *Augustine* saith, *Inducis tribunal in mente tua, sedet ibi Deus, adest accusator conscientia, tortor timor:* The Iudges tribunall seat is in thy soule, God sitteth there as Iudge, thy conscience is the accuser, feare is the tormentor: *in psal.57.* If then in the soule there be a Iudge; an Accuser; a Tormentor; there is also a true taste of the torments of hell.

2. 1. The least paines, which Christ suffered for vs, and the least labour and trauaile, which he endured, were meritorious; his hunger, thirst, fasting, wearines, whippings, buffetings, were in respect of the worthines of his person meritorious, much more the suffrings of his soule. 2. Hell torments in themselues are not meritorious, nor yet the shedding of mans blood; yet in Christ, because of the holines of his person, both the one and the other were full of merit: As *Bernard* well answered to the like obiection: *Nunquid mors innocentis filij tantũ placuit deo?* Did the death of his innocent sonne so much please God? *Non mors, sed voluntas placuit sponte morientis: non requisiuit deus sanguinem innocentis filij, sed acceptauit oblatum, non sanguinem fitiens, sed salutem, quia salus erat in sanguine:* Not the death, but the will of him, that dyed of his owne accord, was acceptable: God required not the blood of his innocent sonne, but accepted it being offered; not thirsting for blood, but for mans saluation, which was in his blood, *epist.191.* As then these three things, the person of Christ being the sonne of God, his obedience in being willing, his end and intention to saue mankinde, made his blood acceptable and meritorious: so also in the foresaid respects his soule merited by the suffrings and passions thereof. 3. Neither by these suffrings was the vnion to the Godhead separated, but the fruition only a while suspended. 4. And it is not thankworthie, simply to wish to be separated from God, but with a charitable affection to wish such a separation, was no doubt acceptable in *Paul:* who, as *Hierome* saith, *Pro charitate Christi nolit habere Christum:* For the loue of Christ would not haue Christ: but in Christ it was truly meritorious. 2

3. 1. The paines of hell, which Christ suffered, though they were not infinite in time, yet were they of an infinite price and value, for the dignitie of the person that suffered them, his abundant *charitie* whereby he suffered them, the great *vtilitie* for the which he suffered them, namely the saluation of man. 2. Otherwise infinitely in time Christ was not to suffer: as *Ambrose* well saith vpon these words, Rom.5.6. Christ dyed, *secundum tempus*, in time, or according to time: *Tempora in mundo sunt, vbi oritur & occidit sol huic ergo tempori; mortuus est; vbi autem tempus non est, ibi non solus viuus, sed victor repertus est:* Times are in the world, where the Sunne riseth, and setteth, vnto this time he dyed: but where there is no time, there hee was found not onely liuing, but conquering: *in 5. ad Roman.* 3

4. 1. Christ was not bound of Sathan, though hee encountred with Sathan; neither was hee weaker than hell, because he entred into hell, but mightier, because hee ouercame hell: and as hee destroyed death by his death, Heb.2.14. so hee vanquished hell by his hell, which hee suffered in soule. 2. Christ did by his death enter into the *strong mans house to spoyle his goods*, Matth.10.29. And as *Ruffinus* saith in the symbole, which goeth vnder his name: *Christus non damno aliquo pati-* 4

tur, sed vt rex carcerem ingressus, vt soluat catenas in carcere fuisse dicitur, sed non ea conditione, qua ceteri; illi vt pœnas solnerent, hic vt pœnas absolueret: Christ suffereth not to any losse, but as a King entring into prison to loose the chaines, is said to haue been in prison, but not with that condition, that others are; they are there to pay debt, hee to release them of paine and debt, &c. So Christ by entring into death and hell for vs, hath released vs of our paine, and payed our debt, though not as they, which are condemned to hell.

5 5. *Bernard* well noteth three things in Christs death: *In Christi passione tria specialiter conuenit intueri, opus, modum, causam:* It behoueth vs specially to consider in Christs passion the worke, the manner, the cause, *serm. de passion.* In the cause he was *innocent*, in the manner *patient*, in the worke *excellent:* in his innocencie and humilitie wee must suffer as hee did, that is, not to suffer as euill doers, but for righteousnes sake, Matth. 5. 10. We must suffer patiently, as he did, *who being reuiled, reuiled not againe*, 1. Pet. 2. 23. but in the worke of redemption, for the which hee suffered in bodie and soule, wee cannot suffer as he did; vnlesse you will make men redeemers of soules: nay, who can endure the like bodily suffrings as hee did in euery respect? wherefore in this behalfe wee are not required by the Apostle to suffer with Christ, neither is it possible.

6 6. 1. The same answere may serue for the next obiection: for the Apostle in the same place sheweth wherein Christ is an example to vs, in his innocencie, *there was no guile in his mouth*, 1. Pet. chap. 2. 23. in his patience, *he reuiled not againe*, vers. 23. 2. To the same effect the same Apostle exhorteth vs to bee partakers of Christs suffrings, that is, not to suffer as euill doers, 1. Pet. 4. 15. 3. Saint *Augustine* sheweth well wherein Christ is to be imitated: *Non dixit (Christus, discite à me mundum fabricare, aut mortuos suscitare, sed discite, quia mitis sum:* Christ said not, learne of me to make the world, or to raise the dead; but learne of me, because I am meeke, *de bon. coniug. al. cap.* 37. To redeeme the world, is no lesse a worke than to make the world: and therefore vnlesse Christ had bid vs to learne of him to redeeme the world, how doth it belong to vs to imitate his meritorious and satisfactorie suffrings both in bodie and soule? 4. Yet wee haue somewhat also euen in Christs soule-suffrings to imitate: that as hee being plunged as it were in the depth of hell, and in the floods of sorrowes, yet was not swallowed vp of the gulfe of despayre, but still trusted vnto God, saying, *My God, my God:* so wee likewise should be confident in our trouble of minde. And to this poynt also *Augustine* saith well: *Christus exemplum sanis ad permanendum, infirmis ad conualescendum, morituris ad non timendum, mortuis ad resurgendum:* Christ is an example to the whole to continue, to the weake to grow in strength, to the dying not to feare, to the dead to rise againe, *de Trinitat. 7. 2.*

7 7. 1. It followeth not, Christ is vnited into one person with God, therefore hee did not suffer the paines of hell: for by the same reason he should not haue suffered in bodie: the vnion of his person could haue preserued him from the one suffring and the other, and no man compelled him to vndertake this difficult worke, but his owne vnspeakeable loue vnto mankinde: so hee sayth, Ioh. 10. 17. *Therefore doth my father loue me, because I lay downe my life:* vers. 18. *No man taketh it from me, but I lay it downe of my selfe:* If the sonne of God had been constrained to suffer, and for himselfe, then both men and Angels might feare; but as *Bernard* (before alleaged) saith: *Voluntas spontè morientis, placuit deo:* The willingnes of him that dyed, pleased God: who offered himselfe to bee the redeemer of the world: Psal. 40. 7. *Then said I, loe I come.*

2. We neede not maruaile, that the sonne of God doth beare for vs the brunt of hell, who was able to subdue it; we might rather haue mused and maruailed, if either men or Angels had entred into the combat, who must needes haue yeelded vnto it. *Augustine* here well saith: *Mirum esse non debet à deo factum miraculum, mirum esset si homo fecisset, magis gaudere quam mirari debemus, quia dominus noster homo factus est, quam quod diuina inter homines fecit; plus est enim ad salutem nostram, quod factus est propter homines, quam quod fecit inter homines:* It neede not seeme straunge to vs, that God did a miracle, it were straunge if man had done it, we should rather reioyce and not marueile, because our Lord was made man, than that amongst men he did diuine things; it is more to our saluation, that he was made for men, than that he did make such things among men, *Tract. in Ioh. 17.* Wee neede not then aske the question, how Christ suffered the paines of hell, and did other great works for vs, but rather reioyce, that God became man for our sakes to doe such things for vs.

3. The Saints of God neede not feare hell, because Christ felt it, but they by his hell sorrowes are deliuered from hell: let them rather looke to this daunger, that would make vs beleeue, that the hell sorrowes of the soule haue not yet by suffring them, been satisfied for: for seeing they must be endured, and you say Christ hath not endured them for vs, this will rather strike into the mind a feare of hell, that these sorrowes remaine yet to be suffered, than the meditation of Christs hell in his soule, whereby our soules are deliuered. Wherefore the Saints neede not feare hell flames, because they were kindled in Christs soule, but to be bold against them, because Christ in his soule hath quenched them: so that now, as the Apostle saith, *there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Iesus*, Rom. 8. 1. And as Saint *Ambrose* well saith: *Ille flenit, ne tu homo diu fleres; lacryma illa nos*

nos lauant, fletus illi nos ablauunt, dubitatio illa nos firmat, ne si tu coperis dubitare, desperes: He wept, that thou O man shouldest not long weepe: those teares wash vs, those weepings cleanse vs, his doubting doth strengthen vs, lest thou, when thou beginnest to doubt, shouldest despayre, *lib. 2 de fid. cap. 4.* By Christs sufferings then both in bodie and soule we are deliuered from the like.

4. And in that Angels are freed from hell flames, it is the fauour of the Creator, and in some sort also the benefit of the redeemer of the world: some Angels fell by their sinne, for whom the lake of fire is prepared, the rest doe stand by grace: for as we vtterly reiect the erronious conceit of *Origen* vpon these words, Coloss. 1. 20. *To set at peace through the blood of his crosse, the things that are in earth, and the things in heauen:* who thinketh that Christ, *pro cœlestibus bellua oblatus est*, was offered a sacrifice for the celestiall spirits in heauen, *Hom. 1. in Leuitic.* neither doth *Augustine* fully touch the poynt, applying the redemption of man to the Angels in these three respects: first, because we, which were like to the Angels are reconciled to God: secondly, *Quia eorum ruina resarciuntur, &c.* because their ruines and decayes are made vp, with the restitution of the godly: thirdly, *Quia illi nobis redeunt in gratiam:* because the Angels are become our friends by the redemption, *Enchirid. cap. 64.* So wee doubt not to say, though the Angels are not redeemed as we are by Christs death, for hee tooke not the nature of Angels, Hebr. 2. 17. yet the benefit thereof for the suretie and preseruation of their state extendeth vnto them. As *Ambrose* well saith: *Aliter eget misericordia angelus, aliter homo; angelica natura eget misericordia, ne posset errare, & auersa à se dei gratia labatur in vitium; homo propter contractorum seriem peccatorum misericordiam dei quærit:* The Angel needeth mercie one way, man another; the angelicall nature needeth mercie, least it may erre, and, if Gods grace turne from them, fall into sinne; man seeketh for mercie for sinnes alreadie contracted, *serm. 8. in Psal. 119.* Likewise *Bernard: Qui hominibus subuenit in tali necessitate seruauit angelos à tali necessitate, &c.* He that helped man in such necessitie, saued the Angels from the like necessitie; hee that in his loue to men made them such, that they should not continue such, by the like loue hath giuen to the Angels not to be such, *lib. de diligend. deo.* In that the elect Angels then are sure to be preserued from hell, they are therein beholding to the bountifull redeemer, who as he hath deliuered vs from thence, so he preserueth and keepeth them from comming thither.

8. 1. In the local place of the damned, which is properly called hell, there is neither holines, vertue, goodnesse; but thither we send not the soule of Christ: who notwithstanding he felt the sorrowes of hell in his soule, euen the very sense of his fathers wrath against sinne, yet his faith failed not, neither did he lose his confidence, but in that instant, when he complained he was forsaken, he with full trust and assurance said, *My God, my God.* 2. Then as the ioyes of heauen may be truly, though not fully felt in this life, so may the paines of hell: and thus Christ in his soule while he liued felt them, without any decay or empayring of his holie vertues. Wherfore to vrge vs with the inconueniences, that accompanie the locall place of hell, and the very state and condition of the damned, is too iniurious, seeing none doth, or hath so affirmed. 8

And further to explaine our meaning, as touching the ioyes of heauen and torments of hell in this life: first, a feare of hell which is euerlasting destruction, or any griefe proceeding from that feare, we are farre off from imagining to haue been in Christ: yet this present hell which hee had in his soule, in labouring vnder the heauie burthen of our sinnes and Gods wrath due to the same, we affirme that he felt it and feared it, as the Apostle saith, *he was heard in that he feared,* Hebr. 5. 7. Secondly, we denie also this diiunction, that in this life all that is perceiued of heauen, is either the hope thereof, or the ioy arising vpon that hope: for then it would follow, that there is no ioy of heauen presently had but in hope. An equalitie betweene the ioyes here felt, and eternall blisse to be afterward possessed, no man is so voide of sense to affirme; and yet according to the Scripture we say, that we haue more ioy than in hope onely: our Sauiour saith, Ioh. 14. 23. *If any man loue me, &c. my father will loue him, and we will come vnto him, and dwell with him:* where there is a dwelling, there is a present possession: as *Augustine* then saith, *Cœlum (inquit deus) mihi sedes est, anima ergo iusti cœlum est:* Heauen (saith the Lorde) is my seate, the soule then of the righteous (where God dwelleth) is heauen, *in Psal. 121.* The Wiseman saith, *A good conscience is a continuall feast,* Prou. 15. 15. where a feast is, there is good cheare present, and not hope or expectation only. Thirdly, wherefore as the ioy of heauen may in some measure, not in hope onely, but in present feeling be perceiued in this life: so also there may be a liuely sense of hell, as I haue shewed before, *resp. ad artic. 1.* of this third generall argument or obiection. And so *Origen* saith, answering to a question, how God doth now shew vengeance vpon diuels: *Super omnia tormentorum genera est, cum viderint aliquem verbo dei spiram dare, in hoc eorum flamma est, in ipso vruntur incendio:* It is beyond all torments when they see any man occupied in Gods word, this is their flame, and in this fire they are burned, *Hom. 27. in Leuitic.*

Obiect. Christ neuer did forget, that he was the *Emmanuel*, that God said vnto him, thou art my beloued sonne, that all which his father had, was his; hee could not then be out of Gods fauour,

Feuard.p.486.conf.7. and so consequently not in hell, vnlesse you will say the ioyes of heauen are in hell: and so Christ should be both in heauen and hell at once.

Answ. 1. In the locall place of heauen and hell it is not possible for any neither to be at once, nor yet at sundrie times successiuely: for there is no passing from heauen to hell, or from hell to heauen: Luk.16.26. *They which would goe from hence to you cannot, &c.* 2. Concerning the spirituall sense of heauen and hell, though in one and the same instant they are not in the soule, yet many times in a very short space the one doth succeede the other: as Psalm.31.22. the Prophet saith in his griefe of heart, *I am cast out of thy sight*; and yet he requieth againe immediatly, and saith, *Yet thou hearedst the voyce of my prayer when I cryed.* 3. Christ was neuer destitute of faith and hope of this ioy proposed; but the sense and feeling thereof was for a while suspended in his soule, while he wrestled with hell: for like as S. *Paul* by faith alwayes had his *conuersation in heauen*, Philip.3.20. yet sometime minded the necessarie things of this life; as *Hierome* saith, *Putasne Apostolum Paulum eo tempore, quo scribebat, penulam affer tecum, &c. de cœlestibus cogitasse mysteriis, & non de his, quæ vsu communis vitæ necessaria sunt*; Doe you thinke the Apostle *Paul* at that time, when he wrote, Bring my cloake with thee, &c. did thinke of heauenly mysteries, and not of those things, which were necessary for the vse of the common life, *lib.3. aduers. Pelagian.* though by faith *Pauls* soule was in heauen, yet in his present sense he intended worldly necessaries: so the soule of Christ being in the present sense and feeling of hell sorrowes, though his faith and hope languished not, might haue some intermission of the ioy conceiued; like as the soule liueth, when the body is asleepe, yet worketh not, as when the body is awaked, to attend vpon the operation of the soule: So *Augustine* fitly compareth Christs suffring vpon the Crosse to sleepe, *Dormiendo Christo in cruce, facta est coniux Ecclesia de latere*: While Christ slept on the crosse, the Church his spouse was made out of his side, Psal.56. So though the present hope and feeling of this ioy slept as it were in Christ, yet was it not extinct: it was *intermitted*, not *subuerted*; *suspended*, not *excluded*, ceasing for a while in *feeling*, but not dying in *being*. And thus farre for the answere of these obiections.

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED, THAT CHRIST in Soule suffered the paynes of hell.

BEfore I produce our arguments, I will first declare our opinion: First, this holy trueth of Christs suffringes, is either ignorantly mistaken, or else wittingly charged with some things that no man holdeth. 1. That we should affirme, that Christ suffered *in his soule the whole* paynes of the damned in hell: and all the punishments due to the reprobate, *Feuard.p.443.* This we simply denie, and it is a great wrong to lay it vnto our charge: I haue answered this cauill before, in the beginning, *Err.7.* 2. It is supposed, as though wee should tend Christes soule to the locall place of torment, and vpon this supposition we are vrged with the hellish darkenesse, and fierie flames, and endlesse torments, which are adiuncts to the locall place of the damned, not consequents of the hell, which Christ suffered in soule, *Feuard.p.444.conf.2.* 3. It is conceiued, as though we should enwrap Christs soule within those paines of the damned, which are not endured without sinne, as desperation, indignation, finall reiection, *Feuard.pag.446.conf.5.* Farre be it from vs to haue any such meaning.

Secondly, for the further declaration of our mind, we affirme hell paynes in Christs soule, with these three conditions: that there be neyther *indignitie* offered to his heauenly person; *iniuria* to his holy nature; nor *impossibilitie* to his glorious worke: all such paynes of hell then, as Christ might haue suffered, his person not *dishonoured*, his nature with sinne not *defiled*, his worke of our redemption not *hindered*; we do constantly beleeue accordingly by our blessed Sauiour to haue been sustained.

Thirdly, because it is expected that leauing generall and ambiguous termes, we should expresse in particular, what sorrowes of hell our meaning is to ascribe vnto Christs suffrings; I will also, for full satisfaction in that behalfe, descend to some speciall points.

In hell then wee consider: 1. the necessarie adiuncts: 2. the effects: 3. the punishment it selfe: The inseparable adiuncts and necessary members of hell are these, 1. The place, which is infernall. 2. The time, perpetuall. 3. Darkenesse vnspeakeable. 4. The ministers and torments, the spirits and diuels irreconciliable. 2. The effects are chiefly these two: First, the depriuation of all vertue, grace, godlinesse: Secondly, the reall possession of all vice, impietie, blasphemie. All these we do remoue as farre off from the holy soule of Christ, as heauen is from hell; the East from the West; darkenes from light. 3. The punishment of hell it selfe consisteth in these foure: first, there is an horrible sight and guiltie conscience of sinne: as *Origen* saith, *Quandam veluti scelerum historiam vident ante oculos suos expositam*: They see as a certaine storie of their sinnes set before their eyes: this is the *worme that dyeth not*, Mark.9.44. Secondly, they feele the most iust wrath of God lying vpon them for their sinne; hereof is their weeping, Matth.8.12. Thirdly,

there

there is cruell indignation in them, horrible outcries, blasphemie, fretting, for the horrible torments, which they suffer: hence proceedeth the *gnashing of their teeth*, Matth. 8. 12. Fourthly, they lie tormented in endlesse payne, without all hope or comfort: and this is the fire, *that neuer goeth out*, Mark. 9. 44. So then these foure; a fearefull *impression* of sinnes, comfortlesse *dereliction*, horrible *indignation*, endlesse *desperation*; that is, the worme not *dying*, *weeping*, *gnashing of teeth*, the fire neuer going out; do make vp the iust measure of the torments of hell: The two last of these, impatient *indignation*, violent *desperation* Christ must needes be freed from, who both patiently endured his Fathers correction, and confidently expected his deliuerance, and restitution: the other two were in Christ, though not as in the reprobate; impression of sinnes, not his owne, but ours laid vpon him, and griefe for the same; and dereliction or reiection for the time of his feeling. First, the adiuncts of hell Christ is freed from for the *dignitie* of his person: it was not fit, that the Sonne of God, the heire of heauen, should be shut vp in hell, or that he should euer be *tormented*, who is neuer from Gods presence *sequestred*, or that the light of the world should be closed vp in darkenesse: or he that bindeth the spirits, to be bound of them. Secondly, the effects or rather defects of hell, the necessitie of the worke of Christ doth exempt him from: for if hee had beene either voyd of grace, or possessed with vice, he could not haue beene the redeemer of the world: for the want of vertue, he could not haue redeemed others; for the presence of sinne, he should haue beene redeemed himselfe. Thirdly, from fretting indignation, and fearefull desperation, the *pietie* and *sanctitie* of his nature doth preserue him: who being without sinne, could neyther by indignation displease his father, nor by desperation destroy himselfe.

Fourthly, thus then we doubt not to deliuer our opinion, that our blessed Sauiour, as in himselfe he bare all the sinnes of the elect; so he also suffered the whole punishment of body and soule due vnto vs for the same, which we should haue endured if hee had not satisfied for it: and so consequently we affirme, that he felt the anguish of soule, and horror of Gods wrath, and so in soule entred into the torments of hell for vs, sustained them and vanquished them.

Thus that reuerend Pastor and Minister of Christ, in honor of Christs passion hath written, *Cum iram Dei sibi propositam videret, quatenus adeius tribunal totius mundi peccatis oneratus se sisteret, necesse illi fuit, profundam mortis abyssum exhorrescere:* When he saw the wrath of God set before him, presenting himselfe before Gods tribunall, loaden with the sinnes of the whole world; it was necessarie for him to feare the deepe bottomlesse pitte of death: *Caluin. in Matth. 26. v. 39.* And againe: *Cum species Christo obiecta est, quasi Deo aduerso iam esset exitio deuotus, horrore correptus est, quo centies centeni mortales fuissent absorpti, ipse autem mirifica spiritus virtute victor euasit:* Such an obiect being offered to Christs view, as though, God being set against him, he were appoynted to destruction, he was with horror affrighted, which was able an hundred times to haue swallowed vp all mortall creatures, but he by the wonderfull power of his spirite escaped with victory, *Caluin. in Matth. 27. v. 46.*

To the like effect, that excellent learned man, hath maintayned the trueth in the name of the whole Church of England, in his answere to the Rhemists: *What dishonour was it to our Sauiour Christ, to suffer that, which was necessarie for our redemption, namely, that torment of hell, which we had deserued, and which the iustice of God required, that he should endure for our redemption: or rather, what is more to the honour of Christ, then that he vouchsafed to descend into hell for vs, and to abide that bitter paine, which we had deserued to suffer eternally: and what may rather be called hell, then the anguish of soule, which he suffered, when he being yet God, complained, that hee was forsaken of God? Fulk. in 2. Act. fol. 11.* This is deliuered by this worthie diuine, as the opinion of the Catholike Church of God, and the true teachers thereof: as may appeare in the title to the booke. Therefore accordingly we confidently affirme, that Christ in soule descended into hell for vs, and endured the bitter paines and torments thereof, which we had deserued and should otherwise haue payed, if he in his owne person had not satisfied for them.

Fiftly, to remoue certaine doubts which may here arise, because it is obiected, that the soule sufferings of Christ should haue dissolued the vnion of his person, *Feuar. p. 474. lin. 21.*

1. As the sense of damnation and separation in *Dauid*, when he complained he was forsaken of God, Psalm. 22. 1. *And cast out of his sight*, Psalm. 31. 22. did not extinguish grace or faith in *Dauid*; much lesse did they in Christ. 2. And we doe distinguish in Christ, *inter sensum naturæ & fidei notitiam*, Betweene the present sense of his nature, and the knowledge of faith: as that learned interpreter saith, *Caluin. in 27. Matth. v. 46.* That Christs faith and hope fayled not, though in his naturall sense and feeling he was perplexed. 3. His soule tormented with sorrow, was no more separated from the Godhead, then his bodie yeelding to death.

2. Deeper in despaire and sinfull assaultes wee confesse others to haue been then Christ: but such a spectacle of all fearefull and vnspeakable torments in bodie and soule endured without sinne neuer was, as Christ: we must not so extenuate Christs sufferings, which were a satisfaction for all mens sinnes, as to make other mens temptations equall to them. This

were a great iniurie to his passion, and notable vnthankfulnes in vs to make so light account of them.

1. Christ suffered that hell, which we should, which was more than the paines of hell metaphorically taken. 2. And hell paines were due vnto vs otherwise, then by contemplation of them; we should not haue knowne or pittied them in others, but felt them in our selues: and Christ by way of pittie and pietie prayed for them that crucified him: *Father forgiue them, they know not what they doe*, Luke 23.34. But when he complaineth, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me*, here is more then *contemplation*, or *commiseration* of others; for he speaketh of himselfe, and from his own feeling. Thirdly, if 1. Christ sustained Gods wrath, as you say, then he felt the assaults of sorrow in his soule, there was more then an offer or attempt onely: 2. When Sathan tempted Christ in the desert, he did not conquer him by repelling him at the first, but by fighting with him, and entring into the listes as it were with him, he subdued him. 3. And the Apostle saith, *He suffered when he was tempted*, Hebr. 2.18. He was not onely assaulted with temptation in his soule, but encountred with; not *tempted* onely but suffered: yet we graunt, that some temptations Christ wrestled with, and repelled at the first, not fastening at all vpon him, such as were accompanied with sinne: *Cum desperatione luctatus est*: As he wrestled with desperation, but was not ouercome: *Caluin in Matth. 27. v. 46.* But such sorrowes of soule which he sustained without sinne, he was not onely assaulted, but for the time possessed with, as the Prophet saith: he was, *Vir dolorum*, a man of sorrowes, and had experience of our infirmities: and as the Septuagint doe well translate it: ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ ὢν, καὶ εἰδὼς φέρειν A man set in the plague, and knowing how to beare, &c. Christ then had in his soule actuall experience of our sorrowes. 5. Neither doe we say that Christ suffered *the same paines*, which the *damned doe*, for they suffer them not without sinne and desperation, nor in the *same manner*, for they suffer them eternally: but with these two exceptions of *iniquitie* and *eternitie*, we say that Christ endured more in his soule, then euer any soule in the world did or could doe.

Sixtly, though we mislike not *Caluines* sense, where he saith, *Christus diros in anima cruciatus damnati & perditi hominis pertulit*: Christ suffered in his soule the horrible torments of a damned and forlorne man: *Institut. lib. 2. c. 16. sect. 10.* yet we will forbeare to vse this phrase, because the Scripture so speaketh not, and least the weake might take offence at it: yet the Scripture vseth words equiualent vnto them, for what else, is *derelictus, desertus*, forsaken, then *damnatus, perditus*, for the time to be forlorne and as damned? But this we confidently deliuer as agreeable to the Scriptures, that sinne and perpetuitie set apart, Christ more sharpely and vehemently felt Gods wrath then any man euer did or shall, yea, we except not the very reprobate and damned. First, because the Scripture saith, that *God laid vpon him the sinnes of vs all*, Isay 53.6. then all the sinnes of the world concurring together, must needs bring with them a greater horror, than the sinnes of one man. Secondly, Christ was more able to beare this burthen, then all men in the worlde, though their strength were ioyned together: so that he alone was able to treade the winepresse of Gods wrath, Isay 63.3. Thirdly, Christs hell sorrowes were meritorious, and fully satisfactory for our euerlasting punishment, and therefore in greatnes were to exceede all other, as being answerable to Gods iustice: but no mans sufferings beside haue merite or satisfaction.

Seuenthly, that it may appeare, how Christ sustained the wrath of God, felt the sorrowes of hell, and was as forsaken of God, yet without sinne; there are foure considerations necessarie to be remembred, as the Fathers haue obserued them.

1. Christ is now set before vs as a meere man, his diuine power repressing and withdrawing it selfe: as *Ambrose* saith, when Christ had cried out, that he was forsaken, *Euidens manifestatio contestantis Dei secessionem diuinitatis & corporis*: An euident manifestation of God contesting the departure of the diuinitie and his bodie: *In Luk. 22.* he meaneth not a separation of the vnion of the Godhead, but an intermission onely of the operation.

2. Christ must be considered, as now hauing taken our person vpon him, who in himselfe was holy, harmelesse, innocent, yet now for vs presented vnto God as a pledge for our sinnes: as *Ambrose* saith, *Pro me & in me doluit, qui pro se nihil habuit quod doleret*: For me and in me he sorrowed, that had nothing to sorrow for in himselfe, *lib. 2. de fid. c. 3.*

3. We must make a difference betweene the assurance of faith in Christ, and the sense of his humane nature: who at the same time when he complayned in his humane sense, yet was firme and stable in faith: as may appeare in that he said, *My God, my God*, which sheweth his confidence: So *Ambrose* againe saith, *Sensu hominis dixi animam meam esse turbatam; sensu hominis esurii, sensu hominis rogaui*: In the humane sense and feeling I said, My soule is troubled, in humane sense I was hungrie, I prayed, &c. *de incarnat. c. 7.*

4. We must not measure Christs actions according to our owne affections: to imagine, that because we in temptation are distempered, that Christ therefore in this agonie could not be setled: as *Augustine* fitly vseth this resemblance: *Quemadmodum solet accidere, vt quando transeuntes nubes*

bes

bes per obscura noctis intuemur, earum caligine sic acies nostra turbetur, vt in contrarium nobis sydera currere videantur, &c. Like as it falleth out, when wee see the clowdes gliding in the ayre in a darke night, they doe obscure our sight, that we thinke the starres goe a contrarie way, *de diuers. serm. 15.* So the darknes of our mindes, and corruption of our nature is the cause, that wee iudge amisse of Christs holie actions, measuring them by our selues. These foresaid respects then being obserued, and Christ in this maner considered, there can follow no inconuenience, in attributing to Christs soule the sorrowes of hell. But I haue haue stayed too long in the explanation of our opinion: the arguments now follow.

Argum. 1. Psal. 18. 5. *The sorrowes of hell, circumdederunt me, did compasse me round about.* Psal. 88. 3. *My soule is filled with euils, and my life draweth neere to hell.* Psal. 86. 13. *Thou hast deliuered my soule from the neathermost hell.* In these places the Prophet speaketh in the person of Christ: and the Papists doe admit, that the Hebrue *sheol*, is here taken for hell properly, and not for the graue: therefore against them and in their sense these places do strongly conclude for the hel-sorrowes or suffrings of Christ.

1. For the further strengthening of this argument, first wee doe not say, that Christs soule was oppressed or vanquished of hell, but yet it was more than attempted or assaulted onely: for hee saith, *thou hast deliuered my soule from hell*, Psal. 86. 13. therefore before hee was in the sorrowes of hell, out of the which he was deliuered, as the Prophet saith, Psal. 124. 7. *Our soule is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fouler, the snare is broken and wee are deliuered.* If the bird had not been in the snare, what neede the snare to be broken to deliuer the bird?

2. First, in these Psalmes there are euident propheses of Christ: as Psal. 18. 43. *Thou hast made me head of the heathen, a people whom I haue not knowne shall serue me:* vers. 50. *Great deliuerances bestoweth he to the King, and sheweth mercie to Dauid and his seede for euer:* this euerlasting seed of *Dauid* is to be referred to Christ. Secondly, but because it may be obiected, that although some places are vnderstood of Christ, yet it followeth not that these should: I answere, that the very place alleaged, Psal. 88. 3. is by the Fathers applied to Christ: as that in the next verse, *Liber inter mortuos*, free among the dead, *Augustine* applieth to Christ, *epist. 99.* And S. *Ambr. Liber inter mortuos, qui mortis vincula nescivit, non captus ab inferis, sed qui operatus sit in inferno:* Free among the dead, which knew not the bands of death, he was not captiued of hell, but wrought in hell, *lib. 3. de fid. c. 3.* Hee knew not the bands of death, to be held of them, or so to be bound as his vertue be hindered. I alleage this testimonie onely to shew, that the Fathers vnderstoode this text of Christ, not medling here with their opinion of Christs locall descent to deliuer the Patriarkes.

3. First, neither can this place be vnderstood of the locall place of hell: for he saith, Psal. 88. 3. *My soule is filled with euils:* vers. 15. *Thy terrors haue I suffered from my youth:* but the Fathers, that hold a locall descent of Christs soule into hell, doe cleere him of all suffring there: as *Augustine* writeth to this effect, *In dolore ibi constitutos liberasse non dubito, dolens ipse non pertulit, &c.* I doubt not but hee deliuered others which were in griefe, but hee himselfe suffered no griefe, *epist. 99.* Wherefore if neither the locall place of hell be here vnderstood, nor yet the material graue, which is no place for the soule; it remaineth, that this pit, graue, darknes, depth, hell (for all these names it hath) be referred to the sorrowes of Christs soule: as *Ambrose* againe expoundeth the third verse: *Anima mea repleta malis, anima mea vtique, non diuinitas:* My soule is filled with euils, my soule, not my diuinitie, *lib. 3. de fid. c. 3.*

Argum. 2. Another place, which I vrge against the Papists, is Act. 2. 24. where wee reade thus, as their vulgar Latine text translateth: *Solutis doloribus inferni:* The sorrowes of hell being loosed, for it was impossible he should be holden of it: the Greeke hath the sorrowes of death, but I presse them with their owne and onely authentike translation, *the sorrowes of hell being loosed:* but Christ felt not the sorrowes of hell after death: *Ergo*, he felt them in his soule, while he liued.

Answ. First, Christ loosed the sorrowes of hell, not because he was held or caught of them, but 1
lest hee might be caught: like as the snare of the hunter may be sayd to be broke, lest it might catch or entangle, not because it hath alreadie taken.

2. Christ is sayd to haue loosed the sorrowes or bands of hell, wherewith others were held, 2
and not himselfe, *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Christi anima, c. 8. resp. ad argum. 5.*

Contra. 1. The first exposition is contrary to the text that followeth, vers. 27. *Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell:* If Christs soule be not left or forsaken in hell, yet it followeth it was in hell. 2. The word, κρατεῖσθαι *to be holden*, betokeneth properly, a fast or sure holding, as Matth. 9. 8. *Ye hold fast the tradition of the elders:* so that the meaning is not, it was impossible hee should be caught, but not held, bound or detained. 3. The phrase of the Scripture is otherwise, Psal. 124. 7. *Our soule is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fouler, the snare is broken and wee are deliuered;* the escaping is out of the snare, as the bird is first taken, and then deliuered. 4. *Origen* also so expoundeth vpon these words, Cantic. 2. 10. *Arise my loue: Surrexi à mortuis fractis mortis ianuis & infernivinculis dissolutis:* I rose from the dead, the gates of death being broken, and the bands of hell loosed, &c. The

bands

bands of hell were loosed, as the gates or barres of death broken: but the gates of death were broken, not before Christ entred into death, but after he had yeelded to death: so then were the bands of hell loosed after they had fastened vpon Christ.

2. 1. The second exposition is contrarie to the very words: it was impossible for *him* (he saith not for other) but for himselfe to bee held of them. 2. In the next verse, 25. the Apostle expoundeth himselfe saying, *Dauid saith concerning him, &c.* he speaketh of Christs person, and not of any other. 3. The Apostle giueth this as a reason, why God raised vp Christ, *loosing the sorrowes or bands of death:* for him then the bands were broken, who was raised vp againe: but Christ was only raised vp againe.

Argum. 3. That the whole punishment of bodie and soule which was due vnto vs, Christ our redeemer was to suffer and satisfie for in his owne person. But the torments and terrors of hell, and the vehement sense of Gods wrath, are that punishment which did belong to the soule: *Ergo*, Christ did suffer the terrors of hell.

Ans. If Christ suffered the whole punishment of hell due vnto vs: then *darknes, Feuard p.444. conf.2. lin.10. damnation, malediction, desperation. 446. conf.5.* second death and destruction for euer. *p.453. lin.3.*

Contra. 1. The whole punishment implieth the whole kinde or substance of the punishment, not all the circumstances, and the very same manner: the whole punishment then is the whole kinde of punishment that is in bodie and soule which Christ ought to haue suffered, though not in the same manner and circumstance: neither for the place of hell, *locally*, nor for the time *eternally*, nor for the manner, *sinfully*. The first of these excludeth vtter darknes, which is an inseparable adiunct of the place of hell; the second freeth Christ from *eternall* damnation; the third doth cleere him from desperation, which cannot be committed without sin. 2. And in making these exceptions doe we otherwise speake, than the Scripture doth, which saith, Heb.2.17. *It became him in all things to be made like his brethren:* will you here take the Apostle short, and inferre, he was therefore like vs in sinne? therefore giue vs leaue to expound our meaning, as the Apostle doth, Heb.4.15. *He was in all things tempted in like sort, yet without sinne.* So then like as, when wee say, Christ tooke *our whole nature*, which is a true Catholike saying, and vsed of the Fathers: *Totum hominem deus ille suscepit:* God tooke whole man, *Fulgent. ad Thrasimund. lib.* 3. we meane not, that he tooke our sinfull nature: so in this saying, Christ was to suffer our whole punishment, all such punishments as cannot be suffered without sinne, as *desperation*, finall *reprobation*, are manifestly excepted.

3. If you will allow vs this exception of sinne in Christs satisfactorie sacrifice, I trust you will dispense also with the perpetuitie, which includeth an impossibilitie: for the Apostle saith, *it was impossible, that Christ should be held of the sorrowes of death*, Act.2.24. and the reason is, because Christ was without sinne, and therefore could not for euer be held in deaths bondage: If then where there is no *iniquitie*, there can be of punishment no *perpetuitie*, you must also yeeld vs this second exception of *perpetuitie*, because of Christs holines and *pietie*.

4. For the third exception of the place of hell: first, the holines of Christs person doth exempt him, because it is prepared onely for the diuell and his angels, and the euerlastingly accursed, Matth.25.41. Secondly, if Christ by his *innocencie* is freed from the *perpetuitie*, so is hee also from the very place and *obscuritie*, because they that are there neuer come from thence, Luk.16.26. Thirdly, it is also a question worth the asking, where the site of hell should bee; whether the place make hell, or rather the wrath and absence of God doth not cause it; and whether the diuels be not in hell? S. *Peter* saith, *they are cast downe to hell, and kept in chaynes of darknes*, 2.Pet.2.4. and Saint *Paul* calleth the diuell, *the prince that vnleth in the ayre*, Ephes.2.2. the ayre then is the diuels hell. So *Bernard* saith, *In pœnam suam diabolus locum in aëre isto medium inter cœlum & terram sortitus est, &c.* The diuell for his punishment is allotted to haue his place in the ayre in the midst betweene heauen and earth, *in Cantic. serm.* 54 And *Augustine* before him thus expoundeth S. *Peter*; *Malè angeli carceribus caliginis, in diem iudicij, vt Petrus ait, seruantur, & iam penaliter hunc infernum i. caliginosum aërem tanquam carcerem acceperunt:* The euill angels are reserued in chaynes of darknes for the day of iudgement, as S. *Peter* saith, and euen now haue their prison, penally, this infernall and darke ayre, *de natur. boni. cap.*32. Yet neither *Augustine*, nor wee doe thinke, but that the diuels are appointed to a further punishment at the day of iudgement: so the Apostle expresseth 2.Pet.2.4. So the diuell himselfe feareth and expecteth: Luk.8.31. The spirits desire, not to be sent into the deepe. Thus much *Augustine* confesseth: *Diabolo alia mors præparatur in æterno igne tartari:* Another death is prepared for the diuell in euerlasting fire, *lib.4 de Trinitat. c.*13. Yet thus much wee haue gained, that, seeing this ayre is the diuels present hell, hell may bee in this world: and therefore it is neither impossible, nor improbable, that the crosse was Christs hell.

5. Like as Christ then is said to beare all our iniquities, Isay.53.11. (*all* is not there expressed: but who doubteth, that he bare all and not onely some) so is hee truly said to beare all our

punishment:

punishment: but he bare our sinnes without sinne, neither was hee to beare them for euer, nor to carrie them downe to hell with him; in all which manner we should haue borne them, but to fasten them onely to his crosse, Coloss. 2. 14. so giue vs leaue to say, he did beare all our punishment, though not as we should haue borne it, that is, *sinfully, eternally* and *hellishly*: but to finish all vpon the crosse, and in such sort, as Gods iustice was *satisfied*, his person not *disgraced*, nor his bohnes *defiled*, and yet mans saluation fully *perfited*.

6. And lest this phrase of speech, that Christ suffered whatsoeuer wee should haue suffered, might be thought onely now to be taken vp; Saint *Hierome* long before hath so spoken and written: *Factus est pro nobis maledictum, vt nos liberaret a maledicto, quod enim nos pro nostris debebamus sceleribus sustinere, ille pro nobis passus est, &c.* He was made a curse for vs, to deliuer vs from the curse: for that, which we ought to haue sustained for our sinnes, he suffered for vs, *in Isai. cap. 53.* And it followeth: *Ex quo perspicuum est sicut corpus flagellatum, &c. ita animam vere doluisse*: By the which it is manifest, as his bodie was whipped, so his soule was truly grieued, &c. But it will be here said vnto vs, that *Hierome* saith not, Christ suffered all, that was due to our sinnes.

Answ. 1. As though an indefinite proposition is not for the most part equiualent to an vniuersall, though it haue not the note of vniuersalitie: as when we say, *men are mortall*, it is euident, that we meane all: but it is not so properly said, men are *good*, wise, &c. because these speeches are particular, all are not so. Yea the Scripture so vseth to speake, Iohn. 1. 29. Behold the Lambe of God that taketh away the *sinne* of the world; I hope *all sinne* be vnderstood: for there is no sinne for the which Christ dyed not: Mark. 16. 16. *He that beleeueth, &c.* I hope the meaning be, *omnis qui credit*, euery one that beleeueth, though the note be not expressed.

2. Saint *Hieromes* meaning is plaine, that Christ suffered *all*: for he was made that by suffring, which we are deliuered from by his first wordes doe import; but wee are deliuered from the curse both of bodie and soule: *Ergo.* 2. He sheweth in the latter part of the sentence, that hee meaneth all both the whipping of the bodie, and true griefe of the soule: and so I hope this testimonie is cleered.

Argum. 4. The Prophet *Isay* saith, *he carried our sorrowes*, Isay. 53. 4. that is, all: *Ergo*, he did beare the sorrowes of hell.

For the further explication of our meaning, and strengthening of this argument: first, though the Prophet doe not put to the signe *all*, yet *Matthew* doth, that best knew the Prophets meaning, Matth. 18. 16. He healed *all* that were sicke, *that it might be fulfilled, &c. hee tooke our infirmities and bare our sicknesses*: If Christ fulfilled the Prophet in healing all sicknesses, then the Prophet spake of all. And againe, Matth. 4. 23. *He healed euery disease, and euery sicknesse*: not some, but all.

2. Christ indeede bare these sorrowes for vs, but they were his sorrowes, not ours; as the words following doe well declare, he was *wounded, &c.* were not the wounds of his bodie his? so were the sorrowes. 2. If they were our sorrowes, not his, then our owne sorrowes redeeme vs, which I thinke is no good doctrine. 3. *Ambrose* in deede saith, *Dolet dominus Iesu non tua sed mea vulnera; quid mirum quod pro omnibus doluit, qui pro vno flemus, &c.* Thou lamentest Lord Iesus not thy wounds, but mine (that is sinnes) no marualle if he grieued for all, that wept for one; *lib. 2. de fid. c. 3.* The occasion of Christs griefe was the wound of our sinnes: but the griefe was his owne; as the griefe was his owne when he sorrowed for *Iudas*, so was it, when he grieued for all. And againe in the same place he saith, *Maror eius maerorem nostrum abolerat*: His griefe did abolish ours: He maketh a manifest difference betweene Christs griefe and ours: therefore Christs griefe in propertie was not ours, &c.

3. Whereas *Feuardentius* by these sorrowes vnderstandeth onely the infirmities of the bodie, as hunger, thirst, wearines, &c. *in 4. 15. Ioh. 1.* I answere, 1. The Septuagint translate, *He bare our sinnes.* 2. If he refuse the Septuagint, let him take *Hieromes* exposition, *Si ille qui peccatum non fecit pro nobis doluit & peccata nostra portauit, &c.* If he, which did no sinne, grieued for vs, and *bare our sinnes*, how much more we, *lib. 2. aduer. Pelag.* 3. If *Hierome* content him not, *Peters* interpretation cannot bee refused, who following the Septuagint in the same words and sense saith, *He bare our sinnes in his bodie, &c.* 1. Pet. 2. 24. But he will say, what is this to the purpose? Yes very much, for if the Apostle interpreteth sinnes, where the Prophet saith sorrowes, what are they else but the sorrowes of Christs soule for our sinnes? 4. If by sorrowes we vnderstand infirmities, I hope the infirmities of the soule shall haue place here, as well as the infirmities of our bodies, seeing Christ tooke all our infirmities, as *Matthew* expoundeth: and so saith *Fulgentius, Animam rationalem habens, quicquid fuit infirmitatis animae siue peccato suscepit & pertulit*: Christ hauing a reasonable soule, did take also and beare without sinne, whatsoeuer infirmitie of the soule: *lib. 3. ad Thrasimund.* If then he bare all the infirmities of the soule, then the internall sorrow and soule sufferings for sinne.

Argum. 5. I will adde some testimonies of the fathers: *Origene* maketh Christs hell vpon the crosse: *Vnusquisque peccatorum, ob quae Christus iturus ad inferos, porta sunt inferorum?* Euery sinne,

for

for the which Christ was to goe into hell, are the gates of hell, *Tract.1. in Matth.* But I trust no man will say that Christ after his death went into hell, to suffer for our sinnes. Againe, *Ille dominabatur in nobis donec daretur ei pro nobis redemptio anima Iesu, decepto videlicet, & existimanti, quasi posset dominari itius, & non videret, quod non posset sustinere in tormento eam; tormentis: data autem anima eius in redemptionem pro multis non mansit apud eum, cui fuerat data; propter hoc dicit propheta, quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno:* The diuell had rule ouer vs, till the soule of Christ was giuen him for our redemption; he being deceiued, and thinking that he might also beare rule ouer it, and not perceiuing, that he could not endure to holde it long in torment: but Christs soule being giuen to be a redemption for many, did not stay with him, to whom it was giuen; and for this the Prophet saith, *Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, Tract.12. in Matth.* Here *Origene* affirmeth, that Christs soule was tormented in hell, which was not after his death: *Ergo*, it was while he liued: the rest that *Origene* saith, that Christs soule was giuen as a price of our redemption to the diuell, and by him tormented, seemeth somewhat hard, and to that end I alleage him not, but onely to proue the hell torments of Christs soule, which is here affirmed.

S. *Ambrose* thus witnesseth: *Quæ erat causa incarnationis, nisi vt caro, quæ peccauerat, per se redimeretur: quod peccauerat igitur, hoc redemptum est: non est ergo immolata diuinitas Christi, quia non peccauerat diuinitas Christi: hoc obtulit Christus quod induit; induit autem, quod non habuit:* What other cause was there of Christs incarnation, but that the flesh, which had sinned, might be redeemed by it selfe; therefore Christs deitie was not sacrificed, because it had not sinned: Christ offered that which he tooke, he tooke that which he had not: *de incarnat. c.6.* Though he giue an instance onely of the flesh, yet his reasons doe also holde for the soule. First, that which was to be redeemed, was redeemed by it selfe, the flesh by the flesh: *Ergo*, the soule by the soule. Secondly, whatsoeuer had sinned, was to be sacrificed: *Ergo*, the soule also which properly sinneth, the diuine nature onely is excepted. Thirdly, whatsoeuer Christ tooke that hee had not before, was offered: but he tooke a soule as well as flesh. *Ergo.*

Bernard: Non derelinques animam meam in inferno: infernus quidem & carcer anima, rea conscientia est: Thou shalt not leaue my soule in hell: the hell and prison of the soule is a guiltie conscience, *in assumpt. serm.4.* He maketh the griefe of Christs soule his hell. Againe, *Sunt gradus in ascendendo & descendendo; in descendendo primus gradus à cœlo vsque ad carnem, secundus ad crucem, tertius ad mortem: ecce quousque descendit, nunquid amplius potuit? poterat iam certè dicere rex noster, quid vltrà debui facere & non feci?* There are degrees in ascending, and descending: the first degree in Christs descending was from heauen to the flesh; the second to the crosse, the third to death; behold how farre hee descended, could hee descend any more? surely our King might haue sayd, what could I haue done more, and I did it not? *serm. pass.* 8. He maketh the whole descension of Christ to be finished before and in his death: therfore in his sentence Christs soule descended into hell vpon the crosse, or not at all.

But it will be obiected againe out of *Bernard*, where he saith: *Semel ille descendit (i. ad inferos) non sanguis, sed anima, cum corpus penderet exanime super terram:* Hee once descended to hell, not his blood, but his soule, while his bodie did hang without life vpon the earth, Cantic.75. I answere: first, this word (*exanime*) doth not alwaies signifie dead, but astonied, or halfe dead, as we say, *exanimatus metu*, astonied or halfe dead for feare: so Christs bodie might be said to be as dead, in that long silence vpon the crosse, his body being as exanimated with the grieuous tortures of his soule: I had rather so take *Bernard*, than to make him speake contraries. Secondly, he saith again, *Qui traduxit aëreas potestates & affixit cruci suæ, claret quia super infernales efficitur potestatem accepit:* Which did traduce the ayrie powers and fastened them to his crosse, it is cleere that he receiued power ouer the infernall regions, &c. *in die ascens. serm.2.* If Christ then did triumph and conquer the infernall powers and regions vpon the crosse, what other cause can be assigned of his descension, vnlesse we will say, he went thither to deliuer the Patriarkes? but *Augustine* thinketh, that *Abraham* and the Prophets were *in sinu Abrahæ*, in the bosome of *Abraham*, and not in hell, *epist.99.* Thirdly, and if it be graunted that *Bernard* being carried away with the error of that time, to think that Christ went downe locally to hell to deliuer the Patriarkes, yet hee may very well hold the spirituall descending of Christ to hell by the suffrings of his soule, as I haue shewed: seeing the locall descension was not to suffer, but to conquer.

To these testimonies may be adioyned those which are dispersedly alleaged before: as first, of *Ambrose, argum.1. artic.4.* secondly, *Origen argum.2. artic.1.* thirdly, *Fulgentius argum.3. artic.1.* fourthly, *August. argum.3. artic.4.* fiftly, *Hieronym. argum.3. artic.6.* sixtly, *Ambros. argum.4. artic.2.* *Athanasius* also is an eudent witnesse for vs: who hauing made mention of *Adams* double punishment, and the sentence giuen against his bodie, that it should returne to dust, and against his soule, *thou shalt dye the death*, proceedeth further thus: *Ac proinde opus fuit illo ipso iudice, qui hoc decretum tulerat, vt ipse per se sententiam solueret sub specie condemnati, incondemnatum se, syncerumque à peccatis ostenderet, vt hominem deo reconciliaret, hominemque totum in libertatem vindicaret:* And therfore

fore it was needfull that the same Iudge, which made the decree, should by himselfe dissolue the sentence vnder the shew of a man condemned, shewing himselfe vncondemned and sinlesse from sinne, to reconcile man vnto God, and restore whole man to libertie, *de incarnat. Christi.* If Christ, *sub specie condemnati*, vnder the shew of a man condemned, must restore whole man to libertie, and dissolue the whole sentence giuen both against mans bodie and soule; he hee could not present himselfe as a man condemned in soule, in the locall place of hell, (for there hee suffered not) it followeth then that he shewed himselfe as a man condemned in soule vpon the crosse.

Obiect. It will be answered, that *Athanasius* saith not he was condemned in soule, and that wee doe wrest him against his minde, seeing he manifestly affirmeth Christs locall descension.

Cont. 1. That must be *Athanasius* meaning, that he was as a man condemned in soule: for there he was as a man for vs condemned, where in himselfe he was vncondemned and free from sinne: but Christs innocencie was in his soule, therefore there was the condemnation chiefly.

2. He by himselfe loosed the sentence to restore whole man; as by himselfe he loosed the sentence for the bodie by being condemned and suffring in the bodie; so by himselfe to loose the sentence against the soule, he must suffer also and be as condemned in soule.

3. We graunt *Athanasius* doth hold the locall descension otherwhere; that nothing hindreth the sense here: for that descension was not to suffer, but to conquer: but this descension and suffering is of a man in shew condemned: for like as the bodie of Christ suffered vpon the crosse, yet afterward triumphed ouer death in the resurrection; so he might thinke, that Christs soule though suffering vpon the crosse, might notwithstanding afterwarde, make a more full conquest of hell.

The conclusion of all is this, that seeing the Prophet *Dauid* before spake of Christ, that the sorrowes of hell did compasse him about, *argum.* 1. and that Christ loosed the sorrowes of hell, wherewith hee could not be held, *argum.* 2. and it was necessarie that Christ should sustaine the whole punishment of bodie and soule due vnto vs, *argum.* 3. seeing also Christ bare all our sorrowes, *argum.* 4. and the Fathers herein together witnesse with the Scriptures: it remaineth that Christ entred in soule into hell, and sustained the very sorrowes thereof for vs vpon his crosse.

AN APPENDIX CONCERNING THE FIRE of hell, whether it be materiall and corporall.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

BEllarmine vseth this as a speciall argument, against Christs suffering in soule the sorrowes of hell, because that hell is not in this life, neither can the flames thereof be kindled here, *Bellar. lib. 4. c. 8. argum. 5.* And against, he taketh vpon him to proue that hell fire is corporall; and so hee imagineth his Purgatorie fire to be, which only worketh vpon soules, *lib. 2. de Purgat. c. 11.* So that he seemeth thus to thinke, that hell fire, which shall torment mens soules and bodies, is corporall onely and materiall: and that the sense of Gods wrath is no part of the sorrowes of hell, *lib. 4. de Christ. anim. c. 8. argum. 5.* Artic. 18.

Obiect. 1. He reasoneth thus from the Scripture: In euery place the punishment of the wicked is said to be fire, and that the Lord shall iudge them, and punish them with fire, which must be taken properly, where no absurditie followeth: and therefore the fire of hell is corporall, *lib. 2. de Purgat. c. 11.*

Answ. 1. Some places of Scripture doe describe the manner of Gods comming to iudgement, which shall be with fire consuming the heauens, the earth and the mountaines: which we denie not, but that the world at the day of iudgement being a materiall substance, shall be consumed with materiall and corporall fire: as *Hierome* saith, *Ignis dominus totus aduenit*: The Lorde shall come all fierie, *de sanct. diuin. legis.* And *Ambrose: Teneamus hic positi humilitatem, vt cum vnusquisq; nostrum venerit ad iudicium dei, ad illos ignes, quos transituri sumus, dicat, vide humilitatem meam*: Let vs hold fast humilitie, that when euery one commeth to iudgement, to those fires, which we must passe thorow, hee may say, behold my humilitie, *serm. 20. in Psal. 119.* All this wee graunt: but it followeth not, because the fire of that day shall be materiall, burning but for a time, and consuming things corporall, that therefore hell fire tormenting spirits as well as bodies, shall onely be corporall.

2. Other places make mention of hell fire, but whether it is corporall or spirituall they shew not: the mentioning of brimstone together with fire, Reuel. 21. 8. doth no more proue it to bee corporall, than, where the Prophet describing hell saith, *the burning thereof is fire and much wood*, Isay. 30. 33. we may imagine that hell fire is kindled with wood. 2. The Prophet sheweth in the same place what this brimstone is, *The breath of the Lord like a riuer of brimstone doth kindle it.*

3. Wee graunt a corporall and materiall fire in hell, but not onely, neither are all hell flames

corporall, but as *Bernard* saith: *In carne cruciabuntur per ignem, in spiritu per conscientiæ vermem*: They shall in their flesh be tormented with fire, in the spirit by the worme of conscience, *Medit. c.* 4.

Obiect. 2. Here diuers Fathers also are alleaged to proue the fire of hell to be corporall and materiall; as *Gregorie*, *Augustine*: *Bellarmine lib.* 2. *de purgat. c.* 2.

Answ. First, *Gregorie* in flat termes calleth it *ignem incorporeum*, incorporall fire: but it is answered that *Gregorie* is falsified: *incorporeum* is corporall, being put for *corporeum*, corporall: for he saith afterward, that this fire doth *corpora viuere*, burne corporally. And *Bellarmine* doth further answere, that it is *quorundam scriptorum*, the fault of the writer, *lib.* 2. *de purgat. c.* 11.

Contra. 1. If *Bellarmine* copie, and our copies, and consequently all bookes of *Gregorie*, haue *incorporall*, how is it like to be the writers or Printers fault? it is straunge that there should bee no true corrected copie of *Gregorie*. 2. We may rather say, that *corporaliter* comming after, is crept in for *incorporaliter*, incorporally. 3. If *Bellarmine* alleage *Gregorie* for purgatorie fire, how can it serue for hell fire, seeing the one they imagine to be temporall, the other is eternall? 4. Admitting *Gregorie* to be corrupted, yet he is farre from affirming all hell fire and flames to bee corporall.

3. *Augustine*, as he is alleaged by *Bellarmine*, *lib.* 21. *de ciuit. dei cap.* 10. doth shew indeede how *incorporall* spirites after a maruellous manner may be afflicted with the paine of corporall fire: but hee is farre from thinking, that there is no paine at fire in hell but materiall and corporall: nay he concludeth the contrarie, and thinketh it better, *likely, that the bodie should bee afflicted with fire, the soule with a kinde of sorrow as it were a worme, &c. so that by no meane any man thinke the bodies in hell to be such, that they shall not be touched with the paine of fire.* 2. *Augustine* himselfe thinketh elsewhere, that the soules of *Lazarus* and the rich man, were not *in loco corporeo*, in any corporall place, *de Genes. lib.* 12. 5. and that the fire wherein the rich man was tormented, was no more corporall, than his tongue or finger, *lib.* 21. *de ciuit. dei c.* 10. And he resolutely concludeth, *Substantiam inferorum non esse corpoream, sed spiritualem*: That the substance of hell is not corporall, but spirituall, *lib.* 12. *de Genes. c.* 33. And he prooueth, that there is an hell by this experiment, because many being terrified in their dreames, *metuunt ne rursus dormiant*, are afraid to sleepe againe, *ibid.* But this sheweth hell to be rather a spirituall paine, than a corporall. Wherefore *Augustine* is farre from limiting hell to a corporall fire or paine, making the chiefe part and substance thereof spirituall.

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

THAT THE FLAMES OF HELL FIRE ARE not onely materiall and corporall.

IT is That as the bodies of the damned and reprobate shall be tormented in hell; so it is not vnlike but they shall burne euen with a materiall fire vnquenchable, it is very probable: though it be not fit that we should too curiously search into these secrets, which the faithfull shall neuer haue experience of. *Augustine* saith well: *Melius est dubitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis*: It is better to doubt of vnknowne things, than to striue for vncertaine. It is sufficient for vs to know that hell fire is prepared for the diuell and his angels, and the damned companie. And I doubt not to say with *Ruffinus*: *Siquis negat diabolum æternis ignibus mancipandum, partem cum ipso æterni ignis accipiet, vt sentiat, quod negauit*: If any man denie that the diuell shall be subiected to euerlasting fire, he shall receiue part of euerlasting fire with him, that he may feele that, which hee denied, &c. But what manner of fire this shall be, it is not so euident: yet we are most sure, that as hell paine shall worke vpon the soule, so there is a spirituall fire and torment, wherewith the same shall be afflicted: which if it be proued, then one of the chiefest arguments faileth them, which is vrged against the hell sorrowes, which Christ felt in his soule vpon the crosse.

Argum. 1. Saint *Iames* saith, that *the tongue is a fire, which setteth on fire the course of nature, and is inflamed or set on fire of hell*, Iam. 3. 6. Such as is the fire, such is the flame, the euilnes of the tongue is a fire-brand, or flame of hell fire; it is not a corporall or materiall flame; no more is that fire of hell, wherewith it is inflamed.

Againe, our Sauiour thus describeth hell: *Where the worme dyeth not, and the fire goeth not out*, Mark. 9. 44. Beside fire, there is the perpetuall gnawing worme of the conscience. So *Bernard* well expoundeth: *Duo mala sunt vermis & ignis, altero rodimur conscientia, altero concremantur corpora*: There are two euils, the worme and fire; with the one the conscience is bitten; with the other, bodies are burned, *par. serm.* 16.

Argum. 2. The rich man is sayd to bee in hell torments, and to bee tormented in the flame, Luk. 16. 23. 24. but this was no materiall fire, no more than his finger was materiall, or the drop of

water;

water, which he craued: so much *Augustine* confesseth, *lib.* 21. *de ciuit. Dei. c.* 10. And that this was a storie done, and not a similitude borrowed, S. *Chrysostome* testifieth: *Parabola sunt, vbi exemplum ponitur, tacentur nomina:* Those be parables, when the example is set downe, and the names concealed, &c. But in this place, *si verus est Abraham, verus est Lazarus*, as there is a true *Abraham*, so there is a true *Lazarus*, &c. Hence then I conclude, that there is a fire of hell, not materiall.

Argum. 3. The euerlasting fire of hell is prepared for the diuell and his angels, Matth. 25. 41. The diuels are spirits, and cannot properly be tormented with corporall fire: *Ergo*, their proper punishment is spirituall.

Though it be graunted, as *Augustine* seemeth to insinuate, *lib.* 21. *de ciuit. cap.* 10. that incorporall spirits may be afflicted with corporall fire, after a miraculous and extraordinarie manner, as the soule is afflicted with the torments of the bodie, yet the force of this argument holdeth: for we speake of the proper punishment of diuels: 1. The soule though it suffer by way of sympathie with the bodie, yet it hath a proper griefe beside of it owne. 2. Diuels can haue no such affliction by way of sympathie, seeing they haue no bodies to suffer by. 3. That God is able by his omnipotent power to make spirits feele the paine of fire, we graunt; but because hee can doe it, therefore he doth and will, is but a fillie kind of reasoning. 4. It is as vsuall for the body to suffer with and from the soule, as for the soule to be affected and afflicted with the bodie: the care and griefe of the soule doth sooner weaken the bodie, than the sickenesse of the bodie doth distresse the soule: may not we as well reason from Gods power; that he is able to make a corporall substance, to feele an incorporall paine, and therefore euen the bodies of the damned shall be tormented with an incorporall fire in hell? 5. But that the diuels haue a spirituall punishment beside the corporall fire of hell (to yeeld so much for this time) it is thus euident; because the diuels are now in torment. S. *Peter* saith, *they are in hell, and kept in chaines of darknes*, 2. Pet. 2. 4. but in hell they cannot be without paine: but in fire they are not; for they are princes of the ayre, as S. *Paul* sayth, Ephes. 2. 2. there is their place; as *Bernard* saith, *Elige tibi locũ in aëre non ad sedendũ, sed ad volandũ, vt qui tentasti concutere statum aternitatis pœnam sentias propriæ fluctuationis:* Chuse thy place in the ayre, not to sit, but to flit, that as thou diddest trie to shake *eternitie*, so thou maist be now punished with *mutabilitie: de* 12. *gradib.* The diuell then is in the ayre, and now in torment: but in the ayre is no fire, *Ergo*, hee is in torment without materiall fire. *Origen* speaketh to the same purpose, cited vpon an other occasion before: that when the diuell seeth a man giuen to studie the word of God, *in hoc eorum flamma est, in isto vruntur incendio*, here is their flame, and in this fire are they scorched, &c. The fire of enuie then and malice, without any materiall flame, doth scorch the euill spirits.

I omit here *Origens* reasons against the corporall fire of hell: first, because hell is full of darknes, and the propertie of corporall fire is to lighten or illuminate: but so shall not that fire in hell: *Nescio, si ille ignis, qui in futuro seculo incendit, habeat & aliquid, quod illuminet:* I cannot tell (saith he) whether that fire, which shall burne in the next world, haue any thing to giue light with, *Hom.* 13. *Exod.* Secondly, he vseth a better reason than this, grounded vpon Saint *Pauls* words, *The things which are seene are temporall*, 2. Cor. 4. 18. *Necesse est ergo, si visibilia sit ignis vt sit temporalis:* It is necessarie therefore, if fire be visible, that it be but temporall, *Tract.* 34. *in Matth.* So hee concludeth hell fire to be inuisible; if it be inuisible, then also incorporall: for it is the propertie of corporall fire to be visible. But I vrge not *Origens* reasons, I onely produce them: neither doe I relie vpon his iudgement in this point, seeing *Hierome* noteth this to be one of *Origens* errors: *Gehennæ tormenta non ponit in supplicijs, sed in conscientia peccatorum:* He doth not place hell torments in punishment, but in the conscience of sinne, *Hieron. ad Auitum.* But neither of them is to bee excluded.

I conclude then with S. *Ambrose: Ibi erit stridor dentium, stridor dentium prodit indignantis affectum, eò quòd sero vnumquenque pœniteat, &c.* There shall bee gnashing of teeth, gnashing of teeth bewrayeth an angrie affection, because they repent too late, &c. *in* 12. *Luc.* Likewise *Augustine*, who reckoneth these among the punishments of hell: *Vermis conscientia, ignita lachryma, dolor sine remedio, absentia Christi, quæ sola omnibus pœnis intolerabilior:* The worme of conscience, fierie teares, remedilesse griefe, the absence of Christ more intolerable, than all griefe beside, *de triplic. habitac.* 2. 2. *Ergo*, in hell, beside corporall fire, there is spirituall torment.

THE FIFT PART, WHETHER CHRIST APpeared before Gods tribunall, as guiltie of our sinnes.

FEuardentius, that cauilling Frier, hauing nothing to obiect against this position of *Caluin*; *Oportuit Christum sisti ad dei tribunal, vt cunctorum nostrorum maleficiorum reum:* It was behouefull that Christ should stand before Gods tribunall as guiltie of all our sins, *Institut. lib.* 2. *c.* 16. *sect.* 12. He inuerteth, or rather peruerteth the question, and propoundeth to himselfe to proue, that Christ was not *reipsa peccator*, was not indeede a sinner: confuting that, which no man affirmeth. Artic. 19.

Argum. Iohn.1.29.*Christ is the lambe of God that taketh away the sinne of the world:* Ergo, he is no sinner; for then he could not take away sinne. Hebr.4.15. *he was in all things tempted in like sort, yet without sinne.* Hebru.7.26. *such an high priest it became vs to haue, which is holy, harmelesse, vndefiled.* Feuarden.p.463.

To this ende *Bernard* is alleadged: *elolle puer, &c.* holy child, what hast thou committed worthie of so great confusion? truely nothing, *Ego homo perditus, totius perditionis tua causa extiti:* I O man of perdition, was the cause of thy perdition. &c. *serm. de passion.*p.465.

Answ. First, I answere the Frier, as *Augustine* did *Petilian* the Donatist, who impudently charged him with a cleane contrarie matter: *Quemadmodum si mihi diceres, quod ego Petilianus sum, non inuenirem, quomodo te refellerem, nisi aut iocantem riderem, aut vt insanientem dolerem: hoc mihi nunc faciendum esse video, sed quia te iocari non credo, vides quid restat:* Like as if you should say to me, that I am *Petilian*, I could not finde how to refute you, but eyther to laugh at your folly, or to grieue for your phrensie; so I must do at this time, but because the Frier iesteth not, but is in good earnest, you know what remaineth: *cont. Petelian.*2.38. Thus dealeth the Frier with *Caluine*, charging him with that he neuer held, as if he should say to him, that he was *Feuardentius* not *Caluine*, *Augustine* would haue iudged this eyther to be foolishnes or madnes in him.

2 I say with *Hierom, Possum omnes propositionum riuulos vno veritatis sole siccare*, I can drie vp all those allegations with the sunne of truth: for we confesse Christ to be the vnspotted lambe, to haue beene tempted without sinne, to be an holy and vndefiled priest: far be it from vs to think or speake otherwise of Christ; he himselfe saith: *The prince of this world commeth and hath nought in me:* Iohn.14.30. and we confesse with *Augustine, Iste est agnus qui in altari crucis hostia viua deo patri pro nobis in odorem suauitatis oblatus est*: This is the lambe, which was offered on the altar of the crosse a liuing sacrifice vnto God his father for vs to be a sauour of sweetnes. *serm. de tempor.*150. But all this being confessed and granted, that Christ in himselfe was the vnspotted and vndefiled lambe, it followeth not, but that for vs and in our person he taking vpon him our sinnes, stoode as guiltie thereof before God.

THE QVESTION RESOLVED.

CHrist was in himselfe most holy, most pure, most innocent, hereunto we most willingly subscribe: yet notwithstanding, he tooke vpon him the burthen of our sins, and made our debt his owne, and so as our suretie presented himselfe as indebted for vs, and in our person guiltie of our sinnes: this the Frier denieth, p.467.10. But we proue it thus:

Argum. 1. The Prophet *Esay* saith, *He shall beare their iniquities*, Esay.53.11. How otherwise could he beare them, but by laying them vpon himselfe?

Answ. By sinne the prophet vnderstandeth the punishment for sin, which Christ vndertooke. p.467.10. *Feuarden.*

Contra. 1. Saint *Peter* otherwise expoundeth the prophet, 1.Pet.2.24. who in his *bodie bare our sinnes, that we being deliuered from sinne should liue in righteousnes:* as he saith we are deliuered from sinne, so Christ bare our sinnes but we are deliuered not onely from the punishment of sinne, but from sinne it selfe to liue in righteousnes, *Ergo.*

2. The prophet also expoundeth himselfe: *God hath laid vpon him the iniquitie of vs all:* vers.6. here iniquitie is taken for sinne it selfe, as the forepart of the verse sheweth, *we like sheepe are gone astray, &c.* and then it followeth, *he hath laid vpon him, &c.* He speaketh not of our smart, but of our fault, not of the *terrors* of our life, but the *errors.*

3. Thus *Hierom* also expoundeth the prophet: vpon these words, Psal.69.5. *My faults are not hid from thee: Hoc ex persona Christi dicitur, si ille qui peccatum non fecit, pro nobis doluit & peccata nostra portauit, &c.* This is spoken in the person of Christ, if he, which did no sinne, grieued for vs, and did beare our sinnes, how much more we: *lib. 2. aduers. Pelagian.* Heere *Hierome* saith that Christ so bare our sinnes, as he did no sinne himselfe, and in such sort, that he counteth our sinnes his.

Argum. 2. 2.Cor.5.21. *He made him to be sinne for vs, that knew no sinne, that we might bee the righteousnes of God in him:* the Apostle saith directly, that Christ was made sinne for vs, that is, our sinne was imputed vnto him.

Answ. By sinne here is vnderstood the sacrifice for sinne, or the punishment for sinne, *Feuard.* p.467. so *Augustine* and *Ambrose* expound it.

Contra. 1. *Ambrose* indeed so expoundeth, but he excludeth not the other sense, but saith hee was offered both a sacrifice for sinne, and as a sinner himselfe: *Christus quoniam oblatus est pro peccatis, non immerito peccatum factus dicitur:* Christ because he was offered for sinne, is said not amisse to be made sinne, &c. And againe, *Christus quasi peccator occisus est, vt peccatores iustificarentur apud deum:* Christ was slaine as a sinner, that sinners might be iustified before God: in 2.Cor.c.5.

2. The

2. The text it ſelfe giueth this ſenſe, that ſinne is to be taken properly, *he is made ſinne, as hee knew no ſinne:* but he knew not ſinne properly, not the puniſhment of ſinne: *Ergo*, he was made ſin, not the puniſhment onely. Againe, as we are made righteouſnes before God, ſo is he made ſinne; but his righteouſnes is verely imputed to vs: *Ergo*, our ſinnes are imputed to him: ſo then as we are ſinners in our ſelues, yet righteous by the imputatiō of his righteouſnes; ſo he being moſt righteous in himſelfe is made ſinne by the imputation of our ſinnes.

3. *Hierom* alſo thus expoundeth: *Deum qui eum dicitur feciſſe maledictū, ipſe pro nobis eum fecit peccatum:* God which is ſaid to haue made him a curſe for vs, hath made him alſo ſinne for vs: *in 3. ad Galat.* As the Apoſtle then ſaith, *he was made a curſe for vs*; Galat. 3. 13. ſo was he made ſinne: but he was not onely made a ſacrifice or a puniſhment for our curſe, but the curſe it ſelfe. *Ergo*, ſo was he made ſinne.

Wee doe not then ſay, that Chriſt was polluted, or defiled with our ſinnes, but onely reputed and taken for vs and in our perſon as a ſinner: and thus in charitie we are to vnderſtand them, that haue ſomewhat here exceeded in termes, and not ſo to wreſt and turne their words, as though they did meane to blemiſh Chriſt with the leaſt touch of ſinne: for as *Hierome* well ſaith: *Quid prodeſt vulneribus tuis, ſi ego fuero vulneratus, &c.* What ſhal it help your wounds to ſee others wounded? *apolog. 3. aduerſ. Ruffin.* ſo it is no defenſe or excuſe of ones error, to ſee an other to erre. I find that in the councell of *Baſil. ſeſſ. 22.* this aſſertion of one *Auguſtine* Archbiſhop of Nazareth was condemned, who ſhould ſay, *Chriſtus quotidie peccat, & ex quo fuit Chriſtus quotidie peccauit:* That Chriſt daily ſinneth, and euer ſince Chriſt was he ſinned daily: *quam aſſertionem pia fidelium aures ſine horrore audire nequeunt:* Which aſſertion godly eares cannot heare without trembling, &c. although this Archbiſhop might haue ſome tolerable ſenſe in this ſentence, yet becauſe the ſpeech was vnuſuall and offenſiue, it was miſliked: ſo, though Chriſt were in our perſon preſented vnto God as guiltie of our ſinnes by imputation, yet we wiſh that all hard and vnwonted phraſes of ſpeech be carefully auoided, as to ſay Chriſt was the greateſt *adulterer, blaſphemer, &c.* becauſe all the ſinne of the elect were laid vpon his backe: it is ſufficient for vs to ſay with the Apoſtle in generall, that Chriſt was made ſinne for vs, and not to deſcend to particulars.

So then I conclude this place with that ſaying of Saint *Hierome: Ieſu filium Ioſedech quod interpretatur iuſtus domini, ſacerdos magnus deſcribitur veſtibus ſordidis, qui peccata noſtra non fecit, & tamen peccata noſtra portauit, & c. dicunq; ei poſt pugnam & victoriam, auferte veſtem ſordidam ab eo; ecce abſtuli à te iniquitatem, &c.* Ieſus the ſonne of *Ioſedech*, which is interpreted the Lords iuſt one the high prieſt is deſcribed with filthie garments, which did no ſinne, and yet bare our ſinne: and it is ſaid vnto him after the fight and victory, take away the filthy garments from him; behold I haue taken away thy ſinne, &c. thus *Hierome* expoundeth that place, Zach. 3. 4. where we ſee that our ſinnes which were as the filthy garments put vpon Chriſt, are called his ſinnes.

Likewiſe where the prophet *Iſay* ſaith, *vidimus eum & non habuit ſpeciem & decorem:* We ſawe him, and he had neither forme nor beautie, Eſay. 53 2. thoſe words *Auguſtine* expoundeth thus: *Ecce pulcher ille & ſpecioſus pra filijs hominum veniebat ad fœdam, vt faceret pulchram; dicā & hoc, quia in ſcripturis inuenio, ipſe fœdus factus eſt, &c.* Behold he that was the fayreſt among the ſons of men came to her that was filthy to make her faire: yea I will ſay further, becauſe I finde it in ſcripture, hee himſelfe was made filthie, &c. *in Pſal. 103. part. 1.* What elſe was this filthines which Chriſt tooke, but the imputation of our ſins? for otherwiſe the iniuries which were offered to his bodie made him more beautifull, in that they commended his patience, inſomuch that the Centurion confeſſed he was a iuſt and a good man, Luke. 23. 50. And though the ſouldiers mocked him, when they cloathed him with purple, and ſet a crowne of thornes vpon his head, and bowed vnto him, yet they did ignorantly honour, whom they in their heart deſpiſed: and ſo *Cyprian* expoundeth that place, Cantic. 3. 11. *Come forth ye daughters of Ieruſalem, and ſee the crowne wherewith his mother crowned him*, of the crowne of thornes, which Ieruſalem Chriſts mother after the fleſh ſet vpon him. *Cyprian in ſymbol.* So likewiſe Saint *Ambroſe: Illis licet defuit boni operis affectus, deo tamen ſuus non defuit honor, quia ſalutatur vt rex, coronatur vt victor, vt deus & dominus adoratur:* Though they in ſo doing had no deuotion, yet God wanteth not his honour, for he is ſaluted as a King, crowned as a conqueror, worſhipped as God, *in 22. Luc.*

Laſtly, where the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom. 8. 3. *De peccato damnauit peccatum in carne:* Through ſinne he condemned ſinne in the fleſh; *Origene* thus interpreteth: *Chriſtus ſine dubio pro peccato, quod ex nobis ſuſceperat quia peccata noſtra portauit, carnem incontaminatam obtulit hoſtiam:* Chriſt out of doubt for ſinne, which he tooke of vs, becauſe he bare our ſinnes, did offer his fleſh an vndefiled ſacrifice. *Hom. 3. in Leuit.* And againe, *Per peccatum ſuum. i. carnem in crucem actam in qua noſtra peccata ſuſceperat, nos credentes liberauit à peccato:* By his ſinne, that is his fleſh put to the croſſe, wherein he had taken our ſinnes, he deliuereth vs beleeuers from ſinne: *Ibid.* From this ſentence of *Origene* I gather, 1. that Chriſts fleſh is called ſinne, not becauſe it was a ſacrifice for ſinne, or was puniſhed for ſinne, but becauſe it tooke ſinne. 2. that we

are deliuered from that sinne, which Christ tooke, which was not the punishment of sinne, but sinne indeed. 3. that notwithstanding the bearing of our sinnes in his flesh, yet it was an vndefiled sacrifice vnto God.

The summe of all this: that seeing all our iniquities were laid vpon Christ, *Argum.* 1. seeing he was made sinne for vs, *Argum.* 2. he was clothed with our filthie rayments, *Argum.* 3. he became deformed and without beautie for vs, *Agum.* 4. he by his sinne, that is his flesh, wherein he bare our sinne condemned our sinne, *Argum.* 5. we doubt not to affirme and verely beleeue to our endlesse comfort, that Christ was reputed before God, as guiltie of all our sinnes, which he willingly vndertooke, and so satisfied for them for euer.

THE SIXT PART, WHETHER CHRIST WERE GRIEued and perplexed in his conscience and soule for the sinnes of the elect, which were laide vpon him.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

F*Euardentius* cannot in any case endure this, that Christ should suffer or feele any thing in his conscience: *Non in conscientia sua patiendo*, p. 449. 10. but onely admitteth an excessiue griefe in Christ, by way of contemplation in beholding the sorrowes of the world: as hauing reckoned vp in particular a great number of sinnes, he concludeth thus: *Hæc & alia totius mundi scelera illi. eo expianda sibi animo ampleclens &c. tanta totius cordis animique pœnitudine dolet vt par ei nemo vnquam fuerit*: these and other sinnes of the whole world Christ beholding in his mind to be by him expiated, is grieued with such pensiueneſſe of minde, as no man was euer like to him, p. 455. So then by way of compassion and contemplation he doth acknowledge Christ to haue beene grieued and not otherwise.

Argum. Speciall reasons and arguments for this their opinion they haue none, but such as haue beene before obiected in generall against the suffring of Christ in soule: as Heb. 10. 13. *With one offring hath he consecrated for euer, them that are sanctified*: Coloss. 2. 20. *Pacifying by the blood of his crosse, &c.* Perfite reconciliation was wrought by the blood of his crosse, and by one oblation, not many: *Ergo*, no such griefe or perplexitie was necessarie, *Feuarden. p. 449. conf.* 10.

Answ. 1. Though Christ suffered both in bodie and soule, yet was it but one sacrifice, which the Apostle calleth the *sacrifice of himselfe*, Hebr. 9. 26. for the soule and bodie made but one Christ, yet this sacrifice had diuers partes: as Hebr. 10. 10. it is called the offering of his bodie, vers. 19. his blood is mentioned, vers. 20. he speaketh of his flesh; will ye make as many sacrifices, as were parts of Christs sufferings?

2. If ye vrge blood strictly, and ascribe all vnto the blood and nothing else, how will ye reconcile the Apostle in the same place, Coloss. 1. 22. *In the bodie of his flesh thorough death*: the blood is not his bodie, nor his flesh. 2. The Apostle ascribeth our reconciliation to his death: but his blood was shed after his death, as may appeare, Iohn 19. Christ giueth vp the ghost, vers. 30. and afterward his side is pierced, vers. 34. This is well noted by S. *Ambrose*, *Post mortem percussus est non ante, vt exitus eius voluntarius non necessarius videretur*: He was pierced after death, not before, that his death might seeme voluntarie, *In Luc. c.* 22. Wherefore ye are forced against your wils, by one part of the crosse to vnderstand the rest, vnlesse you will exclude Christs blood. 3. If any man say, though Christs side were pierced after his death, yet he shedde much blood before, when he was whipped, and pricked with thornes, and nayled to the crosse.

Answ. Though we extenuate not the least drops of Christs blood: yet the blood which issued with water out of his side, is especially obserued by the Apostle, 1. Iohn 5. 6. And *Bernard* saith, *Perfosso latere in cruce voluti conscisso sacco pecuniam qua latebat in pretium nostræ redemptionis effudit*: His side being launced vpon the crosse, as if the treasure bagge had beene opened, the money was powred out, that payed our price, *in nat. al. Dom. serm.* 2. 4. And where the Apostle saith, *Iesus came by water and blood*, 1. Iohn 5. 6. if blood be strictly vrged, then the water is excluded, which was also a necessary part of the sacrifice: *Christus venit non in aqua solum, sed in aqua & sanguine: Moses in aqua solum venit, vnde & nomen habet, sed non redemit*: Christ came not in water onely, but in water and blood; *Moses* came in water onely, whereof he hath his name, but he redeemed vs not, *Bernard. ibid.*

3. Some will say, we yeeld you that all Christs bodily sufferings may figuratiuely be expressed by some one part or other, as by blood, flesh, &c. but it were improper thereby to signifie the soule suffrings. *Answ.* Yet it is not vnusuall, by flesh to vnderstand the soule also, and so consequently by the suffrings of the one to insinuate the passions of the other: as *Augustine* sheweth against the Apollinarists, *Videbit omnis caro, &c.* All flesh shall see the saluation of God: where flesh is taken for the whole man, yea for the man regenerate, for carnall men cannot see the saluation of God:

lib.

*lib.qu.*83.*qu.*80. And again, seeing it is euident in Scripture, that Christ had anguish in soule, when he saith, *My soule is heauie vnto death*: they must comprehend this also vnder the blood of the crosse, or els it is excluded: But *Bernard* for that excellently saith, *Totum propter nos agebatur, vt non modo passio corporis, sed cordis affectio pro nobis fieret*: all was done for vs, that not only the passion of his body, but the affection of his heart should make to our saluation, *in die S. Andreæ serm.*1.

4. By the crosse also of Christ, not the materiall tree onely, whereon he suffered, or the visible torments which hee endured, but the whole mysterie of our redemption, which by his chastisements was punished, is expressed: as S. *Paul* saith, he will not reioyce but in the crosse of Christ, *whereby he was crucified* to the world, Galath.6.14. It was not the materiall crosse, whereby *Paul* was crucified, but the spiritual force and efficacie of Christs sacrifice: So in the same place vers.12. he speaketh of suffering persecution for the crosse of Christ, that is, the Gospel and faith of Christ: So also *Augustine* taketh the crosse: *Nemo potest transire mare huius seculi, nisi crucem Christi portans*; No man can passe through the sea of this world, vnlesse he be borne vp by the crosse of Christ, &c. and afterward he expoundeth himselfe, *Crede in crucifixum, & poteris peruenire*: Beleeue in him, that was crucified, and thou maist go through, *in Psa.*143. Thus then I trust it is euident, that neither the *blood*, nor the *wood* of Christs crosse do abolish or diminish the blessed suffrings of Christ in his soule.

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

CHrist in himselfe being holy, innocent, vndefiled, was touched with no conscience of sinne; as *Augustine* well saith, *Inter iudicem instum, & conscientiam tuam, noli timere nisi causam tuam*: Betweene the Iust iudge and thy conscience, feare nothing but thy cause, *in Psal.*37. yet we do beleeue to our great comfort, that as Christ in great compassion toward vs, did assume and appropriate our sinnes to himselfe, making them as it were his owne; so he also in his soule and conscience did trauaile with exceeding griefe and sorrow for our sinnes, as for his owne.

*Argum.*1. The Apostle saith, Hebr.2.17. *It became him in all thinges to be made like vnto his brethren*: and Hebr.4.15. *He was tempted in like sort, yet without sinne*: if Christ then had experience of all our tentations and sorrowes, but without sinne; then of the trouble also and perplexitie of conscience, which is in vs, but in him without sinne: so *Fulgentius* saith; *Rationalem animam habuit, quicquid fuit infirmitatis animæ sine peccato suscepit & pertulit, vt dum humana anima passiones in anima, quam accepit, vinceret, nostras quoq; animas ab infirmitatibus liberaret*: Hauing a reasonable soule, whatsoeuer infirmitie of the soule without sinne hee tooke and bare, that while hee ouercame the passions of mans soule in his soule which he tooke, he might also deliuer our soules from infirmities, *ad Thrasimund.lib.*3. *Damascene* to the like effect: [illegible] hee endured our grieues, preparing for vs the victorie ouer them, *de fid. orthodox. lib.*3. *c.*24. What assurance then should we haue, not to be swallowed vp of griefe, when we are touched with conscience of sin, but that Christ in himselfe ouercame these our tentations? And seeing S. *Peter* saith, that *he bare our sinnes*, 1.Pet.2.24. and the Prophet saith, that God layd vpon him *the iniquities of vs all*, Isay.53.6. how could our sinnes be diuorced and separated from their sorrowes? if Christ then truely bare our sinnes, he sustayned also the griefe of conscience for them, which is the inseparable companion of our sinnes. Therefore as *Origen* saith, *Quoniam semel assumpserat hominem, vtitur omnibus quæ sunt in homine*: Because he once tooke vpon him man, he vseth all, that is in man: *homil.*13. *in Matth.* and S. *Ambrose*: *Minus mihi contulerat, nisi meum suscepisset affectum: ergo pro me doluit, qui nihil habuit, quod pro se doleret: suscepit tristitiam meam, vt mihi suam lætitiam largiretur, debuit dolorem suscipere, vt vinceret tristitiam, non excluderet*: Hee had done little for me, if he had not taken mine affection; therefore he was grieued for me, who had nothing to be grieued for in himselfe: he tooke my sorrow, to giue me his ioy: he was to take my sorrow to extenuate my griefe, not to exclude it: *in* 22. *Luc.* S. *Ambrose* giueth three notable reasons of our griefe in Christ: 1. because if he had not taken all our affections, he had not done for vs what he could. 2. He tooke griefe to giue vs ioy, but ioy of conscience he giueth vs: *Ergo*, he had griefe of conscience. 3. No sorrow in vs is ouercome, which was excluded from Christ, therefore if he had not the contrition and trouble of spirite, we haue no hope to subdue it.

*Argum.*2. That heauines and griefe of soule, which Christ had vpon the crosse, and before in his agonie; at other times he had not: for the same griefe would haue wrought the same effects, as to cause him to sweate drops of blood, and to complaine of his *forsaking*: but Christ before did sorrow in compassion and commiseration, as when he wept ouer Ierusalem: yea and *Origen* saith, that euen now our sinnes are a griefe to Christ; *Saluator meus luget etiam nunc peccata mea, saluator meus lætari non potest, dum ego in iniquitate permaneo: est tam diu in mœrore, donec ego perfisto in errore*: My Sauiour doth euen now mourne for my sinne: my Sauiour cannot reioyce, while I of sinne make choyce: he is in sorrow, as long as I am in sinne, *Hom.*7. *in Leuitic.* Which is agreeable to the saying of the Apostle, *Grieue not the spirit*, Ephes.4.30. But Christs sorrow vpon the crosse,

was not that wherewith he was touched before, and in some sort since: *Ergo*, it was not a sorrowe onely in compassion or commiseration.

Argum. 3. The Fathers are here very plentifull, beside these testimonies alleaged: First, *Hierome*, Psal. 69. 5. *Tu nosti insipientiam, dominus & saluator noster sub persona assumpti hominis loquitur*: Lord thou knowest my foolishnes; our Lorde and Sauiour speaketh in the person of man, whom he tooke. If Christ doe confesse our sinnes as his owne, then his heart could not be without the griefe of them: as *Augustine* saith, *Quot habes in corde compunctiones facinorum, tot habe illic punctiones confessionum*: As many compunctions of sinne as are in the heart, so many confessions there should be. *in Psal.* 74.

2. *Ambrose* seemeth to make this the cause of Christs long silence vpon the crosse: *Illo silentio passionis sua clamorem omnem in posterum impie votis abolevit*: By the silence of his crosse he abolished all clamors and complaints of the voyce of sinners, *serm.* 14. *in Psal.* 119. As hee in silence mourned for our sinnes, and felt the burthen, so hath he stayed for euer the desperate outcryes and complaints of his members for their sinnes.

3. *Origen*: *Christus sacerdos est, qui comedit peccata populi: audi scripturam, deus noster ignis consumens: quid consumit deus ignis, nunquid ligna aut stipulam? consumit deus ignis humana peccata, ipse peccata nostra suscepit, & in seipso tanquam ignis ea comedit & absumit*: Christ is the priest, which doth eate the sinnes of the people: heare the Scripture, our God is a consuming fire: what doth God the fire consume, wood, or stubble? God the fire doth consume mens sinnes; he tooke our sinnes, and in himselfe as a fire did deuoure and consume them, *Hom.* 5. *in Leuitic.* 6. So *Ambrose* againe saith, *Christus velut carbo secundum carnem exussit nostra peccata*: Christ was as that coale (taken from the altar, Isai. 6.) which in his flesh, burned, or consumed our sinnes, *lib.* 1. *de spirit c.* 9. And what this inward fire is, the Prophet *Dauid* sheweth, Psal. 39. 3. *My heart was hot within me, and while I mused, the fire kindled.* The inward griefe and trouble of soule in Christ was this fire, wherewith our sinnes are consumed.

If then our Sauiour Christ was tempted like vnto vs in all sorts, sinne onely excepted, *arg.* 1. if together with our sinne he bare the sorrowes of sinne, *argum.* 2. if at other times hee sorrowed in *compassion*, and *commiseration*, but vpon the crosse more, *arg.* 3. if the Fathers affirme, that Christ hath taken our sorrowe to giue vs ioy, that he hath in himselfe as a fire consumed our sins, *arg.* 4. there remaineth no doubt, but that Christ verily in his soule was troubled and perplexed with sorrow for our sinnes.

THE SEVENTH PART, THAT CHRIST BY HIS death did fully satisfie the iustice of God, and appeased his wrath in paying the raunsome for our sinnes, which he tooke vpon him, together with the punishment thereof, in which respect he is truly said to haue dyed iustly, and as a debtor to the law of Gods iustice for vs.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

Art. 21. *Obiect.* 1. Ezech. 18. 20. *The same soule that sinneth, shall dye*: from this place *Bellarmine* infereth, *Iniquum esse, &c.* That it is vniust that one man should be punished for another, *tom.* 3. *p.* 152. *d. Ergo*, it was not iust that Christ, though our suretie, should be put to death for vs.

2. Christ dyed for vs of loue, and most willingly without constraint hee layd downe his life for vs: *No man taketh it away from me*, Iohn. 10. *Fouard. p.* 427. *lin.* 6. That which Christ then did of loue, he was not forced vnto by law.

3. Christ must not be considered onely as a faithfull seruant, but as coequall vnto God, &c. such an one was our Mediatour, *Fouard. p.* 378. *conf.* 3. *lin.* 13. 24. If Christ then as a seruant or suretie were bound by the law to dye, how could he be our Mediatour?

4. Christs satisfaction, was *plusquam sufficiens*, more than sufficient, *Fouard. p.* 382. *conf.* 3. *lin.* 7. therefore he was not bound vnto it by law.

Answ. 1. Where the debt is but of money, the suretie indeede, neither by Gods law nor mans, is compelled to giue life or soule: but where the debt is of bodie and soule, it cannot otherwise be payed in the law of iustice, but by giuing bodie and soule. 2. In some cases by the lawe of God the suretie gaue life for life; as the Prophet sheweth to *Ahab* by this parable: A man was taken in battell, and committed to another to keepe, vnder this condition, *If he be lost, thy life shall goe for his life, or else thou shalt pay a talent of siluer*: a price of equall value to his life, that went away: but in the application of this parable, the Prophet leaueth out the *talent*, because God can not

not be waged with money, and ſaith vnto *Abab* preciſely, *thy life ſhall goe for his life*, 1 King. 20. verſ. 39. 42.

3. Firſt, as the Prophet ſaith, *The ſoule that ſinneth, ſhall dye*: ſo he ſaith, *euery man ſhall beare his iniquitie*: hee may as well conclude, that Chriſt did not beare our ſinnes, as that hee was not puniſhed for vs in iuſtice. Secondly, *as the wickednesse of the wicked ſhall be vpon him, ſo the righteouſnes of the righteous ſhall be vpon him*: If he will conclude from hence, that our wickednesse did not lye vpon Chriſt, hee muſt exclude the righteous alſo from the righteouſnes of Chriſt. I may ſay here with *Hierome*: *De præſenti compede vicunque erue pedem*: You muſt eſtſoones deliuer your ſelfe of theſe doubts, and your feete from theſe fetters. Fourthly, yea, you will ſay, this is ſoone done; for it is not inferred from hence, that Chriſt did not beare our ſinnes and dye for the ſame, but not in iuſtice, as indebted, or bound vnto it. I anſwere, as it was iuſt with God to *iuſtifie vs that are of the faith of Ieſus*, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom. 3. 26. ſo is it iuſt that Chriſt ſhould be condemned for our ſinnes: it is as much of iuſtice, that our ſinnes imputed to him, ſhould cauſe his death, as for his righteouſnes imputed to vs to bring vs to life. So *Origen* ſaith, *Chriſtus ſine dubio propeccato, quod ex nobis ſuſceperat, quia peccata noſtra portauit, carnem incontaminatam obtulit hoſtiã*: Chriſt out of doubt for ſinne, which he tooke of vs, becauſe he bare our ſinnes, offered his fleſh an vndefiled ſacrifice, *Hom. 3. in Leuitic.* If then the bearing of our ſinnes cauſed the ſacrifice of Chriſts fleſh, how was it not iuſt? if it were not iuſt, it was no cauſe.

2. Firſt, who doubteth but that both Gods loue and Chriſts loue vnſpeakeable appeareth in his death: as *Auguſtine* well ſaith; *Angelus virga tetigit Petram & exyt ignis, ſic crux tetigit Chriſtum, & de Petra, quæ erat Chriſtus ignis exyt charitatis*: The Angel touched the rocke with a rod, and fire came forth: *Iud.* 13. 19. ſo the croſſe touched Chriſt, and out of the rocke, which was Chriſt, the flame of charity iſſued forth, *Ser. de temp.* 108. but the argument followeth not, Chriſt died of loue, *Ergo*, not in iuſtice, for loue firſt cauſed him to ſubmit himſelfe to the lawe: and iuſtice to pay our debt. 2. Like as the ſuretie firſt of loue and good will to his neighbour ſtriketh hands for him, and giueth his word: but then his word being once paſt, he is bound by law to pay the debt, and he cannot ſhift it, *Then he is taken with the words of his owne mouth*, Prou. 6. 1. 2. So Chriſt firſt of loue vndertooke for vs, but this office of loue being once vndertaken, it is now performed and executed of debt. 3. This may be further manifeſted by this inſtance: ſinne in our firſt parents was voluntarie, but now in their poſteritie it is neceſſarie: he might haue not ſinned if he would, but hauing once ſinned, he could not abſtaine though he would: he brought himſelfe & his poſteritie *voluntarilie* into *neceſſarie* bondage: as S. *Peter* ſaith, *Of whatſoeuer a man is ouercome, to the ſame he is in bondage*, 2. Pet. 2. 19. So *Auguſtine*: *Illi ſine peccato data eſt libera voluntas, quam fecit ſeruire peccato, horum cum fuerat voluntas ſerua peccati liberata eſt per Chriſtum*: To *Adam* was giuen free will, which he made the ſeruant of ſinne, but in vs our will being the ſeruant of ſinne is freed by Chriſt: *de corrept. grat. c.* 12. We ſee then how that which in the election is *voluntarie*, is in the execution *neceſſarie*.

3. But a fitter example we cannot take, then from Chriſt himſelfe: for the firſt aſſuming of the humane nature to the Godhead was of grace; as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Quod Chriſtus eſt vnigenitus, æqualis patri, non eſt gratia, ſed natura; quod autem in vnitatem perſonæ vnigenti aſſumptus eſt homo, gratia eſt, non natura, conſitente euangelio, & gratia Dei erat cum illo*: That Chriſt is the onely begotten ſonne, equall to his father, it is not grace but nature; but that man is taken into the vnitie of perſon of the onely begotten, it is grace, not nature, the Goſpell confeſſing, *the grace of God was with him: Tract. in Ioan.* 73. But though the aſſuming of the humane nature was of grace, yet the vnion of the diuine and humane nature is not by grace, as it was concluded, *Concil. Conſtantin.* 5. *c.* 4. *Si quis dicit ſecundum gratiam factam vnitionem verbi ad hominem, anathema*: If any man ſay that the vnion of the word with man, is of grace, let him be accurſed: the firſt aſſumption of mans nature was of grace, but the coniunction is not of grace, but by vnion of perſon: the worſhip now giuen vnto the humanitie of Chriſt, is not giuen him of fauour and grace, but due vnto him becauſe of his perſon, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Heb. 1. 6. when he bringeth in his *firſt begotten ſon into the world he ſaith, let al the Angels of God worſhip him*. In like manner, Chriſts aſſuming vpon him to pay our debt was of grace and voluntarie, but now the performing thereof is of debt, and neceſſarie. So then as the exalting of the humane nature in Chriſt, was in the firſt ſuſception of *dignitie*, but now in the perſonall vnion and coniunction, is of *dignitie*: ſo in the humbling of himſelfe to dye for vs, he firſt ſhewed his free *benenolence*, and then ſubmitted himſelfe to iuſtice and *patience*.

3. 1. That one may be both a ſurety and a mediator, the example of *Iudah* ſheweth: who firſt was a mediator to his father, to intreat him to let *Beniamin* goe with them, ſaying, *ſend the boy with me, that we may riſe and go, that we may liue and not die*: Gen. 43. 8. then he ſaith, verſ. 9. *I will be ſuretie for him, of mine hand ſhalt thou require him*.

2. Who can be a more effectuall mediator, then he that hath payed the debt, of whoſe faithfulneſſe the creditor hath alreadie experience: as *Paul* to *Philemon* is a moſt efficient media-

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tor for *Onesimus*, because he was a sufficient suretie: If he hath *hurt thee, or oweth thee ought, put it vpon mine accounts, I Paule haue written with mine owne hand, I will recompence thee:* Philem. vers. 18. Then the Apostle boldly maketh his request, vers. 20. *yea brother let me obtaine this pleasure of thee in the Lord.* So the mediation of Christ is not empayred by his suretiship, but grounded vpon it, his propitiation for our sinnes is the strength of his aduocation: 1. Iohn. 2. 2. *We haue an aduocate with the father, and he is the reconciliation for our sinnes.*

3. Though other sureties could not be mediators, it is otherwise with Christ, who is both God and man: as man, he is a suretie and *suffered* for vs; as God and man he is our mediator, and *sufficeth* for vs: his suffering and satisfaction doth onely concerne his manhood: the Godhead did not satisfie, but was satisfied: therefore as he is a sufferer and *satisfactor* for vs, so he is not properly a *mediator:* to the which office both the nature of his humanitie, and power of his diuinitie is required: as *Bernard* well saith; *sicut mediator &c.* as our mediator hath ioyned togither in one person his humanitie and diuinitie; so euery one of his workes must of necessitie appertaine to one or other nature, &c. *Ad hanc scilicet miseria, ad illā pertinet potentia: quicquid ergo miseria passus est, ex homine contraxit; quicquid potenter operatus est, à patre habuit:* To his humane nature belongeth his miserie; to his diuine, his power and dignity: what he suffered in miserie, he had of man; what he wrought powerfully, he receiued of his father: *serm. de verb. sapient.*

4. 1. The argument followeth not, he paid more then we did owe, *Ergo*, he paid not that which we did owe: rather the contrarie followeth, he paid more, *Ergo*, he paide the lesse: if a surety in his great abundance will pay twentie thousand, where the debt is but of tenne thousand, is not the debt answered? He that giueth more then measure, *pressed downe, shaken together, running ouer*, Luke. 6. 38. doth he not giue measure? 2. Christ in respect of the efficacie 1. of his crosse, and 2. dignitie of his person, and 3. innocencie of nature, paied more then the lawe required: For 1. he onely did not redeeme vs, but hath endued vs with righteousnes, and so as the Apostle saith, *grace superabounded*, hath superabounded, Rom. 5. 20. 2. Neither could the law haue required the sonne of God to haue suffered for vs: and therefore as the Apostle saith, *Herein appeared the loue of God toward vs, because he sent his onely begotten sonne*, 1. Iohn. 4. 9. And he was not indebted any thing to the law in respect of his owne innocency: for as Saint *Peter* saith, *he did not sinne, neyther was there any guile found in his mouth:* and so *Augustine* saith, *Venit ille sine debito, qui sine vllo peccato, & qui non rapuerat exoluens nos à sempiterno debito liberauit:* He came without debt, because without sinne, and paying that he neuer tooke, hath freed vs from our euerlasting debt. *de diuers. ser. 3.* Wherfore in respect of the manner and qualitie of Christs sufferings he paid more then was owing, but for the substance of the debt, which was the whole punishment of bodie and soule, he paied the same which the law required. And if Christs satisfaction were more then sufficient; if he suffered more then was requisite: with what face can the Frier denie that he suffered not in soule, which was necessary to our redemption: There cannot be an exceeding where any thing is wanting.

And concerning the fathers which may be obiected, I answere, that they do obserue diuers ends and vses of Christs death, and alleage sundrie causes thereof: as *Augustine* sheweth these, 1. Gods loue appeareth. 2. the priuiledge of humane flesh, seeing our nature is coupled with the diuinity. 3. the grace of God without our merits. 4. we learne humilitie and obedience by Christs death. 5. and the reward of obedience, *lib. 13. de trinitat. c. 17.* And againe: *Potuit venera angelum armare contra diabolum, &c.* God could haue armed an Angell against the diuell: *Verum decuit Christum hoc munus obire:* But it was meete that Christ should vndergoe this busines, 1. least iniurie might be offered to God, if man should be redeemed by an other, then by whom he was created. 2. seeing Sathan did make himselfe a God in earth: *Eum venire oportuit,* It behooued him to come, which should worthily be worshipped of euery creature. 3. The iniurie was offered to the second person in the trinitie: *Nam Satanas proxime post deum patrem se adorari voluit:* For Sathan next to God the father would be worshipped: *ex veter. testam. qu. 113.*

Cyprian also rendereth an other reason: *Sine hoc holocausto poterat deus tantum condonasse peccatum, sed venia facilitas laxaret habenas peccatis effrenibus, quas etiam vix Christi cohibent passiones:* God without this holocaust could haue pardoned so great sinne, but the facilitie or easines of pardon would haue giuen libertie to the raynes of sinne, which Christs passions doe scarcely restraine: *serm. de passion.* These fathers thus aymīng and gessing at the causes of Christs death, denie not, but it was necessary for Christ to die to pay our debt, and consequently that it was iust so to be: as *Augustine* before saith: *Decuit Christum, & oportuit venire:* It became Christ, & it behooued him to come. And again he saith to this effect: though God might haue taken man otherwhere, then from *Adams* stocke to be the mediator: *Sed hominem per eum liberari oportuit, qui esset in genere, licet non in crimine:* Yet man ought to be deliuered by him, which was of the posteritie, though not in the same iniquitie. *de trinit. lib. 13. c. 17.* whence commeth this *oportet*, it ought to be, or why must *Adam* be deliuered by *Adams* seed, but that iustice so required, that man should suffer for mans offence?

Obiect.

Obiect. But it may be thus further obiected: If Christ dyed according to the iustice of the law, then the Iewes, together with *Pilate* and the high Priests, did but that which was iust, and so should be freed from the guilt of Christs blood.

Answ. 1. *Augustine* doth very well resolue this question: *Facta est traditio à patre, facta est à filio, facta est à Iuda; vna res facta est: quid ergo discernit inter eos? quia hoc fecit filius et pater in charitate, Iudas in perditione*: Christ was deliuered by his father, by himselfe, by *Iudas*: there is one act: how are they discerned? because the father and sonne did this in charitie, *Iudas* in enuie: *in Epistol. Iohann.*

Likewise *Origen* to the same effect: *Deus tradidit Christum propter misericordiam in genus humanum, &c. Iudas propter auaritiam, sacerdotes propter inuidiam, diabolus propter timorem*: God deliuered Christ in mercie to man, *Iudas* of couetousnes, the priests for enuie, the diuell for feare, *Tract.* 35. *in Matth.* Wherefore though Christ were deliuered vp *by the determinate counsell of God*, and in respect thereof his death was iust and profitable: yet the instruments for the execution being malicious are not excusable, but their act against Christ was most vniust and damnable.

2. The Iewes are so farre from excuse, that euen *Pilate*, who seemed to haue some reuerence of Christs person, and openly washed his hands, was not innocent. There is greater question made of *Pilats* wife, which *suffered many things in her dreame* of Christ, and acknowledged Christ to be a iust man, and sent word to *Pilate* to haue nothing to doe with him, Matth. 27. 19. Some do thinke, that the diuell, being in a great doubt what to doe, as hee set the Iewes a worke on the one side to put Christ to death, so hee caused a dreame to fall vpon *Pilats* wife, thereby to hinder Christs death: thus thinketh *Rabanus in gloss. ordinar. Lyra*, with others. But I rather approue *Chrysostomes* iudgement and *Theophilacts* vpon that place, who think, that this dreame was Gods work: *Factum est somnium non vt Christus absolueretur, sed vt seruaretur vxor*: This dreame was wrought, not that Christ should be deliuered, but *Pilats* wife saued. Likewise *Augustine*: *In natiuitate mundi vxor ducit virum ad mortem: in passione Christi vxor prouocat ad salutem*: In the creation or natiuitie of the world, the woman bringeth her husband to death: in the passion of Christ the wife doth prouoke the man to saluation, *de tempor. ser.* 121.

Howsoeuer it was with *Pilats* wife, who had a good perswasion of Christ, and was guiltlesse of his death: yet *Pilate* could no way be innocent; he washed his hands in hypocrisie, but his heart was full of crueltie; as *Cyprian* well saith: *Non excusas, sed accusas, causam tibi facis cum Iudæis communem; illi se proditione, tu parricidio te condemnas; illi lingua, tu ferro occidis*: Thou doest not excuse but accuse, thou art in the same cause with the Iewes; they by treacherie condemne themselues, thou by murther and crueltie; they kill him with their tongues, thou with the sword, *ser. de passion.* So *Ambrose*: *Pilatus ipse iniquitatis suæ testis, qui ore absoluit, corde condemnat; lauit is licet manus, tamen facta non diluit*: *Pilate* is a witnesse of his owne iniquitie, which doth commend Christ with his mouth, and condemne him in his heart; hee dooth wash his hands, but cleanseth not his deedes, *serm.* 49.

Wherefore if *Pilate*, who made some semblance of loue and reuerence toward Christ, was yet guiltie of his blood, how much more worthie of condemnation were the Iewes, that with will, word and workes did persecute him to death, *and killed the Lord of life*, Act. 3. 15. And as *Origen* well saith: *Quantum putas erroris fuit, ipsam principalem omnium vitam ream mortis pronuntiare?* How great an error was it, to pronounce the chiefe and principall life worthie of death? *Tract.* 35. *in Matth.*

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

1. THat Christ in himselfe was most holie, innocent and iust, and in that behalfe most wrongfully and vndeseruedly put to death of the Iewes, wee hold it blasphemie not to acknowledge it: the Scriptures doe testifie, that the *Iewes denied the holie and iust one, and killed the Lorde of life*, Act. 3. 14. 15. And *Augustine* saith: *Dominus mortem pro nobis indebitam reddidit, vt debita nobis non noceret*: The Lorde did pay for vs an vndue death, that due death might not hurt vs, *lib.* 4. *de Trinitat. cap.* 13.

2. Again, we most thankfully acknowledge in the death of Christ the most vnspeakeable loue of Christ, 1. Ioh. 3. 16. *Herein haue wee perceiued loue, that he layd downe his life for vs*: which loue of Christ *Augustine* thus describeth: *Diuina charitas in Christo ad ignoscendum, inter opprobria secura, inter odia benefica, inter iras placida, inter insidias innocens, &c.* There was a diuine charitie of Christ in forgiuing, stedfast among taunts, bounteous against hatred, calme against rage, innocent though wronged, *serm.* 39. *de tempor.*

3. Our blessed Sauiour also most willingly offered himselfe vpon the crosse for vs, and was obedient to the will of his father: Heb. 5. 8. *Though he were the sonne, yet learned he obedience.* So *Bernard* saith,

saith, *Non mors filij, sed voluntas placuit patris morientis:* Not the dying of his sonne pleased God, but that he was willing, *epist.* 191.

4. All this being confessed, that Christ was in himselfe *innocent*, toward vs louing and *beneficent*, in his death willing and *patient*: yet seeing he as our suretie payd our debts, it was iust before God, that as he in himselfe bare our sinnes, so he also should pay the price and discharge the debt, and so answere his fathers iustice.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* saith, Rom. 3. 25. 26. *God hath set forth Christ to be a reconciliation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousnes by the forgiuenes of sinnes which are passed, &c. to shew at this time his righteousnes, that he might be iust, and a iustifier of him, which is in the faith of Iesus:* From hence I reason thus; imputation of sinne is vnto condemnation, as imputation of righteousnes is vnto iustification: but it is iust with God to iustifie vs by the righteousnes of Christ, therefore it was iust before God, that Christ for our sins should be condemned to death. *Bernard* thus giueth witnesse hereto: *Iustum est, vt reddat deus quod debet; debet autem, quod pollicitus est:* It is iust, that God should render that which he oweth; and he oweth what hee promised, *lib. de liber. arbitr.* So then as it is iust with God to performe saluation vnto vs in Christ which he hath promised: so it was iust with Christ to pay that debt which he vndertooke to be performed.

Argum. 2. God decreeth no vniust thing: but hee decreed the death of Christ; as Saint *Peter* saith, he was *deliuered vp by the determinate counsell and foreknowledge of God*, Act. 2. 23. God did not onely foreknow it, but decree and determine it: by the *determinate counsell*, saith the Apostle, *verum fuit*: and therefore God is sayd to send his sonne to dye for vs, 1. Ioh. 4. 16. God then was the author of his sonnes death, but he is not the author of euill things or vniust: therfore Christs death in respect of Gods decree was not vniust. *Augustine* saith well: *Deus aliud fecit & ordinauit; aliud non fecit, sed ordinauit:* God did or decreed somewhat to bee done, and disposed and ordered it, something hee doth not, but yet disposeth and ordreth, *in Psal.* 7. As in this case, the malice of the Iewes God decreed not, but he disposed of their malice to a good end: but the death of Christ he both decreed and disposed. *Augustine* also saith: *Peccatores in malis praescitos tantum non praedestinatos, &c.* Sinners are only foreseene in their euil actions, not predestinate, *contr. Pelag. Hypognostit. artic.* 6. But Christ was not onely foreseene to dye, but was predestinate thereto: *Ergo*, it was not euill.

Argum. 3. If Gods iustice be fully satisfied, and his wrath deseruedly appeased by the death of Christ, it followeth that Christ died iustly: But the first is euident, because Christ hath by his crosse *slaine the hatred betweene God and vs*, Ephes. 2. 16. and before he dyed for vs, we were the children of wrath, Ephes. 2. 3: *Ergo*, Christ dyed in respect of our sinnes to answere Gods iustice iustly.

The proposition, which is onely doubted, is thus proued: first, nothing can satisfie Gods iustice, but that which is iust: if Christs death then were not iust before God, Gods iustice could not bee satisfied by it. Secondly, neither can any thing please God, or appease his wrath by way of satisfaction, but that which is iust: Christ death pleased God, it was a sacrifice of a sweete smelling sauour vnto God, Ephes. 5. 2. Thirdly, Saint *Paul* saith, Rom. 8. 3. *God spared not his owne sonne:* not to spare is of iustice, to spare is of loue and mercie: it was mercie to vs, but iustice in Christ, that he dyed for the redemption of our sinnes. Fourthly, *Bernard* saith, *Non potuit expiari Ade peccatum, nisi Christi morte: Adams* sin could not be expiated, but by the death of Christ, *epist.* 191. It could not be otherwise done, because Gods iustice could not otherwise be satisfied: expiation then by death and blood belongeth to Gods iustice.

Argum. 4. None are forsaken of God, or stand accursed by the law iniustly: for God is iust, and the law is *iust, holie, good*, Rom. 7. 12. But Christ was as forsaken of God in part in the instant of his passion: as he himselfe complaineth, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Mat. 27. 46. he was also by the law made a curse for vs, Galath. 3. 13. *Ergo*, Christ in respect of our sinnes, in the sight of God suffered iustly. *Beda* witnesseth with vs: *Quid mirum si maledictum est deo, quod deus odit, nisi enim deus odisset peccatum & mortem nostram non ad eam suscipiendam & delendam filium suum mitteret:* What marueile if that be accursed of God, which God hateth? for vnlesse God had hated sinne and death, he would not haue sent his sonne to take it, and abolish it, *in* 3. *ad Galath.* Christ then stood as accursed before God, because he tooke vpon him that which God hateth, namely our sinne, and death the fruit of sinne.

Argum. 5. These three, *vtilitie, necessitie, equitie*, are inseparable companions: that onely is profitable, which *is good* and iust: *These things are good and profitable*, 1. Timoth. 4. 8. but Christs death was profitable; as *Caiphas* prophesied, *expedit. It is expedient, profitable for vs that one man dye for the people, and the whole nation perish not*, Iohn 11. 50. Christs death then is both necessarie and profitable, and therefore both good and iust.

Obiect. The afflictions of the Saints are profitable to themselues to correct them, to others for their example, yet are they not iust: as the Apostle saith, *It is iust with God to recompence tribulation,*

to

to them that trouble you, 2. Thess. 1.6. If they which afflict Gods children are punished iustly, then they did trouble them vniustly.

Answ. The afflictions of the Saints, in respect of their persecutors, are vniust: as the Prophet *David* saith, Psal. 119.161. *They haue persecuted me without a cause:* yet hee confesseth in respect of himselfe toward GOD, that his afflictions were iust and good: vers. 71. *It is good for me, that I haue been afflicted, that I may learne thy statutes:* vers. 75. *I know that thy iudgements are right, and that thou hast afflicted me iustly, or in truth:* So Christs death, in respect of the malice of his enemies and his owne innocencie, was vniust, as the theefe confessed, Luk. 23.41. *We are righteously here, but this man hath done nothing amisse.* But as Christ was our suretie and bare our sinnes, [illegible] that he should [illegible].

Againe, that which is necessarie is not vniust: for that which is necessarie is good, [illegible] *One thing is necessarie, Mary hath chosen the best part:* So then, *necessarium* is *optimum*, the necessarie thing is the best thing: and that which is good is iust: as Rom. 7. the law is said to be holy, iust and good. Christs death is necessarie, Heb. 2. [illegible], he ought to be made in all things [illegible] that he might be a faithfull high Priest: and vers. 10. [illegible] necessarie and comely it is iust; Christs death was expedient [illegible].

For the necessitie and expedience of Christs death the Fathers doe [illegible] *Ambrose* [illegible] [illegible] because it was necessarie he should dye [illegible] place: [illegible] *voluntariam Christi passionem* [illegible] that Christs passion was voluntarie, not of necessitie, [illegible] *in Luc.* [illegible] Christs death was necessarie, and was not: it was not necessarie, that is, violent or compulsorie in respect of Christs obedience and willingnes; it was necessarie in respect of Gods decree [illegible].

Againe, he saith, *Quae alia erat causa incarnationis, nisi ut caro quae peccaverat per se redimeretur* [illegible]: What other cause was there of Christs incarnation, but that the flesh which had sinned, should be redeemed by it selfe, that which sinned therefore was redeemed, *de incarnat. cap.* 6. But this is the iustice of God, that the same that sinned, should be by it selfe redeemed.

Augustine thus showeth the expedience and necessitie of Christs death: *Sicut Elias inclinavit se ut suscitaret puerum, sic Christus humiliavit se factus obediens usque ad crucem, quia parvuli eramus, parvulum se fecit, et os quodammodo super os posuit:* As *Elias* bowed himselfe to raise the childe, so Christ humbled himselfe being obedient to the crosse, and because wee were little ones, hee made himselfe a little one, and as it were layd his mouth vpon ours, *de tempore* 2.06.

Likewise vpon these wordes, Psalm. 51.4. *That thou maist ouercome, when thou art iudged: Non est iudicatus deus pater, non est iudicatus spiritus sanctus, non invenimus nisi solum filium in illa carne iudicatum, vicit non solum de Pilato, sed de Iudaeis, de diabolo, &c.* The father was not iudged, nor the holy spirit, wee finde none iudged but the sonne onely in the flesh: hee ouercame not onely *Pilate*, but the Iewes and the diuell, &c. *serm. de temp.* 49. It was necessarie then, that Christ should be iudged by death, that he might, in being iudged, ouercome.

Bernard saith excellently: *Verbum dei [illegible] ad nos veniret, propria benignitas invitavit, misericordia traxit, veritas, qua se venturum praedixerat, compulit:* The word of God to come vnto vs inuited his owne benignitie, hee was moued by his mercie, compelled by his veritie, whereby he foretold his comming, &c. *de Pentecost. serm.* 2. and this is his equitie: So then in Christs death there is both necessitie and equitie.

Origen shall conclude, who thus writeth vpon these words of Christ, *Father if it be possible let this cup passe*, Matth. 26.39. *Quod ad potentiam dei omnia possibilia, quod ad iustitiam possibilia solum, quae iusta sunt:* In respect of Gods power all things are possible, in respect of his iustice, those things that are iust are onely possible, *in Matth. tract.* 35. Therfore it was not possible for the cup to passe from Christ, because it was not iust.

The summe is this, that if it be iust with God to iustifie vs by the imputation of Christs iustice, *arg.* 1. if God decree no vniust thing, but he decreed Christs death, *arg.* 2. if by Christs death Gods iustice be satisfied, his wrath iustly appeased, *arg.* 3. if Christ were as forsaken of God in his death in part for our sins, and accursed by the law, but the law accurseth none vniustly, *arg.* 4. if that which bringeth true vtilitie, and is ioyned with necessitie, cannot bee without equitie; but in Christs death were both vtilitie and necessitie, *arg.* 5. Then we conclude that Christs death, as he was our suretie, and tooke vpon him our sinnes, could not in the decree and counsell of God be vniust. If Christ then suffered according to Gods iustice, and dyed to satisfie Gods iustice, how could his death be vniust?

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, THAT CHRISTS blood was not giuen as a price of our redemption to the diuell.

THE QVESTION EXPLANED.

Art. 11. WE graunt, that God by the price of Christs blood deliuered vs from the power of Sathan: but the price was not giuen to Sathan, but payed vnto God: Sathan was but the minister of Gods iustice, and as it were the Iaylor and tormentor that kept vs in feare: and therefore the Apostle saith, that *Christ through death destroyed him that had power of death, that is the diuell*, Hebr. 2. 14. hee had power of death no otherwise, than as Gods minister and executioner: by Christs death then we were deliuered from Sathans kingdome; and hee was vanquished vpon the crosse of Christ: as *Origen* saith, *Principatus traduxit & triumphauit in ligno*: The principalities were traduced and triumphed vpon the crosse, *Tract. 3. in Matth.* So he expoundeth Saint *Paul*, Coloss. 2. 15. and *Cyprian* witnesseth: *Vbi ventum est ad sanguinem, destructus est Satanæ regnum*: When they came to blood, Sathans kingdome was destroyed, *de duplici martyr.* So then Sathan was not *compounded* with, but *confounded* by Christs blood; not *entreated*, but *defeated*; not *hired* with wages, but *repressed* against his will, to let his prisoners goe: Christ gaue nothing to him, but tooke from him, he *payed* him not, but *wrastled* with him: he *rendred* nothing to him, but *rent* the captiues from him.

Ruffinus thus inferreth: *Non damno aliquo patitur Christus, sed vt rex exercitus ingressus, vt solus catenas, &c.* Christ suffered not to any losse, but as a King entreth the iayle to loose the chaynes: *Symbol. Ruffin.* If Christ be the King, and death the prison, and consequently Sathan hauing power of death the iaylor, how can the King giue a raunsome to the iaylor?

Augustine thus witnesseth: *Nescit diabolus quanta bona de illo fiunt, et iam cum sauit, sauiens intrauit cor Iudæ, sauiens tradidit Christum, sauiens crucifixit, &c.* The diuell knoweth not to what good his rage turneth, he raging entred into the heart of *Iudas*, raging hee deliuered vp Christ, and in his rage crucified him: and Christ being crucified the world was redeemed, *in Psal.* 130. If Sathan receiued a price to *content* him, how doth hee rage against Christ to *torment* him? if he deliuered him, then was he not deliuered as a price to him.

Saint *Ambrose* also thus testifieth: *Serpens primus crucifigitur ille, vt quia primus apud homo peccauerat diabolus, primus crucis sententia feriretur*: The Serpent is first crucified vpon the crosse, and good reason, that because the diuell was the first that had sinned before God, hee should first bee striken with the sentence of the crosse, *Ambr. serm.* 55. If Sathan were *crucified* by the crosse, hee was not *satisfied*; if he were *surprized* by Christs blood, then was it not *priced* to him; if he were as sold himselfe thereby into captiuitie, how could we be bought from him and his captiuitie? it could not bee both a *compensation* of our debt vnto him, and an *obligation* more surely to binde him: if Christs death were his *confusion*, he did not then accepe it as a condition.

If any of the Fathers haue somewhat written diuerslie from this, which is alleaged, as I denie not but some of them, as both *Augustine* and *Ambrose* do speake to such effect, that Christs blood was accounted as a price to the diuel for our deliuerance, they must not be so vnderstood, as though either God *contented*, or Sathan was *contented* for that price to let vs goe: but that Christs blood, was in regard of the efficacie thereof as a price; that we thereby were as fully and effectually deliuered, as if wee had beene out of Sathans hand, by a great price giuen vnto him, redeemed. Otherwise if we take the Fathers in this writing to speake properly, we shall make them each to other, and to themselues also contrarie.

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

THat Christ by his death and the price of his blood hath deliuered vs from the power of darknes and hell it is our holie faith, according to the Scriptures, Coloss. 2. 13. This price was paid vnto God to satisfie Gods iustice, it was not giuen vnto Sathan: for God is the iudge, Sathan is the iaylor, to whom the iudge did deliuer vs because of our sins, Luk. 12. 58. the debt, wherein we stood bound, was vnto our Lorde and master, and hee in iustice deliuered vs to the iaylor, *till wee should pay all that was due*, Matth. 18. 34. Christ came and payd our debt vnto God, not to the diuell: the debt being payd, the iaylor hath no longer charge nor power to keepe vs in prison.

Argum. 1. The price of our redemption was payd to our creditor to whom we were indebted: the diuell is not our creditor; the Lord absolutely denieth it, *Quis est creditor meus, cui vendidi vos?* Who is the creditor to whom I haue sold you? Isai. 50. 1. None is our creditor but God, and to him onely wee are indebted, who onely is able to release vs of our debt, as we are taught to pray, Matth. 6.

Matth. 6. 12. *Forgiue vs our debts*, therefore the price of our debts was onely payed to God.

2. The price which was tendred and offered for our redemption was giuen to him, to whom the ſacrifice of Chriſts blood was offered: for the Apoſtle maketh θυσία, and δόσις, an offering tender or oblation and a ſacrifice to bee all one, Epheſ. 5. 2. But *Chriſt did giue himſelfe a ſacrifice of ſweete ſauour to God, ibid.* God forbid, that any man ſhould thinke, that Chriſts blood was ſacrificed to the diuell: *Ergo*, it was not offered nor giuen as a gift or price to the diuell.

3. Our Sauiour Chriſt is compared to a victorious man, that bindeth the ſtrong man, which is the diuell, and entreth by force into his houſe, and ſpoyleth him of his goods, that is, deliuereth them, whom Sathan held as his owne proper goods as captiues in priſon, Matth. 12. 29. Chriſt entred by force, then not by a price; by *aſſaulting*, not by *aſſenting*; by *warre*, not by *wages*; by *feſtering* the ſtrong man, not by *feeing* him; by looſing our *bands*, not by giuing any thing into Sathans *hands*: as *Auguſtine* to this purpoſe is alleaged fitly by the Maſter of Sentences, *lib. 3. diſt. 19. liter. a. Vnde nos diabolus tenebat, deliturn eſt ſanguine redemptoris; non enim tenebat nos, niſi vincula peccatorum noſtrorum; iſta erant catenæ captiuorum: venit ille, aliganit fortem trinculis paſſionis ſuæ, intrauit in domum eius, i. in corda eorum, vbi ipſe habitabat, & vaſa eius, i. not eripuit*: That wherewith the diuell held vs, was taken away by the death of Chriſt, hee came and bound the ſtrong man with the bands of his death, and entred into his houſe, that is, our hearts, wherein hee dwelt, and tooke away his veſſels or goods, that is, our ſelues, &c. Here is no price *offered* to Sathan, but a force *inferred*: not any thing giuen to *him*, but all taken from *him*. Vpon this ground he concludeth thus: *Chriſtus ſe in ara crucis, non diabolo, ſed deo trinitati obtulit*: Chriſt in the altar of the croſſe *did offer himſelfe*, not to the diuell, but to God the Trinitie *diſt. 20. liter. c.*

Origen ſaith: *Diabolus tradidit Chriſtum pro timoribus, ne auelleretur (genus humanum) de manu eius per doctrinam ipſius*: The diuell deluded Chriſt for feare, leſt mankinde ſhould be pulled from his hand by his doctrine, *Tract. 35. Matth.* The diuell then expected no pay for mans libertie, but deuiſeth by Chriſts death to keepe him ſtill in captiuitie.

Auguſt. in this behalfe maketh *Sampſon* a figure of Chriſt: *Sampſon aduerſarios ſuos moriens oppreſſit, ſic Chriſti paſſio interfectorum facta eſt perſequentium*: *Sampſon* dying killeth his enemies: ſo Chriſts paſſion was the deſtruction of his perſecutors, *ſerm.* 107. And as the Philiſtuns made themſelues ſport in *Sampſons* miſerie, which turned to their captiuitie: ſo ſaith *Auguſtine*, *Diabolus trophæa ſua victus eſt, exultauit, quando mortuus eſt Chriſtus, & ipſa morte Chriſti victus eſt*: The diuell was ouercome in his owne policie: hee *vaunted* himſelfe, when Chriſt dyed, but hee was *vanquiſhed* by his death, *ſerm.* 174. So then as *Sampſon* gaue no price to his enemies to be *excluded*, but vſed a practiſe whereby they were all *concluded*; he did not promiſe them any thing to *content* them, but *preuailed* by prayer in his death to *confound* them: ſo Chriſt gaue not his blood to Sathan to *taſte* for his *delight*, but to *waſte* his kingdome by our *deliuerie*; not to *pay* him *wages* for vs, but to *ſtay* his *raging* againſt vs.

Againe, the author of the Sermons *de ſanctis*, vnder *Auguſtines* name, *ſerm.* 18. compareth Chriſt to *Tobias* fiſh: *Cuius iecore per paſſionem aſſato, fugatus eſt diabolus*: By whoſe fleſh and liuer as broyled vpon the croſſe, the diuell was chaſed away. Chriſts blood then was giuen no more a price to the diuell, than that fiſhes liuer (if wee admit the ſtorie for veritie, though not for authoritie) to the vncleane ſpirit: but I will ground no argument vpon the Apocryphall ſtorie of *Tobias*, but onely ſhew the meaning of the Fathers.

Hierome doth more truly and fitly reſemble Chriſt to *Ionas*, death and the diuell to the whale: *Dum aſſumpti corporis ſollicitaris illecebra, & auidis faucibus prædam putas, interioratua adunco dente confoſſa ſunt, &c.* O death, while thou art entiſed with the baite of his bodie, and thinkeſt to get a pray for thy greedie iawes, thy inward parts are pierced with the hooke, *Epitaph. Nepotian.* As *Ionas* was a pray, not a price to the fiſh to appeaſe the minde: ſo Chriſt, though Sathan prayed and raged vpon his bodie, was a price to God to aſſwage his wrath.

To conclude: if then wee are indebted onely to God, not to the diuell, *arg.* 1. if Chriſts bodie were only giuen in ſacrifice to God, *arg.* 2. if Chriſt by his death did forcibly bind the ſtrong man, *arg.* 3. then was not Sathan hired as with a price to let his priſoners goe, neither was Chriſts blood counted as a raunſome to him for our deliuerance.

THE EIGHT PART, THAT CHRIST IN HIS ſoule did truly feele his fathers wrath kindled againſt him for our ſinne.

FEnardentius denieth, that Chriſt had any ſenſe or feeling of Gods wrath in his ſoule, or that God did ſhew himſelfe as angrie towards him for our ſinne, *p.* 469. Artic. 21.

Argum. 1. Christ was alwaies the beloued sonne of God, Matth.3.17. God did not chaunge in turning his loue to hatred.

2. God loued him the more dearely for his obedience to death; he was not therefore angrie with him: Iohn. 10.17. *Therefore doth my father loue mee, because I laye downe my life.* pag.470.

3 If ye say God loued him as his sonne, yet hated him as our suretie, or became a seruant for vs; ye fall into *Nestorius* heresie, and so make two persons of Christ one beloued, an other hated: if ye say, that God was not angrie indeed, but Christ so perswaded; you will coyne a new heresie, that Christ had a false opinion of his father: *Feuard.* p.471.

1 *Answ.* 1. Gods temporall wrath vpon Christ doth not eyther chaunge or discontinue his euerlasting loue: for with Christs person being holy, innocent, righteous, God was neuer offended: our sinnes laid vpon Christ were the obiect and matter of Gods wrath: a father that doth loue his child dearely, yet may be angrie with his childs faults, and in his anger correct them. 2. *Abraham* loued *Isaac* most dearely, Gen.22.2. *God bid him take his onely sonne Isaac whom he loued:* yet at Gods commaundement he stretched out his hand to haue killed him, vers.10. *Abraham* in this instant loued the person of his sonne: yet in his holy anger and rage, he would kill him: I thinke to kill is no fruit or effect of loue. If *Abraham* then at the same instant retayned a fatherly loue toward *Isaac*, and yet in an holy & iust zeale would haue killed him, why should it seem straunge that God not chaunging his euerlasting loue toward his sonne, yet was angrie with our sinnes which he sustained? 3. *Augustine* well saith: *Vsque adeo non omnis qui irascitur odit, vt aliquando magis odisse conuincatur qui non irascitur:* Many time he that is angry is so farre from hating, or not louing, that he is found rather to hate, which is not angrie: *in Matth. ser* 16. He giueth an instance of a child which through his fathers lenitie runneth into apparant danger of his life. I proue by this similitude, that as there may be wrath in a father without a destruction of loue; so Gods eternall loue did stand inuiolable toward Christ without any chaunge, though his wrath appeared in the instant of Christs death, not shewing any alteration in God, but a diuersitie of dispensation in Christ, who now sustayned our person.

2. The next obiection hath the same answere, sauing that it seemeth to affirme that Christ by his obedience to death purchased a greater measure of loue to himselfe, which is a great errour: 1. Because the loue of God toward his sonne being from euerlasting, was alwaies the same, neither increasing nor decreasing: for this were otherwise to make God mutable and chaungeable, which the Apostle denieth, Iam. 1.17. if Gods loue should sometime abate, and sometime abound. 2. Christ did not merite any thing to himselfe but all for vs: as *Ambrose* well saith: *Christus non emerenda gratia sua causa, sed nostra eruditionis gratia ieiunauit:* Christ did not fast to merit fauour or grace to him selfe, but onely for our erudition sake. *lib.3.de fid.c.2.* The like may be said of all other actions of Christ: Christ obtained not an applification of his loue by his obedience, but a manifestation of it onely: *Christus hoc natus accepit, vt post crucem manifestaretur, quid à patre, dum generaretur, accepit; non enim tunc accepit; à patre, quando à creatura capit fieri:* Christ in his birth receiued this, that after his death it might be manifested, what he receiued of his father in his generation: for he did not then first receiue it, when the creature began to worke it: *Ambrose. in 2. Philipp.* Christs glory then, and Gods loue toward him was due vnto his humanitie in his verie first incarnation, by right of his Godhead, as our Sauiour himselfe saith. Iohn.17. *Glorifie me with that glorie, which I had with thee before the world was:* This glorie was manifested in time, which was *due* to Christs person before all time.

3. 1. Neither doth it follow, that we should make two persons in Christ, when we affirme that at the same instant God did both loue him with an eternall loue, and was angrie with him with a temporall wrath: *Augustine* will teach you how this may be: *Moses famulus dei quomodo oderat peccatores cum pro eis orabat, quomodo non oderat cum eos occidebat; ea namque perfectione sic oderat iniquitatem, quam puniebat, vt diligeret humanitatem pro qua orabat: Moses* the seruant of God, how did he hate the sinners, when he prayed for them; how did he not hate them, when he killed them: with such perfection he hated iniquitie, which he punished, that he loued their humanitie, for the which he prayed. *in Psal.* 138. So God in Christ loued his holines and innocency, but was angrie with our sinnes and iniquitie which were vpon him: Heere then are not two persons, but one and the same person diuersly considered. 2. This then is no Nestorianisme: take you heed of Manichisme, that you make not Christ to haue done all things fantastically & in shew, while he sweateth drops of bloud, complaineth that he was forsaken, as though God were throughly angry with him, and yet no such matter. 3. Neither do we say that Christ was onely so perswaded of his father, that he was angrie, but indeed he was so for the time, and he verely in his soule felt it so to be. *Dauid* was a man greatly beloued of God, whereof he hath his name, yet he truely complaineth of Gods wrath, Psal.38.3. *There is nothing sound in my flesh, because of thine anger:* And how this

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may be, that God may be temporally offended with the elect, that are eternally beloued, Saint *Paul* sheweth, Rom. 11. 28. *Concerning the gospell, they are enemies for your sakes, but as touching the election they are beloued for the fathers sake:* as the Iewes were temporally reiected; yet eternally in Gods counsell elected; so it is in this case, as Saint *Ambrose* well sheweth: *De præsenti Deus iustitia iudicat, non de præscientia:* God doth iudge according to present iustice, not according to prescience: *in 9. ad Roman.* And he further declareth how some may be said to be elected in respect of their present iustice which are not in Gods prescience: and so of the contrarie, some may be for a time in Gods temporall wrath *suspended*, to whom euerlastingly saluation is *intended*: so Christ was eternally *elected* and *dilected* or beloued of God, but in respect of our sinnes hanging vpon him, he was for a time as forlorne and reiected.

4 Lastly we must distinguish in Christ betweene the faith of his soule, and sense of his flesh: his faith alwaies apprehended Gods fauour euen in the midst of his deepest torments, as he saith, *I set God alwaies before me*, Psal. 16. 8. but in his present sense he felt and perceiued the wrath of God: Our Sauiour himselfe doth warrant this distinction: saying of himselfe, *The spirit is readie, the flesh is weake.* Matth. 26. 41. Vpon the which words S. *Ambrose* thus writeth. *Audi vtramque vocem & carnis infirmæ, & spiritus prompti (pater si possibile est transeat calix) hæc est carnis vox (sed non quod ego volo) habes deuotionem spiritus:* Heare each voice of a weake flesh, and prompt spirit: father if it be possible let the cup passe, this is the voice of the flesh, (but not as I will,) here is the deuotion of the spirit.

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

THat the wrath of God lay heauily vpon Christ as our suretie, and that as he bare all our sins, so he truly felt in his soule the wrath of God kindled against the same: thus we doe make it manifest out of scripture.

Argum. 1. Isay. 53. 4. *We iudged him, as plagued, smitten of God, and humbled:* but no man is plagued, or smitten but of God being angrie: *Ergo.*

Answ. 1. This smiting is referred onely to the temporall death of Christ by *Hierome* and others. 2. This might be done without Gods anger: for as *Abraham* would haue sacrificed his sonne without hatred or anger, he loued him still: so God did suffer his sonne to be slaine without anger, *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Christi anima. c. 8 resp. ad argum. 1.*

Contra. 1. It is euident, that the prophet speaketh not of Christs bodily death: for he said before in the beginning of the verse, he *bare our infirmities*, that is as the Septuagint translate ἁμαρτίας, sins, whom Saint *Peter* followeth, 1. Pet. 2. 24. But whence proceedeth the *plague* due vnto sinne, then from Gods wrath? Againe his bodily suffrings are more properly expressed in the next verse: *He was wounded for our transgressions.*

2. *Hierome* doth so vnderstand the prophet: *Factus est pro nobis maledictum, vt nos à maledicto liberaret; quod nos pro nostris debebamus sceleribus sustinere, ille pro nobis passus est: ex quo perspicuum est, sicut corpus flagellatum, ita animam verè doluisse:* He was made a curse for vs, to deliuer vs from the curse: for what we should haue sustained for our sinnes, he suffered for vs: whence it is manifest that as his bodie was whipped, so his soule was truly grieued, *in Isay. c. 53.* It is therefore vntrue which *Bellarmine* heere affirmeth, that *Hierome* vnderstandeth Christs bodily death onely.

3. Euen the death of the bodie also sheweth the wrath of God against sinne, as the Apostle saith: *That death entred by sinne.* Rom. 5. 12. And the prophet testifieth thus: *When thou with rebukes dost chastice man for iniquitie, thou makest his beautie to consume as a moth.* Psal. 39. 11. The mortalitie then of man doth proceed from the rebukes of God, and his rebukes declare his wrath: Christ then euen in his bodily death also had experience of his fathers wrath against sinne: though we grant, that death in Christs death is vanquished, and the *sting thereof extinguished*, 1. Cor. 15. 56. 57. And as *Ambrose* wel saith: *Christus habet oleum lætitiæ, qui facit exultare morituros, mœsta fœtore mortis abolevit:* Christ hath the oyle of gladnes aboue his fellowes, which causeth men readie to die to reioyce, and hath abolished the stinch, and extinguished the sting of death. *lib. 1. de spirit. c. 8.*

4. *Abraham* alwaies loued his sonne *Isaac*, yet (I thinke) he could not kill him in loue: the Apostle saith, *No man euer hated his owne flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it*: Ephes. 5. 29. To loue then is *to nourish and cherish: Abraham* in sacrificing his sonne did not cherish him, in that very act then he loued him not: so a father notwithstanding he loueth his child, may in his iust anger correct him: as *Augustine* saith, *Quanto melius est, si iraseeris & corrigis, quam si non irascendo perire permittas:* How much better is it, if you be angrie and correct your sonne, then by not being angrie to suffer him to perish. *serm. 16. in Matth.* Like as then *Abrahams* holy rage against his sonne, which was but *in part* and for a *moment* doth not abolish the perpetuall and totall loue to his childe: so by this example wee see howe

Christ was eternally and totally beloued of God, yet for a while and *in part* tasted of Gods wrath.

*Argum.*2. Isay 53.5. *The chastisement of our peace was vpon him:* or *ויסר*, the discipline of our peace, as the Septuagint reade: Christ then was to beare that discipline and chastisement, which appertained to vs, and whereby our peace is purchased: but Gods wrath was not otherwise appeased, but by satisfying it; he did not otherwise satisfie it, then by suffring it, Hebr.5.8. *He learned obedience by the things, which he suffered: Ergo*, he suffered and endured Gods wrath for vs.

Answ. If the whole chastisement due vnto vs, was layd vpon Christ: then he must haue beene punished eternally in hell, for that was due vnto vs: if Christs temporall punishment did satisfie for our eternall in regard of the worthinesse of his person; by the same reason his bodily suffrings may suffice and satisfie for the death of our soules, *Bellarm. resp. ad argum.*2.

*Contra.*1. Christ was to suffer the whole punishment due vnto sinne, so farre as it became the *dignitie* of his person, and the *necessitie of the worke*: but if he had suffered eternally, neither could the worke of our redemption haue been accomplished, and his person should haue endured that, which him not beseemed: and therefore the Apostle saith, Hebr.2.10. *It became him* to be consecrated through afflictions: and *Augustine* to the like effect, *Decuit eum*, it became him to vndertake this worke, *qu.*113. *ex vet. Testament.* Christ then was onely to passe through those afflictions, which became him.

2. It followeth not, because Christ is exempted from that punishment which became not his person, that therefore he should be freed from those suffrings also, which are no derogation vnto him: we attribute so much to the *dignitie* of Christ, as that we abolish not the *equitie* of God: so farre with Christs person it must be *dispersed*, as that yet Gods iustice be *satisfied*: to suffer in soule, Gods iustice required, neyther was Christs person thereby dishonoured; therefore those suffrings he was to endure for vs: as our Sauiour himselfe saith, *Ought not Christ to haue suffred these things, and so to enter into his glory*, Luke 24.25? *Augustine* well saith, *Potuerat Dominus noster hostem humani generis sola maiestate prosternere, sine incarnationis humilitate, sine certamine passionis, sed homo, &c. non violentia liberandus fuit, sed misericordia redimendus, iusto igitur ordine, &c.* The Lord could haue subdued the enemie of mankind onely with his maiestie, without either the humilitie of his incarnation, or difficultie of his passion: but man was not by violence to be deliuered, but by mercy and indulgence to be redeemed, therefore in iust order, &c. *serm.*156. It was meet then and iust, that Christ should suffer as he did for vs.

*Argum.*3. Hebr.4.15. *Christ was in all thinges tempted in like sort, yet without sinne*: as Christs members are tempted, so was he, but his members do feele in their soules the terrors of conscience, and haue experience of Gods wrath: as *Iob* complaineth, Iob 6.4. *The arrowes of God are in me, and the terrors of the almightie fight against me*: and Psalme 89.46. *Shall thy wrath burne like fire?* much more then did Christ feele the burthen of his fathers wrath, bearing all the sinnes of the elect in himselfe.

Answ. If Christ must be tempted in all things like to vs, then he must haue beene burned, beheaded, cornin pieces: he should haue beene subiect to diseases, as the gowte, the dropsie, the palsey, for all these are incident to his members, *Feuard. p.*445.

*Contra.*1. The Apostle speaketh of temptations, which are for the most part spirituall, not of bodily passions, therefore this answere is impertinent. 2. Yet because the Apostle saith elsewhere Heb.2.17. *It became him in all things to be made like his brethren*: that is, both as touching his bodie and his soule: I answere againe: 1. that this clause *in all things*, is not to be vnderstood of euery particular passion, but of the generall kind: not that Christ suffered euery particular maladie of the bodie, for that had beene impossible, but euery kind of griefe, both of bodie and soule. 2. It is absurd to obiect so many kindes of death, seeing it was impossible for Christ to haue dyed often, Hebr.9.25.28. 3. Neyther was it comely for Christ to suffer all, that we do, in that *manner* and *measure*: whereof the Apostle maketh manifest exception: *it became him, &c.* in suffringes not comely Christ was not to be like vs. 4. Againe, *sinne* is excepted, and in sinne also the *cause*, and *effectes* thereof are comprehended: so then Christ could not be like vnto vs in our *conception*, which is the beginning and cause of sinne; nor yet in our sicknesses and diseases, which are the proper and immediate fruites and effects of sinne: as it is in the Psalme, *There is no rest in my bones, because of my sinne*, Psal.38.3.

3. The Apostle also giueth a reason, why it became Christ to bee like vs in his suffrings and temptations: *He is able thereby to succour them, that are tempted, in that he suffered and was tempted*, Hebr.2.18. Where the Apostle speaketh not of Christs absolute power, whereby he is able without experience had of our temptations, to succour vs, but of his humane compassion, whereby he is able by his owne feeling to haue pitie of vs: and, though he suffered not in bodie euery particular griefe as we do, as our diseases and sicknesses, yet by the experience which he had in other of our infirmities, he hath a feeling also of those, and therein in his pitifull compassion is able to

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helpe: wherefore, that Christ might be able also to succour vs in his owne feeling, when wee are vexed in soule with terror of conscience, and the sense of Gods wrath, it became him in his owne soule to feele the like. And so I conclude with S. *Ambrose*; *Qui corpus suscepit, omnia debuit subire quæ corporis sunt, vt esuriret, sitiret, angeretur, &c.* He that tooke a bodie, must vndergoe all thinges belonging to the bodie, as to be hungrie, thirstie, to be grieued: *in 12. cap. Luc.* As he here saith of Christs bodie, so likewise of his soule: *Minus mihi contulerat, si non meum suscepisset affectum, &c.* He had done little for me, if he had not taken mine affection: and againe, *Debuit dolorem suscipere, vt vinceret tristitiam non excluderet:* He was to take my sorrow to ouercome it, not to exclude it: *in Luc.* 22. By this sentence then, those sorrowes of ours, which Christ excluded from himselfe, are not yet vanquished nor ouercome.

Bernard saith, *Vt quos vivificavit mors tua, tua nihilominus trepidatio roboraret, mœstitia lætos, turbatio quietos redderet:* That those whom thy death quickened, thy trembling might strengthen, thy heauinesse might cheare, thy troubles might quiet: *in die S. Andr. serm.* 1. Our peace then and quietnesse of soule is purchased by the like trouble and terror in Christs soule.

Augustine also in this behalfe maketh *Noah* a figure of Christs passion, who was drunken and vncouered in his tent: so Christ saith he, *Calice passionis adeo factus est ebrius, vt ipso teguminе corporis nudaretur, &c.* So Christ was drunken as it were with the cuppe of his passion, that he was left naked of the couering of his bodie: *serm.* 153. he expresseth but one effect of this spirituall drunkennesse; the Prophet sheweth another, Ierem. 23. 9. *I am like a drunken man, for the presence of the Lord:* It is then the wrathfull presence of God, which is the cause as it were of the spirituall drunkennesse of the soule: when it tasteth so deepely of the cuppe of Gods wrath, that it is so rauished and ouerwhelmed, like as the bodie, when it is intoxicate with strong drinke.

Wherefore, if Christ were smitten and plagued of God for our sinnes, *argum.* 1. If the whole chastisement of our peace was vpon him, *argum.* 2. If hee was tempted in all things like vs, *argum.* 3. then it remaineth that out of all doubt, he felt the terrors of soule, and had experience of the wrath of God against our sinne: for such tempeations are the members of Christ subiect vnto.

THE NINTH PART, THAT CHRIST DID TRVly complaine vpon the Crosse, that he was forsaken of God, and that he verily felt himselfe in his soule for our sinne, for the time, as reiected of God in part, though not totally or finally.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

Feuardentius thus obiecteth and reasoneth. 1. If Christ were truly forsaken of God, it would follow that the hypostaticall vnion was dissolued, and that Christ was personally separated from God, for otherwise he could not be forsaken. *Feuarden. p.* 473. *confut.* 1. Artic. 24.

2. The Centurion notwithstanding Christ so complained and cried out, yet confesseth thus of him: *this truly was the sonne of God, he was a righteous man:* Matth. 27. Farre off was he, from imagining Christ to be forsaken of God. *Feuarden. p.* 474. *lin.* 17.

3 Christ was alwaies most holy, innocent, iust, and therefore acceptable vnto God, he was not then reiected or forsaken. *Feuarden. p.* 475. *confut.* 3.

4. Out of *Fulgentius*, *Diuinitas Christi animam in inferno non deseruit*: Christs diuinitie did not leaue his soule in hell: *Ergo*, his soule was not forsaken. *Feuarden. p.* 474. *lin.* 32.

5. If Christ had beene verily forsaken, then he so crying out should haue despaired, which were horrible blasphemie to affirme. *Bellarm. argum.* 6. *Feuarden. p.* 485. *conf.* 6.

6. Christ prayeth for them which crucified him, saying: *Father forgiue them*, they know not what they doe. Luk. 23. 34. How could Christ pray vnto God, or assure himselfe to be heard, if he were forsaken. *p.* 488. *conf.* 12.

7. How could Christ promise Paradise to the theefe vpon the Crosse, if he were himselfe forsaken, and not sure of Paradise: *Feuard. p.* 448. *lin.* 32.

Answ. 1. If Christ had beene *totally* and *eternally* forsaken, the personall vnion must haue been *dissolued*: but vpon this *temporall* and partiall *reiection* there followeth not a *personall* dissolution or generall dereliction. 2. As the bodie of Christ being without life, was still hypostatically vnited to the Godhead, so was the soule of Christ, though for a time without feeling of his fauour: the dereliction of the one doth no more dissolue the hypostaticall vnion, then the death of the other: if life went from the bodie, and yet the deitie was not separated in the personall *consociation*, but onely suspended in *operation*: so the feeling of Gods fauour, which is the life of the soule, might be *intermitted* in Christ, and yet the diuine vnion not *interrupted*. 3. *Augustine* doth well shew, how

how this may be: when he saith, that *Passio Christi dulcis fuit diuinitatis somnus*: The passion of Christ was the sweet sleepe of his diuinitie. *lib de essent diuin.* Like as then in sleepe the soule is not departed, though the operation thereof be deferred: so in Christs sleepe vpon the crosse, the Godhead was not *separated*, though the working power thereof were for a time sequestred.

2. 1. The Centurion being a Romane vnderstood not the language, wherein Christ complained crying out, *he was forsaken*, seeing the Iewes themselues mistooke his words, saying, *he called for Elias.* Matth. 27. 47. 2. And the Euangelist euidently sheweth, that not the hearing of those words, but the seeing of the earthquake and other things, which were done drew that confession from the Centurion, that Christ was the sonne of God. Matth. 27. 54. 3. Who denieth but that notwithstanding Christ truely complained he was forsaken, yet he was the sonne of God still: for the hypostaticall vnion was not hereby dissolued, as I haue answered to the first obiection: for like as the soule of Christ being parted from his bodie, was separated only from it [illegible] not [illegible], locally, not hypostatically: *Damascene. lib. 3. de Fid. c. 27.* The soule ceased working in the bodie, yet was not diuorced in the personal being from the bodie: so the filiall vnion was not dissolued, though the effectuall feeling were for a while discontinued.

3. 1. It followeth not because Christ was alwaies the beloued sonne of God in himselfe, that therefore he could not be forsaken for a time in respect of our sinnes, which he as our suretie answered for: If they can tell me, how these two can stand together, that first God should promise as concerning *Dauid, his seed shall endure for euer*, Psal. 89. 36. and yet the Church complaineth, *thou hast reiected and abhorred, and beene angrie with thine annointed, Ibid. v. 38.* then will I answere them how both these may be at once in Christ, *distinction* and *derelinction*: like as then the elect members of Christ may be forsaken not totally, or finally, but *ex parte*, in part, and for a time, and yet their election remaine firme still; the same may be the case of our head, that he was *ex parte derelictus*, onely in part forsaken, and for a time, alwaies beloued for his owne innocency, but for vs and in our person, as our pledge and suretie deserted.

2 *Augustine* very wel sheweth, how one man may at the same time both loue & hate another: *Hominem deus fecit, praeuaricatorem seipse fecit; ama in illo, quod deus fecit, persequere in illo, quod ipse sibi fecit*: God made man, & he made himself a sinner, loue that which God made, persecute that which he made himselfe. *in Psal.* 100. So Christ in respect of his holines and innocency the fruits & graces of the spirit, was beloued of God, but in regard of our sins which were our owne works, now laide vpon Christ, as his owne, he was as forsaken: see more for a fuller answer to this argument. *part.* 8. *resp. ad obiect.* 1. *et.* 3.

4. 1. Christ indeed was not forsaken finally neither his soule in hell, nor his body in the graue, and so is S. *Peter* to be vnderstood. Act. 2. 27. *Thou wilt not leaue my soule in the graue or hel*: for like as Christs bodie was forsaken for a time in that it died, but not forsaken finally, because it rose from death: so his soule was forsaken in part while the terrors of God were in it, but not totally or generally, because he subdued these sorrowes of hell, wherewith he was compassed. 2. Saint *Paul* in the one sense saith. 2. Cor. 4. 9. *We are persecuted, but not forsaken*; that is, vtterly or finally: *Dauid* in the other sense complaineth, that he was forsaken, Psal. 22. 1. that is in part, and for a time in his owne sense and feeling: And so *Augustine* well saith: *Vnusquisque pro peccatis necessario flagellatur, sed ab eo, si Christianus est, misericordia dei non dispergitur*: Euery man is necessarily whipped for his sinne, but he is not stripped of Gods mercy, if he be a Christian, *in psal.* 88. *serm.* 2. So there are two kinds of derelinction or forsaking, one is for a time and in part; so the elect may be, and Christ was vpon the crosse forsaken: another which is totall, finall, and generall, and so neither Christ nor his members are forsaken.

5. 1. Neither doth it follow that Christ vttered words of desperation, if he had felt himselfe indeed in his soule forsaken: for we must distinguish between the faith of Christ, which was alwaies sound and firme, and the sense of his humane infirmity, which caused him to complaine; so that in the deepest bottome of the anguish of his soule he is vpheld and sustained by his faith, saying, *my God, my God*: whereby he sheweth his singular confidence and trust in God, notwithstanding the present sense of his wrath.

2. *Bellarm.* 1. If Christ did suffer the punishment of the damned and of hell, as *Caluine* affirmeth, then he also despaired: for desperation is an essentiall part of the paine of hell. 2. This speech of Christ it was eyther deliberate and aduised, or indeliberate and vnaduised: if the first, then Christ verily despaired; if the second, his passions were inordinate, which is not to be admitted.

3. Neither can it be imagined, that the first clause (my God, my God) should be aduisedly spoken, and the other (why hast thou forsaken me) to be vnaduisedly vttered; was Christ so weake and inconstant, that he could not continue fower words in faith?

4. And if the first words, *my God, my God*, are a correction of the other, then the correction goeth before the error, which were absurd. *Bellarm. lib. 4. de anim. c. 8. arg. 6.*

Contra.

Contra. 1. Such punishment of hell, as Christ might endure without sinne, wee doubt not to ascribe vnto him: but desperation is a detestable sinne, and therfore farre from Christ: the Apostle teacheth vs to make this exception, Heb. 4.17. that Christ *was tempted in all things as we are, sinne onely excepted:* wherefore this is a meere cauill to obiect that, which is by the Apostle directly excepted. And *Augustine* also saith: *Solus Christus sine peccato, peccati pœnam subire dignatus est:* Onely Christ without sinne, vouchsafed to vndergoe the punishment of sinne, *contr. 2. epist. Pelag. 4.4.* Therefore no punishment which is necessarily accompanied with sinne, can bee fastened vpon Christ.

2. The whole speech of Christ was aduised and deliberate, and yet no despayre at all: in which deliberatiue speech both he cryeth out in the feeling of his sorrow, that it might appeare what he endured for vs, and hee also vttereth his faith and confidence, to teach vs by his example to be confident in our troubles. *Damascene* saith well for the first, [Greek], that which was said and done proceeded not from the fault or *depravation of nature*, but for the *demonstration of his true existencie and humanitie: lib. 3. de fid. c. 22.* For the other Saint *Ambrose* speaketh: *Dubitatio ylla nos firmat, ne tu si caperis dubitare desperes:* His doubtfulnes doth strengthen vs, lest thou, when thou beginnest to doubt, shouldest despayre, *lib. 2. de fid. c. 4.*

3. 1. Neither doth the faith of Christ conclude it selfe within these wordes onely, *My God, my God*, but is continued throughout the whole sense and sentence: for at the same time Christ both sheweth his humane *infirmitie*, and his *constant fidelitie*, his exceeding great *passion*, and his excellent *confession:* As *Damascene* saith: [Greek], his will was first tempted of his naturall *infirmitie*; and againe, [Greek], it was corroborate and strengthened by his diuine will, *lib. 3. de fid. cap. 18.* 2. Neither is this so straunge a thing, for nature and faith to appeare at once: as the Prophet *David* sheweth in himselfe, Psal. 31.22. *I said in my haste, I am cast out of thy sight:* here is *Davids* infirmitie: *yet thou heardest the voyce of my prayer:* here is his faith and stabilitie.

4. Neither doe we say, that one part of the sentence is a correction of the other: but the whole sheweth a singular moderation and direction by faith of Christs naturall affection in the middest of his deepest passion: So the Apostle saith, Heb. 5.8. *that he learned obedience by the things which he suffered.* And *Augustine* witnesseth: *Vnde patefacit, quod & humanam habuit voluntatem, per quam obedijt patri, & immaculatam ab omni peccato eandem voluntatem:* Whereby he sheweth, that he had both an humane will, by the which hee was obedient to his father, and the same will immaculate and free from all sinne: *ex epist. Agathon. ad Constantin.*

6. 7. Christ notwithstanding this sense of his dereliction, might and did both promise paradise to the theefe, whereof he doubted not, and pray in charitie for his persecutors: for his faith, hope and charitie failed not in the deepest of his agonie: for though hee felt Gods wrath in his humane *sense and infirmitie*, yet his faith was stedfast in all *godly constancie:* and so as *Ambrose* saith of the like request of Christ, when he prayed that the cup might passe, &c. that there was both *vox carnis, & deuotio spiritus*, the voyce of the flesh, and the deuotion also of the spirit. In like manner in this place Christ sheweth in the complaint his humane sense, as also his godly confidence, *Ambr. lib. 4. in Luc.*

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

THat our blessed Sauiour bearing our sinnes in himselfe vpon the crosse, did verily feele Gods wrath in his soule, and truly complained in respect thereof, that he was forsaken of God: he himselfe thus euidently testifieth.

Argum. Our Sauiour cryeth out and complaineth vpon the crosse: *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Matth. 27.46. These words were vttered in truth, not in colour or shew: as *Athanasius* saith: [Greek], All things were done naturally and in truth, not in opinion, or shew: *ad Apollinar. Ergo,* Christ did feele himselfe in his soule forsaken of God.

Ans. 1. One answere is, that Christ speaketh in our person, and not in his owne; to the which sense some of the Fathers seeme to incline: as *Damascene lib. 3. de fid. c. 24.* he saith, he was forsaken, because we were iustly forsaken for our sinnes.

2. But the most common answere is this, that Christ was forsaken in respect of his bodie and flesh, which was yeelded vp into the hands of the Iewes to kill and crucifie, and vse at their pleasure, and therefore Christ complaineth, that God would not deliuer him: *sic Bellarm. resp. ad arg. 4.* as if Christ in effect had thus said: My God, which diddest deliuer *Noe* from the flood, *Abraham* from Vr of the Chaldees, *Isaac* from the sword of his father, *Iacob* from the hand of his brother, Israel out of Ægypt, *Ioseph* out of prison, *David* from *Goliah*, &c. why hast thou left me without any helpe? *sic Fenard. p. 477.*

3. To this purpose the Frier alleageth diuers Fathers, as *Tertullian, Origen, Epiphanius, Cyrill, Hierome, Bernard, p. 479.* whose testimonies shall be examined afterward.

Contra.

Contra. 1. It is euident, that Christ speaketh in his owne person, saying, *Why hast thou forsaken me?* 2. As *Origen* saith, *Non fas est credere mentiri Christum dicentem, quare, &c.* It is not safe to beleeue that Christ lyed when he said, why hast thou forsaken me? *Tract.* 35. *in Matth.* But if Christ had said he was forsaken, and yet was not, it had been an vntruth. 3. As for *Damascens* sentence, it is reiected by *Iodocus Chtouæus* in his enarrations vpon that place. 4. And yet *Damascene* may very well be interpreted otherwise: for he saith that Christ thus spake, [illegible], hauing put on, assumed, or inhabiting our person: which is as he expoundeth himselfe, *cap.* 25. [illegible], receiuing our person, that is, [illegible], being ordained with vs, that is, made like vs: So then his meaning is, that Christ in our person, that is, in respect of his humanitie taken from vs, thus complained.

2 2. Neither can it be referred to the leauing of Christ in his bodily death and torments. 1. The sense of these words must be deriued from the 22. Psal. vers. 1. where the Prophet complaineth not so much of any outward affliction, but that he was without spiritual comfort, *Why art thou so farre from my health, and the voyce of my roring?* And to the like effect he prayeth, Psal. 51. 11. *Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holie spirit from me:* vers. 12. *Restore me to the ioy of thy saluation.* To be cast away then, or forsaken, is to be left comfortlesse of Gods spirit.

2. If Christ should haue so cryed out, and, as the Prophet saith, rored, in respect of his bodily death, he should haue shewed himselfe weaker, than many of his members, who were chearefull in the middest of their torments, being inwardly comforted.

3. If this forsaking of Christ, were the leauing of him to the pleasure of his persecutors, it is likely that Christ would haue vttered this voyce in the beginning of his passion, being now alreadie nayled to the crosse, for euen then had they wrought their will vpon him; but he so cryed not till three houres after: and at the ninth houre being readie to giue vp the ghost, and hauing wrestled all this while in his soule with the terrors of hell, and hauing felt the absence of Gods fauour within, as the world wanted the Sunne light without, then hee cryed out and complained, *My God, my God, &c.*

4. Neither doth the Scripture vse to call this a *dereliction*, or *desertion*, when a man is left to his persecutors: as Saint *Paul* saith, *we are persecuted, but not forsaken*, 2. Cor. 4. 9.

5. In this complaint of Christ, the whole person of Christ consisting of both his natures is expressed, the one part or nature of Christ forsaketh, that is his deitie, the other is forsaken, namely his humanitie; then the soule of Christ is also in this instant forsaken, as well as his bodie: for it either forsaketh, or is forsaken: but not the first, for it was the Godhead onely that left him, not in *essence*, but in *sense*; not in *being*, but in *feeling*: *Ergo*, his soule was forsaken.

6. Neither did the persecutors force Christs soule out of his bodie, that in that behalfe hee should complaine as *forsaken*: for hee layd downe his life of himselfe, no man tooke it from him, Ioh. 10. 18. And as *Ambrose* writeth vpon these words, *Emisit spiritum*, He gaue vp the ghost; *Quod emittitur voluntarium; quod amittitur necessarium est*: That which is emitted or sent forth is voluntarie; that which is amitted is necessarie, *in Luc.* 22.

7. Christ was forsaken, but in deeper degree and measure of feeling, as his members doe often finde themselues forsaken: but his members doe feele the terrors of conscience, and for the time are as forsaken in their feeling: as it appeareth in *Dauid*, Psal. 31. 20. *I am cast out of thy sight*: In Iob. 30. 21. *Thou art an enemie vnto me, &c. Ergo*, so was Christ forsaken: for as *Ambrose* saith, *Flagellatus est ipse, ne nos flagellaremur*: He was scourged, that we should not be scourged, *in Luc.* 22. So he was forsaken, that we should not be forsaken.

3 1. *Tertullian* saith, *Reliquit dum non parcit*: God left his sonne in not sparing him, hee left him in deliuering him, *lib. ad Praxeam.* To this not sparing belongeth the spirituall forsaking: this testimonie is not against vs.

2. *Origen* saith, *Derelictus fuit, comparatione gloriæ, &c. ad confusionem*: He was forsaken, comparing his glorie which he had with his father to this present confusion vpon the crosse, *Hom* 35. *in Matth.* As though the derelliction of his soule doth not properly belong vnto this confusion.

3. *Epiphanius* saith: *Non separata deitate, &c.* Christ did not thus crye out, as though his deitie were separated, *contr. hæres.* 69. As though any man saith, that Christ was forsaken of his Godhead: this sentence is vnproperly alleaged.

4. *Cyrill*: *Opus erat ad fidem nostram, &c.* It was necessarie to our faith, that Christ should shew himselfe a true man in his passion: and therefore lest any man should doubt, as a man hee crieth out, *My God, my God*: *lib.* 10. *Thesaur. c.* 3. This testimonie rather maketh against the Frier: for if Christ by thus crying out would declare himselfe to be a perfect man, who consisteth of bodie and soule, it must follow, that the whole man Christ complaineth, that he was in his whole humanitie forsaken.

5. *Hierome* saith: *Christus derelictus pro parte carnis*: Christ was forsaken on the [illegible] of his flesh,

flesh, *in Psal.* 21. By flesh he vnderstandeth the whole humanitie of Christ: as in the same place, *Humanitas loquitur quomodo derelicta fuerit in Adam*: His whole humanitie speaketh how it was forsaken in *Adam*: which was both in bodie and soule.

6. *Bernard* saith: *Quadam vbi derelictio fuit, vbi nulla fuit in tanta necessitate virtutis exhibitio, nulla ostenta maiestatis*: It was a kind of dereliction, when in such necessitie there was no vertue exhibited, no maiestie declared, *ser. 5. de verb. Isaiæ*. This may be referred as well to the fayling of inward comfort, as to the assayling of outward crosses: for neither in the one nor the other, did the diuine maiestie comfort and vertue declare it selfe.

4. Now on the contrarie side I will produce the Fathers testifying for the truth. 1. *Origen: Forsitan videtur peccata hominum, pro quibus patitur, dicit, &c.* It may be that Christ seeing the sinnes of men, for the which he suffered, cryed out, that he was forsaken. And againe, *Non credimus humano more illa dixisse propter calamitatem, quæ cum comprehenderat in cruce*: I doe not thinke that hee said thus after the manner of men, because of the calamitie, which fastened vpon him on the crosse, *Tract. 35. in Matth.* *Origen* then maketh not the outward calamitie of the crosse, but the inward suffring for our sinnes, the ground and cause of Christs dereliction. 4

2. *Ambrose: Quoniam delicta aliena suscepi, etiam debilitatem aliorum verba suscepi, ut me derelictum à patre dicam*: Because I haue taken other mens sinnes, I haue also taken the words of their sinnes to say, I am forsaken of my father, *de vocatione c. 5.* This dereliction then of Christ proceeded from the consideration of our sins, which lay vpon him. And againe, *Dubitatio illa nos firmat, ne & si in desperare caperis, desperes*: His dubitation is our confirmation, that in our doubting we fall not into desperation, *lib. 2. de fid. c. 4.* He calleth the perplexitie and dereliction of Christ in his soule, *dubitation*, or doubtfulnes: though to speake properly Christ doubted not at all.

3. *Hieronim: Christus sic orauit in cruce, deus meus, deus, quid dereliquisti me? longe à salute mea verba delictorum meorum, &c.* Christ thus prayed vpon the crosse, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? far from my health are the words of my sinnes, *lib. 3. aduers. Pelag.* Christs dereliction then was grounded vpon our sinnes, which he bare.

4. *Augustine: Non dedignatus est assumere vos in se, transfigurare vos in se, & loqui verbis vestris, vt vos loqueremur verbis ipsius, hæc enim mira commutatio facta est, & diuina per omnia facta commercia, &c.* He vouchsafed to assume our nature to himselfe, to transfigure vs in himselfe, to speake our words, that we might speake his words: for a wonderfull commutation is made, & a royall or diuine exchaunge effected, &c. *in Psal.* 30. As wee then speake with Christs words of spirituall comfort, so he spake our words in his spirituall distresse; and as wee in our trouble of minde complaine of the absence of Gods comfort, so did Christ.

5. *Hilarie: Christus cruci vniuersa, quibus infirmabamur, affixit; ideo peccata nostra portat & pro nobis dolet, &c.* Christ did fasten to his crosse all those things vniuersally, whereby wee are weakened and troubled: therefore hee bare our sinnes, and was grieued for vs, &c. *c. 31. in Matth.* If Christ fastened all our infirmities in himselfe to the crosse, then also the sense and feeling of desertion and dereliction.

6. *Beda: Vt homo loquitur nostras circumferens mortes, quod in periculis positi à deo nos deseri putamus*: He speaketh as a man bearing our feares, because when we are in daunger we thinke wee are forsaken of God, *in 15. Marc.* If Christ then complained of *desertion* and forsaking, as his members in their extremitie vse to doe: then was it the dereliction of his soule, which hee felt, as his members in some measure vse to feele.

Wherefore setting apart all other deuises and coniectures of men, I resolue with *Origen*: first, that neither Christ complained in humilitie, that he was forsaken of the deitie: for then he should haue complained vntruly. Secondly, neither that in regard of the present darknes hee so sayd, as some thinke. Thirdly, nor yet did he speake in the person of the Iewes, which were *reiected*, that the Gentiles might be *elected*. Fourthly, nor yet did hee make this outcrye by reason of his outward calamitie vpon the crosse: all these coniectures *Origen* refuseth, and concludeth rather, that Christ because of our sinnes which he bare, for the which he felt Gods anger, and himselfe forsaken, thus cryed out and complayned vpon the crosse.

THE TENTH PART, THAT CHRIST WAS VERILY made a curse for vs, and did beare both in his bodie and soule, that curse, which by reason of the transgression of the law was due vnto vs.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

AGainst this position the Frier vseth no speciall arguments, but such as were before produced against Christs feeling of the wrath of God. Artic. 25.

1. If

1. If Christ stood accursed for vs in his soule before God, then there would follow a dissolution of his person from the vnitie of the Godhead: but Christ *semper siue rapina se æqualem Deo &c.* alwayes without any robberie, or iniurie to God, tooke himselfe to be equall to him, *Feuardent. pag. 471. in 6.*

2. Christ was alwayes beloued of God and in his fauour: *Ergo*, not accursed, *Feuard. pag. 470. confut. 4.*

3. If he were accursed, then also he despayred, and was damned, *Feuardent. p. 446. confut. 5. lin. 5. 11.*

Answ. These obiections I haue answered before, *part. 8. responsi ad obiect. 1. 2. 3. & part. 9. responsi ad 1. 2. 3.* The summe of our answere was this: 1. That there is no more feare of the dissolution of Christes person, for the spirituall conselying vpon his soule, then for the externall shewed in the death of his bodie. 2. Neyther is the eternall loue of God hereby discontinued or interrupted: for as I shewed, this dereliction or curse, was not totall but partiall, temporall, not eternall: and Christ for his owne innocencie and holinesse was alwayes beloued of God, but stood accursed for our sinnes: See our answere more at large, *part. 8. responsi ad obiect. 1. 2. 3. & part. 9. responsi ad obiect. 1. 3.* Neyther vpon the admitting of this curse, shall eyther damnation or desperation follow in the soule of Christ: though it were spirituall, yet was it not eternall: though there were a dereliction, yet no desperation: though desolation for a time, yet no damnation: it was *passiue*, yet not *sinfull*: Christs soule was *perplexed*, yet his faith not *peruerted*: hee was not onely vpon the *crosse*, but vnder Gods curse for vs: *damnation* and *desperation* are the inseparable companions of eternall and totall *malediction*: but so was not Christ accursed; but in part and for a time. 1. The execration of his soule doth no more enforce *damnation* and *desperation*, then the *malediction* of his bodie, which is graunted. 2. *Ieremie* tels himselfe vnder Gods wrath and curse, when he said, *Woe is me*, Ieremi. 15. 10. and vers. 17. *Thou hast filled me with indignation*, vers. 18. *My plague is desperate, why art thou to me as a liar?* Ieremi. 20. 14. *Cursed be the day wherein I was borne*: yet *Ieremie* was neyther damned, nor despaired. 3. Wee doubt not to ascribe all our tentations to Christ, but without sinne, therefore he must be freed from *damnation* and *desperation*. As *Bernard* well saith, *Susceperat pœnam, & nescierat culpam*: he tasted the smart, but tooke not the sinne, *ad milites templi. 10.* But for more full answere, I referre the reader to the ninth part, *responsi ad obiectiones 1. 2. 3.*

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

THe Apostle in most direct words proueth the question, when he saith, Galath. 3. 13. *Christ hath redeemed vs from the curse of the law, when he was made a curse for vs*: as it is written, *Cursed is euery one, that hangeth on tree*: I say then with *Ambrose*, *Cur erubescamus fateri, quod Apostolus non erubuit alta voce profiteri?* Why should I be ashamed to confesse that, which the Apostle with a loud voyce hath professed, that Christ was truely made a curse for vs?

Answ. 1. Christ may be said to be a curse, that is, *maledictionis remissio*, because he remitted or released the curse, *Feuard. p. 377. confut. 2. lin. 18.*

2. He was accursed onely in respect of his ignominious death, as Psal. 22. 6. *Opprobrium hominum, & abiectio plebis*: I am a shame of men, and the contempt of the people, *Feuard. pag. 470. confut. 3. lin. 11.*

Contra. 1. The first answere the Apostle remoueth, when he saith, *Christ hath redeemed vs from the curse of the law, when he was made a curse for vs*: to be made a curse and to redeeme vs from the curse, are not all one: but the remitting of the curse, is all one with the redeeming from the curse: *Ergo*, the remitting of the curse is not to be made a curse. 2. Againe, the Apostle proueth Christ to be cursed, because he hanged on a tree, as it is written, *Cursed is euery one that hangeth on a tree*, that is, he is indeed accursed, not the curse onely remitted. 3. The receiuing of the curse is one thing, the remitting another: first, Christ tooke the curse vpon himselfe, and so tooke away the curse: *malediction* then, and the *remission* of the malediction are two diuers things.

2. That this curse, wherewith Christ was accursed for vs cannot be referred to the externall death vpon the crosse, it appeareth by these reasons.

1. S. *Hierome* saith, *Non quicunq; pependerit in ligno, maledictus erit a Deo, sed qui propter scelus suspensus*: not euery one that hangeth vpon a tree, is cursed before God, *but he that hangeth there for his sinne: in 3. ad Galat.* Like as if *Haman* had preuailed against *Mardoche*, and hanged him vpon the gallowes which he had made for him; *Mardoche* in his innocencie, notwithstanding that ignominious death, should not haue stood accursed: wherefore it was not the death of the crosse, but our sinnes hanging vpon the crosse, that deriued this curse vpon Christ: this also is euident out of *Moses*, that not the kind of death, but the desert of death made it ignominious, Deut. 21. 22. *If a man haue committed a trespasse worthie of death, and be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree, &c.*

We

Wee see then, that our sins hanging with Christ vpon the crosse, made the same an accursed death.

2. Christ was made that curse, which he redeemed vs from, otherwise the Apostle had not reasoned soundly, *we are redeemed from the curse, because Christ was made a curse.* he remitteth that curse to vs, which he receiued in himselfe. *Beda* also saith, *Christus supplicium nostrum sine reatu suscepit, vt solueret reatum, & finiret supplicium:* Christ hath taken our punishment without guilt, to loose the guilt, and ende the punishment, *in* 3. *ad Galat.* What other punishment ended he, but that we tooke? but to vs was due for the transgression of the law, the curse both of body and soule? *Ergo,* the same curse Christ tooke.

3. The wordes in *Moses* are *maledictus deo,* he is cursed to God, that hangeth on a tree, but no death in it selfe is more ignominious then another before God, the shame thereof is externall, and concerneth men: *Ergo,* the curse was not in the ignominious death: the ordinarie glosse thus noteth vpon these wordes: *Non est hoc in contumeliam Domini, quid mirum si maledictus dicitur Deo, qui habet in se, quod Deus odit, i. peccatum:* This redoundeth not to the reproch of God; for what maruaile, if he be said to be accursed to God, that hath in himselfe that which God hateth, namely sinne, *in* 3. *Galat.* it is not the maner of the death onely, that made it ignominious, but our sins, which Christ bare.

4. *Oecumenius* vpon this place thus writeth: we were subiect to the curse because we had transgressed the law; Christ was not subiect, because he had fulfilled it: *Eam ergo execrationem suscepit, cui obnoxius non erat, quum suspensus fuit in ligno, vt execrationem solueret, qua vduersus nos erat:* Hee therefore tooke that curse, to the which hee was not subiect, when he hanged vpon the tree, to loose the curse which was against vs, *in* 3. *ad Gal.* From hence I reason thus: Christ tooke that curse for vs, which otherwise was not due vnto him; but death & mortalitie were incident & appertaining vnto the humane nature of Christ, though he had not dyed for vs; which notwithstanding was impossible: *Ergo,* the curse was not in Christs death onely. That Christ was by his diuine nature subiect to mortalitie; 1. the Scripture testifieth: *It became him in all things to be like vnto vs,* Heb. 2. 17. *Ergo,* he was mortall as we are by nature. 2. S. *Ambrose* giueth this reason: *Quis excipiam se putet à conditione moriendi, qui non excepit sibi conditionem nascendi?* Who can thinke himselfe exempt from the condition of dying, that is not freed from being borne? *Naturaliter,* Christ therefore being borne, had an aptnesse in his nature to die. 3. *Damascene,* [illegible] If the Lordes body had beene immortall, it had not beene of the same substance with ours: then it would follow, saith he, that Christ was not truely made man, and so consequently we not truely saued: *de fid. lib.* 3. *c.* 28. 4. And *Ambrose* againe saith: Christ was not exempted from death, *Vt carnis quam susceperat, legem non recusaret:* That he should not refuse the lawe of the flesh, which he tooke: *in Luc.* 22. *Mors Christi communis secundum naturam corporis, specialis secundum virtutem:* Christs death was common in the nature of his bodie, but speciall in respect of the vertue and power thereof. *Ambr. ibid.*

Yet least I be here mistaken, as though I did thinke, that Christ, if he had not died vpon the crosse, (if it had been possible) should otherwise haue died. I am farre from so thinking: for Christ had neuer tasted death but for vs, Hebr. 2. 9. I onely shew that the lawe of mortalitie was in his flesh by the nature thereof, which lawe notwithstanding by his diuine spirite, should haue been dispensed with, and ouerruled. So that he was not, but in the case of our redemption to haue died. And here I willingly embrace *Damascenes* iudgement: The flesh of Christ [illegible] was not by nature free from mortalitie, but yet [illegible] it was a quickening and liuing flesh, and exempted from mortalitie by the hypostaticall vnion of the Godhead: *de fid. orthod. lib.* 3. *c.* 27.

Thus then I conclude with *Augustine: Credo filium dei mortuum esse non secundum potestatem naturæ quam ex toto non habuit, sed secundum legem naturæ, quam pro humani generis redemptione suscepit:* I beleeue that the sonne of God died, not according to the punishment of vnrighteousnes, which he had not at all, but according to the law of nature, which he tooke for the redemption of mankinde. *Ad Dardanum. c.* 18. If death then and mortalitie were in Christs nature, and thereunto appertaining, but the curse which he tooke, did not belong vnto him, but to vs onely for our sinne; it followeth, that this curse was not wholly in his death.

5. That curse which Christ did beare, he hath redeemed vs from: but wee are not freed nor redeemed from shamefull and ignominious kinds of death: the members of Christ *haue been naked, stoned, beaten asunder, &c.* Hebr. 11. 35. 37. *Ergo,* the curse which was laid vpon Christ, was not in his ignominious death.

Obiect. 1. The Apostle saith, Hebr. 12. 2. *That Iesus endured the crosse, and despised the shame,* he referreth the *shame* to the manner of death vpon the crosse.

Answ. 1. The Apostle speaketh of the shame of the crosse, but not of the curse. 2. We confesse that it was a shamefull and cursed death, but therein lay not the whole curse. 3. To this shame belonged not onely the manner of death which Christ suffered, but in that he was counted among

transgressors, Isay. 53. 12. and was put to death by the Iewes as a transgressor of their law: and so herein consisted the chiefe part of the shame and curse of the crosse, that he bare our sinnes, and so was counted a transgressor for vs.

Obiect. 2. But the Apostle proueth Christ to be made a curse, onely because he hanged vpon a tree: the ignominie then of his death made the curse.

Answ. 1. We grant it was a cursed death, but therein the Apostle wholly and onely placeth not the curse. 2. I shewed before out of *Moses* and *Hierome*, that not the hanging of euery one, but onely of malefactors was accursed: so that not the *death*, but the *desert*, not the *condition*, but the *cause*, not the *suspension*, but the *transgression* made the curse: and so Christ in this ignominious death was made a curse by reason of our sinnes that were laid vpon him: and thus as he was made sinne for vs, and reputed a sinner in our steed; so verely he felt Gods wrath and curse in his soule, which was due to our sinnes.

I will conclude with *Augustine*: *Maledictus omnis, &c. ne Christus excluderetur qui benedictus in sua iustitia, maledictus ob delicta nostra*: Cursed is euery one, that Christ should not be excluded, who was blessed in his own righteousnes, but accursed for our sinnes: And before he thus writeth: rehearsing the Apostles words, that Christ was sent in the similitude of sinfull flesh, Rom. 8. 3. *Quia nec eius licet sine peccato, mortalis fuit*: Because Christs flesh, though without sinne, yet was mortall: And againe the Apostle saith, *God made him sinne for vs.* 2. Cor. 5. 20. *Maledictum comes peccati*: But malediction is the companion of sin or transgression. *cont. Faust. Manich. lib.* 14. *c.* 12. If Christ then were accursed for our sinnes, if he by nature of his flesh were subiect to mortalitie, if malediction were adherent to our sinnes which he bare, then did not the curse onely consist in his outward death: We confesse, that it also was part of the curse, as *Augustine* in the same place: *Mors maledicta, quia pœna peccati*: Death is accursed, because it is the punishment of sinne, but it was not the whole nor the greatest part of that curse, which Christ was made for vs.

Againe vpon those words of the Apostle. Galat. 3. 13. *Cursed is euery one, &c. Loquitur Paulus de Christo, qui in cruce pependit ex parte mortali; nam in eo maledicta mors & maledictum peccatum, quæ in cruce pependerunt; sic Moses exaltauit serpentem: nam serpentis mors & peccatum intelliguntur, super quæ Christus in cruce triumphauit; sic de maledicto vicit maledictum, de morte mortem, de peccato peccatum, de serpente serpentem*: Paul speaketh of Christ, who did hang vpon the crosse in his mortall part; for in him death was accursed, and sinne accursed, which did hang on the crosse, ouer the which Christ triumphed vpon the crosse: so *Moses* lift vp the serpent, for by the serpent death and sinne are vnderstood: for Christ ouercame curse with curse, death with death, sinne by sinne, the serpent by a serpent: *in* 3. *ad Galat.* From this sentence of *Augustine* I inferre, 1. That he nameth the curse of sinne before the curse of death, 2. That Christ did beare that curse vpon the crosse, ouer the which he triumphed, but he triumphed ouer the whole curse both of bodie and soule. 3. That as he subdued our death by his death, so our sinne by his sinne, now imputed to him, and our curse by his curse; so that, such curse as he redeemed vs from, he bare himselfe. 4. Neither doth he say, that Christ was accursed onely in his mortall part, but did hang vpon the crosse in his mortall part, which we denie not, but there hanged also the curse of death and sinne.

Thus I trust it is euident that Christ did sustaine in his soule, and not in his bodie onely, the wrath and curse of God, which was due vnto our sinnes: and so by bearing our sinnes, hath acquited vs thereof, and by enduring the curse hath also freed vs therefrom: and so I ende with that saying of *Hierome*: *Iniuria domini nostra gloria*: The Lords iniurie is our glorie: *in* 3. *ad Galat.* The more we ascribe to Christs sufferings the lesse remaineth of ours: the more *painfully* that he suffered, the more fully are we redeemed: the greater his sorrow was, the greater our solace, his *desolation* is our *consolation*, his crosse our comfort, his *anney* our endlesse *ioy*; his *distresse* in *soule*, our *release*; his *calamitie* our *comfort*; his *misery* our *mercie*, his *aduersitie* our *felicitie*, and to conclude, his *hell* our *heauen*: and so our blessed Sauiour as *Chrysostome* saith; *Pluribus in morte doloribus vexatus, quam omnes tragœdi scribere possunt, expirauit*: Being vexed in his death, with more sorrowes then all tragicall writers in the world can expresse, geue vp his spirite. *hom.* 31. *in Matth.* For this so infinite and vnspeakeable loue of our Sauiour, we can neuer be sufficiently thankfull, who vouchsafed not onely to die, but to enter into hell for vs; not onely to offer his bodie to paine, but his soule to sorrow for vs; wounds to receiue in his sense, and terrors in conscience; a *crosse* in his bodie, and a *curse* in his soule; the greater *debt* he paid, the greater our *debt*: the more *painfull* his crosse, the more *fruitfull* his death, the more *thankefull* his loue: the deeper his *wound*, the more infinitely are we *bound*: the more excellent his *patience*, the more willing ought to be our *obedience*: and as *Chrysostome* well saith: *Si per singulos dies pro ea moreremur, ipsa nos dilexit, non sic meritum exoluere mus*: If we should die euery day for him, which hath so loued vs, we could not be answerable to his merite. *hom.* 79. *in Matth.*

1 The conclusion of all is this, that seeing the bodily sufferings of Christ in respect of Gods iu-
2 stice were not sufficient, *part.* 1. that Christs agony in the garden was not caused by the feare of

his

his bodily death, but proceeded from the feare and feeling of Gods wrath, *part.* 2. and seeing our Sauiour suffered properly and immediately in soule, and not by compassion only or consent with his bodie. *part.* 3. if Christ did sustaine the very torments of hel in his soule, as is proued, *part.* 4. and did appeare before God as guiltie of our sinnes, *part.* 5. and was perplexed in his soule and conscience for the same, *part.* 6. if our Sauiour by the iustice of God was to die for our sinnes, and by his death did satisfie his iustice, and appease his wrath, *part.* 7. if in his soule he verily felt the wrath of God kindled against our sinnes, *part.* 8. and truely complained that he was in that instant forsaken of God, *part.* 9. and lastly if he were made a curse for vs in his bodie and soule, *part.* 10. It remaineth that Christ did not onely suffer in bodie for our sinnes, but sustayned also in his soule such punishment, vexation and sorrow, as was due vnto vs, and which we should haue endured, if he had not as our suretie in his owne person vndertaken for vs: so I conclude with Saint *Ambrose: Passionem in Christo plus veneror quam creationem, quia creati ad laborem sumus, redempti ad quietem:* I doe more honour Christs passion, then the creation; for we were created to labour, we are redeemed to rest. *serm.* 14. *in psal.* 19. And this question haue I of purpose trauailed in, though not as I would, my leasure not seruing thereunto, and being so straited, the Printer hastening this worke, that I scarcely had a moneth to dispatch this treatise: yet I haue laboured to my power to set forth Christs holy sufferings for vs, that nothing be detracted therefrom: and so I ende with that saying of *Origen: Non sic mihi videtur inutilis, qui natiuitatem (Christi, stellam &c. salutationem angelorum tacet, quam qui crucifixum eum abscondit:* He seemeth not to me to be so vnprofitable, which doth conceale Christs natiuitie, the Starre and salutation of the Angels, as he that doth hide Christ crucified. *hom.* 1. *in Matth.*

Lastly for the confirmation of this truth, that Christ suffered the wath of God in his soule for vs, I will produce. 1. The testimonie of our aduersaries themselues. 2. The witnesse of the holy martyrs that died in this faith. 3. The consent of the famous writers and confessors of the Church of England.

First for our aduersaries: 1. *Nicholaus Cusanus* a man of great account among them thus writeth: *Illam pœnam sensus conformem damnatis in inferno pati voluit in gloriam dei patris sui:* That paine of sense conformable or like vnto the damned in hell he would suffer to the glory of God his father: *Excitation. lib.* 10. *ex serm. qui per spiritum sanctum seipsum obtulit.*

2. *Ferus: Illa Christi derelictio pauor est conscientia nostræ ob admissa peccata, qua iudicium Dei & iram æternam experitur, & sic afficitur, quasi in perpetuum derelicta, & reiecta à facie Dei esset:* That derelict on of Christ is the trembling of our conscience for sinne committed, which feeleth by experience Gods iudgement and eternall wrath, and is so affected, as if it were for euer forsaken, and reiected from the presence of God. *lib.* 4. *in Matth. c.* 27. *in illa verba: deus meus, &c.*

3. *Durand. Præcipua causa fuit anima, &c.* The chiefest cause of the effects of Christs crosse was his soule. *in* 3. *dist.* 22. *qu.* 3. *Bellarmine* saith, not so: *Sed præcipua causa fuit totum compositum. i. totus ille homo qui patiebatur: præterea esto, fuisset anima præcipua causa, tamen etiam caro & sanguis fuit causa; alioqui non vere diceretur, sanguis eius emundat nos:* The chiefe cause is the whole compound, that is, the whole man which suffered: beside, be it, that his soule was the chiefe cause, yet his flesh and bloud was a cause, otherwise it should not be truely said, *his blood doth cleanse vs.* 1. Iohn. 1. 7. Here by *Bellarmines* owne testimonie the soule of Christ (which must be by the suffering thereof) is the chiefest cause of our redemption. *Bellarm. lib.* 4. *de Christ. anim. ca.* 15.

Secondly, the holy martyrs haue thus beleeued of Christs soule sufferings: Master *Latimer* Bishop and martyr: *I beleeue verely for my part, that Christ suffered the paines of hell proportionable, as it correspondeth and answereth to the whole sinne of the world:* And againe, *I see no inconuenience to say that Christ suffered in soule in hell, I singularly commend the exceeding great charity of Christ, that for our sakes would suffer in hell in his soule:* It setteth out the vnspeakable hatred, that God hath to sinne. &c. *serm.* 7. *coram reg. Edward.* Here though Master *Latimer* seeme to thinke that Christ might suffer in the place of hell in soule, for the which we alleage him not: yet he giueth three effectuall reasons, that it was necessarie for Christ to suffer the paines of hell in his soule. 1. That his paines may be proportionable to the sinne of the world. 2. To set forth Christs charitie. 3. And the great wrath of God against sinne.

Iohn Warne holy martyr hath also sealed this truth: *Christ suffering for our sinnes did beare our deserued condemnation, the paines of death, the taste of abiection, the verie terrors of hell, yeelding his spirit to his father, his bodie to be buried in the earth. Fox p.* 1580. *col.* 2.

Thirdly for the confessors, and the confession of our Church, this euidence we haue.

1. The annotation in the great Bible called the Bishops Bible, allowed publikely to be red in our Church: vpon the 22. chapter of Saint Luke. vers. 44. thus testifieth: *He felt the horror of Gods wrath and iudgement against sinne.*

2. And in the booke of homilies allowed publikely to be reeited to the people. *serm.* 1. of the passion, it thus standeth: *Christ did put himselfe betweene Gods deserued wrath and our sinne, and rent*

the obligation, wherein we were in daunger to God, and payd our debt. Our debt was a great deale too great for vs to haue payd; and without payment God the father could neuer be at one with vs: it pleased him to be the payer thereof, and to discharge vs quite. And againe afterward, *He bestowed himselfe wholy for the raunsoming of vs.* If Christ then gaue himselfe wholy for vs, and payed all our debt, whereof the chiefe part was the griefe and anguish of soule and sense of Gods wrath, it was necessarie that Christ should haue suffered all these things for vs.

3. In the Catechisme authorized publikely to be taught, in the exposition of the Creede vpon the article of Christs passion, it is thus confessed: *Christ suffered most painfull and shamefull death, sustaining withall torments of minde more cruell, than any bodily death.* And againe, *Christ became our suretie and pledge vnto his father, to answere, pay and suffer, whatsoeuer wee did owe, and had deserued.*

4. Beside this publike testimonie of our Church, the common defenders of the faith of the Gospell, both by writing and preaching haue thus taught; as D. *Fulke*, that worthie learned man, thus witnesseth: *It was the burthen of sinne and the curse of God due vnto sinne, which Christ tooke vpon him to deliuer vs from sinne and the punishment thereof, and not onely the bodily paine of death, that enforced him, that was God, to complaine, that he was forsaken of God. Annot. in Matth. 27. sect. 3.*

Againe, *What is more to the honor of Christ, than that he vouchsafed to descend into hell for vs, and to abide that paine, which we had deserued to suffer eternally: and what may be rather called hell, than the anguish of soule, which hee suffered, when hee being God complained, that he was forsaken of God? Fulk. in 2. Act. sect. 11.*

5. Master *Fox* that reuerend godly writer, and faithfull preacher of the Gospell, consenteth with the rest, and thus deliuereth his iudgement: *The torments which Christ suffered in soule and spirit, were the greatest of all, when as he not only in bodie decaying for weakenes and bleeding, but in soule fainting with anguish and discomfort, began to crye with a loud voyce, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? Serm. de Christo Crucifixo.*

6. A zealous preacher of our Church, who had while he liued great experience of the cases of conscience, and an excellent grace from God to comfort such as were afflicted, doubteth not to say, *that Christ must suffer the very pangs and paines of hell for the least sin that euery man committed, seeing that euen our least sinnes caused him to be accursed, and in the extremitie of griefe to crye, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* in his Meditations, pag. 215. set forth since his death.

Thus (I trust) this poynt is thoroughly cleared, that Christ suffered the very anguish and hell sorrowes of soule for vs, and tasted of the bitter cup of Gods wrath due vnto our sinnes, which otherwise wee should haue most deeply drunke of. And here I will end this question, in the handling whereof, if I haue either in manner failed, or in matter swarued from the doctrine of our Church, I heartily desire pardon, most willingly submitting my selfe to the iudgement of the learned: and this I simply and vnfainedly protest, that the loue of seeking and searching out the trueth hath drawne me into this question, not the desire of contention with any in our Church, much lesse to oppose my selfe to the iudgement of any reuerend person, whom for their authoritie I honour, for their person I reuerence, for their learned trauailes in the Church we are much bound vnto: from whom I am as vnwilling to dissent, so desirous to learne. And so I conclude, most humbly crauing in the bowels of Christ, that where I haue said the truth, I may be receiued; where I doubt, I may be resolued; where I haue well sayd, I be not condemned; where I haue ignorantly slipped, I may be pardoned. For I doe most willingly embrace that sentence of *Augustine: Aliquid aliter sapere, quam res habet, humana tentatio est; in nullo aliter sapere, quam res habet, angelica perfectio est:* Otherwise sometime to thinke, then the matter is, is an humane tentation; but in nothing to be deceiued, is angelicall perfection: *De baptis. 2. 5.* If in this question of soule sufferings, there be any difference of opinion in our Church, let not any man take offence thereat, for we all doe consent, that Christs death is alone sufficient, neither doe we varie in any fundamentall poynt: they which doe free Christ from his spirituall sufferings, doe it vnto his honor, least by this means any desperation, or doubting might be fastened vpon Christs soule; they which affirme the sense of Gods wrath in Christs soule, do therein also seek Christs honor, least any thing should be diminished of his holy sufferings. Seeing therefore we all hold the same foundation, and tend to the same end, let vs not either by writing or speaking nourish domesticall contention, but be willing one to yeeld vnto another in the truth, and euery one readie to say with S. *Hierome, Non solum te vicisse existimes victimus vterque, palmam refer tu mei, & ego tui erroris; vtinam mihi semper sic disputare contingat, vt ad meliora proficiens, deseram, quod male tenebam:* Thinke not, that thou onely hast ouercome, we are conquerors both, you beare the palme and praise of my error, I of yours: I wish that I may alwaies dispute with such successe, that proceeding to the better, I may forsake that, which before I did not well holde: *aduers. Luciferian.* But I haue tarried too long in this question: the next followeth.

THE

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, WHETHER CHRIST descended in soule into hell, to deliuer the Patriarches.

The Papists.

THey doe beleeue that Christ according to his soule went downe to hell, to deliuer the Patriarches and all iust men there holden in bondage till his death, *Rhemist. Act. 2 sect. 12.* 1. Error

Argum. 1. Hee that ascended, is he that descended first into the lowest parts of the earth, Ephes. 4. 9. that is, into hell, the which is the lowest place in the earth, *Bellarm. cap. 12.*

Answ. 1. The earth it selfe, in respect of the world, is the lowest part, so that here one part of the earth is not to be compared with another: but the whole earth, in respect of the high heauens, hath the name of the lower parts: so is it taken, Psal. 139. 15. Thou hast fashioned me beneath, or in the lower parts of the earth: but *Dauid* (I trust) they will not say, was borne in hell, because he speaketh of the lower parts of the earth, *consul. Bez. in hūc locum.* So that by the descending of Christ into the lowest parts of the earth, is meant nothing else, but the lowest and extreamest degree of his abasing and humiliation, *Fulk. annot. in hunc locum:* as Saint *Paul* saith, that *he made himselfe of no reputation, and tooke vpon him the forme of a seruant*, Philip. 2. 7. 2. Againe. Psal. 63. 9. the Prophet *Dauid* saith, they that seeke his soule to destroy it, *shall goe downe into the lowest parts of the earth:* which the Septuagint translate, εἰς τὰ κατώτατα τῆς γῆς, *in ima terræ*, the lowest parts: and Saint *Paul* saith, in the comparatiue κατώτερα, the lower parts: As in the Psalme therefore by the lowest parts the Psalmist vnderstandeth the graue and destruction, as it may appeare, vers. 10. *They shall be a portion for Foxes*; so the Apostle by descending into the lower parts, doth set forth the lowest degree of Christs humiliation, in death, and the graue.

Contra. Bellarmine thus obiecteth: 1. The inferiour part of the earth, signifieth not the whole earth, *sed vnam partem*, but one part of the earth, and that lower than the rest: it doth not then betoken the *superficies*, or vpper part of the earth. 1

2. *He descended* (saith the Apostle) *that he might fill all things*, Ephes. 4. 10. and therefore it was necessarie that Christ should truly descend to hell to deliuer the Patriarches, as he descended into the earth, to visite all parts of his kingdome: that euen the things also vnder the earth, that is, the infernall spirits should bow the knee vnto him, *Bellarm. c. 12. Luc. 6.* 2

Answ. 1. The inferiour part of the earth being compared with it selfe, cannot signifie the whole earth: but being vnderstood to be the inferiour part of the world, the whole earth may very well be comprehended. 2. Where the Apostle saith in the plurall, *inferiores partes*, the inferiour parts, it is too great ignorance to say, that hee meaneth, *vnam partem*, but one part. 3. *Origen* thus expoundeth Saint *Paul* to speake of Christ: *Quasi de superioribus ad inferiora venientis*: Comming from the superiour to the inferiour or lower parts, *Hom. 2. in Genes.* And againe, *Descendere deus dicitur, quando curam humanæ fragilitatis habere dignatur, &c.* God is said to descend, when hee vouchsafeth to haue care of humane frailtie, which more specially is to be vnderstood of Christ, *qui descendit non solum curare, sed portare, qua nostra sunt*, who descended not onely to cure, but to beare, that which is ours, *Hom. 4. in Genes.* Thus also *Augustine* testifieth: *Cælestis illa habitatio angelorum illa pars rerū superna est; hæc terrena vita, si illi comparatur, infera est: cum enim & hic sunt mortui, ne mireris, si infernum dicitur:* That celestiall habitation of the Angels is the superiour part, this terrene life in respect of that, the infernall: for seeing here are also vpon the earth, they which are dead, no marueile if it be infernall, *in Psal. 85.* 1

1. How Christ filleth all things *Augustine* well sheweth: *Nec tamen localem dei fingimus præsentiam, non mundum dimittens ad cælos ascendit, nec cælum deserens ad terram venit, sed vno eodemq; tempore totus totum implenit:* Neither doe we imagine a locall presence of God, for hee went not to heauen leauing the world, neither forsaking heauen came to the earth; but in one and the same time, he all and whole filled the whole, *Act. cum Felician. c. 17.* Christ then not by his locall presence, but by his diuine power filled all things. 2

2. Neither is that place Philip. 2. 10. to be vnderstood of Christs descension: 1. The Apostle speaketh directly of Christs exaltation: vers. 9. *Therefore God hath exalted him:* but the descension belongeth not to Christs exaltation, as *Origen* saith: *Si diligenter consyderemus, inuenietmus, quia nunquam quis in sanctum fore locum descendisse dicitur, neque ad vituperabilem conscendisse:* If we well consider, we shall finde, that one is not said to descend to an honourable place, nor to ascend to a dishonourable, *Hom. 15. in Genes.* He thinketh then, that to descend belongeth not to honor, or exaltation. 2. Saint *Paul* sheweth, that this bowing of the knee vnto Christ of all creatures shall chiefly be accomplished in the day of iudgement, Rom. 14. 11. 12. where hauing made mention of bowing of the knee, he inferreth, vers. 12. so then *euery one of vs shall giue account of himselfe vnto God.* 3. It is too great curiositie to applie this place to the infernall spirits properly: for they are not yet vnder the earth as tyed to a certaine place, being by the Apostle called the princes

of the ayre, Ephes. 2.2. the Apostle rather by this distribution, *of things in heauen, things in the earth, and things vnder the earth*, comprehendeth generally all creatures in the world whatsoeuer: as in the second commaundement wee are forbidden to make the likenes of any thing to worship it, either in heauen aboue, in the earth beneath, or in the waters vnder the earth. 4. To cause the infernall spirits to *bow the knee* to Christ, that is, to acknowledge his power, *Augustine* ascribeth not to the presence of Christs humanitie, but to the power of his diuinitie: *Neque aliter eum video suscitare potuisse carnem suam, & apud inferos praedicem voluit absentis dei non fuisse potentiam*: Neither doe I see how otherwise Christ could haue raised his flesh, if we doe thinke the power of his Godhead was absent in hell: *Aug. cum Felician. c. 17.*

3 3. All this being yeelded, that Christ by his descent into hell shaked the infernall powers, and triumphed ouer them, which is by some of our reuerend fathers, and learned brethren, vpon great perswasion of many forcible reasons and arguments affirmed, neither is by me impugned, yet hath not *Bellarmine* obtained that he would, that Christ by his locall descent did deliuer the soules of the Patriarches out of hell.

Argum. 2. Act. 2.27. *Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption*: this cannot be vnderstood of the graue; for the graue is no place for the soule: and here the soule is opposed to the flesh, that as his flesh should see no corruption, so his soule should not remaine in hell: Christ therefore went downe in soule to hell, which was to no other end but to deliuer the fathers from thence, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. This place is alleaged by Saint *Peter*, out of the sixteenth Psalme; from thence then the sense of this place must be deriued: first therefore we shall shew, that neither the word (נפש *nephesh*) here translated soule, can properly signifie the soule of Christ; nor the other worde (שאול *sheol*) can be translated hell.

1 First, this word *nephes*, is taken in Scripture for the life, Genes. 37.21. *Let vs not smite his soule*, that is, take away his life: and consequently it signifieth sometime the very bodie of the dead, 2 wherein there was life, Leuit. 21. vers. 1. 11. And that in this place, *nephes* signifieth the life, it shall appeare by the like place, Psal. 88.3. *My life* (נפשי *chai*) *draweth neere to the graue or hell*, (*sheol*) this place may very well interpret the other.

Secondly, the other word (*sheol*) is not here vnderstood hell. There are foure words commonly vsed in the Psalmes, expressing the same thing in effect which (*sheol*) doth: yet none of them 1 all are applied to signifie hell: the first is (שחת *shacath*) *fouea*, the pit, Psal. 30.9. *What profit is there in my blood, when I goe downe to the pit?* the second (בור *bhor*) the lake: the third (עפר *chebher*) the graue: both these words are indifferently vsed for the same thing, Psal. 88.3. the word is (*sheol*) ver. 4.5. the other two words are also vsed, as expressing the former: And all these three doe containe a description of death, and of the graue: the fourth is, (תהומות *tehomoth*) *abyssus terra*, thou wilt take me from the deepe of the earth, Psal. 71.20. In all these places there is no mention made at all of hell, but onely of the graue.

Now that this place can haue no such meaning, as *Bellarmine* enforceth, thus wee shew it: first, this place is so applied to Christ, as it must first be true in *Dauid*: well then, first *Dauids* soule is in hell, then must it be in the lowest hell, Psal. 86.13. *Thou hast deliuered my soule from the nethermost hell (sheol)* But *Limbus patrum* is not the nethermost hell, but (as they say) only in the brim of hell. Againe, Saint *Peter* onely applieth this text to the resurrection of Christ, vers. 31. he knowing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ: But the resurrection was onely of the bodie of Christ, not of his soule: wherefore this place cannot be vnderstood of the descending of Christs soule into hell, to deliuer the Patriarches.

Contra. Bellarmine replieth: 1. That *anima*, the *soule*, cannot be here taken for the life of the bodie or *flesh*: for that the Apostle expresseth afterward, *that his flesh did see no corruption*, vers. 31. Wherefore vnlesse we admit a needlesse repetition of the same thing, it was one thing for Christs soule *not to be left in hell*, another for his flesh not to see corruption.

2. The Greeke word ᾅδης, alwaies signifieth hell, the graue neuer: *Bellar. c. 12. Sect. 4.*

1 1. *Ans.* 1. Where the Prophet saith, *Thou shalt not leaue my soule in hell, nor suffer thy holie one to see corruption*: though the same thing be here expressed, it is no needlesse repetition, when as, after the manner of the Scripture, the latter part expoundeth the former: for hee sheweth how his soule, that is, his life or person, *shall not be left in hell*, because his flesh should be deliuered from corruption. 2. And that by soule Christs person is to be vnderstood it may appeare, as in the like sense it is said, Genes. 46.26. the soules that went with *Iacob* into Egypt: Christs soule, that is, person, may be as well said to be in the graue, as their soules to goe downe to Egypt. And againe, S. *Peter by the holy one*, expoundeth Christs flesh: *what is the holy one*, but Christs soule or person? for holines properly is not an adiunct of his flesh onely, but of his person: as well then may soule be taken for the life, as the holy one for his flesh. 3. Saint *Peter* saith, that the Prophet spake of Christs resurrection which is of the bodie, not of the soule: as *Augustine* also saith; *Primogenitus Christus vo-*

calur

catus ex mortuis, quod primum illum ex inferni tenebris, in lucem resurrectionis partus ediderit: Christ is called the first borne of the dead, because the birth of the resurrection did first bring him into the light out of the darknes of hell, *de tempor. ferm.* 161. But Christ is said to be the first fruits of the dead onely in respect of his bodie, not of his soule: *Ergo*, his soule descended not to deliuer the Patriarches out of hell.

2. That *שאול*, onely signifieth *hell*, the graue neuer, is an vntrue and vnlearned position: Genesis 42.38. *You shall bring my gray head with sorrow to hell, &c.* Did *Iacob* carrie his gray haires to hell? I thinke he left them in his graue. 2

2. The marginall note of your owne vulgar Latine text thus obserueth, Genes. 37.35. vpon these words, *I shall goe mourning to my sonne into hell, &c. Non hic significat locum poenarum, sed fossam, vel sepulchrum*: It signifieth not here the place of punishment, which is hell, but the pit or the graue, &c. Who seeth not now this fellowes boldnes, that denieth *hell* to be taken for the graue?

3. If hell be here taken properly, then it will follow that Christs soule was in the sorrowes of hell: as the vulgar Latine readeth, Act. 2. vers. 24. *Hauing loosed the sorrowes of hell, because it was impossible he should be holden of it*: and so *Origen* seemeth to thinke, when he saith: *Data est diabolo anima Christi redemptio pro nobis, decepto & non videnti, quod non poterat sustinere in tenendo eam tormentis, &c.* The soule of Christ was giuen (*to the diuell*) to be a redemption for vs, he being deceiued and not perceiuing, that he could not long hold it in torment, &c. and therefore it is said, *Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, &c. Tract. 12. in Matth.* If Christs soule were tormented in hell, it must be referred to his hell sufferings vpon the crosse, for after death he suffered not. 3

Argum. 3. The Apostle saith: Rom. 10.7. *Say not who shall descend into the deepe, that is to fetch Christ againe from the dead*: Here the deepe must be taken for hell, as the most opposite place to heauen: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. 1. The Apostle taketh this place from *Moses*, Deuter. 30.14. *Say not who shall goe vp to heauen for vs, or goe ouer the sea, &c.* That which the Apostle translateth the *deepe*, *Moses* calleth the sea, as Exod. 15.5. *The depths of the sea couered them*: the Apostle is not contrarie to *Moses*, not yet diuers from him in sense, though they differ in words: if then you will finde hell here, you must seeke for it in the bottome also of the sea.

2. We neede not sound the center of the earth to make an opposition to heauen: for heauen so high, and the earth so lowe, are places opposite enough, as Psalm. 103.13. *As high as the heauens are aboue the earth.*

3. The Apostle expoundeth himselfe: *That is to bring Christ againe from the dead*: the deepe then, whereof he speaketh, is the place of the dead: but bodies onely die, soules die not: and therefore this deepe is not *hell*, where soules liue in endlesse torment.

4. *Origene* thus expoundeth this place: *Paulus quoniam descensionis Christi mysterium praedicat profundum nominauit, quasi de superioribus ad inferiora venientis*: *Paul* because he doth set forth the mysterie of Christs descension, he nameth the deepe, as of one descending from the superior parts to the lower, *Hom. 2. in Genes.* this deepe which the Apostle speaketh of, he referreth to the earth, which is the deepe and lower part of the world, in respect of heauen.

Argum. 4. *Bellarmine* vrgeth other places to proue Christs descent to deliuer the Patriarches: as that of *Ionas*, Matth. 12.40. to the which see our answere in the appendix to this question, *error* 27. *argum. Papist.* 2.

Likewise he discourseth at large of that place of S. *Peter*, 1. Pet. 3.19.20. *By the which he went and preached to the spirits in prison, which were in times past disobedient*: see also our answere at large to this place before, p. 350. in the 9. *controuers.* 1. *quest. argum. Papist.* 3. Vnto which our answere, I will here adde thus much further: that they can haue no shew at all from this place, for the deliuerance of the Patriarches out of *Limbus*: because the Apostle speaketh of such as were disobedient, and in their disobedience died: for if they had repented of their disobedience, they should not be named after the sinnes which they had committed, but *should liue in their righteousnes, which they had done*, Ezech. 18.22. to say then that Christ went downe to hell to deliuer the damned soules, doth contradict the Scripture, Luk. 16.26. *They cannot come from thence to vs*: and Saint *Augustine* doth number them among other heretikes: *Qui Christo descendente ad inferos credidisse incredulos, &c.* Which did affirme that by Christs descending into hell, the incredulous and vnbeleeuers beleeued.

The Protestants.

THat Christ our Sauiour, by the vertue of his death, did ouercome hell and the diuell, we doe verilie beleeue, which may be called a descent into hell: that he also suffered the torments of hell vpon the crosse, and so descended into hell for vs, to abide that bitter paine which we had deserued to suffer eternally, we doe also hold and teach: for what rather may be called hell, then the anguish of soule which he suffered, when he being God, yet complained that he was forsaken of God? Furthermore, if descending into hell, be taken according to the Hebrue Phrase, for entring

into the state of the dead: so we also graunt, that Christ descended into hell, *Fulk. Act.2. sect.11.* But for the descending of Christ into hell, after your sense, to deliuer the Patriarches from thence, when you can proue it out of Scripture, we will yeeld vnto you.

Argum.1. The soule of Christ which he committed into his fathers hands, was in Paradise, where he promised the theefe should be with him, Luk.22.43. How then could his soule be three dayes in hell, as you affirme, from the time of his death to his resurrection? *Fulk.Luk.11. sect.4. Bellarmine* answereth, that it was not impossible, that the soule of Christ should be in two places at once, *cap.15.* which is an answere not worthie to be answered: for who hath taught them so boldly to build their phantasies vpon Gods power, hauing no warrant nor assurance of his will? May not the Vbiquitaries by the same reason proue the omnipresence of Christs humanitie, because he is able to make his soule and bodie to be in many places at once, as well as in two: and so consequently by his power, which is infinite, as well in all places, as in many?

Againe, it may be answered, that Christ was with the theefe in paradise as he was God.

Contra.1. The answere made by our Sauiour to the theefe, must be agreeable to his demaund: now he made request to Christ as man: *Remember me, when thou shalt come into thy kingdome:* the Godhead neither commeth nor goeth: and as he was God, he was neuer out of his kingdome: so then as Christ was to enter into his kingdome, so was he with the theefe, and the theefe with him: but he entred into his kingdome in his humanitie: *Ergo*, in his humane soule he was that day with the theefe in paradise, and the theefe with him.

2. Christ saith not, *This day I will be with thee, but thou shalt be with me in paradise:* Christ is with vs as God euery where, as he saith, Matth.28.20. *I am with you to the end of the world:* when he speaketh as God, he is said to be with vs: but when we are said to be with him, his whole person is described: as S. *Paul* saith, *I desire to be dissolued and to be with Christ*, Philip.1.23. But as Christ was God, euen then he was with *Paul:* this difference is well noted by *Bernard: Christus nobiscum est, &c.* Christ is with vs at all times to the end of the world; but when shall we be with him? when we shall be taken vp and meete Christ in the ayre, *Serm.16. in Psalm.91.*

3. And that Christs humane presence in Paradise is to be vnderstood, *Bernard* againe sheweth thus writing: *Factum est vtique, quod promissum est, ipsodie quo compassus & corregnauit:* That, which was promised, was fulfilled; for the same day that he suffered together, he raigned also together with Christ: *In solemnitate sanctor. serm.5.* but the theefe did not raigne together with him as God, for so the kingdome of God is not communicable to any.

Argum.2. I will presse them with *Durands* argument, one of their owne champions: the soules of the Saints were deliuered in the very instant of Christs death: *Ergo*, Christ needed not to descend in soule to hell to deliuer them.

Bellarmine answereth: first, though the price of redemption were paied in Christs death, yet the Patriarches were to expect Christs comming thither not of *necessitie*, but of *congruitie*. Secondly, Christ descended for other causes, and not onely to deliuer the soules of the Patriarches, *Bellar. c.15. resp. ad obiect.2. Durand.*

Contra.1. As touching other causes of Christs descension, we are not now to deale: the question is, whether he descended to set the soules of the Patriarches at large, which if you cannot iustifie, we haue that we would.

2. It is well yet that you hold the article of Christs locall descension to deliuer the Patriarches to be of congruitie, not of necessitie: but I pray you how can you make it an article of our faith, if it be not necessarie?

3. You say the Patriarches were yet to expect Christs comming: and so your opinion is, that Christs soule staied in hell til the third day, & then rising againe, he brought with him al the soules of the fathers. *Contr.1.* Had the theefe then greater priuiledge then any of the Patriarches and Prophets? for he went to Paradise the same day Christ died: was heauen open for a theefe & murtherer, though now a conuert, and was it not open for *Abraham* the father of the faithfull, for *Moses*, for *Dauid*? 2. If the Patriarches soules were looſed at Christs death, were they not to accompanie Christs soule into heauen, and to ascend with it? for Christ saith, *where I am, there shall be my minister also:* Iohn. 12.26. but Christs soule was in Paradise the same day he suffered, as he said to the theefe, *this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise:* and Saint *Ambrose* witnesseth the same: *Paradisus non dixit, non est in me, quem regnare in se absoluto latrone cognouerat:* Paradise did not say he is not in me, whom it did know to raigne there by the absolution of the theefe: *Exhortat. ad virgin.* If then Christ as man and in his soule was in Paradise; surely all the Patriarches soules went vp with him; then Christ needed not to haue descended to hell to deliuer them: this I say, in their sense, that hold the Patriarches then onely to be deliuered, whom we affirme alreadie to haue been in ioy by faith in Christ to come: as now followeth in this next argument to be shewed.

Argum.3. We beleeue that the Patriarches and godly Fathers were in Heauen or Paradise, as well before the resurrection of Christ as after: for in as much as they were iustified by faith in his

his bloud, they receiued the same crown and reward of righteousnes that we do, being iustified by the same meanes. This we haue proued more at large, *contra. 9. quest. 1.* Wherefore seeing there were none of the Fathers in hell, which they call *Limbus Patrum*, to be deliuered, there was no such cause why Christ should descend into hell. Therefore he descended not to deliuer the Patriarches that remayned in darknes. And here I would aske them a question, from whence they thinke *Moses* and *Elias* came, when they appeared talking with Christ in the mount, Matth. 17. 3. will they say they came from hell a place of darknes, appearing in such light and great glorie? But for *Elias* I know their answere alreadie, that he came from the terrestriall Paradise, where they imagine him to be kept, which I haue shewed before to be a meere fable. *p. 745. cont. 17. qu. 3. part. 2.* What will they say for *Moses*: if he were not in *Limbo*, no more were the rest of the Prophets: and to say that *Moses* was fetcht from hell, and out of darknes to talke with the sonne of God in light, I thinke they are not so absurd to affirme. *Chrysostome* vpon this place thus writeth: *Volunt Petrus tria tabernacula facere, &c. Peter* would haue made three tabernacles for *Moses*, *Elias*, Christ; and so haue separated the law, the Prophets, and the gospell: *Ergo apparuit lucida nubes vnum tabernaculum, quod tres simul texit*: Therefore there appeared a bright cloude as one tabernacle, which couered all three. &c. If a cloud of brightnes were *Moses* tabernacle, then your *Limbus* a dungeon of darknes was not at this time his tabernacle: and if he were not in *Limbo*, neither *Abraham* the father of the faithfull, nor the rest of the Prophets.

Argum. 4. They agree not among themselues about this article of Christs descension, to deliuer the Patriarches: *Andradius* saith, it cannot be proued out of Scripture: but *Bellarm.* and our Rhemists doe bring their best arguments for it out of Scripture: they alleage also diuers causes of his descension: the Romane Catechisme rendreth two reasons; one, to set the Patriarches at libertie; the other to manifest the power and vertue of his death in hell: but that, Saint *Paul* saith, was sufficiently manifested and made knowne vpon the crosse, Colos. 2. 15. *Thomas Aquinas* beside these, addeth a third, that as Christ died for vs to free vs from death, so it was conuenient that he should descend into hell, to deliuer vs from the descension into hell: as though Christ by his death did not fully deliuer vs from eternall damnation. Some other holde, that Christ went thither to suffer the torments of hell, that he might fully pay our ransome by suffering the whole punishment due vnto mankind. But this is a verie grosse and erronious opinion: for Christ suffered fully in bodie and soule vpon the crosse, when hee cryed, *Consummatum est*, It is finished: that is, he had fully appeased the wrath of God by his sufferings.

Durand a popish writer of great account, thinketh that Christs soule did not descend into hell, *Secundum substantiam, sed per effectus quosdam*; in his substance, but by certaine effects: not substantially but effectually.

1. This opinion of *Durand*, is thus impugned by *Bellarm.* 1. It would follow that Christs bodie descended into hell, as well as his soule, for the effects of Christs death, which wrought in hell, were performed by Christs flesh, as well as his soule: 1

2. If Christs soule descended but by the effectes, so it was in Paradise, and thus Christs soule should be in many places at once. 2

3. Christs soule was three daies in the heart of the earth, but the effects of the soule might be shewed in hell in a moment, *Bellarm. c. 15.* 3

Contra. 1. To them which hold the effectuall descent of Christ, it is no absurditie to grant that the effects both of his bodie and soule wrought in hell. 2. yea, the graue being taken for hel, Christs flesh properly descended thither: as the marginall note of the vulgar Latine expoundeth these words of *Iacob*: *I will descend to hell mourning to my sonne*, Genes. 37. 35. of his going to the graue. 1

1. What letteth but that the efficacie and vertue of Christs soule, and the fruites of his death may be in many places at once. 2. You most absurdly hold, that the substance of Christs soule may be present in diuers places in one instant. 2.

1. That Christs soule remained three daies in hell, is contrarie to the Scriptures: for his soule was in paradise in the day of his passion. 2. The effects of Christs death doe remaine still: and *Ambrose* doubteth not to say, *Abyssum ipsius si penetres, Ihesu quod videbis Iesum operari*: If you pearce hell in thought, you shall see Iesus working there still. *lib. 2. in 1. Luc.* 3.

Augustine saith plainely, that he knew not what good Christ wrought for the iust soules that were in the bosome of *Abraham*, when hee descended into hell: *à quibus enim secundum beatificam praesentiam diuinitatis, nunquam video recessisse*: From whom I finde he was neuer absent or withdrew himselfe by the blessed presence of his diuine power: *Ergo*, in his iudgement Christ descended not to deliuer the Patriarches. And concerning the soule of Christ, he writeth flatly: *Si motu corpore anima latronis ad Paradisum mox vocatur, quempiam adhuc tam imprum credimus, qui dicere audeat, quoniam anima Saluatoris nostri triduo illo corporea mortis apud inferos custodiae mancipetur?* If the soule Epist. 99.

of

of the theefe straightway being gone from the bodie, was called vp to heauen: is there any man so wicked, to say that the soule of our sauiour was kept three daies in the prison of hel? By his sentẽce then, the soule of Christ passed straight to heauen, and descended not to hell. And *Augustines* reason seemeth to be this: Christs soule went the same way after death, which our soules must go, that are his members: but the soules of the faithfull goe presently to heauen, as the soule of the theefe did, conuerted vpon the crosse; and as Saint *Paule* saith of his soule, *I desire to be dissolued, and to be with Christ*, Philip. 1.23. for what assurance haue we that our soules shall passe immediately to heauen, if Christs soule, *who is the way*, Iohn.14.6. did not make a way for our soules? *Ergo*, Christs soule went straight to heauen, and therefore was not, *triduo in corde terræ*, three daies in the heart of the earth, as *Bellarmine* saith, *c.15. argum.4. cont. Durand.*

Concerning the testimonies of the fathers alleaged by *Bellarmine* for Christs descension in soule to deliuer the Patriarches, I denie not, but that many of them do so affirme, yet it was no generall receiued opinion amongst them, but diuers of them did otherwise both speake and write.

Cyprian in the symbole or Creed, which goeth vnder his name, thus writeth: *Sciendum est, quod in ecclesia Romana symbolo non habetur additum, descendit ad inferna: sed neque in Orientis ecclesijs habetur hic sermo; vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo, quod sepultus dicitur:* It must be knowen, that in the Creed of the Romane Church, it is not added, *he descended into hell*, neither yet is this speech vsed in the East Churches: yet the same sense and force seemeth to be in that he is said to be buried.

We may finde tenne seuerall Creeds rehearsed in the Councels, and in them this article of Christs descension omitted.

1. *In epist. 1. Clement.* 2. In confession of *Constantines* faith: *in Donation. Constantin.* 3. In the Nicene symbole. 4. In the *Sirmian* Councell. 5. In the confession of *Liberius. Act. Liber. c.16.* In the symbole of Constantinople. 7. In the symbole of Carthage. *Concil.4.can.1.* 8. Likewise, *concil. Toletan.1.can.21.* 9. In the symbole confirmed, *Ephesin.1.* 10. *Bracarens.3. in præfation.* In all these places it is omitted.

Likewise in diuers of *Augustines* sermons: as *serm. de tempor.* 123.125.129. In the exposition of the Creed no mention is made of Christs locall descension to hell, to deliuer the Patriarches: and *serm.* 119. he saith: *Cum confessi fuerimus eius passionem, confitemur & resurrectionem:* When we haue confessed his passion, we confesse his resurrection: If the Church had helde it so necessarie to beleeue the descent of Christs soule, for the release of the Patriarches; especiall remembrance should haue beene made thereof in so many rehearsals and expositions of the Creed.

Yet was not the article of Christs descension euer denied in the Church, but not receiued in any such sense.

1. Some of them apply the descension to the suffring of Christs soule, as *Origen. tract.22. in Matth. data anima Christi in redemptionem pro multis, non mansit apud eum cui data est, propterhoc dicit Propheta non derelinques, &c.* The soule of Christ being giuen in redemption for many, tarried not with him, to whome it was giuen; as the Prophet saith, thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell.

2. Sometime the same *Origen* doth interprete the descension of Christ: *De superioribus ad inferiora venientis:* Comming from the higher parts of heauen to the lower parts of the earth. *hom.2. in Genes.*

3. Some other, by the descent into hell: vnderstand the lying of Christ in the graue, as *Hierom: Saluator in tantum ipsum corpus habuit post inferos in quo & crucifixus, vt manus perforatas ostenderit:* Our Sauiour had so verely after hell, the bodie wherein he was crucified, that he shewed his pierced hands. *lib.1. aduers. Iouinian.* But Christs bodie went not downe to hell, but onely to the graue.

So *Origen*: *Christus descendit ad inferos ad mortuos, tanquam inter mortuos liber:* Christ descended to hell to the dead, as free among the dead. *in Matth.16.* But the graue not hell is the place of the dead. Likewise *Augustine: Ab inferis primogenitus est ex defunctis:* He was the first borne of the dead from hell. *serm. de temp.161.*

4. Some referre Christs being in hell to his diuinitie: as *Ambrose* vpon these words, Psal. 139. 15. *Substantia mea in inferioribus terræ, &c.* My substance was beneath in the earth: *Quid obstat quo minus illam diuinam intelligas substantiam, cum deus vbique sit.* What letteth but we may vnderstand his diuine substance, seeing God is euerywhere, as it is said before, *If I ascend into heauen thou art there, if I lie downe in hell thou art there.* Psal. 139.8. So also *Augustine* expoundeth Christs descension of the presence of his maiestie: *Act. cum Felician. c.17.* as I haue shewed before.

5. Some applie Christs descension to the fruits and effects of his crosse: *Augustine. serm. 107. de tempor. Quid est portas inferni tollere nisi mortis imperium remouere?* What is it else to take away the gates of hell, but to remoue the power of death.

6. Some doe metaphorically referre the descent into hell, to a troubled conscience: as *Bernard* vpon these words, *Thou shalt not leaue my soule in hell*, Psalm. 16.10. *Infernus quidem, & quidem animæ*

rea conscientia est.: A guiltie conscience is the hell and prison of the soule, *in assumpt. ser.* 4. Againe he thus writeth: *Sunt gradus in ascendendo & descendendo: in descendendo primus gradus à cælo vsque ad carnem, secundus ad crucem, tertius ad mortem: ecce quousque descendit, nunquid amplius potuit? poterat iam vestre rex noster dicere, quid vltra debui facere, & non feci?* There are degrees in ascending, and descending: in descending the first degree is to the flesh, the second to the crosse, the third to death: behold how far he descended, could he descend any further? might not our King now truelie say, what ought I to haue done more, which I did not? *ser. par.* 18.

Some of them I grant doe affirme Christs descension in soule to hell, to bring the Fathers soules from thence: but this was no generall opinion, nor expresse sentence of the Church: as may appeare by this testimonie of *Origen*, vpon these words of *Iob: Naked I came forth, naked shall I returne*, Iob. 1. 21. *Nudus ibo illuc (inquit) quo illuc? illuc quo Adam abijt, quo iterant priores mei: vbi tabernacula sunt iustorum, &c. vbi est lux & vita, vbi est letitia & exultatio, vbi Abrahams sinus, &c. angelorum chori, Christi regnum, æterni dei patris gloria & conspectus:* I shall returne thither? whither? euen whither *Adam* went and all my forefathers: where are the tabernacles of the righteous, where is light and life, where is *Abrahams* bosome, the queere of Angels, the kingdome of Christ, the glorie and sight of the eternall father: *in* 1. *cap. Iob.* Now then, if in your *Limbus* there be light and life, the companie of Angels, the presence of God, the kingdome of Christ; then will I graunt, that the Fathers were there: but then they should not haue needed to be fetched from thence. And thus much of Christs locall descension into hell to set free the soules of the Patriarches.

AN APPENDIX, CONCERNING the place of Hell.

The Papist.

THe place where damned spirits are tormented, they say, is about the center of the earth, the lowest of all places, and nothing lower than it, *Bellarm. de Christi anima. lib.* 4. *cap.* 10. 17. Error.

Their *Limbus Patrum*, the place of darknes, where the Fathers were before Christ, is, say they, in the highest part, and as it were the brimme of hell, *Rhemist. Luk.* 16. 22. Betweene these two places there is a great gulfe or space, and there is Purgatorie, *Rhemist. Luk.* 16. *sect.* 8. Wherefore they conclude, *Veros inferos esse loca subterranea:* That the subterrestriall and infernall places doe properly make hell, *Bellarm. cap.* 8. And so hell should be properly a place of punishment: because of the farre distance from heauen: whereas not so much the distance of place, as the absence of Gods spirit, and losse of his fauour, maketh it a place of horror and miserie.

Argum. 1. *Bellarmine* prooueth by the Greeke word ᾅδης, and the Hebrue (*sheol*) that hell is a subterrestriall place, because those words are taken for hell in the earth, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. 1. This argument concludeth not, vnlesse he could proue, that those words are alwaies taken for hell: the contrarie whereof is euident, as Genes. 42. 38. *You shall bring my gray head with sorrow to (sheol, &c.) the graue:* for his gray haires went not downe to hell, but rested in the graue. Likewise this annotation is giuen in the margent of the vulgar Latine, Genes. 37. 35. *In infernum, id est, fossam, vel sepulchrum, non hic significat locum pœnarum, sicut nec in aliis locis:* Into hell, that is, the pit or the graue, it signifieth not here the place of punishment, nor yet in other places.

2. We graunt that these words sometimes are taken for hell, and then they onely shew that there is an hell, but they enforce not the place.

3. Thirdly, neither doe we denie, but that hell is an infernall place: but herein wee differ from them, 1. that neither doe we affirme, that the place causeth hell, but the absence of Gods fauour and presence. 2. neither dare we circumscribe the place certainly, as they doe, making it to be about the center of the earth. 3. nor yet presume we to make so many regions of hell, as they doe without warrant of the word.

Argum. 2. Matth. 12. 40. As *Ionas* was three dayes and three nights in the belly of the Whale; so the sonne of man must be in the heart of the earth: but the graue is not in the heart, but the brimme of the earth: *Ergo*, we must needes vnderstand that to be hell, which is in the middest of the earth, *Bellarm. cap.* 12.

Ans. 1. This place cannot otherwise be applied, than to signifie the buriall of Christ, and his abode in the graue, and his rising againe the third day: of his soule it cannot properly be meant: for Christ saith, he will giue them the signe of *Ionas* in himselfe; but a signe is conspicuous, visible and apparant: how could then the descending of his soule be a signe vnto them, which they knew not, neither could see? But the laying of his bodie into the graue, and the remaining there to the third day, they were all eye witnesses of. Also there is great affinitie betweene the two Greeke words, σημεῖον a signe, which is there vsed, Matth. 12. 40. and μνῆμα, which signifieth *sepulchrum*, a graue, the one word being fitly derived of the other, what better, σημεῖον, then could hee giue them, then, μνῆμα, his owne graue or sepulchre? Secondly, to be in the heart of the earth, is no-

thing

thing else but to be within the earth, according to the Hebrue phrase, as Exod. 15 8. The heart of the Sea, that is, within the Sea: so Christs bodie was in the earth, it lay hid as it were in the bowels of the earth. And thus Saint *Hierome* applieth this figure of *Ionas* to the death and buriall of Christ: *Ionam cetus exceptt immersum, non contigit deuoratum, &c. sic sæua mors licet Christum sorbuerat crucifixum, tamen quem non inuenerat reum, non potuit tenere damnatum*: The Whale receiued *Ionas* drowned, but it touched him not once deuoured: so cruell death, although it swallowed Christ crucified, yet, whom it found not guiltie, it could not hold as condemned: *Epitaph. Nepotian.*

3. This exposition is against themselues: for if Christ went downe to the very hart and middest of the earth, which is the center, then hee descended to the place of the damned: for neither *Limbus Patrum*, nor Purgatorie, are in the center or lowest part of the earth by their opinion: but they themselues hold the contrarie: for they say, that Christ by descending deliuered soules out of the two vppermost hels, *Limbus*, and Purgatorie, but not out of the nethermost hell, which is the place of the damned, *Rhemist. Luk. 16. sect. 8.* Also it should follow of this their interpretation, that the soule of Christ was as long in hell, as his bodie in the graue, which is against the opinion of many Papists, and of some of the Fathers. *Origen* saith, *Prima diei nobis passio saluatoris, secunda qua descendit ad infernum*: The first day we haue the passion of our Sauiour, the second day he descended to hell, *Hom. 4. in Exod.*

Argum. 2. Luk. 8. 31. The diuels desired Christ that he would not send them into the deepe: what is that else but the lowest region of the earth, where hell is, which S. *Paul* calleth the lowest parts of the earth? *Bellarm.*

Answ. 1. We denie not, but that God hath prepared, and that there is a place of vnspeakable torments ordained for the diuell and his Angels, and all damned soules: but that this place should be in the center of the earth, the places alleaged proue not. 2. The word *abyssus* translated, the deepe, is sometime taken figuratiuely in a metaphore, as Rom. 11. 33. *O the deepenes of the wisdome of God!* the word is βάθος, not much varying in signification from *abyssus*: so the place of their punishment is said to be a great depth, that is, a place of vnsearchable and vnspeakeable miserie and horror. 3. Neither must this word *abyssus*, of necessitie be referred to the earth, for there are *abyssi innæ*, the depths of the Sea, Exod. 15. 8. as well as of the earth.

The lower places which S. *Paul* speaketh of, Ephes. 4. 9. may be either vnderstood generally of the whole earth, which is *pars mundi infima*, the lowest part of the world, or else of the great abasing of Christ, from heauen to earth, being God, to become a seruant: as also the graue of Christ was that lower part of the earth: for the Apostle saith in the comparatiue, κατωτέρα, not κατωτάτω, the lower, not the lowest: and so your vulgar Latine translateth, *inferiora*, not *infima terræ*: but hell is the lowest part, the graue is said to be the lower.

The Protestants.

THat there is a locall place of torment prepared for the diuell and his angels, we doubt not, being so taught in the Scripture, Matth. 25. 41. A place of darknesse, 2. Pet. 2. 4. Farre distant from the heauenly mansions of the blessed, Luk. 16. 26. Neither doe wee denie but that it may be in the earth, or whersoeuer else it pleaseth God: but wheresoeuer hell is, there is but one: that diuision of hell into three or foure regions, we vtterly condemne, as a meere deuice of man without Scripture: and this wee say, that the place of hell causeth not the torment, but the wrath and curse of God: for euen out of hell God may make a man to feele the torments of hell, as we doubt not but our Sauiour Christ did for vs and our redemption vpon the crosse.

Argum. 1. It is possible to feele the paine of hell in the soule, although not in the proper and appointed place of hell: as *Iob* complaineth, *The arrowes of the almightie are in me, the venime thereof doth drinke vp my spirit, and the terrors of God fight against me*. And therefore he saith, his griefe was heauier than the sand of the Sea, Iob. 6. 4. 14. *Iob* felt euen the hell of conscience in himselfe for the time: yea our Sauiour bare the burthen of his Fathers wrath vpon the crosse, as wee haue shewed before: *Ergo*, it is not the place that maketh hell. So *Bernard* saith: *Infernus anima rea conscientia*: The hell of the soule is a guiltie conscience, *in assumpt. ser. 4.*

Argum. 2. Hell, as the Scripture defineth, is this, to be cast into vtter darknes, *where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth*, Matth. 25. 30. 22. 13. The darknes causeth weeping and horrible gnashing of teeth, the vnspeakable punishment both of bodie and soule: This darknes is not the absence of the light of the Sunne: for neither shall the Saints in heauen haue that light, because they neede it not, Apocal. 22. 5. and it shall be a place of darknes to the damned angels, which haue no vse of the Sun light: they also are reserued in chaynes of darknes, Iude 6. as they are no materiall chaines, so neither is it an outward darknes only, but the absence of Gods fauour & the light of his countenance: as the people are said to haue sit in darknes before the light of the Gospel, by the preaching of Iesus Christ, did shine vnto them, Matth. 4. 16. But they much more shall be and are kept in darknes, that are condemned to hell, where they feele nothing but the horror of Gods

wrath,

wrath, his eternall and endleſſe curſe, with vnſpeakable torments now in ſoule, and afterward both in bodie and ſoule, without all comfort or hope of refreſhing, vtterly excluded from the preſence of God: Wherefore it is not the place, but the wrath of God, and abſence of his ſpirit, that cauſeth ſuch endleſſe and vnſpeakable puniſhment.

Argum. 3. As for your diſtinction of hell, the brimme whereof you ſay is *Limbus Patrum*, the middle part, Purgatorie, the loweſt and neathermoſt hell it ſelfe, the place of the damned, in *Auguſtines* time it was not knowne: for firſt, that the boſome of *Abraham* was part of hell, he vtterly denieth: *Apparet non eſſe membrum inferorum, tanquam illius ſublimitatis ſinum:* That boſome of ſo great bliſſe can be no member or part of hell, *Epiſt.* 99. Againe, Purgatorie he vtterly refuſeth, acknowledging but two places: Heauen for the faithfull, Hell for the damned and vnbeleeuers. *Tertium locum penitus ignoramus, imo nec eſſe in ſcripturis ſanctis inuenimus:* A third place wee are vtterly ignorant of, yea we finde in holy Scripture, that it is not, *Auguſt. Hypogn.*

THE SECOND PART OF THIS CONTROVERSIE, of matters which are in queſtion concerning the diuine nature of Chriſt.

THis part of the controuerſie containeth three queſtions. Firſt, whether Chriſt be αὐτόθεος God of him. Secondly, whether hee be mediatour as God, or man, or as both. Thirdly, whether he haue by his deſerts purchaſed any thing for himſelfe.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER CHRIST be αὐτόθεος, God of himſelfe.

The Papiſts.

THey denie that Chriſt is αὐτόθεος, God of himſelfe, and affirme, that he had not onely his perſon, but his ſubſtance of his father: whereupon they are bolde to charge *Caluine* with blaſphemie, for ſaying, that Chriſt is God of himſelfe as well as the Father, *Rhemiſt. Iob. 1. ſect.* 3. 28. Error.

Argum. The word was with God, to wit, the ſonne is with and of the father, and not the father of the ſonne? *Ergo*, the ſonne is God, with and of his father, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſw. This place proueth, that the ſonne of God, as he is the ſonne, is of God: for to bee the ſonne of God, the word, the wiſedome of God, 1. Cor. 1. 30. his image, Heb. 1. 3. doe belong vnto his perſon. So then, as he is the ſonne, the wiſedome of God, or the word, ſo hee is of God, namely in reſpect of his perſon: but as the ſonne is God, he is of himſelfe, neither taketh he his eſſence but perſon onely of his Father.

The Proteſtants.

THat we may fully know the ſtate of this queſtion, wee muſt firſt ſet downe certaine propoſitions: 1. We doe worſhip one eternall, omnipotent, and onely wiſe God, one and the ſame in power, eſſence, eternitie: but three in perſon, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt: there is the ſame nature, eſſence, and deitie of them all, though they be diſtinguiſhed in perſon. As there is one nature of the light, the heate thereof and the ſhining brightnes, *Lucis, ſplendoris, caloris*, as *Auguſtine* putteth the example: which three differ among themſelues in propertie and qualitie, yet haue one and the ſelfe-ſame nature and ſubſtance: God the father is as the light, Iam. 1. 17. God the ſonne is as the brightnes of his glorie, Hebr. 1. 3. God the holy Ghoſt is as the heate or fire, Heb. 12. 29. Thus theſe three are one in nature and eſſence, but three in perſon.

2. There is ſomewhat communicable to them all, as the Godhead and diuine power and nature: Somewhat incommunicable, as the ſeuerall proprieties of the perſons: for it is proper onely to the Father to beget, proper to the Sonne onely to be begotten, proper onely to the holie Ghoſt to proceede from them both. There is no eſſentiall difference in the Trinitie: for there is one eſſence and diuine nature common to them all. But there is both a reall and rationall difference: The perſons differ one from another really, though not eſſentially. But the perſons differ only rationally or in reſpect from the eſſence of the Godhead: as the father and the ſonne amongſt men differ not eſſentially, for they are both men. But they are really, verily, and indeede diſtinguiſhed: for it is one thing to be the father, another to be the ſonne: yet from their owne eſſence their perſons only differ in reſpect and relation, not verily, *non re, ſed ratione*. for as amongſt vs the father is a man, the ſonne alſo is a man: but in one reſpect he is a father, and in another he is man; ſo likewiſe of the ſonne, yet one and the ſame, is both father and man; one and the ſame is both ſonne & man: ſo is it in the Trinitie. Now to the point of the queſtion, which we haue in hand. The Son therfore in the bleſſed Trinitie is begotten of his fathers eſſence, and hath the whole eſſence of his father, not by propagation, partition, profluence, but only by communication. The Son is not αὐτόθεος ſon of himſelfe, becauſe he is ſon of the father: but he is αὐτόθεος, that is, very God of himſelfe.

The essence or Godhead of the Sonne is of himselfe, not of the father: for it is one and the selfe-same essence, which the father hath. He is indeed, *Deus de Deo, Lumen de lumine*, God of God, light of light: but not as he is God, is he of God, but as he is the Sonne. It is one thing for the person of the Sonne to be begotten of the essence of the father, which we graunt: another thing, for the essence of the sonne to be begotten, which we must not yeeld to. So we conclude, that Christ as hee is the sonne, is of God the father, as he is God, he is of himselfe.

Argum. 1. The essence of the father is of himselfe, not begotten of any: but the essence and deitie of the sonne is the same and all one with his fathers: *Ergo*, it is not begotten of any other. Againe, he is not God whose essence is not of himselfe: therefore if Christs essence be not of himselfe, he should not be God.

Argum. 2. Our Sauiour Christ himselfe saith, *As the father hath life in himselfe, so he hath giuen to the sonne also to haue life in himselfe*, Ioh. 5. 26. The sonne then hath life in himselfe; *Ergo*, he is God of himselfe. *Augustine* vpon these words writeth: *Non quasi mutuatur vitam, nec quasi particeps vitæ, sed ipse vitam in se habet, vt ipsa vita sibi sit ipse*: Hee did not as it were borrow life of his father, neither is made partaker of life, but he hath life in himselfe, hee is life vnto himselfe. But lest any man should thus mistake the words of the text, that because the father gaue to the sonne to haue life in himselfe, therefore he gaue him to be God: (for to haue life in himselfe is to be God) *Augustine* thus expoundeth them: *Dedit filio vitam habere in se, breuiter dixerim, genuit filium*: Hee gaue to his sonne to haue life in himselfe, in few words, He begat his sonne. As if we should say, the father which hath life in himselfe, that is, is God, gaue to his sonne to haue life in himselfe, that is, begat God the sonne: he begat him not as hee was God, or in respect of his diuine essence, but as he was his sonne, in regard of his person: yet because of the neere vniting and coniunction of the person with the Godhead and diuine power to haue life in himselfe, which really cannot be distinguished, but onely in respect, as we haue shewed: the father is said also to giue vnto the sonne to bee God, and to haue life in himselfe, not directly or properly, but obliquely and by a consequent, because his sonne, whom he begat from all eternitie, must also necessarily be God.

In Iohan. tract. 19.

And that it cannot be the proper meaning, that God the Father gaue to the sonne power to haue life in himselfe, as he is God, or in respect of his diuine nature, &c. it appeareth by the words themselues: for as the father hath life in himself, euen so hath he giuen to the sonne: but the father hath life in himselfe, without beginning from any other: *Ergo*, so hath the sonne.

There should else be a contrarietie and repugnancie in the speech: for if Christ receiued life from his father, he could not haue it in himselfe. It must therefore of necessitie be vnderstood of the person in the Trinitie, not of the diuine essence. And so wee determine that it is true in the concrete, *in concreto*, if wee say, *Deus Pater genuit Deum Filium*: God the Father begat God the Sonne, but not in *abstracto*, *Deitas Patris genuit Deitatem Filij*, that the Godhead of the Father begat the Godhead of the Sonne. But in respect of his person onely as hee is the Sonne the second person in Trinitie, so is hee begotten and hath his beginning of God: but in respect of his diuine nature as he is God, he is begotten of none, but of himselfe, as God the Father is.

Concil. Constantinop. 6. actio. 6. ex epistol. Sophronij Hierosolym. Perfectus deus est pater, perfectus deus filius, perfectus deus spiritus sanctus, vnam eandemque singula quaque persona inseparabilem, indiuisam, & perfectam habet deitatem: The Father is perfect God, the Sonne perfect God, the holy Ghost perfect God: euery person hath one and the same vnseparable, vndeuided and perfect deitie. If Christ then be perfect God, is hee God of himselfe: for he is not perfect, that hath his being from another: and if he haue one and the same deitie with his father, then his deitie hath no beginning from any other, for such is his fathers deitie.

Saint *Ambrose* saith vpon these words of the Apostle: *Qui solus habet immortalitatem*, 1. Tim. 6. vers. 16. Which onely hath immortalitie: *Non separes patrem non separes filium, quia diuinitas patris, & filij vna eademque est*: Doe not separate the father, nor the sonne, because there is one and the same diuinitie of them both, *de fid. lib. 3. c. 2.* If there be one and the same diuinitie of both, then the sonne is God of himselfe as the father is.

Origen. ex apolog. Pamphil. doth count them in the number of heretikes, which doe affirme, that *Christus homo natus patris solum in se habuit deitatem*: That Christ being borne man had onely his fathers deitie, &c. How farre then are the Papists from this heresie, that affirme, that Christ is not God of himselfe, and so consequently, that he hath onely his fathers deitie?

Decr. part. 2. cauf. 24. qu. 3. c. 29. Among other heretikes are rehearsed *Aetiani*, the Aetians, *dissimilem patri asserentes filium*, which affirmed, that the sonne was vnlike the father: what doe they else affirme and teach, but that the sonne is not God of himselfe, as the father is?

Peter Lombard is an euident witnesse with vs, that God the father begat not the diuine essence, but the person onely of his sonne. This position he hath, *Diuina essentia non genuit diuinam essentiam*: That the diuine essence begat not the diuine essence: which he prooueth by these three reasons: First, if the father begot the diuine essence, it would follow, that the Godhead or diuine es-

sence

ſence ſhould be a relatiue, not a ſubſtance: for that which is begotten, is a relatiue to that which begetteth. And as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Quod relatiuè dicitur, non indicat ſubſtantiam.* That which is relatiuely ſpoken, doth not ſhew the ſubſtance.

Secondly, then alſo the father ſhould beget himſelfe, if hee beget the diuine eſſence, which is himſelfe.

Thirdly, ſeeing the father is God and a diuine eſſence, if he ſhould beget the Godhead and diuine eſſence, then by begetting he ſhould be God, and ſo that which is begotten ſhould bee the cauſe of that which begetteth, whereas he that begetteth is the cauſe of that which is begotten.

Vpon theſe reaſons he concludeth, that *diuina eſſentia nec genuit, nec genita eſt*: that the diuine eſſence neither begetteth, nor is begotten, *lib. 1 diſtinct. 5. a. b. c.* And this ſentence is confirmed by *Innocent. 3. decret. Greg. lib. 1. tit. 1. c. 2. Diuinâ naturâ nec eſt generans, nec genita*: The diuine nature neither begetteth, nor is begotten.

And whereas wee ſay, *Deus de Deo, lumen de lumine*, God of God, light of light: the meaning is this, not that the Godhead is begotten, but that the ſonne, which is God and light, is begotten of the father God and light, not begotten as he is God, but as he is the ſonne, *Magiſt. ibid. Inter. f.* So then not the ſubſtance or Godhead of the ſonne, but his perſon onely is begotten.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER CHRIST be our Mediatour, as he is man onely, or as he is both God and man.

The Papiſts.

THey doe teach that Chriſt onely exerciſed his prieſthood and the office of the Mediatour, as he was man, not as hee was both God and man, *Rhem. Heb. 5. ſect. 4.* His obedience, ſacrifice, prayer, ſatisfaction, entring into the heauens, was all performed by and in his manhood onely, *ſecundum formam ſerui*, as he was in the forme of a ſeruant, not *ſecundum formam dei*, as hee was in the forme of God, *Bellarm. de Chriſto, lib. 5. cap. 1.* 19. Error.

Argum. 1. If he were prieſt as he is God, he ſhould be inferiour and not equall to God, and ſo be Gods prieſt, and not his ſonne: for he to whom ſacrifice is offered, is greater than he that offereth it, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſw. It followeth not, that becauſe Chriſt is our Prieſt and Mediatour as God and man, that therefore he ſhould performe all the duties of the Prieſthood as he was God: all the parts of his prieſthood that required obedience, ſeruice, homage, ſubiection, as were his ſuffrings and ſacrifice, he exerciſed as man: but the authoritie of reconciling vs to God, he wrought both as God and man.

Argum. 2. There is one God, and one Mediatour of God and men, the man Ieſus Chriſt, 1. Timoth. 2. 5. Why ſaith the Apoſtle, The man Ieſus Chriſt, but to ſignifie, that according to his manhood onely he is our Mediatour? *Bellarm. cap. 3.*

Anſw. Firſt, you may as well conclude out of this place, that the Mediatour is onely man and not God, as that he is Mediatour onely as man and not as God: but if out of theſe words it may be proued, that the Mediatour is both God and man, as it neceſſarily followeth, (for how elſe can he be a Mediatour of God and men?) it doth as well follow that hee is Mediatour both as God and as man. Indeede the Apoſtle ſaith, The man Ieſus Chriſt, not God and man, for the one hee had ſaid before, *There is one God*; in that ſpeech including our Sauiour Chriſt, who is one God with his father. Secondly, what Saint *Pauls* meaning is, it appeareth in the next verſe, who gaue himſelfe a raunſome, verſ. 6. As Chriſt therefore gaue himſelfe a raunſome, ſo is hee Prieſt and Mediatour: but he gaue himſelfe as he was God; as he was man, he was giuen: *Ergo*, as God he is Mediatour. Thirdly, I will adioyne the anſwere of *Eſpencaus* a learned Papiſt: 1. That the Fathers by this very place doe prooue that Chriſt is God, not man onely, which could not be concluded from hence, if Chriſt were Mediatour as man onely, and not as God and man. 2. The Apoſtle addeth, *The man Chriſt Ieſus: Quorum illud nomen eſt hominis, non puri puti, ſed à deo vncti*: Whereof the firſt is a name not of a very pure man, but anoynted of God: *Poſterius nomen dei hominis eſt*: The latter is a name, of one that is God and man, ſuch an one as ſhould ſaue the people from their ſinnes: *Eſpenc. lib. de Chriſt. mediat. c. 5.*

The Proteſtants.

IN the office of the Prieſthood two things muſt be conſidered, a miniſterie, and an authoritie: In reſpect of the miniſteriall part Chriſt performed the office of his Prieſthood as man: but in reſpect of authoritie of entring into the holieſt place, and reconciling vs to God, which was the principall part of his Prieſthood, he did performe it as the ſonne of God, as the Lord and maker of the houſe, and not as a ſeruant. And ſo we hold that Chriſt neither according to his humanitie alone, nor his Godhead alone, but that whole Chriſt is a Prieſt, both as God and man.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paule* saith, *God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himselfe*; 2. Corinth. 5. 19. *Ergo*, Christ, as God, is our reconciler and Mediator. Againe, Christ as he is without father and mother, hath no beginning of his daies, nor ende of his life; so is he a Priest after the order of *Melchisedech*, Heb. 7. 3. but Christ as he is God & man hath neither father nor mother: as he is God hath no beginning of daies, and in his whole person no ende of his life: therefore as God and man he is a Priest of *Melchisedechs* order.

Bellarmine answereth to the first, 1. Euery one that reconcileth is not a mediator, though euerie mediator be a reconciler. 2. It is one thing to be a mediator, an other to reconcile by a mediator; God by the man Christ the mediator did reconcile vs to himselfe, but it followeth not, that therfore he is our mediator as God.

Secondly, the place alleaged out of the Hebrues, prooueth that the person of our high Priest and mediator is diuine, but not that hee is our Priest as hee is God: hee is both God and man, but he executeth his Priesthoode and Mediatorship onely as man. *Bellarm. c. 6. ad 2. & 3. Loc.*

Contra. First, 1. Though sometime among men one may reconcile himselfe without a mediator, yet there is no reconciliation with God without a mediator: wherefore it is not farre from blasphemie to denie this argument, Christ reconcileth vs as God and man, *Ergo*, he is our mediator as God and man: Againe the Apostle sheweth wherein this reconciliation consisteth, *in the not imputing of our sinnes.* 1. Cor. 5. 19. But the not imputation of our sinnes, is a worke of the mediator. 2. Christ is both the reconciler as God and man, and the partie to whom we are reconciled, as he is God: to be a mediator and to reconcile by a mediator, doe both agree vnto Christ: it followeth not then, we are reconciled to him as God, *Ergo*, not by him as God: for the Apostle sheweth, that he reconcileth vs to himselfe: and God doth beseech you through vs, *And I pray you in Christes steade:* Christ then as God is our mediator, and doth as it were entreate vs to be reconciled.

Secondly, *Melchisedech* was a type of the eternall Priesthood of Christ: *He is likened to the sonne of God, and continueth a Priest for euer:* Hebr. 7. 3. Christ cannot be a Priest for euer, but as he is God: and vers. 25. *He is able perfectly to saue them that come vnto God by him:* but he cannot perfectly saue, but as God: *Ergo*, he is mediator as God. vers. 28. *The word of the oth, &c. maketh the sonne priest that is consecrated for euer:* Christ is a Priest after *Melchisedechs* order as he is the sonne, but as the sonne he is God; *Ergo*, as God he is our Mediator.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* saith, The law was giuen by Angels in the hand of a Mediator, Galat. 3. 19. But then Christ was God onely: *Ergo*, hee is Mediator also as God. *Bellarmine* saith, that he is called Mediator, because that person was appointed afterward to be Mediator. But the text is plaine, that he then actually performed the office of a Mediator, so much as pertained to his Godhead: for the Law was giuen in the hand of a Mediator, which kind of speech sheweth a present execution of the Mediatorship.

Bellarmine replieth: if Christ were the Mediator before he was man, being then onely God, it would follow, that as God he was inferiour to God; for as he is a Mediator he is inferiour. *c.* 8.

Answ. 1. Christ in respect of euerie part of his Mediatorship is not inferior to God; but equall as he executeth his Mediatorship as God: He is inferiour onely as the man Mediator, not as God Mediator: as *Theophylact* expoundeth these words, Iohn. 1. 3. All things were made by it: saying: *Patrem mediatore filio ad rerum creationem vsum non minore, sed aequali:* That the father vsed his sonne as a Mediator for the creation, yet not lesse then the father but equall.

Homil. de onibus cap. 12. *Augustine* saith, *Non mediator homo praeter diuinitatem, diuina humanitas, & humana diuinitas mediatrix:* The man Christ is not mediator beside his diuine nature; the diuine humanitie, and the humane diuinitie, is the Mediatrix. *Ergo*, Christ Mediator both as God and man.

Cyrillus lib. Apologetic. anathatif. 10. *Quando dicis indignum esse deo, vt sacrificet, astipulor & ego, scilicet, si solum sit, & absq; carne verbum: Itaque vide ipsum sacrificantem secundum humanitatem, confidentem vt deum: sic beatus Paulus*, Heb. 8. 1. Where thou sayest, that it is no meete thing for God to sacrifice, I grant it, if the word should be by it selfe without flesh: therefore I consider Christ sacrificing as man, but sitting in the heauens as God, as blessed *Paule* saith: Hebr. 8. 1. We haue such an high Priest, that sitteth at the right hand of the throne of the Maiestie in heauen: Christ is our Priest, as he sitteth at the right hand, &c. but so is he God, as this father saith, the first is heere affirmed by Saint *Paul*: *Ergo*, as he is God, he is our Priest.

Bernard also writeth well of this point: *Sicut mediator vnus duas naturas, humanitatem & diuinitatem coniunxit in vna persona: ita singulorum opera, ad hanc sine illam necesse est pertinere naturam; ad hanc scilicet miseria, ad illam pertinet potentia:* As our Mediator ioyned two natures, the diuine and humane in one person; so all his workes belong to one of these natures: whatsoeuer he suffered was of man, his powerfull works were of his diuine nature: *serm. de verbis sapientiae.* Christ therefore wrought some workes of his mediatorship as man, some as God: but the whole office he executed as both.

Leo

Leo epist 81. Qua ratione veritas mediatoris impleret, nisi qua in forma dei aequalis est patri, & in forma serui particeps esset & nostri: How should he fulfill the veritie of a Mediator, vnlesse he were in the forme of God equall to his father, and in the forme of a seruant partaker with vs: Both these natures then belong not onely to the being but to the fulfilling of the Mediators office, not to the constitution onely, but to the execution also.

Espencaus a learned diuine of Paris of their owne side hath written a whole treatise of this matter, wherein he maintaineth this position, that Christ is not Mediator onely: *Qua homo, sed qua deus:* As he is man, but as he is God. *lib. de Christ. mediat. c. 5.* And to this purpose he alleageth diuers fathers: as *Cyrill: Non propter carnis solum dispensationem mediator vocatur*, He is not called a Mediator onely because of the dispensation of his flesh: *Thesaur. lib. 4. c. 2.*

To the same end he alleageth, *Theophylact. c. 2. Theophylactus addo de ratione mediatoris stetit esse diuinam naturam, vt hinc Christi diuinitatem colligat ita: quod deus sit, inde liquet, quod mediator sit, &c.* *Theophylact* doth thinke that the diuine nature belongeth to the manner of the mediation, in such sort that hee thereby proueth Christ to be God: *That he is God, it is euident, because he is the Mediator.*

To this purpose alleaging many fathers both Greeke and Latine, *c. 2. 3. 4.* he concludeth with *Augustine: Mediatorem inter nos & deum & mortalitatem habere oportuit transeuntem, & beatitatem permanentem: &c.* It was necessarie that the mediator should haue, both transitorie mortalitie, and permanent felicitie, &c. *lib. 9. de ciuit. dei. c. 15.* And whereas in the same place it followeth: *Non ob hoc mediator quia verbum sed per quod homo:* He is not a mediator, because he is the word, but whereby he is man: he answereth, that *Augustines* meaning is, that Christ was not our mediator as the word onely and simply, without our flesh. *c. 5.* Thus this graue writer one of their owne side is a plentifull witnes with vs against them.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER CHRIST merited for himselfe.

The Papistes.

CHrist, they say, by his passion and sufferings, hath not onely merited eternall life for vs, but euen by his owne merite obtained his owne glorification, *Rhemist. annot. Heb. 2. 1.* 30. Error

Argum. 1. Philip. 2. 9. He humbled himselfe vnto the death of the crosse, wherefore God hath also highly exalted him, and giuen him a name aboue all names: *Ergo*, Christ merited his exaltation, *Rhemist. in hunc locum.*

Answ. First, this place sheweth a sequele of the exaltation of Christ after his humiliation, it maketh not one the cause of another, as our Sauiour himselfe saith, Luc. 24. 26. *Christ ought to haue suffered, and so enter into his glory.* Secondly, the exaltation which the Apostle heere speaketh of, is the same, which God chalengeth to himselfe, Isai. 45. 22. *Euery knee shall bow vnto me, and euerie tongue shall sweare by me.* But it were most grosse to affirme, that the diuine power and glorie can be merited: Christ hath his diuinitie by nature, and not by merite. Thirdly, Saint *Ambrose* expoundeth this place not of the purchase, but the manifestation onely of Christs glory: *Christus hoc natus accepit, vt post crucem manifestaretur, quid à patre, dum generaretur, acceperit; non enim tunc accepit à patre, quando à creatura capit sciri:* Christ receiued this in his birth, that it should be manifest after his crosse, what he receiued of his father in his generation; for he then did not receiue it of his father when it began to be knowen of the creature, *in 2. Philipp.*

The Protestants.

IT is not in any wise to be thought, that Christ merited his glorie, which is due to him in respect of his diuinitie: but that by the glorious worke of our redemption, he hath declared himselfe, to be a person worthie of all honour and glory, Apoc. 5. 9. *Thou art worthie to take the booke, &c.* the place is so to be vnderstood.

Argum. 1. If Christ had respect vnto himselfe in his sufferings, to gaine or merite any thing for himselfe, his loue should greatly be obscured and darkened, which Saint *Paule* so greatly commendeth, in that he died for his enemies, Rom. 5. 10. For now should not his loue be whole and entyre towards vs, as though for our cause he onely had died: But it is now a deuided and halfe loue: for he died, as they say, partly to merit for himselfe, partly to merite for vs. But the scripture speaketh cleane contrarie, Iohn 17. 9. *For their sakes sanctifie I my selfe:* he saith not, partly for their sakes, partly for mine owne.

Saint *Ambrose* sheweth, how that whatsoeuer Christ did, he did wholly for vs, not thereby to gaine any thing to himselfe: 1. Concerning his fasting he saith: *Christus non emerenda gratia sua causa, sed nostra eruditionis gratia ieiunauit:* Christ fasted not to merite fauour or grace to himselfe, but for our erudition or instruction. *lib. 3. de fid. c. 2.*

2. *Nec sibi sua natiuitas profuit, sed nobis:* Neither did his birth profit himselfe but vs. *in 1. Coloss.*

3. *Christus nostri non sui causa pauper factus:* Christ became poore for vs, not for himselfe: *in* 2. *Cor.* 8.

4. *Christus est mortuus pro nobis, sed illa, vt prodesset nobis; nostra autem mors non illi proficit, sed nobis:* Christ died for vs, he died to profit vs, but our death doth not profit him, but our selues. *in* 8. *ad Roman.*

Thus we see that the 1. birth, 2. fasting, 3. pouertie, 4. death of Christ did not any waies aduantage himselfe: but all was done for vs.

Argum. 2. All glorie that Christ hath, was from euerlasting due to his person, because he is the eternall Sonne of God: as he himselfe saith, Ioh. 17.5. *And now glorifie me with thine owne selfe, with the glorie which I had with thee, before the world was:* And this glory was due vnto Christ so soone as he was incarnate by the right of his Godhead. Heb. 1.6. *When he bringeth in his first begotten Sonne into the world,* he saith, *Let all the Angels of God worship him.* And the Rhemists themselues confesse, in their *Annotat.* vpon these words, that straight vpon Christs descending from heauen, it was the duetie of Angels to worship him. *Ergo,* he merited not his glorification by his death, which was due vnto him euen at his first incarnation.

Argum. 3. If Christ merited his owne glorification, then he also merited the hypostaticall vnion, that his manhoode should bee ioyned to his Godhead in vnitie of person; for his glory, maiestie, and power giuen to his manhoode, doth issue and arise from the vniting of his Godhead therewith in one person: but his humanitie deserued not to be vnited to the Godhead: *Nemo tam cæcus est,* saith *Augustine, No man is so blinde, that he dare say, that Christ by his well liuing merited to be called the Sonne of God.* And he prooueth it out of the first of Luke, vers. 35. *Therefore shall that holy thing bee called the Sonne of God:* not for any workes going before, but because the holy Ghost came vpon her. Wherefore the diuine glory which Christ hath, was not merited, but his owne it was from the beginning, which glorie the humane nature in Christ is made partaker of, not for any merite, but because it is vnited to the Godhead in the same person, through the abundant and vnspeakable grace and loue of God vnto mankinde, which of his free grace rather tooke vnto himselfe the nature of men, then of Angels. Wherefore Christ by his perfect obedience and blessed sacrifice, hath merited abundantly for vs, remission of sinnes, and eternall life: but by his merites hee hath gayned nothing for himselfe: neyther had he any respect to the bettering of his owne estate in his sufferings, but onely to pay a ransome for vs.

De corrept. & grat. c. 11.

Saint *Ambrose* further saith: *Videtur donum patris, hoc est, esse filium, & nomen super omne nomen, hoc est, esse Deum, &c.* This seemeth to be the gift of the father, that is, to be his sonne: and this is the name aboue all names, to be God. *in* 2. *ad Philipp.* but the Godhead cannot be merited.

Againe he saith: *Licet secundum carnem Christo sedes ad dextram Dei à patre, generationis tamen superna & æqualitatis potentia defertur:* Although Christ according to his flesh sitteth at the right hand of his father, yet it is due vnto him in respect of his supernall generation, and equall power. *lib.* 5. *de fid. c.* 7.

Further he thus testifieth: *Ad hoc natus est Christus, vt faceret creaturam; nec enim sibi natiuitas sua proficit, sed nobis, quia non eguit nasci; erat enim in Deo qui processit de Deo: si ergo natiuitas prima ipsi non profuit, multo minus secunda:* Christ was borne or begotten of God to this ende, to make the creature: for his natiuitie or begetting, did not profite himselfe, but vs; because he needed not to be borne, for he was in God, that proceeded from God: and if the first and eternall birth did not profite him, much lesse the second. *in* 1. *ad Coloss.*

Thus Saint *Ambrose* is verie constant and resolute in this point, that Christ gained nothing properly to himselfe by his life or death: but all was done for vs.

Yet Christ may be said in two respects to haue obtained somewhat to himselfe, 1. because the preeminence of the members doth redound to the honour of the head: and in this sense Saint *Ambrose* saith: *Nos redemit, sed sibi acquisiuit, &c. in his omnibus detrimentum nullum video diuinitatis, profectum operationis agnosco, &c.* Christ hath redeemed vs, but he hath also gotten to himselfe: in all this I see no detriment of the diuinitie, but a profiting in the worke of our redemption. *serm.* 20. *in Psal.* 119. His meaning is, that Christ gained, in that he finished the redemption for vs: he purchased nothing properly to himselfe, but by way of communication, because his members by his merit were redeemed.

2. Christ by way of declaration or manifestation is said to haue obtained his great name: not in that he merited his glory by his passion, which was due to his person: but by his obedience he declared himselfe worthy of so great glory: thus *Peter Lombard* expoundeth that place of the Apostle, Philip. 2. 9. *God hath giuen him a name aboue euerie name, &c. Secundum tropum in scriptura creberrimum res dicitur fieri, quando innotescit, &c. manifestationem ergo illius nominis donauit illi Deus post resurrectionem sed illam meruit per obedientiam passionis:* According to a certaine figure of speech often vsed in the Scripture, a thing is said to be done, when it appeareth onely; so God gaue vnto

Christ

Christ after his resurrection, the manifestation of his name; but he merited it by the obedience of his passion: *lib. 3. dist. 18. lit. c.* By his sentence Christ merited not his glorie, but the manifestation onely thereof, that is, was declared by the obedience of his death worthy all honour, which is that we affirme: for otherwise to speake properly, as *Peter Lombard* in the same place saith: *Habuit hoc nomen Dei filius, in quantum Deus ab æterno per naturam, in quantum homo factus est, habuit ex tempore per gratiam:* The Sonne of God had this name, as he was God eternally by nature; as he was made man, he had it temporally by grace, &c. If then he had it of grace, he properly did not merite it.

I will alleage another graue testimonie, of one of their owne side, *Lichtbonens: ad Damascen. numerum. 83. Quæ in Christo est diuinitas omnium princeps & dominatrix sua idem contulit humanitati, vt ratione vnionis sit omnium etiam domina, &c.* The diuinitie, that is in Christ Prince and ruler of all things, gaue the same vnto his humanity, by reason of the vnion, to be Lord of all things, &c. which rule and domination is said to be giuen, when for and after his humilitie vpon the crosse it was manifested vnto men, &c. We cannot haue a clearer euidence for this matter, as we haue heard, then from themselues.

Concil. Ephesin. 1. can. 9. Si quis dicit quod Christus pro se ipse obtulerit oblationem, & non magis pro solis nobis, anathema sit: If any man say, that Christ offered vp himselfe for himselfe, and not rather onely for vs, let him be accursed. But if Christ merited heauen by his sufferings, not onely for vs, but for himselfe also, then had he part himselfe in his owne oblation.

Master *Tindal* holy Martyr hath sealed this truth: Christ with all his workes did not deserue heauen for himselfe (for that was his alreadie) but did vs seruice therewith, and neither looked for, nor sought his owne profite, but ours, and the honour of God his Father only: *Fox pag. 1247. col. 2. articul. 7.* Againe, he explaineth himselfe thus: Iesus Christ possesseth the kingdome of heauen by double right: first, because hee is the sonne of God, and very inheritour of his kingdome: secondly, because hee hath gotten it by his passions and death: of his second right hee hath no neede, and therefore hee giueth it all to them, that beleeue and trust in him, *pag. 1256. col. 2. articul. 30.*

THE THIRD PART OF THIS CONTROVERSIE, concerning the comming of Christ to iudgement: which appertaineth to his whole person, as he is both God and man.

THis part of this controuersie hath two parts: First, concerning the signes which must come to passe before his appearing. Secondly, of the time and manner of his appearing. The first part containeth three questions: First, whether the Gospell bee alreadie preached to the whole world. Secondly, whether *Henoch* and *Elias* shall come in the flesh, before the day of iudgement. Thirdly, of the great persecutions toward the end of the world.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER THE Gospell be alreadie preached thoroughout the world.

The Papists.

THey denie that the Gospell hath been alreadie published to all nations of the world: for there are many great countries, which neuer heard of the Gospell, as they affirme: but before the comming of Christ to iudgement, they say, it shall be preached to the whole world, *Bellarmin. de Roman pontif. lib. 3. cap. 4.* 31. Error.

Argum. 1. Matth. 24. 14. Christ saith, *This Gospell of the kingdome shall be preached thorough the whole world, for a witnes vnto all nations, and then shall the end come.* The end of the world shall immediately follow the generall preaching of the Gospell: which if it hath been performed, it is most like to haue been done in the Apostles time, then the world should haue ended long agoe, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Answ. This word, *Then*, doth not alwaies in the Scripture signifie a certaine and definite time presently to follow, as Matth. 9. 1. *Then he entered into a ship, &c. Luke* also setteth forth the same storie, chap. 5. vers. 18. *Then brought they a man lying in a bed:* But in saying *Then*, they haue not relation to the same time; for they keepe not the same order, in rehearsing the storie: *Matthew* setteth downe one thing, that was immediatly done by our Sauiour Christ before, and *Luke* another. And so is the word *Then*, vsed in other places, not to describe a consequence of time, with relation to that which went before, but absolutely without any such respect to name the time present only, wherein any thing is done. So, *tunc*, then, signifieth as much as *in illo tempore*, in that time, not which shall immediatly follow vpon the generall publishing of the Gospell, but which God hath appointed. We must also consider who it is, that saith, *Then*, namely, God himselfe, with whom *a* August. de consensu Euangel. 43.

thousand yeares is as one day, and one day as a thousand yeares, 2. Pet. 3. 8. Christ then may come many hundred yeares after, and yet it shall be true, that then shall the end be.

So *Origene* well saith: *Christus in parabola totum hoc seculum præsens vnum diem vocat, licèt enim magnum quantum ad nos, modicum tamen quantum ad vitam patris, filij & spiritus sancti:* Christ in the parable, doth call all this present world, but one day: for though it be great in respect of vs, yet it is but little in respect of the life of the Father, the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, &c. So *Iohn* saith, *It is the last houre,* 1. Iohn 2. 18. *Orig. tract. 10. in Matth.* 20. This word *(then)* may as well be applied to any part of this last houre.

But we rather take the first sense, that *(then)* is here taken indefinitely: as it is also, vers. 23. *Then if any man shall say vnto you, loe here is Christ, &c.* Here our Sauiour speaketh of his latter comming: yet immediatly before he described the troublesome times of the destruction of Ierusalem: if *(then)* should be taken strictly, the second comming of Christ should haue fallen out at the same time, when Ierusalem was destroyed. And as this word (εἰσ) *tunc, (then)* is taken, so is ἐκεῖνοσ, vers. 29. *Immediately or presently after the tribulation of those dayes, the sunne shall be darkened:* yet S. *Marke* saith, 13. 24. *In those daies after the tribulation, the sunne shall waxe darke:* so that there shalbe dayes & times after those tribulations, before the end come: then the end shal not be *immediatly*, taken strictlie. In like manner our Sauiour saith, Matth. 26. 64. ἀπ' ἄρτι, from this time, *amodo, from hence forth ye shall see the sonne of man sitting at the right hand of the power of God:* yet this, *from henceforth,* is not yet come: Hereof *Origene* thus writeth, *Deo à constitutione mundi ad consummationem eius velut vna dies: nil mirum ergo, quod hic dicit saluator, amodo, spatium esse breuissimum:* Vnto God from the constitution of the world, to the end and consummation thereof, it is but as one day: no maruaile then, if our Sauiour say, *from henceforth,* counting it a short space: *Tract. 35. in Matth.*

Argum. 2. We see the Gospell hath been preached in great countries of late, which neuer heard the Gospell afore, as it is thought, *Rhemist. Matth. 24. sect. 4.*

Answ. 1. They speake doubtfully, they cannot tell: as it is thought, say they. 2. They meane the preaching of their Friers, in those new found countries, which was not the preaching of the Gospell, but of vile superstition, not to conuert the people to God, but to robbe and spoyle them, and make a pray of them, killing and slaying them without all mercie: reade *Benzo in hist. noui orbis.* 3. We denie not but that the Gospell may be reuiued and renued in many countries, where notwithstanding it was planted many yeeres afore: as this countrie of ours in ancient time called Britanie, was first instructed in the faith by the preaching of *Ioseph* of Arimathea, as *Gildas* saith: or as *Nicephorus* saith, by *Simon Zelotes:* yet after that, the foundation of the faith thus begun, it was confirmed afterward in King *Lucius* daies, by the preaching of *Fagane* and *Damiane,* which at *Lucius* request were sent into the land from *Eleutherius* B. of Rome: and so may it come to passe in other countries: a second preaching therefore taketh not away the former, but confirmeth and reuiueth it.

Fox. pag. 106.

The Protestants.

THat the Gospell was in the Apostles time preached to all the knowne and inhabited nations of the world, so that once alreadie the world hath been generally called by the preaching of the word, it is euident by the Scriptures.

Argum. 1. Our Sauiour saith to his Apostles, *Ye shall be my witnesses to the vttermost parts of the earth,* Act. 1. 8. which is spoken to the persons of the Apostles, not in them to all pastors and preachers, as some expound it: for in the same verse, there is mention made of the comming of the holie Ghost, and how first they should begin to witnesse at Ierusalem: which things were indeede so accomplished in the Apostles.

S. *Paul* also Rom. 10. 18. expoundeth that place of the Psalme, *Their sound is gone forth into all the world,* of the Apostles. And Coloss. 1. 6. *The word of truth is come to you, as it is to all the world, and is fruitfull as it is among you:* and vers. 23. *The Gospell hath been preached to euery creature which is vnder heauen.* These places doe euidently proue, that the Gospell was preached to all the world, euen in the Apostles time: neither can it be so vnderstoode, as *Bellarmine* imagineth: that the Gospell was preached not in act, but in vertue, because the Apostles did sowe the seed, which should afterward fructifie in all the world: or because the fame of the Gospell onely was spread ouer all the world. *Bellarm. lib. 3. de Roman. pontif. c. 4.*

Contra. 1. The Apostle saith, *It is come vnto the world, as it is also vnto you:* but it was come actually to the Colossians, therefore it was so come also to the world. 2. He saith also, *and is fruitfull, &c.* but the fame or rumor only of the Gospell could not be *fruitfull:* and the Apostle calleth it a *preaching:* but the carrying or spreading of a report, is not a preaching, which is effectual and begetteth faith. 3. If by the fame of the Gospell, he vnderstand the preaching thereof at the second hand, by such as were the Apostles schollers, and so sent forth by them: it is the same thing that we affirme, that in the Apostles time, though not by the Apostles persons onely, all the knowne parts of the world heard the Gospell.

Againe,

Againe, seeing the Apostolicall calling and gifts is now ceased, neither are wee to looke that men should be immediatly called from heauen, and the preaching of the Gospell to all nations is an Apostolicall worke, for the which the Apostles also receiued the gifts of tongues: seeing now we haue neither Apostolike men, nor Apostolike gifts, we are not to doubt, but that this promise and prophesie of the vniuersall preaching of the Gospell, is performed alreadie.

Argum. 2. It appeareth in Ecclesiasticall histories, that the Apostles disperſed themselues into all parts of the world, euery where preaching the Gospell. *Thomas* preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, also to the Germanes: *Simon Zelotes*, in Mauritania, Africa, and in Britannia: *Iudas*, called *Thaddaus*, in Mesopotamia: *Marke*, in Ægypt: *Bartholomeus* to the Indians: *Andrew* preached to the Scythians, Sogdians, Æthiopians: *Hieron. catalog. scriptor.* So that there were few or no knowne countries in the world, which heard not of the fame of the Gospell.

But here we must put in certaine cautions: First, that the Gospell was to be preached in the habitable or known world: the word is οἰκουμένη, which *Hierome* saith answereth to the Hebrue word *teebel*, *Quam nos habitatum transferre possumus*, Which wee may translate the inhabited world, *tom. 4. epistol. ad Cyprian.* Many countries are inhabited now that were not habitable then, or at the least not inhabited: wherefore it was sufficient, that the people of the world heard of the Gospell, howsoeuer afterward they were propagated into other vnknowne places. Secondly, as *Augustine* saith, *Omnes gentes promissa sunt, non omnes homines omnium gentium*: All nations were promised to heare of the Gospell, not all the men and inhabitants of euery nation. And so we doubt not but the Apostles did lay the foundation of faith through the whole world, & were first planters of the churches in the most knowne nations. Thirdly, though it might be, that there were many barbarous nations in the Apostles time, to whom they themselues preached not personally, yet the Gospell might be brought vnto them by those, whom the Apostles sent: as there were many disciples and Euangelists beside the Apostles, which preached the Gospell: at the least the fame of the Gospell might easily be brought to the more obscure, barbarous, and vnknowne nations, from those famous, large, and populous countries, where the Apostles had laboured. Thus S. *Ambrose* saith *in* 10. *ad Roman. Vbique audita, & peruenit in omnem locum praedicatio nominis Christi, vbi enim praesentia hominis praedicantis defuit, sonus tamen & fama peruenit, &c.* Euery where is heard, and to euerie place is come the preaching of the name of Christ: for where the presence of the preacher ceased, yet the sound of the reporter encreased: as the report of the wonders done in Ægypt came vnto all nations, by the witnesse of *Rahab* the harlot, &c. Thus then not by a generall fame onely of the Apostles preaching, but a particular report and relation of their doctrine, the name of Christ was published to all nations. Fourthly, the Gospell in many countries was planted by the Apostles, which in short time notwithstanding might decay, and begin to bee extinguished: and afterward their plantings might be renewed, watered, and reuiued by others; and yet may the Apostles be the first planters. Wherefore according to our meaning wee nothing doubt, but that the Apostles sowed the first seedes of faith throughout the worlde: and therefore it is not to be expected, that the Lord should send another generall commission to publish the Gospell to the whole world.

That the Gospell hath been alreadie preached to the whole earth, a notable experiment hereof we haue in the first Nicen Councell: where were assembled 318. Bishops out of the chiefe prouinces of the world: for Africa, there were present the Bishops of Ægypt, Thebais, Lybia: for Asia, there came some out of Persia, Arabia, Armenia, Phrygia, Lydia: and some from all the prouinces of Asia minor: likewise out of the Iles of Rhodes, Chius, Lemnos, Corcyra: for Europa, *Hosius* of Spaine, others out of Fraunce, Gotland, Mysia, Dacia, Achaia, Pannonia, Calabria, and from the prouince of Bosphorus: And as *Socrates* saith, *Sed etiam Persa venit ad concilium Episcopus, verum nec Scytha defuit ex eorum choro*: There came to the Councell a Persian Bishop, and there wanted not one out of Scythia. Thus then by the view of this ancient Councell it may appeare, that the whole world was in those times lightened with the Gospell. Ex subscriptione concil. Nicen. 1.

Hereof also *Gennadius* thus reporteth, *Catalog. scriptorum: Iacobus presbyter Nisibena nobilis Persarum ciuitatis Episcopus vnus eorum fuit, qui in Nicena synodo Arrianam peruersitatem damnarunt*: *Iacob*, or *Iames* a presbyter Bishop of Nisibene a noble citie of Persia, was one of them which in the Nicen Synode condemned the Arrian heresie.

Further, Saint *Hierome* thus testifieth: *Catalog. scriptor. Crescens in Gallijs praedicauit, &c.* *Crescens* preached in Fraunce, Queene *Candaces* Eunuch in Arabia Felix, and the Ile Taprobane: *Pantenus* was sent by *Demetrius* Bishop of Alexandria into India, being entreated thereunto by the Ambassadors of that nation, where he found, that *Bartholomew* had preached the Gospell after *Matthew*, the which written in Hebrue letters he brought to Alexandria.

Againe he thus writeth: *Iam & Ægyptius Serapis Christianus factus est, &c.* Now the Ægyptian God *Serapis* is become a Christian: from India, Persia, Æthiopia we daily receiue great troupes of Monkes: the Armenians haue layd aside their quiuers, the Hunnes doe learne the Psalter: *Scytha frigora*

frigora feruens calore fidei: The Scythian frosts doe glow with the heate of faith: the Getes bloody armies are become the tents of the Church.

Hieron. ad Latam. and in his epistle *ad Eustochium*, he maketh mention of the Britaines, of the Armenians, Indians, Æthiopians, of Cappadocia, Pontus, Syria, Mesopotamia, conuerted to the faith, *cunctaque Orientis examina*, and all the swarmes of the East.

Origen saith, *ex apolog. Pamphil. Praedicatur sermo iste in omni orbe terrarum, &c.* This worde is preached in all the world, Greekes, Barbarians, the wise and vnwise doe receiue the religion of Christ.

Saint *Ambrose: Nulla pars mundi ab Euangelio vacat Christi: & licet illa generalis vocatio non quieſcat, tamen iam ista specialis omnibus facta est communis:* No part of the worlde wanteth the Gospell of Christ: and although that generall calling (of the creatures) ceaseth not, yet this speciall is made common to all, *lib. 2. de vocat. Gent. c. 10.* It is euident then by these testimonies, that the world hath alreadie generally been lightened with the preaching of the word, so that a generall second preaching is not to be expected.

Wherefore, seeing the world hath once already been generally lightened with the truth, we are not to looke any more for a solemne legacie and ambassage to be sent from the Lord vnto all nations: But those countries rather, which sometime had the truth, and now haue lost it, ought now to seeke vnto those places that haue it, as the Queene of Saba went a long iourney to heare *Salomons* wisedome. They therefore that yet doe expect an vniuersall preaching, may sooner see Christ comming in the clowdes, than haue their expectation satisfied.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE COMMING of *Henoch* and *Elias* before the day of iudgement.

The Papists.

32. Error. THeir common and receiued opinion is, that *Henoch* and *Elias* doe yet liue in their bodies in Paradise, and shall come in person to oppose themselues against Antichrist, and by their preaching to conuert the Iewes, *Rhemist. Apocal. 11. sect. 4.*

Argum. Malach. 4. 5. *I will send you Elias the Prophet, before the great and fearefull day of the Lord.* These are also the two witnesses spoken of, Apocal. 11. 3. which shall be slaine and rise vp againe the third day; *Ergo, Elias* and *Henoch* shall come before the day of the Lord, *Bellarm. de Roman. pontif. 3. 6.*

Answ. First, the prophecie of *Malachie* was fulfilled in *Iohn Baptist*, who came in the spirit of *Elias*, as it is thrice in the Gospell applied: once by the Angell, Luk. 1. 16. twice by our Sauiour Christ, Matth. 11. 14. and 17. 13.

1 *Bellarmine* saith, it is not properly vnderstood of *Iohn Baptist*, but onely in an allegorie. First, the
Prophet speaketh of the great and fearefull day of the Lord: but the comming of Christ was the
2 acceptable time. Secondly, Matth. 17. 11. Christ saith, after *Iohn* had finished his course, *Elias cer-*
3 *tainly shall come.* Thirdly, hee speaketh there of the person of *Helias* that appeared with Christ in
4 the mountaine. Fourthly, *Iohn Baptist* did not restore all things, that is, by conuerting of all Iewes and heretikes, but *Elias* shall: *Iohn* therefore was not that *Elias*.

1 *Ans.* 1. Here *Bellarmine* bewrayeth great ignorance: As though the comming of Christ in the flesh, as it brought comfort to the elect, and to as many as were ordained to saluation, was not also an hastening of the iudgement of God against the wicked: and therefore *Iohn* saith, *The axe was layd to the roote of the tree*, Matth. 3. 10. *and that Christ came with his fanne in his hand*, vers. 12. The Apostle, Hebr. 12. 26. applieth that saying of the Prophet; *Once againe will I shake not onely the heauens, but the earth*, to the preaching of the Gospell. Wee see then in what sense the first com-
2 ming of Christ is called a fearefull and terrible day. 2. Our Sauiour maketh answere to the Apostles question: *Why say the Scribes that Elias must first come?* first deliuering their sense, *Elias must first come*, but then he sheweth his owne iudgement, correcting the erronious sense of the Scribes,
3 vers. 12. *But I say vnto you, that Elias is come alreadie.* 3. Neither is it necessarie, because *Elias* appeared a little before in person, that this should be spoken of his person: and yet it was true also in
4 that sense, that *Elias* was come alreadie, appearing vnto Christ in the mount. 4. And *Iohn* also restored all, that is, many, as the Scripture vseth to speake, Luk. 1. 16. *Many of the children of Israel shall be turne to the Lord their God.* So Saint *Paul* hauing said, *Through the iustifying of one the benefit abounded toward all men to iustification*, Rom. 5. 18. in the next verse, in stead of *all*, he saith, *by the obedience of one many shall be made righteous.*

Answ. Secondly, by the two witnesses, is vnderstood the small, yet sufficient number of the true seruants of God, which shall witnesse the truth euen in the hottest persecution of Antichrist: there is no mention made of *Henoch* or *Elias*. And if you will needes vnderstand that literally, of their rising againe, why not the rest also, how fire shall proceede out of their mouthes to consume the wicked,

wicked, and they shall turne water into blood? The meaning is nothing else, but that God will alwaies haue faithfull witnesses in his Church, which shall alwaies stand vp, in the stead of the Prophets and holy men gone before.

Saint *Hierome* writeth well of this matter: *De Henoch & Elia, quos virturos Apocalypsis refert & esse morituros, non est illius temporis disputatio, cum omnis ille liber, aut spiritualiter intelligendus sit, vt nos existimamus, aut si carnalem interpretationem sequimur, Iudaicis fabulis acquiescendum sit, vt rursus aedificetur Ierusalem, & hostiae offerantur in templo*: Of *Henoch* and *Elias*, whom the Apocalypse maketh mention shall come, and afterward dye, it belongeth not to this time to dispute, seeing that whole booke must either spiritually be vnderstood, as we thinke, or if we follow the carnall (or literall) interpretation, we must rest in Iewish fables, that Ierusalem must be built againe, and sacrifices offered in the temple, *Marcel. tom. 4.*

The Protestants.

LIke as the Pharisies deceiued the Iewes with vaine expectation of *Elias*, and so hindred their beleefe in Christ: so the Papists would not haue men to acknowledge the manifestation of Antichrist, vnder this false pretence, that *Henoch* and *Elias* must first come before Antichrist be reuealed, which we doe hold as a Iewish fable and popish dreame.

Argum. 1. The prophecie of *Elias* comming is properly fulfilled in *Iohn Baptist*, and therefore we are not to looke for any other accomplishment thereof: neither now is there any Paradise remaining but heauen, 2. Corin. 12. 4. And to affirme that *Henoch* and *Elias* went vp to heauen in their bodies, before the ascension of Christ, out of Scripture it cannot bee proued; it is euident that they were taken vp aliue into heauen, but not that they continued aliue.

That there is no paradise now but heauen, *Ambrose* speaketh euidently: *Hic non vera, non magna salus est; tum salvus ero, cum fuero in paradiso, cum vinere coepero inter electos angelos*: Here is no great nor true health; then I shall be safe, when I shall be in paradise, when I shall liue among the elect Angels, *serm. 15. in Psal. 119.* Againe, *In paradisum coelestem raptus est Apostolus, in quo introire dixit dominus, &c. illic vbi & esse dicitur anima Ierusalem mater nostra*: The Apostle was taken vp into the celestiall paradise, where the Lord sayd to the theefe, &c. where Ierusalem is sayd to bee the mother of vs all, *in 2. Cor. 12.*

But in this celestiall paradise of heauen *Henoch* and *Elias* are not with their bodies: Christ was the first, that in his flesh pierced the heauens. *Origen* herein is most resolute: *Offendatur, qui vult ex sermone nostro, ego cum omni fiducia asseuero, quia sicut ex mortuis primogenitus Christus, ita primus carnem euexit in coelum*: Let him bee offended that will with my speech, I speake it boldly, that as Christ was the first begotten of the dead, so he first caried his flesh vp into heauen: *ex Pamphil.*

Argum. 2. The varietie of opinions concerning the personall appearance of *Henoch* and *Elias*, declare that it is an vncertaine thing, and but deuised of men. *Hilarie* saith, they shall be *Moses* and *Elias*: *Chrysostome* graunteth that *Elias* shall come, but not *Henoch*. *Iustine* thinketh that not onely *Henoch* and *Elias* are aliue, but all those, whose bodies rose at the resurrection of Christ. *Hippolytus* is of opinion, that *Iohn* the Diuine shall come with them, and some say *Ieremie* also, whose death is not read of, *Folk. Apocal. 11. fol. 4.* And thus it is no maruell, if men runne mad as it were in their foolish conceits, hauing no warrant for their opinions out of scriptures.

The nation of the Iewes we graunt, according to the manifest prophecie of Saint *Paul*, shall in the end be conuerted; but not in such sort, by the personall preaching of *Moses* and *Elias*: for the Apostle setting downe at large the mysterie of their calling, would not haue left out so necessarie a thing. Rom. 11.

Augustine by the two witnesses, vnderstandeth the two Testaments, the Old and the New. But he denieth vtterly, that any shall rise before the comming of Christ: as the Apostle saith, 1. Corinth. 15. 23. *The first fruits is Christ*. Then they that are Christs at his comming, but not before. *Vnde* (saith he) *excluditur omnis suspicio quorundam, qui putant duos tantos duos viros esse, & non eduntum Christi coelum in nubibus ascendisse*: Their suspition therefore, or opinion is vtterly excluded, which thinke these two witnesses to be two men, which should ascend into heauen before the comming of Christ. *Augustine* we see is flat against them. In Apocal. homil. 8.

Saint *Cyprian* also saith: *Nobis in spiritu & virtute Elias non alium quam Iesum solum angelum & dominum Christum insinuat*: The Angell and our Lord Christ insinuate, that we shall haue no other in the spirit and power of *Elias*, but *Iohn*: *de singular. Clericor.* Therefore no other *Elias* was to come but *Iohn*.

Iansenius a popish Bishop thus expoundeth that place. Ecclesiastic. 48. 10. of *Heber*, *That he is appointed to reproue in his time, &c.* That *Ecclesiasticus* did write according to the opinion receiued in his time, that *Elias* should come in his owne person before the Messiah, which was to be fulfilled, not in his proper person, but in him that should come in the person and power of *Elias*, &c. This popish writer is a very good witnesse against them.

THE

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER THE MOST grieuous persecutions that euer were, shall be toward the end of the world.

The Papists.

33. Error. THe most grieuous persecution (say they) that euer was, shall be vnder Antichrist, who is not yet come, but shall be reuealed toward the end of the world, and shall raigne vpon the earth three yeeres and an halfe, making great hauocke of the Church of God, *Bellarmine de Roman. pontific. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

Argum. Matth. 24. 21. *There shall bee then such great tribulation in the world, as was not since the beginning of the world, neither shall be: Ergo*, the greatest persecution toward the ende of the world.

Answ. First, it is plaine by the text, that this great tribulation is prophecied to come vpon the Iewes: [illegible] the next verse before he saith, *pray that your flight be not in the winter*: And then it followeth, [illegible] shall be then, or as *Marke* saith, *In those daies, there shall be such tribulation*, 13. 19. and in the 17. verse: *Woe shall be to them that give suck in those daies*: which must needs be vnderstood of the destruction of Ierusalem: for at the comming of Christ, there shall be one and the same case of all, whether of those that giue sucke, or of those that giue none.

Secondly, it cannot be meant of the last tribulation in the world, because the words are, that as there was none such since the beginning of the world; so there shall be none such after: *Ergo*, there shall be tribulation after, though none such.

The Protestants.

OVr hope and trust is, that the greatest persecution of the Church of God is ouerpast; because the kingdome or rather tyrannie of Antichrist beginneth to decay, and we trust, shall more and more be shaken, till it come to vtter ruine.

Argum. 1. The Scripture telleth vs, that hard vpon the end of the world there shall be great securitie, men shall say, Peace peace vnto themselues, 1. Thessal. 5. 4. They shall eate and drinke, marry and be married, as it was in the daies of *Noah*, Matth. 24. 38. And therefore *Luke* saith, 21. 34. Take heed you be not ouercome of surfeiting and drunkennes, least this day come vpon you vnawares. For as a snare shall it come, &c. All this proueth, that there shall bee rather generall securitie, as in the daies of *Noah*, then generall tribulation. And there is greater daunger of surfeiting and wantonnes in time of prosperitie and abundance, then in the daies of persecution.

And the text is plaine speaking of warres, troubles and persecutions, but the end shall not be yet, Mark. 13. 7. Wherefore it appeareth, that the troubles and persecutions of the Church, shall be well slaked toward the ende of the world.

Argum. 2. Antichrist, though he shall not vtterly be extinguished before the comming of Christ, yet shall be deadly wounded: and he shall beginne to be iudged euen in this world, Apoc. 16. 6. *God shall giue them blood to drinke*, Apoc. 17. 16. The tenne hornes, that is the kings of the earth, shall hate the whore and eate her flesh. The Church of God shall reward her, *as she hath rewarded vs, and giue her double according to her workes*, Apoc. 18. 6. By these places it is gathered, that Antichrist shall haue a great ouerthrow before the comming of Christ, who shall vtterly abolish him with the brightnes of his comming. 2. Thes. 2. 8.

Antichrist is alreadie come, and hath raged a long time against the Church: The persecutions of the heathen did neither continue so long, neither were in exquisite crueltie and bitternes to be compared to the outragious practises of the Antichrist of Rome, and his adherents against the Church of God: which would fill a whole volume by themselues, nay not one, but many and infinite volumes to be declared at large.

1 But *Bellarmine* heere telleth vs. 1. That the persecution which we say the Bishop of Rome hath raised against the Protestants, is nothing like to the persecution of the heathen Romane Emperors against the Christians, neyther for number of martyrs, nor for diuersitie of most exquisite torments.

2 2. He is not ashamed to say, that the Protestants haue put more Papists to death in fewe yeers, then they haue killed Protestants.

3 3. The persecution of Antichrist shall be notorious and manifest to all the world: as the persecution of *Nero*, and *Dominus* were, we can tell when those persecutions began, and when they ended: but they cannot tell when the Pope began to persecute, &c. Therefore his persecution is not that, which Antichrist shall raise.

4 4. Antichrist shall abolish the daily sacrifice, and all worship of God, in the time of his persecution: but so doth not the Pope. *Bellarm. de Roman. pontif. lib. 3. c. 7.*

Answ. 1. If the number of martyrs slaine by the tyrannie of the Pope is no whit inferior to the number

number of the ancient martyrs if the time & place be considered: the heathen Emperors tyrannized for the space of three hundred yeers, and ouer the most part of the world which was vnder the Romane Empyre: the Romish Popes haue not practised their cruelty so long, neither I trust euer shall, neither is his popish iurisdiction any thing so large, as the Romane Empyre was: these two things considered, our late blessed martyrs, may compare in number, with those of former time, if they goe not beyond them.

For proofe hereof, I will produce three examples: the first of the persecution of Calabria vnder Pope *Pius 4. ann.* 1560. where in one towne 88. men had their throats cut, like calues and sheepe, and an 100. women were determined to be put to death: and 1600. more were apprehended and condemned: this Master *Fox* reporteth out of a certaine letter written by a Romanist to a friend he had in Rome. p. 942.

The second example is of the persecution of *Merindol* and *Cabriers* in France vnder King *Francis*: where eight townes in the countrie of Prouence with the inhabitants thereof were vtterly destroyed by mercilesse *Minerius*. 500. women of *Merindol* were some rauished, some whipped and scourged, some sold like cattell, some murthered: and vpon the same time at 1000. persons of men, women and children were put to death in *Cabriers*, *Fox. p. 953. ex Hentico Pantal.*

My third example is of the late massacre in France, *ann.* 1572. when and where in Paris in three daies, were ten thousand Protestants cruelly murthered: in Lyons, Orleance, Tholouse, Roan in the space of one moneth thirtie thousand most butcherly slaine. *Fox. p.* 2153. Can any man now finde any difference in number of holy martyrs betweene these and the first persecution? I thinke verily that the horrible outrages of cruell Popes and Papists, haue exceeded the crueltie of the persecuting Emperors. 3

Concerning the diuers and exquisite tormentes, whether the Papists haue beene behinde, I report me to the foresaid recited stories: as in Calabria, where 88. had their throates cut by one executioner in one day: a Romanist detesting the crueltie of the fact, thus writeth thereof: *I tremble & shake to remember how the executioner held his bloudie knife betweene his teeth, with the bloudy muffler in his hand, and his armes all to gore bloudy vp to the elbowes; going to the fold, and taking euery one of them, one after another by the hand, and so dispatching them all, more barbarously than doth a butcher kill but calues and sheepe. Fox. p.* 942. What greater crueltie could *Nero* or *Domitian* haue shewed?

In the sacking of the towne of Calabria: they forced diuers women to go into a barne full of strawe, and so set fire vpon the house: the women that assayed to escape by the doore, which a souldier opened in compassion toward them, the tyrane *Minerius* commaunded to be hewen in peeces, opening the bellies of the women great with child, that the infants fell out, *p.* 953. O crueltie and horrible butcherie vnspeakeable! Lord, thou hast seene this wickednes in the earth, and wilt iudge it in thy time.

At Lyons in the time of the Massacre, all the prisons being filled full of Protestants; when the souldiers and butchers refused to be instrumentes of so great villanie, the cruell gouernour procured the beastly kennell rakers and sweepers of the streets to goe into the prisons and hewe in peeces the silly innocent soules, that the streets from the prisons streamed with bloud. *Ex Bellor. massac.*

I thinke more fearefull presidents of beastly and inhumane crueltie cannot be shewed vnder those barbarous tyrants of Rome.

Secondly, it is a most shamefull iudie, that the Protestants haue put more to death, &c. I will 2
giue an instance of this realme of England, where in the space of three yeeres, in the late daies of persecution one bloudie butcher slaughtered twise so many innocent Protestants for the truth, as there haue beene executed Papists now these 42. yeeres for treason: the Papistes which haue died by the sworde of Protestantes, were either ouercome in iust battell, or else condemned by iust lawes, not for their religion, but their rebellion, not for their profession, but their practising against Princes.

Boner in three yeeres space put 200. martyrs to death. Fox. p. 1043.

Thirdly, it is no hard matter for vs to assigne the time when the Pope began his cruell rage, and Antichristian persecution against the Church of Christ: for *ann.* 1400. vnder the raigne of *Henrie* the fourth we finde *William Sawtre* to haue beene the first that was burned here in England for the faith of the Gospell: and at that time *Boniface* the second was Pope. *Fox. pag.* 518. and *ann.* 1414. followed the condemnation of *Iohn Hus* in the Counsell of Constance, *pag.* 624. So that it is now 200. yeere since the Antichrist of Rome beganne his open persecution: his malice against the seruantes of Christ did shew it selfe long before, but about that time his tyrannie was manifested to the world, and euer since hath encreased.

Fourthly, Antichrist shall not prohibite all diuine worshippe, but all true seruice and worship of God: that like as *Antiochus* in his time, and afterward the Romanes caused the daily sacrifice to cease, and brought into the Temple *the abomination of desolation*: Matth. 24. 15. that is the prophane and idolatrous sacrifices: so hath the Antichrist of Rome expelled the true 4

true spirituall seruice of God, and erected a new kind of idolatrie, setting vp the *abomination of desolation*, the blasphemous Idoll of the Masse.

Thus then notwithstanding *Bellarmines* sillie shiftes, where with as with figge leaues he would hide the filthie nakednesse of his holy Father, it is euident, that the greatest persecutions against Christes Church haue beene raised by that Antichrist of Rome, which wee trust are well neere at an ende, and that the Lord will giue a breathing time to his Church after the reuelation of Antichrist: This is the iudgement of some of their owne writers: as *Lyra* vpon these words of the Apostle, 2. Tim. 4. 9. *They shall preuaile no longer, for their madnes shall bee euident to all men: Potissimum implendum est Antichristi tempore, cum retecta eius fallacia finaliter ad Christum conuertentur:* This shall be chiefly fulfilled in the time of Antichrist, when as his falsehood being detected, all shall be conuerted to Christ.

And *Espenceus* speaking of those times after the reuelation of Antichrist sayth: *O tempora tunc ad salutem facilia, foelices quibus tunc nasci contigerit:* O times easie to obtaine saluation in, and O happie men, that shall be then borne, in 2. ad Timoth. p. 279. litter. c.

In Psal. 9. *Augustine* saith, *Prima persecutio violenta fuit cum tormentis, altera fraudulenta est per haereticos, tertia superest per Antichristum, qua nihil est periculosius, quia & violenta & fraudulenta erit:* The first persecution of the Church was violent with torments: the second was by fraudulent heretikes: the third shall be vnder Antichrist, the worst of all; it shall be both violent, and fraudulent. This persecution vnder the Pope of Rome, the Church of God endured a great while: who both dealt fraudulently, in poysoning them with corrupt doctrine; and cruelly also, in punishing with sword and fire the innocent members of Christ: wherefore seeing it is a plaine case, that Antichrist is, and hath beene many a day reuealed to the world, and that the Church of God beginneth to haue some respit and libertie from his thraldome; we doubt not, but that the greatest stormes of persecution are ouerpast, if by our sinnes we bring not backe againe the thicke and mistie cloud vpon vs.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS CONTROuersie, about the manner of Christs comming to iudgement.

The Papists.

34. Error. 1. THe faithfull shall iudge and giue sentence with Christ (say they) at the latter day, *Rhemist.* 1. Corinth. 6. vers. 2. They shall sit in thrones with Christ, Math. 19. vers. 28. *Ergo,* iudge together with him, *Rhemist. ibid.*

The Protestants.

Answ. 1. TRue it is, that the Saints shall iudge the world, 1. Corinth. 6. 2. But onely Christ shall giue sentence, Math. 25. and is properly and onely the iudge of the world: for the father hath committed all iudgement to the Sonne, Iohn. 5. 22. If all, then there is no part left for any other. The Apostles therefore and Saints are said to iudge, as Christ saith of his word, that he will not iudge the vnbeleeuers, but his word shall iudge them in the last day, Iohn. 12. 48. That is, shall be a witnesse against them, accuse them, lay in matter of iudgement against them. So the word preached by the Saints vpon earth, and practised in their liues, shall be the condemnation of the world. And not onely so, but they shall be aduanced to greater honour: They shall sit in thrones and seates: that is, they shall not stand amongst the wicked to receiue sentence, but shall meete Christ in the ayre, and be caught vp in the cloudes, 1. Thess. 4. 17. Yea, they shall in the sight and beholding of the vngodly enter into the kingdome of God, Luk. 13. 28. But in any other sence they cannot be iudges of the world: for shall we thinke, that Christ in that day shall neede vnder-officers and iudges, as *Moses* did? Exod. 18. *Augustine* saith, *Sancti sedebunt cum domino attendere, qui fecerunt misericordiam:* The Saintes shall sit with the Lord, not to iudge, but to marke and attende, and to witnesse, who haue followed the workes of mercie.

In Psal. 128.

Saint *Ambrose* thus testifieth: *Stantibus angelis ad dextram, vel sinistram domini quomodo sedebunt homines ad dextram, vel sinistram, erunt sicut angeli non plus quam angeli:* Seeing the Angels stand at the right hand and left of the Lord, how shall men sit at the right hand or left? they shall be as the Angels, not more than the Angels, &c. And againe, our Sauiour saith, Ioh. 17. 24. *Pater, quos dedisti mihi, volo vt vbi ego sum, & illi sint mecum, vt sint mecum, non vt sedeant mecum, vbi ego non quomodo ego, vt videant claritatem, non vt habeant, sed adstando; seruus enim videt, dominus possidet:* Father, I will that they, whom thou hast giuen me, be with me where I am: that they may be with me, not sit with me, where I am, not as I am, to see my glorie, not to haue it: for the seruant seeth, the Lord or master possesseth, *lib. 5. de fide. c. 3.* Here *Ambrose* euidently testifieth, that the Saints shall not sit with Christ to giue sentence and to iudge the world: But he further sheweth in what sense the A-

postles are said to sit in seates: first, vpon these words, Ephes. 2. 6. *He hath made vs to sit together in heauenly places with Christ: Agnosco scriptum, sed non vt homines sedere ad dextram sibi patiatur deus; sed vt in Christo sedere quia ipse est eorum fundamentum, caput ecclesia, in quo communis secundum carnem natura, prærogatiuam sedis cælestis emeruit, &c.* I acknowledge it is so written, not that God doth suffer men to sit by him at his right hand, but to sit as in Christ, because he is the foundation of all, and the head of his Church, in whom the common nature of man hath deserued the prerogatiue of the heauenly seate, *lib. 5. de fid. c. 7.* Thus one way the Saints are said to sit in seates, that is, not in their owne person, but in Christ their head.

Secondly, vpon these words, Matth. 19. 28. *Ye shall sit vpon twelue thrones: Non sedis sua dixit Apostolis dari posse consortium, sed alias illas esse sedes duodecim, quas tamen non pro corporali confessu, sed pro successu spiritualis gratiæ æstimare debemus:* He said not he would giue to his Apostles the fellowship of his seate, but other twelue seates, which wee must estimate not according to the corporall sitting, but after the spirituall profiting in grace, *lib. 5. de fid. c. 3.* By the twelue seates he vnderstandeth an higher degree of glorie, which should be giuen to the Apostles.

Thirdly, Saint *Ambrose* thus writeth vpon that place, 1. Cor. 6. 2. *The Saints shall iudge the world: Iudicabunt sancti hunc mundum, quia exemplo fidei illorum perfidia mundi damnabitur, &c.* The Saints shall iudge the world, because by example of their faith, the faithlesse world shall be iudged, and so he saith afterward that the Angels shall be iudged. So likewise *Origen: Omnis vita iustorum iudicabit tribus Israel, quæ non crediderunt:* The whole life of the righteous shall iudge the tribes of Israel, that beleeued not, *tract. 8. in Matth.* In any of these senses the Saints may be said to iudge the world, but not as iudges to giue sentence with Christ, as we haue seene.

The Papists.

2. THey are so bold as to appoint the place, where Christ shall appeare, namely in the East: for his comming shall be as the lightening that shineth from East to West, Matth. 24. 27. *Bellarm. de cultu sanctor. lib. 3. cap. 3.* 35. Error.

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, by that similitude Christ onely sheweth the suddennes of his comming: therefore it must be prest no further, than to that purpose for the which it serueth. Secondly, our Sauiour saith plainly, that the kingdome of God commeth not with obseruation, Luk. 17. 20. either of time, or place. And therefore, when men say vnto vs, Behold here, or behold there, wee ought not to beleeue them, vers. 23. As though they would point out Christs comming with the finger, either in the East or West. Whereas *Matthew* therefore nameth the East and West, in the similitude of the lightening, *Luke* leaueth them out, saying, *As the lightening shineth from one part of the heauen to the other*, chap. 17. 24. lest we should thinke any great matter to be in the nomination of those parts.

Augustine saith notably: *Non ab Oriente veniet, nec Occidente: quare? quia Deus iudex est: si in aliquo loco esset, non esset Deus: quia verò Deus iudex est, non homo, noli illum expectare de loco:* Hee will not come, either from the East, or from the West: why so? because God is iudge: if he were tyed to any place, he were not God: but because God is iudge, and not a meere man, we must not look for him from any place. In Psal. 74.

Origen also of this matter thus writeth: *Non in aliquo quidem loco apparebit filius dei, cum venerit in gloria sua, in altero non apparebit, &c.* The sonne of God shall not appeare in one place when he commeth in his glorie, and not in another: but as the lightning comming forth of the East, because it filleth all places, appeareth in the West; so when Christ commeth in his glorie, hee shall appeare euery where, he shall be euery where in all mens sight, and they euery where in his sight: *tract. 35. in Matth.*

The Papists.

3. THe Sonne of man shall appeare in the day of iudgement, with the signe of the Crosse borne before him. Then shall the signe of the Sonne of man appeare in heauen, Matth. 24. vers. 3. that is (say they) the signe of the Crosse, *Bellarm. de sanct. lib. 2. cap. 28. Rhemist. in hunc locum.* 36. Error.

The Protestants.

Ans. FIrst, the signe of the sonne of man in the heauens, is nothing else, but his conspicuous and glorious appearing, who shall come in great glorie, as a signe in the heauens to be seene of all the world. It cannot signifie any such visible signe as they imagine: for Mar. 13. 26. Luk. 21. ver. 27. we reade thus: *Then shall they see the Sonne of man.* So then, the signe of the Sonne of man, is the Sonne himselfe in his glorious appearing. And so *Origen* expoundeth: *Sicut in dispensatione crucis sole deficiente tenebræ factæ sunt super omnem terram, sic & signo filij hominis apparente in cælo deficiet solis lumen:* Like as in the dispensation of the crosse, the Sunne being eclipsed, darknes was ouer the face of all the earth: so the signe of the Sonne of man appearing, the Sunnes light shall faile, *Tract. 30. in Matth.* It is the glorie of the Sonne himselfe, and not of any other signe, which

shall obscure the Sunne light. Secondly, it is great presumption, so boldly to affirme, that it shall be the signe of the crosse, hauing no scripture for it. Other signes we finde, that Christ hath appeared with, as the signe of the rayne-bow, Apocal. 10.1. with a two edged sword, Apocal. 1.16. with a booke in his hand, Apocal. 10.2. Wee haue better reason, that Christ may appeare with those signes, by the which he hath sometime shewed himselfe, than they haue for the signe of the crosse.

3. It is more like, that Christ at his comming should shew the markes and prints of the nayles and speare in his bodie, than the signe of the crosse: for those were felt and seene in his bodie after his resurrection, so was not the other. But it is a loose coniecture, and a vaine surmise, without any ground of scripture, that the wounds are either now in heauen to be seene in the glorious bodie of Christ, or that they shall be beheld and looked vpon in the day of iudgement. The wicked in deede shall behold him, whom they pierced: but it followeth not thereupon that hee should appeare as pierced. How is it possible, that either the bodie of Christ being perfectly glorified, should still retaine any spots or blemishes, or that they could be espied in so glorious a bodie, which with the brightnes thereof shall obscure the Sunne?

Esspencæus (a writer of their owne) saith, that whereas some ascribe this song to *Bernard: Mater ostendit filio pectus & vbera; filius patri latus & vulnera:* That in heauen Christs mother doth shew her sonne her breast and pappes; Christ sheweth his father his side and wounds, &c. that it is, *contemplatio non tam ex scripturis, quam picturis deprompta*, a contemplation taken not out of scripture, but out of some picture, *de Christ. Mediator. c. 8.*

Homil. de tempore 147. *Augustine* giueth this iudgement: *Sic voluit resurgere Christus, sic voluit quibusdam dubitantibus exhibere in illa carne cicatrices vulneris vt sanaret vulnus incredulitatis:* So it pleased Christ to arise, and to shew in his flesh vnto some that doubted, the skarres of his wounds, to heale and take away the wound of their incredulitie or vnbeleefe. This then being the onely cause, why Christ would at that time haue the prints and markes in his flesh to bee seene, namely to confirme the faith of them which doubted; the cause being now ceased: for is it to be thought that there are any doubtfull persons in heauen, which may be confirmed by beholding Christs wounds? or shall vnbeleeuers finde any reliefe in the day of iudgement? the cause (I say) being remoued, wee haue no warrant to thinke, that there are any such skarres, either now to be seene in the glorious bodie of Christ, or which shall appeare in the day of iudgement. And seeing there is no ground for this opinion, the shewing forth also of the signe of the crosse in that day, is also but a wandring and a foolish conceit.

The Papists.

37. Error. 4. SVch is their boldnes, that they dare assigne the very yeere, moneth, and day of Christs comming to iudgement: for they say, that Antichrist shall raigne three yeeres and an halfe, and one moneth, 1290. dayes, and counting 45. dayes after that, they shall see Christ comming in the clowdes: Blessed is hee, saith *Daniel*, that waiteth and commeth to the 1335. dayes, Dan. 12.12. *Bellarm. de pontif. Rom. lib. 3. cap. 8.*

The Protestants.

Ans. 1. THe prophecie of *Daniel* we haue alreadie shewed, Controuersie 4. queſt. 9. to haue bin fulfilled before the first comming of Christ, in *Antiochus* that cruell tyrant & persecutor of the people of God: how he should cause the daily sacrifice to cease 1290. dayes, that is, three yeeres and seuen moneths, 2. Macchab. 11.33. and that 45. dayes after, *Antiochus* being dead, the Church should finde ease, 1. Macchab. 6.16. Wherefore, seeing this prophecie hath once alreadie had his effect, it is not necessarie to looke for any other; as *Augustine* saith of another prophecie of *Daniel*: *Quæ prophetia si tempore primi aduentus impleta est, non cogit intelligi, quod etiam de fine seculi implebitur:* Which prophecie if it hath been fulfilled in or before the first comming of Christ, it neede not be vnderstood of the latter. Epistol. 80.

2. This presumption of theirs is flat opposite and contrarie to Scripture, which saith, *That the houre and day of Christs comming is not knowne to the Angels, nor to the Sonne of man, but to the Father onely.* Mark. 13.33. How then dare they presume beyond the knowledge of Angels?

I finde beside, that two writers haue aduentured very farre in this matter to set downe the time and yeeres of Christs comming: one is *Cusanus* among the Papists: the other is *Iohn Napeir* that learned gentleman of Scotland for the Protestants: the first thinketh, that the world shall end betweene the yeere 1700. and 1734. the other, that the finall consummation is like to be accomplished betweene the yeere 1688. and *anno* 1700.

1 *Cusanus* coniectures are these: 1. As Christ rose again in the yeere 34. of his age: so the Church of God shall rise at the latter day in the 34. Iubile, which make 1700. yeeres.

2 2. As after the first *Adam* in the 34. Iubile there came a consumption of sinne by water: for the flood was *anno* 1656. after the creation of the world; so in the 34. Iubile after the second *Adam*, shall there be a finall consumption of sinne by fire.

3 3. Dan. 12.12. There shall be 1300. dayes, that is yeeres, from the going forth of the word, which

which was the first yeere of *Cyrus*, who was 559. yeeres before Christ: now ioyne both these together, and wee come to the yeere after Christ 141. and so the world shall end at the yeere 1700. or before 1700.

4. He taketh another coniecture out of *Philo*, that it was reuealed to *Moses*, that at his death two times of the world were passed, from *Adam* to *Noah* the first, and from *Noah* to *Moses* the second, and two more were behinde, the first from *Moses* to Christ, which contained 1700. yeeres, the second from Christ to the end of the world of the like continuance: *vid. Eus. in 2. ad Timoth. pag.* 80. 4

Contra. Some of these coniectures are vncertaine and conclude not, some are improper, some of them false: of the first sort are the two first reasons: 1. They are grounded onely vpon humane collections, not diuine constitutions; as to estimate the age of the world and continuance thereof by Iubilees: by Sabboths and Iubilees we may make reckoning and account of times, but precisely thereby to calculate how long the world shall endure, is an humane presumption without any diuine prescription. 2. Hereby it would follow, that the world should end before *anno* 1700. in the middest of the last Iubile, which is contrarie to his owne opinion: for Christ dyed at 33. yeere and an halfe: and the deluge came *anno* 1656. in the middest of the last Iubile.

Secondly, the third coniecture is improper, and hath beside many vncertainties: 1. The Prophet speaketh of 1335 dayes, not of 1300. onely. 2. The computation of these dayes must begin from the setting vp of the *abomination of desolation*, Dan. 12. 11. which was in *Antiochus Epiphanis* raigne, who was some hundred yeeres after *Cyrus*. 3. I see not though all the yeeres be put together, how we come to *anno* 1700. but onely to the yeere 741. vnlesse hee adde 1000. yeeres more, which cannot be concluded from that place of *Daniel*. 4. I haue shewed before that this prophecie of *Daniel* was once alreadie fulfilled in *Antiochus* raigne, and therefore a second prophetical effect thereof is not to be expected.

Thirdly, the last coniecture is altogether vncertaine and false: for neither are there 1700. yeeres betweene *Noah* and *Moses* death, nor yet 1000. yeere: and from *Moses* to Christ, are not aboue yeeres 1400.

That learned and religious gentleman of Scotland doth ground his opinion vpon better coniectures, yet vncertaine: as first, hee alleageth the prophecie fathered vpon *Elias*, that the world should continue 6000. yeeres: 2000. before the Law, 2000. vnder the Law, 2000. vnder the Messiah, which dayes for the elect sake shall be shortened.

Secondly, he buildeth vpon that place of *Daniel* of 1335. dayes, taking so many yeeres, and beginning the account from *Iulian* the Apostata, who would haue made an vtter desolation of Christian religion, *anno* 365. which two numbers compounded make iust 1700.

Thirdly, he vrgeth that place, Apocal. 14. 20. how the blood ranne out of the winepresse 1600. furlongs: whereby must be vnderstood so many yeeres: and the account to begin from *anno* 99. when this booke was written: so that this number will bring vs to *anno* 1699. These with other moe coniectures, that learned gentleman hath, *propos.* 14. in his booke vpon the Reuelation: which he vrgeth not as certaine demonstrations, but as probable suppositions for his opinion: which I thinke hee propoundeth not, as necessarie to be followed, or certaine to be beleeued, but as probable to be receiued, and as coniecturall further to be weighed and considered.

For otherwise the Scripture teacheth, that the very Angels knowe not the *houre* or *day*, that is, the time of Christs comming, Mark. 13. 32. how then are we able to search it out? And if *Daniel* confesseth his ignorance concerning the secret of times, Dan. 12. 8. *I heard it, but I vnderstood it not:* it were great presumption for vs to seeke to comprehend that, which so great a Prophet apprehended not.

This we may know and remember, that many attempting to calculate the time of Christs comming, haue been greatly deceiued, and ouertaken in their owne conceites.

Lactantius lib. 7. cap. 14. is of opinion, that the world should last so many thousand yeeres, as it was dayes in making: according to the blind tradition fathered vpon *Elias*. In the same error are *Methodius, Eusebius, Beda.*

Gregorie the great, *Homil. 1. in Euangel.* thought that in his time the day of iudgement was at hand: and that the signes of Christs comming were accomplished.

In *Iustinian* the Emperours time, there was a generall rumour, *Mundus cum prole periturus:* That the world should presently perish with her children. And while all men were in expectation hereof, a certaine Captaine of the Emperours called *Mundus*, which is the Latine worde for the world, being sent into Italie against the Gothes, was slaine with his children, and so that blind prediction tooke effect: *ex Procop. & Leonard. Aretin. de bell. Gothor. lib.* 1.

Bullinger reporteth, that certaine Anabaptists were so sure that the end of the world was at hand, that they wilfully wasted their goods, thinking they had enough for the time the world should last, and so fell into extreame pouertie: *sect. Anabap. lib.* 2. *c.* 6.

And of late some confidently had written of the yeere 88. as though the world should then haue ended. But all these haue proued themselues false prophets.

Wherefore in so great vncertainties, I thinke *Augustines* resolution best, who thus writeth, *epist. 78. De Saluatoris reditu, qui expectatur in fine, tempora dinumerare non audeo, nec aliquem prophetarum hac de re numerum annorum existimo praefiniisse, &c.* Of our Sauiours returne, which is expected in the end, I dare not number the times, neither do I thinke that any of the Prophets knew the number of the yeeres, but rather that to stand, which the Lord saith: *It is not for you to know the times and seasons, which the father hath kept in his owne power,* Act. 1. 7.

In Psalm. 36. concion. 1. Againe, *Augustine* saith, *Vtiliter latere voluit Deus illum diem, vt semper sit paratum cor ad expectandum, quod esse venturum scit, & quando venturum sit nescit:* The Lord to great purpose would haue that day kept secret, that our heart should bee in continuall expectation of that, which it is sure, shall come, but knoweth not when it shall come. *Quid ad te* (saith he) *quando veniet, sic viue, quasi hodie venturus sit, & non timebis cum venerit?* What is it to thee when he commeth? so liue as though he should come to day, and thou shalt not be afraide when he commeth, *serm. 6. & 17.*

Thus haue I through the Lords gracious assistance, now at the length finished and brought to an end this long and tedious worke, which I trust shall not be so yrksome to the Christian reader, as it was wearisome and painfull to the flesh, in the collecting and compiling thereof: and yet not so painfull, but that God hath made me able and willing to endure this, and greater paines, and that with comfort, for the good of his Church. As *Augustine* saith: *Nullo modo onerosi esse debent labores amantium, nam in eo quod amatur, aut non laboratur, aut ipse labor amatur:* The labours of louers are not grieuous, for in that which a man loueth and desireth, either there is no labour at al, or else he loueth the very labour: *de patient. cap. 22.*

I excuse not, whatsoeuer hath fallen out of my pen in this worke, if I haue failed any where in the manner of handling: But as for the matter handled therein, I trust I haue throughout maintained the truth: in the prosecuting whereof, if sometime I chaunce to misse, I say with *Augustine: Nunquam errari tutius existimo quam cum in amore nimio veritatis, & reiectione nimia falsitatis erratur:* I thinke a man can neuer more safely erre, than when he erreth in the too much loue of the truth, and the reiecting of falsehood.

I haue laboured in this worke, to set downe not onely the chiefe and principall, but euen the most, and in a maner all the controuersies of religion, betweene vs and the Papists, maintained this day: If any thing be missing, I say againe with *Augustine,* De fide & operibus cap. 17. *Tale esse arbitratus sum cui mea responsio necessaria non fuisset, siue, quia ad rem de qua agitur, non pertinet, siue quod tam leue esset, vt à quolibet redargui facillimè posset:* I thought it to be such, as vnto the which mine answere was not needfull, either because it was not pertinent to the matter in hand, or else of so small moment, that euery man might easilie answere vnto it.

I haue no more to say but this: If thou findest thy selfe any thing profited or helped (good Christian Reader) by these simple labours of mine, giue God the praise, and I will praise him with thee: but one thing let me pray thee: August. *Quisquis legis nihil reprehendas, nisi cum totum perlegeris, et quo ita forte minus reprehendes:* Whosoeuer readest in this booke, reprehend nothing, before thou hast read the whole, and so perhaps thou wilt be more sparing in reprehending.

The Lord giue vs all grace to loue the trueth, that they which knowe it, may continue and goe forward therein, as he saith, *Perseuerate in eo, quod estis, proficite ad id, quod eritis:* Perseuere in that you are, and proceede to that, you shall be: And they which as yet know it not, may seeke for it: and we all may embrace the Counsell of the wise man, to buie the truth, but in no wise to sell it: that is, by all possible meanes to labour for it: and hauing attained thereunto, for no earthly respect, for feare or fauour to depart from it. The Lord God, Iesus Christ, Iehouah, Emmanuel, our blessed Sauiour and redeemer, who is the way, the truth, and the life, giue vs of his heauenly grace, that we may walke obediently in his wayes, and constantly professe his truth, that in the end he may bring vs to eternall life. Amen.

Soli Deo immortali patri, Filio cum Spiritu sancto,
sit omnis honor & gloria.

AN ADDITION, OR SECOND PART OF THIS FIFT AND LAST CENTVRIE, CONSISTING OF TWO SEVERALL CONTROVERSIES: THE FIRST OF the Papal Iubile solemnized at Rome this present yeare, 1600. The second of the Popes Indulgences and Iubile Pardons.

THE FIRST CONTROVERSIE OF THE Romane Iubile.

THis controuersie is deuided into foure parts. First, of the name and institution of the Papall Iubile. Secondly, of the errors of time, in the Popes Iubile. Thirdly, of the end and purpose thereof. Fourthly, of the ceremonies and manner vsed in solemnizing this Iubile.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE NAME AND INSTITUTION of the Popes Iubile.

The Papists.

FIrst, concerning the deriuation of the name, *Bellarmine* telleth vs, that this word *Iubile* is not deriued of the Hebrue יובל *Iobel*, which signifieth a trumpet: but of the word יבול *Iebul*, which signifieth the fruite of the earth, because in this yeare of Iubile, the earth brought forth fruite of it owne accord without labour: *lib. 1. de Iubile. c. 1.* 1. Error.

The Protestants.

Contra. 1. THe Hebrue word, that signifieth a horne or trumpet, hath the very same points or prickes, and the same and iust so many letters, as the word *Iobel*, that signifieth the Iubile: as may appeare by comparing, Leuit. 25. 10, 11, 12. with Iosua 6. 5. But the other word from whence he deriueth his Iubile, hath both more letters, and other pointes; so that the *Iubile* is more like to take denomination from (*Iobel*) that signifieth a trumpet.

Secondly, because the yeare of *Iubile* was proclaimed with the sound of a trumpet, Leuit. 25. 8. and therefore by the blowing of the seuen trumpets by the seuen Angels, Reuelat. 8. 8. some learned doe expound certaine great Iubilees of yeeres: euery blowing of the trumpet containing fiue Iubilees, that is 245. yeares: which make in all from Christ 1786. yeares: not that the world shall last so long; for those dayes shall be shortened: so *Iohn Napeir* vpon the Reuelation, prop. 5. 10. Therefore it is most like that the *Iubile* being described, and proclaimed by the sounde of a Trumpet, hath his name from thence: and though in this place, not the word *Iobel*, but the Hebrue *teruha* be expressed to signifie a trumpet, Leuit. 25. 8. yet elsewhere, we haue that word vsed for a trumpet, as I haue shewed before, Iosua 6. 5.

Thirdly, the common phrase of speech in Latine, which vseth the words, *iubilare, iubilatio*, for reioycing, doth shew that the *Iubile* is deriued from (*Iobel*) which signifieth a trumpet, wherewith they vsed to reioyce: So *Augustine* vpon these words, Psalm. 98. 4. *Iubilate Deo*, Sing vnto the Lord: *Gaudium vestrum exprimat iubilatio, si non potest locutio*: Let your iubilation or reioycing, expresse your ioye, if your speech or locution cannot.

Fourthly, S. *Hierome* also approueth this interpretation, that the word Iubile signifieth a trumpet, or cornet: *de interpret. nominum.*

The Papists.

SEcondly, the Pope borroweth the Iubile of the Iewes: as *Clement. 6.* thus alleageth in his Bull: *Quia annus quinquagesimus, in lege Mosaica, quem non tenuit dominus soluere, sed spiritualiter adim-* 2. Error.

plere; Iubileus, &c. Because the fiftith yeare in the law of *Moses*, which the Lord came not to loose but to fulfill was appointed for the *Iubile*: and because the number of fifty in the olde testament was honoured by the giuing of the law, in the new testament, by the sending of the holy Ghost. *extrau. commun. lib. 5. tit. 9. Clem. 6.*

The Protestants.

Contra. 1. WHo taught them to burthen the Church of God with Iewish ceremonies: as besides this of the *Iubile*, they take from them the sprinkling of holy-water. *decr. par. 3. dist. 4. c. 127.* the consecrating or hallowing of Churches, *distinct. 1. ca. 11.* Their annointing they haue from *Moses*, *decret. Gregor. lib. 1. tit. 15. c. 1. gloss.* and many such other rites and ceremonies they doe begge from the Iewes: contrarie to the Apostle who calleth such, *beggerly and impotent rudiments*, Galat. 1. 9. Whereupon the Ebionite heretikes had their name, *a paupertate*, of their beggerlines, as their owne canons witnesse, adding further: *Hi sunt Iudaei sunt, qui in Euangelium credunt, vt legem carnaliter seruent*: These are halfe Iewes, which so hold the gospell, as that they carnally also obserue the law: *caus. 24. qu. 3. can. 39.* How much vnlike are the Papists, who in respect of the multitude of beggerly ceremonies, which they retayne may very well be called *halfe Iewes*, or halfe Ebionites.

2. Saint *Paule* saith, *That Christ hath cancelled the handwriting of ordinances, &c. and fastened them to the crosse*, Coloss. 2. 14. *And speaking of holy daies, new moones, and sabbaths*, hee saith, *they were but shadowes of things to come, but the bodie is in Christ.* The Iubile then, which was the *Sabbath* of seuen yeeres, *seuen* times seuen yeeres being counted to a Iubile, was but a shadow: Christ then came to fulfill the law, the *morall* by reuiuing and establishing it, the *ceremoniall* by accomplishing and abolishing it: your owne law saith, *Postquam vmbra legis euanuit, illuxit veritas Euangelij*: After the shadow of the law had vanished, the veritie of the Gospell hath shined forth; *decret. Greg. tit. 47. lib. 3. c. 1. Innocent 3.* And that the Iubile was but a shadow, *Bellarmine* confesseth: *Iubilaeum Hebraeorum typus & figura Euangelij*: The Iubile of the Hebrues was a type and figure of the gospell: *de indulgent. lib. 1. p. 5.* then it followeth that the Iubile being a shadow is vanished, and ought not to be reuiued.

3. As for the consecration of the number of fiftie by the giuing of the law, and the comming of the holy Ghost, it maketh somewhat for the obseruation of Pentecost, which is solemnized fiftie daies after Easter; but nothing at all for the Iubile which is vpon the fiftith yeare, no more then it serueth for the keeping of the fiftith weeke, or fiftith moneth.

4. If they will haue a *Iubile*, which is the Sabboth of seuen times seuen yeeres, they must also obserue the yeeres of rest euery seuenth yeere, according to the prescript of *Moses* law. Leuit. 25. 4. And in the Iubile, the Land rested, they did reape that which did grow of it selfe. Leuit. 25. 11. If the like blessing they can shew vpon the earth in their yeere of *Iubile*, they should haue some warrant to keepe it: So then according to Saint *Paules* reason; *He that is circumcised* (or keepeth any one part of the law) *is bound to keepe the whole law*, Galat. 5. 3. If they then tie themselues to celebrate the yeere of *Iubile*, they are bound also to other points of the law: as *Hierome* well saith: *Si carnalem interpretationem sequamur, Iudaicis fabulis acquiescendum sit, vt rursum aedificetur Ierusalē, & hostia offerantur in templo*: If we must follow a carnal interpretation, we must rest in Iewish fables, Ierusalem must be built againe, and sacrifices offered in the temple. *Hieron. tom. 4. Marcella.*

The Papists.

3. Error. 3. CLement the sixt was the first that *ann.* 1350. instituted the Iubile of fifty yeeres, whereas *Boniface* the eight appointed it to be solemnized, but once in an hundred yeeres; and so celebrated the first Iubile *ann.* 1300. *Extraueag. commun. lib. 5. tit. 9. c. 1.*

The Protestants.

Contra. BY this it appeareth that the Popes Iubile is but a late inuention: for if the first constitution of the Iubile made by *Boniface* had taken effect, they should haue had but foure Iubilees in all: and according to the Bull of *Clement* the sixt, there haue yet runne but onely eight Iubilees, so that this pontificall deuise is not yet aboue 300. yeere olde: 1. If then the Church of God was gouerned 1300. yeere without a Iubile, we must thinke it is not necessary now to be obserued: for it is not like that Christ would so long a time haue kept from his Church, such a necessarie inuention. 2. If neither the Apostles, nor holy martyrs, nor Doctors of the Church were inspired, to finde out so necessary and profitable obseruation, it was great presumption in *Boniface* and *Clement* to seeme to see more into the vtilitie and profit of the Church, then so many apostolike and propheticall men, that went before them? 3. Wherfore as *Ieremie* saith, *We ought rather to aske for the olde way, which is the good way, and walke therein*: Ierem. 6. 16. This is too new an inuention, hauing no ground in Scripture, and being but lately taken vp, to winne any credit with the people of God. 4. *Augustine* therefore well saith, as he is alleaged also, *Distinct. 12. c. 1. Omnia talia, quae neque sanctarum scripturarum auctoritatibus continentur, nec in concilijs episcoporum plenis inueniuntur, nec consuetudine vniuersae ecclesiae roborata sunt, &c. sine vlla dubitatione refocanda existimo:*

stimo: All such things, which neither are contained in the authoritie of Scripture, nor established in the councels of Bishops, nor confirmed by the custome of the vniuersall Church, I iudge to be cut off, &c. But such is this inuention of the *Iubile*, neither warranted by Scripture, nor concluded in any ancient councell, nor yet practised of the vniuersall Church in time and place: for the former ages of the Church, knew it not, and many Churches to this day receiue it not, and therefore by *Augustines* sentence, it ought to be abrogated.

The Papists.

4. THe Popes themselues haue verie much varied since this new deuise of the Iubile was taken vp: it hath beene chaunged no lesse then fiue seuerall times. 1. *Boniface* the eight did appoint the Iubile euery hundred yeare, *extran. commun. lib. 5. tit. 9. c. 1.* 2. *Clement* 6. did abridge it to the 50. yeere. *extran. ibid. c. 2.* 3. *Vrbane* the sixt brought it to 33. yeeres. *ex Bulla.* 4. *Paulus* 2. *Sixtus* the fourth limited the Iubile to 25. yeeres. *extran. commun. ibid. c. 4.* 5. *Iulius* the second did yet curtall the *Iubile*, and appointed it euery tenth yeere. *Robert Pont. Scotus propos. 2.* 4. Error.

The Protestants.

Contra. 1. WE may now truly say of those patrons of superstition, and their councels, as the Prophet saith of *Pharaoh* his counsellers: *Errant in opere, vt ebrius in vomitu:* They do erre in euery worke, as a drunken man in his vomite: Isay. 19. 14. Their restlesse and brainsicke inuentions are neuer setled: and as *Origen* well saith: *Vt errantium à via multæ differentiæ sunt, &c.* As when men erre from the high way, they goe into many by-paths, *tract. 27. in Matth.* So falleth it out heere, that these fwarming from the truth, doe euery one follow his owne way, and cannot agree together. 2. It is pretie sport to see how the Popes doe curse one another for altering their predecessors decrees: first *Boniface* the eight, hauing erected a Iubile euery 100. yeere, doth shut vp his Bull thus: *Nulli hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ constitutionis & c. infringere, siquis attentare præsumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei, &c. nouerit se incursurum:* Let no man dare to infringe this Bull of our constitution, which if he presume to attempt, let him know he shall incurre the indignation of Almightie God, and of *Peter* and *Paul*, &c. *extran. commun. lib. 5. tit. 9. c. 1.* Then commeth *Clement* the sixt, and infringeth this Constitution, and so standeth vnder the Pope his predecessors curse: and he reduceth the Iubile to 50. yeeres, imposing the very same curse and in the same words vpon the violators of his decree. *ibid. c. 2.* After him followeth *Sixtus* the fourth, who bringeth the *Iubile* to 25. yeeres, and so incurreth the former curse annexed to *Clement* the sixt his constitution. *ibid. c. 4.*

Thus these fellowes, that would terrifie all the world with their curses, yet take them to be but scarebugges themselues. Or if they thinke the Popes curse to be any thing worth, how can they blesse others, that stand accursed themselues?

The Papists.

5. *Sixtus* the fourth in his Bull thus decreeth: After he had recited the constitution of his predecessor *Paulus* the second for the restraining of the *Iubile* to the 25. yeere: *Quod anno domini 1474. proximè futuro, à vigilia natiuitatis domini nostri Iesu Christi, Iubilæum celebrari deberet, &c.* That in the yeare of our Lord 1474. next comming from the vigile of the birth of our Lord the Iubile should be celebrated: *extran. commun. lib. 5. tit. 9. c. 4.* 5. Error.

The Protestants.

Confut. THis pope dissenteth from all his predecessors, bringing the Iubile to the 24. yeere: for in the 1450. yeare the Iubile was kept according to the constitution of *Clement* the sixt, who reduced it to the 50. yeare, vnto the which adde 24. and we haue the foresaid number of 1474. Thus as Saint *Paul* saith: 1. Tim. 1. 7. *They vnderstand not what they speake, nor whereof they affirme:* So vncertaine are these Popes in these new deuises dissenting one from an other: like as *Ambrose* saith, *Non diuisus est Christus, sed qui eum (à veritate*) diuidunt, ipsi se scindunt:* Christ is not diuided: but they which deuide him (from the truth*) doe also deuide themselues. *lib. 1. de fid. c. 4.*

* à patre.

* from the father.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE ERRORS of time in the Popes Iubile.

The Papists.

1. THey begin their account of the Iubile *à festo natiuitatis*, from the feast of the Natiuitie, *Extran. commun. lib. 5. tit. 9. c. 2. Bonif. 8.* 6. Error.

The Protestants.

Confut. TO reckon the yeares of Lord, from the natiuitie of Christ, and not from his conception. 1. is contrarie to their owne doctrine: for the Rhemists confesse, *That straight vpon Christs descending from heauen, it was the duetie of Angels to worship him: annot. in 2. Hebr. fol. 2. Bellarm. super Christum hominem nondum natum, sed conceptum spiritus sanctus descendit:* Vpon

the man Christ, not yet borne but conceiued, the holy Ghost did descend: *de Christ. anima. lib 4. c.2.* If Christ then descended from heauen in his conception, was then made man, and adored of Angels, what reason is there, why the yeers of the Lord should not be accounted from that instant? 2. It is contrarie to their owne practise: for the Popes vse to date their Buls: *Anno incarnationis, &c.* the yeere of the incarnation of our Lord, *Paul.2.extran.commun.lib.5.tit.9.c.3. Sixtus. 4. ibid.* But Christes incarnation began not onely in his natiuitie, but from his first conception. 3. It is contrarie to the Scriptures, Heb. 1. 6. *When he bringeth in his first begotten sonne into the world,* hee saith, *let all the Angels worshippe him:* If Christ must be worshipped from his first comming into the world, which was in his conception, then frō thence the account of time must begin, which is a part of external honor & worship due vnto him. 4. *Iohn* Baptist being in his mothers wombe three moneths before he was borne, Luk.1.56. sprang at the salutation of *Mary*, and so adored Christ, being but then conceaued in his mothers wombe by the holie Ghost: in like manner ought we to adore the conception of Christ, and not to exclude it out of the reckoning. 5. *Iob* curseth the night, *wherein he was conceaued, that it be not ioyned to the dayes of the yeere, nor come into the count of the moneths*, Iob.3.6. but the time of Christs conception is blessed, and therefore it ought to come into the account of the moneths. Wherfore the yeere of the Lord is rather to begin from his conception, than from his natiuitie.

7. Error. Secondly, it is another of their errors in their account of time, that whereas the conception of Christ was three quarters of a yeere preceding his birth: yet they accounting from the Natiuitie, doe write the same yeere of the Lord, a whole quarter before vs: as this present yeere they write 1600. at the natiuity last, & we begin the same yeere at the Annuntiation last: so that they account sooner by a yeere than they should: for it being but 1600. from the conception of Christ the 25. of March last, according to the iust computation of the Church of England: it can be but from his natiuitie 1600. at the feast of the birth of Christ next ensuing. This is a grosse & an apparant error.

8. Error. Thirdly, the natiuitie of Christ did fall neither in a Sabbaticall yeere, nor yet in the yeere of Iubile: for it was the third yeere of the Sabboth of yeeres, and almost 20. yeeres from the yeere of Iubile, which was in the yeere of the world 3940. and Christ was borne about the yeere 3930. Seeing then Christ was not borne in a yeere of *Iubile*, from thence reckoning by euen fifties, this present 1600. cannot be a yeere of Iubile: See Master *Broughtons Concent of Scripture* of this matter, whose labours in this kinde haue been most painfull, learned and profitable.

9. Error. Fourthly, though it should be granted, that the natiuitie of Christ was incident into a yeere of *Iubile*: yet they misse againe, in the obseruing the time of the yeere for Christs birth, and in taking the beginning of their *Iubile*: for *Moses Iubile*, which they take vpon them to imitate, began in the tenth day of the seauenth moneth, Leuitic.25.9. If they answere, that they began their *Iubile* from the time that Christ was borne in: the learned doe thinke, that hee was borne in the moneth answering to our September: and that for these reasons: First, it is euident, that betweene the conception of *Iohn*, and the conception of Christ, there were sixe moneths, Luk.1.26. *In the sixt moneth the Angel Gabriel was sent, &c.* But *Iohn* was conceaued in the fourth moneth, which answereth to our Iune: for in that moneth *Zacharie* serued, being of the course of *Abia*, which was the eight course, 1.Chron.24.10. (two of those courses seruing euery moneth) which courses began at the first moneth, Nisan answering to our March, the beginning of moneths, Exod.12.2. *Iohn* then being conceaued in Iune, his birth must fall out 9. moneths after about March: & so consequently our Sauiour being conceaued 6. moneths after *Iohn*, must be borne about September following.

2 2. Againe, Christ preached three yeeres and an halfe: for hee dyed, according to *Daniels* propheeie, in the middest of a propheticall weeke of yeeres, Dan.9.27. which is three yeeres and an halfe: and when hee began to preach, hee was iust 30. yeere old, Luk.3.23. from the time then of Christs birth, to the time of his death, there must bee halfe a yeere: So it doth necessarily follow, that Christ dying in the spring, must be borne in the Autumne.

3 3. They seeing their error, haue of late somewhat reformed their Calendar, bringing backe the feast of the Natiuitie tenne dayes from the 25. of December to the 15. day: but yet they haue missed the marke: for whereas it is found that the course of yeeres is altered from the ancient Iulian Calendar, by reason that for euery 130. yeeres a day is lost, in respect of certaine minutes and seconds encreasing euery yeere, beside the 6.od houres, which are recompensed euery leape yeere; one *Aloysius Lilius, ann.* 82. in *Gregorie* the 13. his time, was authorized to reforme the Calendar: but being limited by the Papisticall Clergie not to goe beyond the Nicen Synode, he was forced there to begin, which was from *anno* 328. and from thence counting a day for 130. yeeres, hee brought backe the Calendar onely tenne dayes, whereas it was slipt thirteene dayes from the time of *Iulius Cæsar*, who liued about 45. yeeres before Christ. Thus yet are they in error concerning the iust computation of time.

4. It will be here obiected, that though the Church of Rome hath not yet perfectly reformed their Calendar, yet they come neerer to the ancient Iulian computation, than the Church of England,

England, that hath admitted yet no reformation of the Calendar. I answere: first, concerning the celebration of the nativitie of Christ, to vrge it as no great matter, though wee hit not the very same season wherein hee was borne: for his birth day may bee as thankfully celebrated, as it is now kept, as if the very point of time were exactly calculated: wee doe not so much expect the time, as the mysterie remembred therein: But to them it is very material to observe the very precise time, because they begin their Jubile from thence, wherein, as I have shewed, they doe greatly misse. Secondly, yet we are not against a reformation of the Calendar, if it so seemed good to Christian Princes, which may much better be performed, than they have done it: who by altering and chaunging the ancient Festiuals, and Faire and Market dayes, making them to come some dayes sooner, have brought a great confusion and disturbance into many common weales. More peaceable and safe way is found out, that if for the space of 56. yeeres following, there should be no leape yeere at all, wherein a day is added more, by this meanes fourteene dayes being cut off, for euery leape yeere one: by this meanes the computation would be restored to the auncient reckoning of the Iulian Calendar. *Roberti Pont. propos. 5.*

5. It will be further obiected concerning the season of Christs birth, that the fathers held, that he was borne when the dayes began to encrease, and therefore not in the Autumne, when they are still in decreasing: as *Augustine* seemeth so to allude in these words of *Iohn Baptist*: *Illum oportet crescere, &c.* He must encrease, but I must decrease, Ioh. 3. 30. *Ille natus, cum dies inchoarentur esse, hinc crescere incipient, &c.* He was borne, when the daies were lessened, Christ, when they were encreasing, *lib. 83. question. qu. 58.*

Ans. 1. Any man may see that this collection is rather witte than waighte, *prete* rather, than *pithie*: as in the same place the author alleaged (whosoeuer it was) alludeth further thus: *Iohn* decreased, *quia capite minuitur*, because he was cut shorter by the head: Christ encreased, *quia in crucem tollitur*, because he was lift vp to the crosse, and so made higher.

2. We may well thinke, that in *Augustines* time, which was about 400. yeere after Christ, they might well be ignorant of the time of Christs birth, seeing almost 100. yeere before in the Nicen Synode, and long before that, there was such strife about the celebration of the Pasch, some affirming that the Apostles kept it one way, some another: the East Church proceeding by tradition from Saint *Iohn*, to hold the Pasch the 14. day of the first moneth: the West following a direction from Saint *Peter*, to solemnize it the first Lordes day after the first Moone following the *Equinoctium*. 18. Error.

3. Neither are all the fathers of this minde, that Christ was borne in the dayes encreasing by the ordinarie course of the Sunne: Saint *Ambrose* hath this supposition: *Ex consuetudine putes, ut dies decresceret, &c. quia sol praeter consuetudinem in hac festivitate matutinus illuxit*: Hence it was that the night was lessened, because the Sunne, beside his vsuall course and custome, did shine in the morning, because of this festiuall: for if at *Iosua* his prayer the Sunne stood still in the day, *cur non ad Iesu natalitium eius festinus promoueret a nocte*: much more because of Christs nativitie, did he sooner goe forward from the night, *serm. 16.* That the day then encreased, and the night decreased, when Christ was borne, *Ambrose* thinketh it was extraordinarie, beside the vsuall course of the yeere at that time.

Fiftly, seeing it is euident, that Christ dyed in a yeere of *Iubile*, it being the 28. *iubile* in number, as is well obserued in that learned *Concent* of Scripture. And the Prophet *Daniel* foreseeing, that all the Sabbaticall yeeres determined at the death of Christ, Dan. 9. 27. in whom the true *Iubile* was accomplished, well called by the Septuagint, ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφέσεως the yeere of remission, Leuitic. 25. 8. This appeareth then to be another great error in the Romane Iubile, because they doe count it an yeere of Christs nativitie, which was no yeere of Iubile, and not from the yeere of his death, which was the true Iubile indeede, and concurring with *Moses* Iubile: So the Prophet Esay in prophecying of Christ, Esai. 49. 8. *In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in the day of salvation I have helped thee*. This *acceptable time*, and *day of salvation*, is the same which the Septuagint translate *the yeere of remission*, Leuitic. 25. 8. which was the yeere of Iubile. 10. Error.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE END AND purpose of the Papall Iubile.

COncerning the intent, scope and end of this Popish deuise, we finde it to be first blasphemous, secondly, sacrilegious: thirdly, superfluous, fourthly, iniurious: fiftly, couetous.

The Papists.

FIrst, their blasphemie appeareth in this, that the Pope taketh vpon him to giue full remission of all sins to them, that visite Rome in the yeere of Iubile personally: for these are the words of *Clement. 6.* his Bull: *Qui basilicas Apostolorum, &c. personaliter visitarent, si vere poenitentes & confessi fuerint, suorum omnium plenissimam obtinerent veniam peccatorum*: They which personally visite 11. Error.

the

the Apostles Churches *Peter* and *Paul* at Rome, if they be truly penitent, and confessed, should obtaine most full remission of all their sinnes: *Extrau. communi. lib. 5. tit. 9. c. 6.*

The Protestants.

Cont. 1. THus they blasphemously ascribe full remission of sins to the visiting of Rome, which is but a superstitious deuise of their owne; whereas the scripture saith, 1. Ioh. 1. 7. *The blood of Iesus Christ, purgeth vs from all sinne:* But the blood or bodie of *Paul* or *Peter*, are not the blood of Christ, neither to visite Rome in person, is not the blood of Christ: therefore it is blasphemie contrarie to the Scripture to attribute remission of sinnes, to any other thing, than to the blood of Christ.

2. But they imagine, that this helpeth the matter, because this clause is inserted, *if they be truly penitent &c.*

Answ. 1. If then it be repentance that giueth remission of sinnes, what neede they personally visite Rome? a man may repent as well at home, as at Rome, nay much better: for their licentious life there and euill example will hinder repentance rather, than prouoke vnto it. 2. True repentance they require not, but popish penance, which they make a satisfaction for sinne, which shall neuer finde remission of sinne. 3. But if they had, or prescribed true repentance indeede, yet is it not a cause of forgiuenes of sinne, but a consequence onely thereof, and assurance of it to our owne soules, and a manifestation that wee are cleere before God: As Saint *Paul* saith, hauing described their true repentance and godly sorrow, their *care, feare, desire, punishment, &c. In omnibus vos exhibuistis puros, &c.* In all things ye haue shewed your selues pure in this matter. Their outward repentance did shew the inward cleering of their conscience by faith before God.

3. Lastly, Saint *Ambrose* saith vpon these words of the Apostle, Rom. 3. 24. *Ye are iustified freely: Quia nihil operantes, neque vicem reddentes, sola fide iustificati sunt dono dei:* Because they working nothing, nor rendring the like, are iustified by onely faith through the gift of God, *in 3. cap. ad Roman.* If by neither working nor rendring any thing, &c. then not by visiting Rome, or going to celebrate the yeere of Iubile shall a man finde remission of sinnes, but by faith onely.

The Papists.

11. Error. SEcondly, the popish Iubile is instituted to the honour of *Peter* and *Paul:* as it is extant in the Bull of *Boniface 8. Vt beatissimi Petrus & Paulus amplius honorentur:* That the blessed Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* be more honoured, *Extrau. lib. 9. c. 1.* And in the Bull of *Clement. 6. ibid. c. 2. Prorum memoria crebrius recolenda, & reuerentia à cunctis Christi fidelibus eis deuotius adhibenda:* For the more often celebrating of their memorie, and the more deuotion of all the faithfull of Christ to be giuen vnto them.

The Protestants.

Confut. 1. EIght this is great sacrilege, to giue that honour to the Apostles, who are but Christs seruants, which is due vnto the Lord and master himselfe: Isai. 42. 8. The Lord saith, *My glorie will I not giue to another:* The same is the desire also of the Saints, *not vnto vs, not vnto vs Lord, but vnto thy name giue the praise,* Psal. 115. 1.

2. The Iubile was at the first institution consecrated onely as holy vnto God: for as the seuenth Sabbaticall yeere was holy vnto God, and is called the *Lords Sabboth,* Leuit. 25. 4. so seauen times seauen yeere, which was the yeere of Iubile, was holy to God, Leuit. 25. 12. *it shall be holy to you:* that is, in respect of your vse, but holy to the honour of God. It is sacrilege then to robbe God of his honour, and to consecrate a Iubile vnto men.

3. Saint *Hierome* saith: *Nos non dico martyrum reliquias sed ne solem quidem aut lunam, non angelos, archangelos non Seraphim, Cherubim, & omne nomen, quod nominatur in praesenti seculo & futuro, colimus, & aliter quam ne seruamus creaturæ potius quam creatori, qui est benedictus in secula:* We doe not onely not worship and adore the reliques of Martyrs, but not the Sunne or Moone, not Angels, Archangels, Seraphim, Cherubim, or any name named in this world or the world to come, lest we should serue the creature, rather than the creator. And againe, *Quis ô insanum caput aliquando martyres adorauit, quis hominem putauit deum?* Who, o mad braine, euer adored the Martyrs, or tooke man to be God? *ad Riparium aduers. Vigilantium.* Wherefore by *Hieromes* sentence all reuerence and diuine adoration is to be giuen onely to the creator, the creature hath no part therein.

4. But what kinde of honour is giuen vnto Saints, is very well expressed, *Synod. Moguntin. c. 45. Sancti qui vitæ huius cursum beato fine clauserunt, &c. non eo qui vero deo debetur, sed eo societatis & dilectionis affectu in hac vita quo fratres inuicem colimus:* The Saints, which haue happily ended this life, may be worshipped of vs, not with that worship which is only due vnto God, but by that worship of fellowship and loue, by the which holy men may be worshipped of vs in this life, &c. But Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* while they liued, would haue been ashamed to haue had Temples, dayes, *Iubile* yeeres to be consecrate to their name and memorie: *Ergo*, this honour is not due vnto them, now they are dead.

The

The Papists.

THirdly, these are the words of the Bull of *Sixtus 4. Verum quia postmodum, tam nos, quam idem* 13. Error.
Paulus predecessor noster, animarum saluti fidelium intenti, &c. deuotarum personarum pulsati precibus diuersas indulgentias & peccatorum remissiones plenarias nonnullis ecclesijs, monasterijs & pijs locis duximus concedendas: Because as well we, as our predecessor *Paulus*, being intent vpon the saluation of mens soules, moued thereunto by the prayers of deuoute persons, haue thought good to graunt indulgences, and plenarie remissions of sinnes to certaine Churches, Monasteries, and godly places: *Extrau. commun lib. 5 tit. 9 c. 4.*

The Protestants.

Confut. FIrst, hence I inferre, that the Papall institution of Iubile is superfluous, because the Pope can giue plenarie remission and full indulgence without a yeer of *Iubile*, & to other places than Rome. Secondly, if he can do it, & wil not, he is an enemie to the saluation of mens soules: for as it is in the Bull alleaged before: *hauing an intent to the saluation of mens soules*, hee graunted plenarie indulgences to diuers places: then to denie to giue such indulgences is to neglect and hinder the saluation of mens soules. Thirdly, it was appointed by the law of *Moses*, that land, which was sold and could not be redeemed, should come out in the yeere of Iubile, Leuit. 25. 28. that bond seruants should be set free in the yeere of Iubile, *ibid. vers.* 40. If this plenarie freedome and full restitution could haue been obtained before, then the yeere of Iubile had been needlesse: by the same reason the Popes Iubile is superfluous, seeing without it, plenarie indulgence, if he list, may be had. Fourthly, therefore Saint *Hierome* saith well: *Non audeo dei omnipotentiam angusto fini concludere & coarctare paruo terræ loco, quem non capit cœlum; singuli quique credentium non locorum diuersitatibus, sed meritis fidei ponderantur:* I dare not shut vp Gods omnipotencie in a small roome, or include him in a little place, whom heauen cannot receiue: euery beleeuer, not by diuersitie of place, but excellencie of faith is to bee measured, *epist. ad Paulinum.* It is not then necessarie to visite Rome in the yeere of Iubile, if Christ be present euery where by faith to true beleeuers.

The Papists.

FOurthly, this Papall indiction and promulgation of the Iubile is iniurious: for in the Bull of 14. Error.
indulgence, the libertie of the Iubile is graunted to those onely, which doe either personally visite the Apostles Churches in Rome, or are *impediti in itinere*, hindred in their iourney, or *qui in via vel in vrbe decesserint*, which are dead in the way, or in the citie: *Clemens 6. Extrau. vbi supra.*

The Protestants.

Confutat. FIrst, if none be prouided for in the Bull of Iubile but they that came thither, or would come, and are hindred, or dye in their iourney; what shall become of those that neither come thither, nor yet purpose it, will ye make them castawayes? Alacke then for vs poore soules of England, what shall we doe? Is the holie father so merciefull, that hee will send vs all to Purgatorie, because we will not come to Rome to haue purses *picked*, I would say *purged*? Secondly, if plenarie indulgence be onely had in the yeere of *Iubile*, in what case are they that dye before the Iubile commeth? doe they dye in their sinnes? how is not then this constitution most iniurious to many poore soules, that neuer offended the Pope holy father? Thirdly, but Saint *Peter* (the Popes master, though he be an vntoward scholler, that will follow his master neuer a whit) doth put vs in better comfort, *that in euery nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousnes, is accepted with God*, Act. 10. 35. whether he were at Rome, or not, whether he liue to the yeere of Iubile or not. Fourthly, Saint *Hierome* also saith: *Nequicquam fidei suæ deesse putet quia Hierosolymam non vidisti; nec nos idcirco meliores esse putemus, quod huius loci habitatores frueremur:* Thinke not that any thing is wanting to your faith, that you haue not seene Ierusalem, or that we are any thing better, because we are there, *epist. ad Paulin.* I thinke Rome is no more priuiledged than Ierusalem: a mans faith may be sufficient to saue him, though he haue seene neither, nor yet desired to see or visite them.

The Papists.

FIftly, it is also euident, that the popish institution of the Iubile was rather for lucre of siluer, 15. Error.
than of soules; that the end thereof is rather courtcous, than religious; of *gaine* more than *godlines*.

The Protestants.

FIrst, 1. To what end else was their Iubile brought from 100. yeeres to 50. from 50. to 25. from 25. to 10. as I haue before shewed, but onely because they found the Iubile profitable, and sought their owne gaine? 2. What else moued *Sixtus 4.* to reuerse diuers graunts of plenarie indulgence, but as it is expressed in the Bull, *Ne populorum concursus ad ecclesias ante dictas retardari aut ipsius anni Iubilei celebritas minui, vel intermitti posset, &c.* Least the concourse of people to the said Churches might be hindred, or the celebritie of the *Iubile* yeere empayred or intermitted, &c. and by this meanes their gaine should decrease, and their aduantage be diminished: for that is the cause indeede, if they would speake out, and not dissemble the matter. 3. When as *Clemens*

the 6. first reduced the Iubile to fiftie yeeres, *anno* 1350. there were numbred euery day of straungers going and comming to Rome fiue thousand, and a thousand poore people wayting daily at the Popes pallace for their pardons: Can it be thought otherwise but this was very beneficiall to the Pope? *Calixtus* the 3. is found to haue left an hundred and fifteene thousand ducates to his successor, that hee had scraped together by Pardons and Indulgences, *ex Bales &c.* Let all men now iudge, what maketh the Pope so earnest in maintaining his Iubile. 4. I conclude then with *Hierome*, whose saying may very fitly be applied to the Romane Clergie: *Nunc sub religionis titulo exercentur iniusta compendia, & honor nominis Christiani fraudem magis facit, quam patitur: plenis sæculis miserimur diuites, qui quasi pauperes viximus:* Now vnder pretence of religion vniust gaine is exacted, and the honor of Christs name doth offer deceit rather, than suffer it, and many dye with full coffers, that while they liued made profession of pouertie, *Hier. ad Rusticum.*

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE MANNER of solemnizing the Popish Iubile.

IN this last and fourth part I doe obserue these particular errors: that the manner it selfe obserued in the Romane Iubile, is first superstitious: secondly, idolatrous: thirdly, ambitious: fourthly, scandalous: fiftly, ridiculous.

The Papists.

16. Error. FIrst, their superstition herein appeareth, in that they enioyne men in the yeere of Iubile to come onely to Rome to visite the Churches of *Peter* and *Paul*, and of Saint *Mary* the greater, and the *Laterane* Church, which *Constantine* did erect to the honor of our Sauiour, being baptized by *Siluester*, and so healed of his leprosie: which *Siluester* also did consecrate with a new kinde of Chrisme: *Clemens 6. Extrau. vbi supra.*

The Protestants.

Confutat. FIrst, Pope *Clement* by his leaue coucheth here three great vntruths together: first, that *Constantine* was baptized by *Siluester*: secondly, at Rome: thirdly, in the beginning of his Empire, while *Siluester* was yet liuing: whereas hee was baptized first by *Eusebius*: secondly, at Nicomedia: thirdly, in the 31. yeere of his raigne, *Siluester* being dead long before: *Euseb. lib. 4. de vit. Constant. Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 11.*

Secondly, that *Siluester* did *nouo Chrismationis genere, &c.* with a new kinde of Chrisme dedicate the *Laterane* Church, it also sauoureth. 1. It could not be a new kind of Chrisme, seeing your forged *Fabian, epist. 2.* before this maketh mention of Chrisme, and telleth vs, (if wee will credit him vpon his word) that *Iesus post quam cœnauit, &c. discipulos docuit chrisma conficere*, That Christ after he had supped, taught his Apostles to make Chrisme. 2. There was no such Chrisme knowne in *Siluesters* time, nor long after: for *Ambrose* vpon these words, 2. Cor. 1. 19. *God hath annoynted vs*, doth thus interprete: *Vnxit nos deus, id est dedit regium honorificentiam, sicut dicit Petrus:* God hath annoynted vs, that is, giuen vs a kingly honor, as *Peter* saith, &c. He vnderstandeth a spirituall annoynting: if he had knowne any other kinde of Chrisme or annoynting, he had occasion here offered to speake of it.

Thirdly, Rome is no more priuiledged than Ierusalem, nor Italy than Iudea: but of these Christ saith, Ioh. 4. 21. that the true *worshippers of God shall neither worship him at Ierusalem, nor in that mountaine, &c.* If it be not necessarie to goe to Ierusalem to worship, neither is it to visite Rome. And *Moses* saith, Deut. 30. 13. *Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, who shall goe ouer the sea for vs to bring it to vs?* We neede not then goe ouer the sea to Rome to seeke Christ.

Fourthly, *Hierome* well saith: *Illa expetenda est ciuitas, non quæ occidit prophetas, & Christi sanguinem fudit, sed quam matrem sanctorum Apostolus clamauit:* That citie is to bee desired, not which killed the Prophets, and shed Christs blood, but which the Apostle calleth the mother of the faithfull: *epist. ad Paulin.* But Rome as well as Ierusalem hath killed the Prophets and Apostles. And againe, *Hierome* in the same place to the same purpose alleageth these Scriptures: *The spirit bloweth where it listeth*, Ioh. 3. 8. *The earth is the Lords, and the fulues thereof*, Psal. 24. 1. *Desijt tantum notus esse in Iudea deus, in omnem terram exiuit sonus Apostolorum:* God hath ceased onely to be knowne in Iudea, the sound of the Apostles is gone forth into all lands. Lastly, concerning the citie of Rome, *Hierome* doubteth not in his time to call it Babylon: *Gaudeo cum in Babylone inuenitur Daniel, &c.* I am glad that in Babylon is found *Daniel, Ananias, Azarias, Misael. tom. 4. epist. ad Principiam.* Wherefore seeing the Lord biddeth vs come forth of Babylon, Reuelat. 18. 4. what reason haue Christians to assend to worship in Babylon?

The Papists.

17. Error. SEcondly, their idolatrie is manifest, where the Bull maketh mention of the image of Christ in the Church of Laterane, *qua toti populo deuotius veneranda*, which is deuoutly of all the people to be worshipped: *Clemens 6. Extrau.* as before.

The

The Proteſtants.

Confutat. FIrſt, it is not fafe nor lawfull to haue the image of Chriſt, as may appeare by theſe reaſons, firſt the ſeuenth councell of Conſtantinople thus reaſoned vpon theſe words of Chriſt, *this doe in remembrance of me: Ecce viuificantis illius corporis imaginem totam, panis ſubſtantiam:* Behold the whole image of that quickening bodie, the ſubſtance of bread. *ex ſynod. Nicen. 2. action. 6. tom. 3.*

2. *Epphanius* comming into a Church at Anablatha, and ſeeing the picture of Chriſt hanging in a cloth thus reporteth: *Cum hoc vidiſſem in eccleſia Chriſti contra authoritatem ſcripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem, ſcidi illud:* When I ſaw in the Church of Chriſt againſt the authoritie of ſcriptures a mans picture hanging, I cut it in peeces, and aduiſed rather to wrap a dead corſe in it: *epiſt. ad Ioann. Hieroſolym.* And he addeth further: *Præcipias in eccleſia Chriſti huiuſmodi vela, quæ contra religionẽ noſtram veniunt, non appendi:* Command that ſuch painted clothes, which are againſt our religion, be not hanged vp.

3. Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith: *In eccleſia vnam imaginem noui, hoc eſt, imaginem Dei inuiſibilis, &c.* In the Church I know one onely image, that is, the image of God inuiſible, of the which the Lord ſaid, *Let vs make man according to our image.* Gen. 1. 26. that image whereof it is written: *Chriſt is the ingrauen image of his perſon:* Hebr. 1. 3. *orat. in Auxent.* Then no viſible image of God or Chriſt is to be retained.

Secondly, if it be not lawfull to haue the image of Chriſt, much more vnlawfull is it to worſhip or adore it: 1. it is contrarie to the ſecond commaundement to make the likenes or image of any thing to fall downe and worſhip it. 2. The Angell, who is to be preferred before a dead image, would not ſuffer Iohn to worſhip him, but bid him *worſhip God.* Reuel. 22. 9. 3. We haue the decree of a generall councell againſt the adoration of images, *Conſtantinop. 7. ex Nicen. 2. action. 6. tom. 6. Qui imagines ab hoc die ſibi auſus fuerit parare, vel adorare in eccleſia, &c.* He that from henceforth dare prepare to himſelfe or adore an image in the Church, if a Cleargie man, let him be depoſed; if a lay man, let him be accurſed. See more of both theſe queſtions. *contro. 9. qu. 5. artic. 2. 3.*

The Papiſts

3. THis deuiſe of the Popes Iubile ſauoureth of ambition, in that he arrogateth this power in proclaiming the Iubile, and diſpenſing indulgences as proper to himſelfe: for this is their ſtile: *Statuentes de fratrum conſilio & apoſtolica plenitudine poteſtatis, &c.* Ordaining by the aduiſe of our brethren (the Cardinals) and the fulnes of our Apoſtolike power: And againe: *Quem quidem theſaurum per Petrum cœli clauigerum eiuſque ſucceſſores in terris vicarios commiſit, &c.* Which treaſure of the Church, Chriſt hath committed to be diſpenſed by *Peter* the key-bearer of heauen, and his ſucceſſors his vicars in earth: *Clemens 6. extrau. vbi ſuprà.* 18. Error.

The Proteſtants.

Confutat. 1. THe Scripture ſaith, that Chriſt onely hath the *key of Dauid, which openeth, and no man ſhutteth,* Apoc. 3. 7. The adminiſtration & diſpenſation of the keyes is no more committed to *Peter*, then to the reſt: for Saint *Paul* ſaith, *that the Church is built vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles,* Epheſ. 2. 20. None are excepted: whereupon Saint *Hierome* ſaith, *Eccleſia ex æquo fundatur ſuper omnes Apoſtolos:* The Church is equally founded vpon all the Apoſtles. *aduerſ. Iouinian. lib. 1.*

2. Neither Saint *Peter*, nor yet the Pope need to be Chriſts vicar, for he hath promiſed himſelfe to be with vs to the ende of the world, Matth. 28. 22. And therefore by Saint *Paul*, our Sauiour is compared to the head, *by whom all the body is coupled together.* Epheſ. 4. 16. That as the head needeth no vicariall ſubſtitute in the bodie, no more doth Chriſt in his Church.

3. Neither can the Pope chalenge to be Saint *Peters* ſucceſſor, vnleſſe he ſucceeded him in life and doctrine: as Saint *Ambroſe: Non habent Petri hæreditatem, qui fidem Petri non habent:* They haue not *Peters* inheritance, that haue not *Peters* faith.

4. Howſoeuer it is, the Biſhop of Rome hath no more authoritie then other Biſhops haue, as Saint *Hierome* ſaith: *Vbicunque fuerit epiſcopus, ſiue Eugubij, ſiue Conſtantinopoli, ſiue Alexandria, &c. eiuſdem meriti, eiuſdem eſt ſacerdotij, &c. potentia diuitiarum & paupertatis humilitas vel inferiorẽ, vel ſublimiorem epiſcopũ non facit: Cæterum omnes Apoſtolorũ ſucceſſores ſunt, &c. quid mihi profers vnius vrbis conſuetudinem, &c.* Whereſoeuer a Biſhop is, whether at Eugubium, at Conſtantinople, or Alexandria, he is of the ſame worthines, of the ſame prieſthood: the power of riches, and baſenes of pouertie make not an higher or inferior Biſhop: but they are all the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, &c. what doe you alleage the cuſtome of one Citie? *ad Euagr.* If then a Iubile were to be celebrated among Chriſtians, the Biſhop of Rome hath no more power to preſcribe the ſame, then other Biſhops haue in their dioceſſe: it is but a tricke of his ambitious humor, thus to perke aboue other his fellow Biſhops.

The Papists.

19. Error. 4. THe popish institution of the *Iubile* is also scandalous to the Iewes, and is a cause to harden and confirme them in their blindnes: 1. for when will they learne to know Christ, and acknowledge the Messias to be come, when they see their owne ceremonious obseruations yet to be in force, and the Iubile, which was a type of the true Iubile and yeare of remission in Christ, to be so ceremoniously obserued?

2. Saint *Ambrose* writeth a vehement Epistle to *Theodosius*, disswading him from repayring a Iewish synagogue, which was burnt, and amongst other excellent perswasions he thus saith, *Quomodo poterit nos Christus iuuare, qui pro Iudais aduersus Christum militamus?* How can we thinke, that Christ should helpe vs, which doe warre with the Iewes against Christ? *epistol.* 29. And what is this else, but to fight for the Iewes against Christ, in seeking to nourish their obstinacie by retayning and reuiuing of their ceremonies?

3. Saint *Paul* saith, 1. Cor. 10. 32. *See that you giue no offence to the Iewes:* *Origen* also saith; *Qui scandali conscius est animam dabit pro anima eius, quem scandalizauit:* He that is guiltie of offence, shall giue his soule for his, whom he offended. *Hom.* 10. *in Exod.* Looke to it then ye Romanists, that by your superstitious rites doe not onely offend the people of God, but doe obdurate the hard hearted Iewes, how ye will make answere for this your doing before the tribunall of Christ.

The Papists.

20. Error. LAstly the manner of their Iubile pompe, and ostentation is ridiculous: as may appeare by these particulars.

1. The Pope going vpon the Natiuitie eeuen, to the Chappell of the Apostolicall pallace, falleth downe vpon his knees before the sacrament, powring incense vpon it.

2. Certaine waxe candels, are lighted, and giuen to the Pope and Cardinals weighing each three pound a peece, with the which they go in procession.

3. Then the Pope from thence is caried in his chaire vpon mens shoulders to Saint *Peters* gate, where he goeth vp into a higher seat.

4. The Pope striketh three blowes vpon the gate with a golden hammer.

5. Then he pronounceth these verses: *Open vnto me the gates of iustice, &c. Lord I will goe into thy house, &c.*

6. The Church gate being walled vp, then the masons with tooles breake it downe, and speedily all the people as in the twinkling of an eie, moued with deuotion do carry away all the rubbish and morter.

7. Then the Pope saith this versicle: *This is the day which the Lord hath made, let vs reioyce and be glad in it, &c.*

8. Then the Pope prayeth thus: Lord, who by thy seruant *Moses* didst appoint for thy people of Israell the yeare of Iubile and remission of sinnes, grant to vs thy grace, &c. happily to begin this yeare of Iubile, &c.

9. Then the Pope entring by the gate of the Church, is borne in his chaire by the officers to the high altar in Saint *Peters* Church.

10. Then he descendeth, and prayeth before the altar; then he ascendeth into an other seate higher and more eleuated: *ex libr. ceremoniar. ann. Iubilai, &c.*

1. *Confutat.* 1. Where hath the Pope learned to worship a wafer cake or a peece of bakers bread? for if he thinke it is the bodie of Christ, he maketh Saint *Peter* a lyar, who saith, *Whom the heauens must containe, vntill the time that all things be restored.* Act. 3. 21. 2. Christ, whersoeuer, is in his humanitie to be worshipped of Angels, Hebr. 1. 6. *Let all the Angels of God worship him:* If you can shew vs, that euer Angels worshipped the bread in the sacrament, we are satisfied. 3. As Christ saith. Mark. 14. 9. *Me you shall not haue alwaies,* that is thus to anoint with oyle, as this woman now doth: no more haue we now the bodie of Christ to powre incense vpon it.

2. 1. Candles are made to giue light in the darknes of the night, not to be set vp in the day. Prou. 31. 18. *Her candle is not put out by night.* 2. As the ciuile vse of candles and lights in houses, so was the religious vse in the tabernacle: the lamps serued for the night. 1. Sam. 3. 3. *yer the light of God went out,* that is toward the morning.

3. 3. The Prophet *Dauid* saith. Psal. 5. 7. *I will come into thine house in the multitude of thy mercies, and in thy feare worship toward thy holy temple:* How much vnlike is the Pope to this kingly prophet: he commeth to Gods house in feare and humilitie, the Pope is caried vpon mens shoulders: *Dauid* daunceth before the Arke going on foote, 2. Sam. 6. 16. the Pope disdaineth to goe on foote, or to ride on horse, but maketh men his vassailes, to take him vpon their backes.

4 4. What meaneth this knocking thrice vpon the gate? 1. if it be but the gate of Saint *Peters* Church, the Clarke or Sextin hath the keyes, which are at the Popes commaundement, he need not knocke so often. Secondly, if it represent the gate of Paradise, he hath the keyes himselfe,

and

and may enter without knocking. 3. Or if the Angels keepe Paradise gate, as they did the terrestriall Paradise with a fiery sword; the Pope need not knocke as a suter, seeing he taketh vpon him to be a commaunder of Angels: as *Clement* the sixt in his Bull, saith thus: *mandamus Angelis, &c.* we commaund the Angels, &c.

5. First, if they be the gates of iustice, which you would haue opened, they are for the iust and righteous to enter into: I doubt then that the Pope with his Cardinals, and many of his retinue must stand by, that suffer such iniustice and vncleannes to be committed vnder their noses, being accessarie vnto it themselues, in spilling the bloud of many innocent soules, robbing of mens purses with their Iubile illusions, and suffering the Citie to abound with adulterie and sodomitrie. 2. How can he say, *I will come into thy house*, when it is Saint *Peters* Church, and consecrated to his honour: but God will haue no partner in his house. 3. And doe ye thinke that the gates of Gods house are open onely at Rome, and is the *scala cœli* there onely pitched, to climbe vp to heauen by? 5

6. If Paradise gate be but mured vp with a masons wall, what need the Pope be sent for to make a way with his Iubile hammer: a mason with his tooles may suffice to enter. 6

7. And it is false that the Lord made that day or yeare of Iubile, it was *Boniface* the eight, not God, nor yet a good man, who first constituted the Iubile euery hundred yeere after the example of the Romane heathenish plaies, that were celebrated euery hundred yeare: of this Pope it is said, he entred like a fox, raigned like a lion, died like a dog. 7

8. *Moses* indeed by Gods commaundement erected a Iubile for the Iewes: if the Pope will also be a Iubile maker for Christians, let him shew his warrant, as *Moses* could: and if you imitate *Moses* Iubile of fiftie yeeres, why doth Pope *Clement* the eight, in his late Bull commend the hundred yeere of Iubile, which was no constitution of *Moses*? 8

9. And must the Pope be borne on mens shoulders in the Church, doth he enter in pride by the gate of humilitie: and vniustly making mens shoulders as asses backes, who are his brethren, to come in by the gate of iustice? 9

10. And can he not be contented to be higher then men, riding vpon their shoulders, but hee must also be higher then God sitting aboue his altar: what intollerable pride is this? the Angels, that would sit in Gods throne were cast down; and this prince of pride, that will sit higher then his maker aboue the altar, must looke for a downe fall. 10

It is well noted by *Gregorie* vpon these words of the Lord spoken to Ezech. 2. 1. *Stand vpon thy feete: Stans propheta visionem spiritualem vidit:* The prophet standing doth see the spirituall vision. *hom. 9. in Ezech.* And the prophet *Dauid* saith, Psal. 25. 9. *The humble will he teach his way:* therefore it is not like that God will reueale his secrets to the Pope sitting in the chaire of pride.

Thus we see, with what ridiculous toyes and superstitious ceremonies the Pope beginneth, and endeth his yeere of Iubile; so that as *Augustine* well saith, as he is also cited in their owne decrees, *dist. 12. c. 12. Tolerabilior est conditio Iudæorum, qui licet temporis libertatis non agnouerint, legalib. tamen sacramentis, non humanis præsumptionibus subiciuntur:* So that the condition of the Iewes is more tolerable, who although they knew not the time of libertie, yet are subiect to legall sacraments, not humane presumptions.

And thus much of the first controuersie of the Romane Iubile, and the seuerall partes thereof.

THE SECOND CONTROVERSIE OF INDVLGENCES AND IVBILE PARDONS.

THis controuersie is deuided into eyght seuerall parts. First, of the name of Indulgence. Secondly, whether there bee any Indulgences, and of the Spirituall treasure of the Church. Thirdly, what Indulgence is. Fourthly, of the diuerse kindes of Indulgences. Fiftly, of the fruite and vtilitie of Indulgences. Sixtly, to whom the power of graunting Indulgences belongeth. Seuenthly, of the disposition of them that must receiue Indulgences. Eighthly, whether Indulgences doe any way profite the dead.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE NAME OF Indulgence.

The Papists.

11. Error. BEllarmine taketh this word Indulgence to signifie *remissionem pœnarum, quæ remanent luenda post remissionem culparum:* The remission of the punishments, which remaine to be satisfied for, after the remission of the faults, *lib. 1. de Indulg. c. 1.* And whereas he produceth two significations of this word: that first it betokeneth remission, Isay 6.61. 1. *Prædicare captiuis indulgentiam:* To preach indulgence to the Captiues. Secondly, it signifieth facilitie, 1. Cor. 7.6. *This I speake by way of Indulgence or concession, &c.* Of these two significations, they make one, compounding them together: and so take Indulgence for a remission of the punishment onely of fauour, *Bellarmin. ibidem.*

The Protestants.

FIrst the place alleaged out of *Esay* is directly against them, for S. *Luke* interpreting that place, Luk. 4. 18. readeth for Indulgence, ἄφεσιν, *remission of sinnes*, not of the punishment onely: so then Indulgence properlie signifieth remission of sinnes.

Secondly, the place alleaged out of S. *Paul* is impertinent: for there Indulgence is taken for *concession:* as *Peter Lombard* very well sheweth that Indulgence is taken three waies, for *remission, permission, concession, lib. 4. dist. 26. liter. d.* and he vnderstandeth S. *Paul* to speake here of *concession:* but it is very improper to take *Indulgence* for *concession, licence or a graunt*, when we speake of sinnes and the paine due vnto them, which both are pardoned, not by *concession*, but by *remission.*

Thirdly, the Fathers so vnderstand *Indulgence* for the *remission* of the sinne it selfe, as *Augustine: Seruus dicit, quando me correxero, dat Deus Indulgentiam, &c.* Thou saiest well, if I doe amend my selfe, God will giue me Indulgence, *Serm. 16. in Matth.* And againe, *Vt ad peccatorum meremur Indulgentiam peruenire, &c.* That we may be meete to come or attaine to the Indulgence of our sinnes: *Serm. de tempor. 210.*

Fourthly, sometime Indulgence is otherwise taken, but then it signifieth a *concession* of reward, not a *remission* of punishment, as *Ambrose* taketh it: *Hora vndecima intromissos in vineam totius diei operarijs diuina indulgentia exequauit:* The diuine Indulgence did make them, which were sent into the vineyard at the eleuenth houre, equall to them, which laboured all day.

Fiftly, the Ciuill lawe, which he wresteth to the contrarie, so taketh this word *Indulgence*, for a whole remission of punishment and fault committed against the lawe: the lawe maketh two kindes of Indulgences: there is *Indulgentia generalis vel simplex*, a generall or simple Indulgence; and *indulgentia specialis*, a speciall indulgence: the simple or generall indulgence did not remit all the punishment: as *Cod. lib. 9. tit. 51. leg. 2. Antonin. Non ideo quod indulgentia mea pœna metalli liberatus esset, etiam bonorum restitutionem impetrauit:* Because by my Indulgence he is freed from the mettall mines, he hath not therefore obtained restitution to his goods. But the speciall indulgence remitted both the penaltie and the infamie, *ibid. leg. 10. Dioclet.* And *leg. 4. Alexander. Ex indulgentia reuersus non tenetur creditoribus:* He that is returned from exile by indulgence, is not bound to his creditors: And *Leg. 1. Antonin.* This speciall indulgence was *in integrum restitutio:* a restitution to the whole: *Vt scias quid sit in integrum restituere: honoribus & ordini tuo & omnibus cæteris te restituo:* That you may know, what it is to restore wholy: I restore thee to thy order, to thy honour, and all the rest: this then is the sentence of the lawe: *Sententia seueritas cum cæteris damnis transigere videtur:* The seueritie of the sentence doth passe together with all other dammages and inconueniences, *Cod. lib. 2. tit. 12. leg. 4. Seuer.* That is, where the penalty of the sentence was remitted, there all other inconueniences as the infamie, dishonour, transgression, offence, were released, which were sequeles of the sentence: *ex quo pœna remissa, & sequela pœnæ, quæ est infamia:* The penaltie being remitted, the sequele thereof, which is the infamie, is pardoned: so saith the lawe, *Cod. lib. 2. tit. 12. leg. 3. in gloss.*

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THERE BE any Indulgence in the Church.

THis part hath two questions. First, of the spirituall treasure of the Church. Secondly, of the power in distributing the same.

THE

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE SPIRITVALL treasure of the Church: which is diuided into foure propositions.

THE FIRST PROPOSITION, WHETHER GOOD workes be meritorious and satisfactorie.

The Papists.

THis proposition is affirmed by *Bellarmine*, that there is a double price in good workes, namely of merite and satisfaction, the first procureth the reward, the second redeemeth the punishment. 22. Error.

First, good workes are satisfactorie. 1. Almes, Tobie 4.10. *Almes deliuer from death.* Ecclesiasticus 3.33. *As water quencheth fire, so almes take away sinnes.* 2. Fasting is satisfactorie, as appeareth by the example of the Niniuites. 3. Prayer doth satisfie for sinne, as Matth.6.12. *We pray for forgiuenes of sinnes:* and by this petition satisfie for our veniall sinnes. 1 2 3

Secondly, the same good workes likewise are meritorious. 1. Almes, Matth.25.34. *Inherite the kingdome prepared for you, for when I was hungrie, ye gaue me meate.* 2. Fasting doth merite, Matth.6.vers.8. *Your father, which seeth in secret will reward you openly.* 3. So likewise God is said, vers.6. *To reward prayer openly.* 1 2 3

The Protestants.

Confutat. FIrst, the places alleaged proue no satisfaction in our workes. 1. You must bring better Scripture then Tobie or Ecclesiasticus (which are not Canonicall) to confirme a poynt of faith; and yet we denie not but almes may be said to deliuer, not as causes of our deliuerance, but as liuely signes of our faith, whereby we are deliuered, as Psalm.41. *Blessed is he that iudgeth wisely of the poore, the Lord shall deliuer him:* a man is first made blessed by the not imputation of his sinnes by faith, Psalm.32.1. This blessednes is testified by his charitie, and rewarded of God in mercie by deliuerance. 1

2. The Niniuites fasting satisfied not for their sinne, but onely testified their repentance, Ionas 3.10. *God saw their workes, that they turned from their euill waies:* which repentance God accepted in mercie: otherwise how could the Niniuites being idolaters and ignorant of God, merite or satisfie. 2

3. The Lords prayer ouerthroweth satisfaction: for we conclude, *for thine is the glorie:* we take not the glorie to our selues, but ascribe all to God: forgiuenes of the debt is of mercie: where then there is *remission* of grace, there can be no *satisfaction* of worthines. 3

Secondly, prayer, almes, fasting, are rewarded we graunt, but not for the worthines of the worke, but thorough the gracious acceptance of God. First, the kingdome *is prepared from the foundations of the world*, Matth.25.34. How then can it be merited? Secondly, *When we haue done all that we are commaunded, we must say we are vnprofitable seruants*, Luke 17.10. Thirdly, Saint *Ambrose* saith, *Nulla posse tam praclara opera existere, quibus hoc, quod gratis tribuitur, per retributionis iudicium retribuatur:* There can be no such excellent workes, to the which, that which is freely giuen, is rendred by the right of retribution. But of this question of the merite and satisfaction of good works, we haue treated before in the controuersie of good works, that it were needlesse and superfluous now to handle the same matter againe.

THE SECOND PROPOSITION, WHETHER GOOD workes, as they are satisfactorie, may be applied vnto others.

The Papists.

Bellarmine alleageth Scripture to proue that good workes as they are meritorious, cannot be communicated to others, which we willingly graunt, for a man cannot merite for himselfe, much lesse for others: but to confirme this proposition, that one may satisfie for another, he alleageth no Scripture at all, *lib.1.de Indulgen.c.2.propos.2.* 23. Error. 1

The Protestants.

THe contrarie is most euident out of Scripture, that all which a man can doe is little enough, yea and too little for himselfe, much lesse can he satisfie for another.

Matth.25.9. The wise Virgins make this answere to the foolish, *We feare there will not be enough for vs and you:* whereupon *Augustine* thus writeth: *Vnusquisque pro se rationem reddet, nec alieno testimonio quicquam adiuuatur apud Deum, cui secreta cordis apparent, & vix sibi quisque sufficit, cui testimonium perhibeat conscientia sua:* Euery man shall giue account for himselfe: neither is a man helped by anothers testimonie before God, to whom the secrets of the heart are euident: euery

man scarce sufficeth for himselfe, to whom his owne conscience doth beare witnesse: *serm.22.in Matth.*

But if the other words, that follow, be obiected: *Go to them rather that sell, and buy for your selues,* Matth.25.9. *Origen* shall make answere, who vnderstandeth by those that *sell*, the Doctors and teachers of the Church: *Non omnium habentium oleum, est etiam dare ex eo alijs, &c.* It is not the part of all that haue oyle to giue to others, but it belongeth onely to them, which are appointed to sell it: *Congregauit aliquis doctrinam, quæ ei sufficit ad bene viuendum, non tamen, vt doctor fieri possit:* One hath gathered doctrine, which may be sufficient for himselfe to liue well, but not to be a doctor or teacher to others: *Tract.32.in Matth.*

THE THIRD PROPOSITION, OF THE SPIrituall treasure of the Church.

The Papists.

1 IT is affirmed that there is an infinite treasure of the satisfactions purchased by the passion of Christ extant in the Church, as it is written Act.20.28. *which hee hath purchased with his owne*
2 *blood.* Secondly, whereas Christ *dyed for all*, as Saint *Iohn* saith, 1.Ioh.2.5. *Hee is the reconciliation*
14.Error. *for the sinnes of the whole world:* and yet the price of Christs blood hath not been applied to all, the
3 most part of men being subiect to condemnation: there remaineth then a great deale of the price of Christs death yet to be applied, *Bellarm.c.2.prop.3.*

The Protestants.

1 FIrst, we acknowledge that the price or vertue of Christs blood is infinite, and remaineth in his Church, as a rich treasure, that can neuer be spent; as a fountaine, that can neuer be dried vp; as precious balme, that healeth alwaies effectually: and therefore the Apostle calleth it, *the riches of his glorious inheritance; and the exceeding greatnes of his power toward vs, which beleeue,* Ephes.1.18. And as one saith: *Effusio iusti sanguinis Christi tam dines fuit ad pretium, vt si vniuersitas captiuorum in redemptorem suum crederet, nullum diaboli vincula retinerent:* The effusion of Christs righteous blood is so rich in price, that if all the captiues did beleeue in their redeemer, the diuels bands could hold none: *ex epist. Gay.*

2 Secondly, but it is vntrue that Christ dyed vniuersally for the whole world, in his sense, that is, for all men whatsoeuer: for Christ vouchsafeth not to pray for the world, Ioh.17.9. *I pray not for the world, but for those which thou hast giuen me:* much lesse then dyed hee for the world. The Apostle then by the *world* vnderstandeth the whole companie of the people of God, for whom Christ dyed: As Saint *Ambrose* well noteth: *Habet populus dei plenitudinem suam, &c. & in electis, &c. speciali quadam censetur vniuersitas, vt de toto mundo totus mundus liberatus, &c.* The people of God then hath a certaine fulnes, and there is a speciall kinde of vniuersalitie in the elect, so that the whole world seemeth to be deliuered out of the whole world: *lib.1.de vocat.Gent.c.3.*

3 Thirdly, it is also vntrue that any, for whom Christ dyed, are subiect to condemnation, or that the price of his blood can be applied to any, that are not ordained vnto life: Christ prayeth thus, Ioh.17.24. *I will that they whom thou hast giuen me, be with me where I am:* Christ prayeth, that all, which are giuen him, for whom hee dyed, should come to euerlasting glorie: but Christs prayer was alwaies effectuall: as he himselfe saith, Ioh.11.42. *Thou hearest me alwaies.* Saint *Ambrose* also saith: *Christus mortem vincens omnibus, qui sunt ex eius corpore, vitam acquisiuit:* Christ ouercomming death, hath purchased or obtained life to all, that are of his bodie, *in* 1.*Cor.*15. All then, that are of his bodie, haue surely life, and cannot perish, nor be condemned.

THE FOVRTH PROPOSITION, WHETHER THE passions and satisfactions of the Saints belong to this treasure of the Church.

The Papists,

29.Error. TO this treasure of the Church belong the passions of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, and of all other Saints, who suffered more than their sinnes required, *Bellarm.lib.1.de indulgent.cap.2.propos.4.* And in the Bull of *Clement.6.* it thus standeth: *Ad cuius thesauri cumulum beatæ dei genitricis, & omnium iustorum merita adminiculum præstare noscuntur:* To the heape of which treasure doe adde helpe, the merits of the mother of our Lord and of all Saints: *Extrau.commun.lib.5.tit.9.c.2.*

1 *Argum.* 1. *Mary* had neither actuall nor originall sin to suffer for, and therefore her suffrings are communicable to others.

2 2. *Iohn* also was of a most innocent life, and was subiect scarce to the least sinnes, and therfore he had no neede of his fasting, austere life, imprisonment, death, to satisfie for himselfe.

3 3. Likewise the Prophets suffrings werg beyond their sinnes: as *Iob* complaineth chap.6.1.

I would

I would that my ſinnes, whereby I haue deſerued wrath, and the calamitie which I ſuffer, were laid in a balance; as the ſand of the ſea this would appeare more heauie.

4. Saint *Pauls* ſuffrings were many and great: as he doth reckon them vp, 2.Cor.11.26. yet he had no neede of them himſelfe: for he ſaith, *I know nothing by my ſelfe*, 1.Cor.4.4.

5. The martyrdome of the Saints is able to redeeme great offences: as Chriſt ſaith, Matt.10. verſ.32. *Whoſoeuer confeſſeth me before men, him will I confeſſe before my father in heauen*: But many of the Martyrs had ſmall offences at the time of their martyrdome, and therefore there remaineth abundance of ſatisfaction for others: *Bellarm.lib.1.de indulg.c.2.prop.4.*

Anſw. Firſt, 1. It is blaſphemie to ſay, that any man doth or hath ſuffered more, than his ſinnes require: for this were to accuſe God of iniuſtice, to lay vpon any man that which he hath not deſerued. But the Prophet ſaith otherwiſe, Pſalm.130.3. *Lord if thou ſtreightly marke ſt iniquities, who ſhall abide it?* God layeth vpon no man ſo much as hee hath deſerued: much leſſe doth any ſuffer more. 2. As for the Virgin *Mary*, ſhe acknowledgeth Chriſt her *Sauiour*, Luk.1.47. *My ſpirit reioyceth in God my Sauiour*, and ſo conſequently confeſſeth her ſelfe a ſinner: for he is therefore called Ieſus, a Sauiour, becauſe *he ſhall ſaue the people from their ſinnes*, Matth.1.21. 3. Saint *Ambroſe* accordingly ſaith: *Non mirum ſi dominus redempturus mundum diuinam operationem ſuam inchoauit à matre, vt per quam ſalus omnibus parabatur, eadem prima fructum ſalutis hauriret ex pignore*: No marueile, if the Lord being to redeeme the world, did begin his diuine worke in his mother, that ſhe, through whom ſaluation was in preparing for al, ſhould firſt receiue the benefit of ſaluation from her pledge or birth, *lib.2 in 1.Luc.* If ſhe receiued the benefit of ſaluation, what elſe was ſhe ſaued from, than her ſinnes? 1

Secondly, concerning *Iohn Baptiſt*, 1. wee confeſſe he was an holie man, and endued with great grace, yet not without his ſinnes and corruptions: and therefore confeſſeth, that he had need to *be baptized of Chriſt*, Matth.3.14. which was to remiſſion of ſinnes. 2. His afflictions were not laid vpon him as puniſhments for ſinne, but as Gods louing corrections to exerciſe his faith, and prepare him for his kingdome: As the Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, Pſal.119.67. *Before I was afflicted I went aſtray.* Afflictions then to the righteous are not *inflictions for their ſinne*, but admonitions to encreaſe their vertue. 3. Of *Iohn* and of all other it is truly ſaid, as *Hierome* reciteth the Apoſtles words: *Deus concluſit omnes ſub peccato, &c.* God hath ſhut all vnder vnbeleefe, to haue mercie of all, *abſque hoc qui peccatum non fecit*: he onely excepted, that did no ſinne. 2

Thirdly, 1. *Iob* doth confeſſe himſelfe a great ſinner, *that he could not anſwere God one thing of a thouſand*, Iob.9.3. and he confeſſeth with *Dauid*, that God *had afflicted him iuſtly*, Pſal.119.75. for thus he ſaith, Iob.13.26. *Thou makeſt me to poſſeſſe the iniquities of my youth.* 3

2. Concerning that place, Iob.6.2,3. The Latine text doth tranſlate moſt corruptly. 1. There is no mention at all made of ſinnes, but the Hebrue word there vſed, ſignifieth wrath and indignation, which the 70. well expreſſe (ὀργὴ). 2. Where the Latine readeth, *hæc grauior eſſet*, this would be heauier, as though it were referred onely to his calamitie waighed againſt ſinne, the Septuagint well expreſſe the ſenſe of the Hebrue (though the ſingular number be vſed) βαρύτερα, *grauiora ſunt*, are heauier, in the plurall. 3. The Latine ſaith, *quaſi arena*, as the ſand: ſo is not the Hebrue, כחול *mecol*: which ſignifieth *præ arena*, in reſpect of the ſand, or *then the ſand*: as the ſeptuagint readeth: ſo that this is the meaning, if his griefe and vexation were put into a balance, and weighed with the ſand, they would be found heauier then it: for who can endure this ſenſe, that his afflictions in reſpect of his ſinne were as a light thing to the ſand?

Fourthly, 1. Saint *Paul* doth frankely confeſſe of himſelfe, 1.Tim.1.15. *Chriſt came into the world to ſaue ſinners, of whom I am chiefe*: If he acknowledge himſelfe a ſinner; what reaſon hath any man to extenuate it: 2. *He knew nothing by himſelfe*, that is in reſpect of the faithfull diſcharging *of his calling*, whereof he ſpake before: his conſcience therein did not accuſe him, yet he ſaith, *he was not thereby iuſtified*, 1.Cor.4.3. Much leſſe then is Saint *Paul* able to iuſtifie an other. 3. He ſaith, Philipp.3.9. *That I may be found in him not hauing mine owne righteouſnes*: If Saint *Paul* diſclaimeth his owne righteouſnes, how can it be a ſatisfaction for vs. 4

Fiftly, 1. The martyrdome of the Saints was profitable to themſelues, God crowning their patience with immortalitie, through Chriſt: but they are not auaileable to vs, but onely for example: ſo Saint *Paul* ſaith, 1.Cor.1.13. *was Paul crucified for you?* Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith well: *Pendebat in cruce filius, &c.* While her ſonne hanged vpon the croſſe, *Mary* offered her ſelfe to the perſecutors, *Si fortè ſua morte publico muneri aliquid adderetur, ſed Chriſti paſſio adiutore non eguit*: If ſo ſhe by her death might adde any thing to the publike benefit; but Chriſts paſſion needed no helper: *inſtitut. virg.c.5.* If the ſufferings of *Mary* could adde nothing to Chriſts paſſion, much leſſe the affliction of others. 5

The Proteſtants.

THat the ſufferings of the Saints muſt be added to Chriſts ſatisfactions to make vp the treaſure of the Church: we iudge it a moſt horrible blaſphemie, which hath diſliked ſome

of

of the Papiſts themſelues: as *Durand. in 4. Diſt. 20. qu. 3.* whoſe argumentes I will propound.

1. *Argum. 1.* The ſatisfaction of Chriſt is of infinite vertue, and therefore there is no need, that the ſatisfactions of the Saints ſhould be ioyned vnto them.

2. 2. The Saints are alreadie abundantly rewarded, and farre aboue their deſert, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom. 8. 18. *I count that the afflictions of this preſent time are not worthie of the glorie, which ſhall be reuealed:* wherefore the Saints ſufferings being ſo fully alreadie recompenced, cannot helpe toward the expiation of the ſinnes of others.

3. 3. The Saints neither did, nor ſuffered any thing, which they were not bound in duty to do and ſuffer: as appeareth, Luc. 17. 10. *We are vnprofitable ſeruants, we did that which was our dutie to doe:* and Matth. 25. 9. the wiſe virgins ſay: *Leaſt there will not be enough for you and vs: Ergo,* the Saints haue nothing to communicate to others.

4. 4. If by the Saints ſufferings our ſins could be *expiated* or redeemed, then might they be counted our redeemers; but the Scripture onely acknowledgeth Chriſt our redeemer, 1. Cor. 1. 30. *Chriſt is made our righteouſnes, ſanctification, redemption.*

Anſw. 1. The Saints paſſions are ioyned vnto Chriſts ſufferings, not becauſe theſe are not ſufficient, but for that it is glorious vnto Chriſt, that the Saints ſuffrings ſhould not be in vaine, ſeeing they receiue all their efficacy from Chriſt.

2. 2. The Saints ſufferings as they are meritorious, are alreadie abundantly rewarded; but as they are ſatisfactorie, they ſhould be in vaine, vnleſſe they were imployed, in the expiation of other mens ſinnes, ſeeing the Saintes needed not ſo great laboures and ſufferings for themſelues.

3. 3. Euen the obedience of the law, to the which the Saints are bound, is meritorious and ſatisfactorie: the virgins ſpeake not of ſatisfaction, but of the oyle of grace and charity, which euery one keepeth to himſelfe, and cannot powre forth vpon another.

4. 4. Properly & ſimply Chriſt is our redeemer, becauſe he redeemeth vs from our captiuitie, but as a redeemer is largely taken for one that redeemeth from a ſmal debt, ſo the ſaints may be ſaid to be our redeemers: if *Nabuchadnezzer* be aduiſed by *Daniel* to redeeme his ſinnes by righteouſnes, much more the Saints may be ſaid to redeeme our ſins by their paſſions: and Saint *Paule* ſaith, 1. Cor. 9. 22. *I am made all things to all men, to ſaue ſome:* why might he not be as well ſaid to redeeme them, as to ſaue them? ſeeing the name of Sauiour is as proper to Chriſt, as the name of Redeemer. *Bellarm. lib. 1. de indulgent c. 4.*

Contra. 1. The paſſions of the Saints are not in vaine, though they be not ioyned to Chriſts, as ſatisfactorie: as Saint *Paul* ſheweth, 1. Cor. 15. 58. *Foraſmuch as ye know, that your labour is not in vaine in the Lord:* that is, in reſpect of the reſurrection of the iuſt, when all their labours and trauailes ſhall be recompenſed. 2. It is inglorious for Chriſt to haue any ioyned vnto him as a helper: as the Prophet ſheweth, Iſay. 63. 5. *I looked, and there was none to helpe, therefore mine owne arme helped me.* 3. Though the Saints receiue all their power and grace from Chriſt, yet they receiue no ſuch power, whereby to ſatisfie for others: for the Lord by the Prophet ſaith, Iſay. 48. 11. *I will not giue my glory to another.*

2. 1. If the Saints ſufferings are rewarded, as they are meritorious; much more as they are ſatisfactorie: for it is more to deſerue a reward, then to ſatisfie for a puniſhment: but the truth is, that the ſufferings of the Saints, do neither merit nor yet ſatisfie the wrath of God, but yet their labors through Chriſt are abundantly recompenſed: *Iacob* confeſſeth, *He was not worthie of the leaſt of Gods* (temporall) *mercies.* Gen. 32. 10. how much leſſe are the Saints worthy of eternall. 2. Their labours are not in vaine, though thereby they neither ſatisfie for themſelues nor others: for thereby their faith is exerciſed, and they learne obedience, Pſal. 119. 71. *It is good for me, that I haue beene afflicted, that I may learne thy ſtatutes.* 3. And whereas he ſaith the Saints need not ſo many ſuffrings for themſelues, it is blaſphemy: for *Iob* for all his vnſpeakable affliction confeſſeth, *he did not anſwere God one thing of a thouſand:* Iob. 9. 3. *Quis amplius grunniet dicens, nimium laboramus, nimium ieiunamus, nimium vigilamus, cum nec milleſimæ, imo nec minimæ parti debitorum ſuorum valeat reſpondere:* Who dare complaine from henceforth, and ſay, we labour too much, faſt too much, watch too much, when he cannot anſwere the thouſandth, nay not the leaſt part of his debt. *Ser. de quadrupl. debit. Bernard.*

3. First, it is contrarie to reaſon and Scripture, that a man ſhould merite by doing his dutie: our Sauiour ſaith, Luke 17. 9. *Doth he thanke that ſeruant, becauſe he did that, which was commanded him? I trow not:* if it be not thanke worthie, how is it meritorious or ſatisfactorie? Secondly, if the oyle of charitie cannot be communicated, then not the price of good workes, which proceede from charitie, being the fruits thereof: for no workes are good without charitie, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, 1. Cor. 13. 3. then cannot a man lend the price of his workes, but he muſt alſo lend his charitie, which maketh them precious. Thirdly, the virgins ſpeake of their iuſtice or righteouſneſſe, which they holde to be little enough for themſelues: and ſo *Bernard* expoundeth, vpon theſe words,

Matth.

Matth.25.8. *Giue vs of your oyle: Stulta petitio; vix iustus saluabitur, vix sanctis iusticia sua oleum sufficit ad salutem, quanto minus & sibi & proximis:* A fooliſh petition, the righteous ſhall ſcarce be ſaued, the oyle of their owne righteouſneſſe hardly ſufficeth the Saints to ſaluation, how much leſſe themſelues and their neighbours: *Noe, Daniel, Iob,* ſhall not deliuer Nonne or daughter, Ezech. 14.18. but like as the ſoule, that ſinneth, ſhall die, Ezech.18.20. *Sic anima qua iusticiam fecerit, sola saluabitur:* So that ſoule that doth righteouſneſſe, onely ſhall bee ſaued, *Bernard. serm. de virgin.*

Firſt, Chriſt hath left neither great nor ſmall debt vnanſwered or vnpayed for, 1.Iohn 1.7. *The blood of Iesus cleanseth vs from all sinne:* and therefore the Saints cannot be ſaid to redeeme vs, no not from the leaſt debt. Secondly, you tranſlate corruptly, *Daniel* biddeth him, not redeeme, but breake *off his sinnes by righteousnes:* And ſo man when he beginneth to doe well, leaueth to doe euill, and by well doing breaketh off, or ſtoppeth the courſe of the ſinne. Thirdly, *Paul* ſaueth, not as Chriſt ſaueth: he as the author, *Paul* as the *minister of reconciliation*, 1.Cor.5.18. but there can be no redemption without paying of a raunſome, 1.Cor.6.20. *Ye are bought for a price:* This price becauſe no man could pay but Chriſt, no man can be ſaid to redeeme but Chriſt, as the Apoſtle ſaith: *Christ is made vnto vs our righteousnesse, sanctification, redemption*, 1.Cor.1.30. as no man elſe can be ſaid to be our *righteousnesse, sanctification*, ſo neither *our redemption.* 4

Peter Lombard alſo ſheweth, how Chriſt *proprie dicitur redemptor:* is properly called the redeemer, in reſpect of the Father and Sonne, who are called alſo Redeemers, but not ſo properly, *lib.3. dist.19. liter.a.* Whereby he inſinuateth, that no creature either properly, or improperly can be called a Redeemer.

Here ſhould haue followed other arguments, of Maſter *Luther* and Maſter *Caluine*, with others vſed by them, and obiected in their time againſt the Popes Indulgences, with a confutation of *Bellarmines* anſwere vnto the ſaid arguments: But ſo it was, that the Printer calling earneſtly for an ende of this worke, and fearing leaſt it might growe to a further charge, then he expected, and hauing my ſelfe no great leaſure, not aboue the ſpace of ſeuen dayes, to runne ouer *Bellarmines* firſt booke of Indulgences, I was conſtrained altogether to leaue the ſecond booke vnanſwered: truſting, that ſome other better able, may ſupplie my want herein, or that I may hereafter, if it pleaſe God, and it ſhall be thought neceſſarie, finiſh that, which now is omitted.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE POWER OF diſtributing the ſpirituall treaſure and Indulgence of the Church.

THE FIRST PROPOSITION, WHETHER THE ſatisfactions of the Saints may be communicated to others.

The Papiſts.

THat the ſuffrings and ſatisfactions of the Saints may be applied to others, thus they labour to proue it: 16.Erros.

Firſt, by that article of the Creede, *I beleeue the communion of Saints:* therefore their ſatisfactions are communicable. 1

Secondly, Saint *Paul* ſaith, 1.Corinth.12.15. *I will most gladly bestow and be bestowed for your soules.* 2

Thirdly, Coloſſ.1.24. *Now reioyce in my suffrings for you, and fulfill the rest of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his bodie sake, which is the Church:* Saint *Paul* did communicate his ſuffrings and ſatisfactions to the faithfull: *Bellarm.lib.1 de indulg.c.3.propos.1. Rhemists not.in hunc locum.* 3 1

The Proteſtants.

Confutat. FIrſt, 1. the argument followeth not, *there is a communion of Saints: Ergo,* ſatisfactions are communicable: the communion is in things communicable, but ſatisfactions they cannot communicate, becauſe they haue them not. 2. If they had ſatisfactions and merites, yet they could no more applie them vnto others, than they doe their faith, which is proper to euery man: Rom.1.17. *The iust shall liue by faith.* 3. This communion conſiſteth in the mutuall helpe and aſſiſtance of one another, as by prayer, Rom.1.9. *Without ceasing I make mention of you:* By mutuall comfort, 1.Theſſ.4.18. *Comfort one another:* By exhortation, 1.Theſſ.5.11. *Exhort one another:* By teaching, 2.Pet.1.13. *I thinke it meete to stirre you vp by putting you in remembrance.* 4. So *Origen* ſaith: *Cæteri precibus peccata, hic solus potestate dimittit:* Others (namely the Apoſtles, of whom he ſpeaketh) remit ſins by their prayers, Chriſt by his power, *Hom.24 in Numer.* Chriſt onely then hath power to ſatisfie.

Secondly, how Saint *Paul* would be beſtowed, he ſheweth Philip.2.17. *he would be offered vp for the seruice, λειτουργία, of their faith:* His death then ſerued not for ſatisfaction, but for confirmation

of

of their faith. As Saint *Ambrose* saith: *Christi passio nobis sufficit ad salutem; Petri, Pauli contulit ad exemplum:* Christs passion sufficeth to saluation: *Peter* and *Pauls* passion serue for example and confirmation, *serm.* 66.

Thirdly, 1. Saint *Paul* expoundeth himselfe in the next verse, how he suffereth for the Churches sake, Coloss. 1.25. *Whereof I am a minister according to the dispensation of God, which is giuen me to youward, to fulfill the word of God:* He did not then satisfie for others by his suffrings, but thereby minister to their faith: that by his patience and example of suffring, the worde of God *might be fulfilled*, that is, generally receiued, and freely confessed of the brethren: as he himselfe again saith, Philip. 1.13. *My bands in Christ, are famous through out all the iudgement hall, and in all other places; in so much that many of the brethren in the Lorde are boldened through my bands, and dare more frankly speake the word.*

2. Saint *Augustine* thus interpreteth: *Non dixit pressurarum mearum, sed Christi, quia membrum erat Christi, & in persecutionibus suis, quales Christum in toto suo corpore pati oportebat, etiam ipse pressuras suas pro sua portione adimplebat:* He saith not my afflictions, but Christs, because he was a member of Christ, and in his persecutions, which Christ was to suffer in his whole bodie, he also fulfilled his afflictions for his part: *Tract. in Ioann.* 108. Saint *Paul* then did but for his part suffer as a member of Christ, as all other his members must for their parts.

3. So *Augustine* againe saith elsewhere, writing vpon this text: *Si in membris Christi es, quicquid pateris ab eis, qui non sunt in membris Christi, deerat passionibus Christi: ideo additur, quia deerant, mensuram implens, non superfundens: tantum ergo pateris, quantum inferendum erat vniuersæ passioni Christi, qui passus est in capite, & patitur in membris, &c.* If thou art a member of Christ, whatsoeuer thou sufferest of those that are not his members, was wanting to the suffrings of Christ: therefore it is added (which are wanting) filling the measure, not ouerflowing: therefore thou suffrest so much, as was to be laid vpon the whole passion of Christ, who then suffered in the head, and now in the members, *in Psal.* 60. Saint *Paul* then did suffer for his part, as all other members must for their parts: and the measure of affliction is but filled vp, it ouerfloweth not by their suffrings: *Ergo*, no mans suffrings doe abound or ouerflow to satisfie for another.

THE SECOND PROPOSITION, WHETHER THE pastors of the Church haue power to dispense the satisfactions and suffrings of the Saints, and to graunt indulgences.

The Papists.

16. Error. THat this power is committed to the pastors of the Church, to dispense this spirituall treasure, and thereby to absolue from all sinnes, and the punishment of sinnes, to dispense with othes, vowes, lawes, if there be reasonable cause: thus they would proue it.

1 First, Christ saith to his Apostles and their successors, *whose sins ye remit, they are remitted*, Ioh. 20. vers. 23. and to *Peter, Feede my sheepe*, Ioh. 21.15. Here the supreame throne of Ecclesiasticall power
2 is giuen to *Peter*. Likewise, Matth. 18.18. *Whatsoeuer ye binde in earth, shall be bound in heauen.*
3 Secondly, Saint *Paul* executeth this power, 2. Cor. 2.10. *To whom ye forgiue any thing, I forgiue also: for verily if I forgaue any thing to whom I forgaue it, for your sakes forgaue I it, in the sight of Christ.* Here Saint *Paul* forgiueth vnto the incestuous person, that, which remained of his penance.

This hath been the continuall practise of the Church to remit the punishment to offenders: and to this purpose *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* are alleaged, with diuers Councels, and constitutions of the Bishops of Rome: *Bellarm. lib. 1. de indulg. c. 3 prop. 2.*

The Protestants.

Confut. 1 FIrst, 1. our Sauiour speaketh of remission of *sinnes*, what is this to their *indulgences*, which serue to release the punishment onely, as they say? and the Apostles did remit sinnes not by their owne power, but as ministers and dispensers in Christs name: Act. 3.12. S. *Peter* denieth, that *by his owne power he had made the lame man goe:* much lesse by his owne power could he heale the soule.

2. First, *feeding the flocke*, is not dispensing with them, or exercising iudiciall power ouer them, but preaching the worde: so doth Saint *Paul* expound it, Act. 20.28. and Saint *Peter*, 1. Pet. 5.3. *Feede the flocke of God:* but the Pope vseth not to preach, therefore he feedeth not. Againe, this *feeding* is not proper onely to *Peter*, but common to all other pastors, as he himselfe sheweth writing to his fellow pastors, 1. Pet. 5.3.

3. First, our Sauiour saying, *Whatsoeuer you binde*, speaketh of binding and loosing of sinnes, and not the punishment onely: as this place is expounded by that, Ioh. 20.23. *Whose sinnes ye retaine.* Againe, he speaketh to all the Apostles: wherefore they all, and their successors, and not *Peter* onely haue this power. Further, this power must be executed in Christs name, vers. 20. Indulgences then in the name of Saints haue no place here.

Secondly,

Secondly, 1. Saint *Paul* did not enioyne the inceſtuous perſon penance to ſatisfie God for his ſinne, but *he was deliuered to Satban, that his ſpirit might be ſaued, &c.* 1. Cor. 5. 5. that hee might be brought to effectuall ſorrow for his offence: which was accordingly effected. 2. Another end of his ſeparation, was for the example of others, and that the Church might be ſatisfied, whom he had offended: and therefore the Apoſtle writeth to the whole Church, that they would forgiue him, 2. Cor. 2. 7. and hold themſelues ſatisfied with his ſufficient ſorrow. 3. The Apoſtle then remitteth not any puniſhment to the young man due vnto Gods iuſtice, but releaſeth him of the cenſure of excommunication, after he did ſee him ſufficiently to haue ſorrowed. And this power wee denie not but the Church hath, to reconcile thoſe againe to the congregation, and to remit the cenſure of the Church, when the partie hath teſtified his effectuall ſorrow, and ſatisfied the congregation. Thus *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Recte conſtituuntur ab his qui eccleſiæ præſunt tempora pœnitentiæ, vt ſatisfiat etiam eccleſiæ* Certaine times of penance are appointed by the gouernours of the Church, that the Church may be ſatisfied, *diſt.* 1 *de pœnitent. c.* 84. Satisfaction then is made not to God, but to the Church, and the releaſing thereof, as a remitting not of the puniſhment of ſin before God, but of the cenſure impoſed by the Church.

Thirdly, after this manner we denie not but the Church vſed in *Tertullian* and *Cyprians* time to reconcile offenders to the peace of the Church, and many times at the inſtance and requeſt of Martyrs, to remit vnto them ſome part of eccleſiaſticall cenſure: but this maketh nothing for the applying or communicating of other mens ſatisfactions. *Auguſtine* ſaith, as he is cited, *diſt.* 1 *de pœnitent. c.* 84. *In actione pœnitentiæ, vbi tale crimen commiſſum eſt, vt qui commiſit à Chriſti corpore ſeparetur, non tam conſyderanda eſt menſura temporis, quam doloris:* In the action of penance, where ſuch a ſinne is committed, that hee which committed it, muſt be ſeparated from the bodie of Chriſt, the meaſure of time muſt not be ſo much conſidered, as of griefe, &c. So then the ancient indulgence of Chriſt was this, when the Church ſeeing the vnfained ſorrow of the penitent perſons, in Chriſtian compaſſion, leſt they ſhould be *ſwallowed vp of too much griefe*, as the Apoſtle ſaith, 2. Cor. 2. 7. did mitigate the rigor of the ſentence of the Church, and releaſe them of their penance. This diſcreete and Chriſtian lenitie ought ſtill to be retained in the Church, as *Ambroſe* well ſaith: *Quem admodum ſe tibi curandum præberet, qui ſe contemptui, non compaſſioni medico ſuo putet futurum: non ſunt pro Chriſti diſcipulis habendi, qui cum ipſi quærunt domini miſericordiam, alijs eam denegant:* How ſhould a man commit himſelfe to be cured, when he ſeeth *contempt* rather than *compaſſion* to be in the Phiſition? they are not to be counted for the diſciples of Chriſt, that ſeeking mercie themſelues, denie it vnto others: *de pœnitent. lib.* 1. 1.

THE THIRD PROPOSITION, OF THE ANTIquitie and originall of Iubile pardons and indulgences.

The Papiſts.

IT is affirmed by them, that whereas the beginning, authors, time and place of other hereſies may be aſſigned, yet it cannot be ſhewed when Indulgences and Pardons were brought in; and therefore it is moſt like, that they tooke beginning from the Apoſtles time, *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *de indulg. c.* 3. 17. Error.

The Proteſtants.

Confut. FIrſt, the propoſition is not true, that all hereſies may be aſſigned to their ſeuerall authors: as *Bernard* thus witneſſeth of the Heretikes called *Apoſtolici: Quære ab illis ſectæ authorem neminem dabunt:* Aske of them the author of their ſect, they can ſhew none, &c. the Manichees had *Manes*, the Sabellians *Sabellius*, the Arrians *Arrius*, beginners of their ſect, &c. but theſe can ſhew none: *Cantic ſer.* 66.

Secondly, it followeth not, the author of generall and plenarie Indulgences, grounded vpon the ouerflowing ſatisfactions of the Church cannot bee produced: *Ergo*, they came from Chriſt and his Apoſtles. *Bernard* ſheweth that this is no good conſequent: ſpeaking of the foreſaid heretikes, *Apoſtolici*, and in the ſame place: *Non eſt ab homine illorum hæreſis, abſit tamen vt per reuelationem Ieſu Chriſti, ſed magis per immiſſionem & fraudem dæmoniorum:* Their hereſie is not from man, yet God forbid it ſhould be by reuelation of Ieſus Chriſt, but rather by the deceit and illuſion of the diuell.

Thirdly, we can produce and demonſtrate the author of their Iubile pardons, which was *Boniface* the 8. *anno* 1300. the firſt inſtitutor of the popiſh Iubile: Wee denie not, but that before this time in the declining ages of the Church, Indulgences were abuſed, and that *anno* 1170. or thereabout, exception was taken againſt them by the Waldenſes: but at the time aforeſaid, *ann.* 1300. when Antichriſt came to his height, the moſt blaſphemous Indulgences, and Iubile pardons came in together with the Iubile, which then was reuiued by *Boniface* 8.

THE FOVRTH PROPOSITION.

The Papists.

28. Error. 1 *Bellarmine* here telleth vs, that the Prelates of the Church may dispense Christs suffrings both by the Sacraments, and by their Indulgences; yet the satisfactions and suffrings of the Saints
29. Error. 2 cannot be applied, but by indulgences: The reason is, because their satisfactions serue onely for
30. Error. 3 the release of the punishment, not for the remitting of the sinne: but in the Sacraments, the punishment is not remitted without the sinne, *Bellarm. lib. 1. c. 3. propos. 3.*

The Protestants.

1 *Confut.* First, it is vntrue that the Sacraments doe giue and applie the grace of remission by Christs suffrings: they are seales *of the righteousnes of faith*, Rom. 4. 11. it is the propertie onely of faith to apprehend Christ, and to applie his merits: which faith is confirmed and encreased by the Sacraments. Wee doe in the Sacraments shew forth the death of Christ, 1. Cor. 11. 26. as *Ambrose* saith, *Eucharistia mysterium memoria redemptionis est:* The mysterie of the Eucharist is the memorie of the redemption, *in* 1. *Cor.* 11. Faith by this memorie being renewed and reuiued, applieth Christ: without faith the Sacraments profit not: the Apostle biddeth to examine themselues, and so eate of the bread, 1. Corinth. 11. 28. which examination is to trie *their faith*, 1. Corinth. 13. 5. *Ambrose* saith, *Quid proficiunt Iudæi, quod sanguine agni domos & postes illiniunt? quoniam ligna, aut saxa prodesse non possunt:* What doth it profit the Iewes, that they annoynt their houses and posts with the blood of the Lambe? what can wood or stones profit them? *serm.* 12. *Psal.* 119. No more doth water, bread or wine profit without faith.

2 Secondly, if in the Sacraments, as namely in Baptisme, *remittitur omnis pœna siue temporalis, siue æterna*, all punishment of sinne is remitted, both temporall and eternall, as *Bellarmine* confesseth, the application of the satisfactions of Saints is superfluous to release the temporall punishment, seeing it is done alreadie: And that the efficacie of Baptisme extendeth to the washing away of all sinnes both preceding and following; Saint *Paul* sheweth, saying, that wee *are saued by the washing of the new birth*, and the renewing of the *holie Ghost*, Tit. 3. 5. If wee haue then perfect saluation in Baptisme, what can bee added more? So Saint *Hierome: Si baptismus nouum hominem facit, & ex toto nouum creat, nihilque in eo veteris hominis reseruatur, non potest nouo imputari, quod in veteri quondam fuit:* If Baptisme make a man wholy new, that nothing of the old man remaine, that cannot be imputed to the new man, which was sometime in the old: *Hieron. Ocean. tom.* 3.

3 Thirdly, neither doth there remaine any punishment before God to be satisfied for, the sinne being once remitted: but we being released of our sins, are also exempted from the punishment: as Christ said to the man sicke of the palsie, *Thy sinnes are forgiuen thee*, Mark. 2. 5. signifying, that together with his sinne, his sicknes, as it was a punishment thereof, was also looked. The sorrowes and griefes that still hang vpon vs doe remaine, as *Augustine* saith, *Vel ad demonstrationem debitæ miseriæ, vel ad emendationem labilis vitæ, vel ad exercitationem necessariæ patientiæ:* Either for a demonstration of our deserued miserie, the emendation of our fraile life, or the exercitation of our necessarie patience: *Tract.* 124. *in Ioann.* Wherefore the satisfactions of the Saints applicable by Indulgences, are superfluous, seeing there remaineth after remission of sinnes obtained, no punishment before God to be satisfied for.

THE THIRD PART, WHAT Indulgence is.

THis part is diuided into foure questions: First, whether the Indulgence of the Church be a spirituall solution, or a iudiciarie absolution. Secondly, whether it be a release, *de pœnitentijs iniunctis vel iniungendis*, of penance alreadie enioyned or to be enioyned. Thirdly, whether it be a remission of the fault, or of the punishment onely. Fourthly, whether by indulgence the punishment due vnto sinne be remitted before God.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER THE INdulgence of the Church be a spirituall solution onely, or a iudiciarie absolution.

The Papists.

THis question though it be chiefly controuerted among the popish writers thēselues, yet I will briefly shew which part commeth neerest the truth. Some of them thinke, that the Indulgence of the Church is onely an application of the treasure of the Church, without any iudiciarie authoritie, and so a solution only: *sic Durand. in* 4. *dist. vlt.* 20. *qu.* 3. *Paludan. ibid. qu.* 4. *cum alijs.*

Others

Others thinke Indulgence to be nothing else, but *iudiciariam absolutionem*, a iudiciarie absolution, *Franciscus Maironis 4. sent. dist. 19. qu. 2.* which seemeth to be the truer opinion, as I will shew afterward. *Bellarmine* he confoundeth both these opinions, and maketh Indulgence not onely a iudiciarie absolution, but a spirituall solution. 31. Error.

Argum. His best argument is, because Indulgence may be graunted to the dead, ouer whom no iudiciarie power can be exercised.

Answ. 1. It is well that these popish Diuines, somewhat better aduised than their forefathers, doe exempt the dead from their iudiciarie Consistories: yet the elder Papists haue not bin ashamed to proceed iudicially against the dead: to cite them by processe, call them by name in court, and for not appearing to proceede against them as contumacious, to produce witnesses against them, and to condemne and burne them being dead. Thus was *Richard Hun* serued being dead, condemned and burnt in Smithfield: see his storie *Fox* pag. 808. And in like manner were *Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius* proceeded against in Cambridge before the Cardinals visitors there: see likewise the storie *Fox* pag. 1961.

2. *Bellarmine* hath vsed a very sillie argument: for the dead can neither be absolued nor condemned by the sentence of the liuing: God hath disposed of them; and euery one receiueth his finall sentence at his death: as a man dieth, so he lieth, and so he riseth: As *Augustine* well saith: *Vnusquisque cum causa sua dormit, cum causa sua surgit:* Euery man sleepeth or dieth with his cause, and with the same riseth againe. So that in this case wee may applie the Apostles speech, Rom. 14. vers. 4. *Who art thou that condemnest another mans seruant? he standeth, or falleth to his owne master.* The dead are at Gods disposition, and are no more seruants or at the commaund of the liuing. This place of the Apostle is so applied by *Anastas. decret. 2.*

The Protestants.

WE acknowledge a spirituall solution of sinne in the Church of God, which is dispensed by the ministerie of the word, and applicable to all them, which by faith are capable of it: but the Indulgence of the Church, which they make a release onely of temporall punishment, is onely a iudiciarie absolution in the outward face of the Church.

Argum. Such was that indulgence, pardon and forgiuenes graunted by Saint *Paul* to the peritent young man, 2. Cor. 2. 10. *To whom you forgaue any thing, I forgiue also:* This was nothing else but a releasing of the offender from the sentence of excommunication, after hee had sufficiently sorrowed. The spirituall solution, and forgiuenes of sinnes, which followed his repentance, he receiued at Christs hands: but the outward censure was released by the iudiciarie power of the Church.

Franciscus Mairon. one of their owne Doctors, cited before, is of this opinion, that the Indulgence of the Church is but a *Iudiciarie absolution.*

Argum. 2. It further appeareth thus: no ecclesiasticall Iudge, no not the Pope, can be partaker of that Indulgence, which he graunteth to another. Of this opinion are some of the Papists, *Archidiacon. in cap. de indulg. in c.* 6. and the reason is, because no man can absolue himselfe: wherefore the Indulgence is onely an absolution: for as concerning the spirituall solution of sinnes, he is as well partaker of it, that ministreth it, as he to whom it is ministred. And *Bellarmine* here greatly bestirring himselfe to shew how the Pope may receiue absolution, resolueth thus: that he vseth absolution to another, but himselfe is beneficed onely by the spirituall solution. But the Pope can applie no Indulgence to himselfe: *Ergo*, it is an absolution iudiciarie, *Bellarm. cap. 6. respons. ad obiect. 7.*

The same is proued out of their owne law: *Decret. Gregor. lib. 5. tit. 38. c. 4. Alexand. 3. A non suo iudice ligari nullus valeat, vel absolui:* No man can bee looſed or absolued but of his owne iudge: *Ergo*, Indulgence onely respecteth the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and iudiciarie power of the Church: for otherwise the spirituall solution of sinne may be ministred by another, than the proper pastor, in the preaching of the word, and applying of other spirituall comforts.

THE SECOND QVESTION, WHETHER INDVLgence be for penance enioyned, or to be enioyned.

The Papists.

WHen Indulgence is graunted, it must be vnderstood that all kinde of penance is pardoned, both that which is alreadie enioyned or inflicted, or may be enioyned afterward: arguments he hath none of account, nor yet good reason for this assertion, *lib. 1. de Indulg. cap. 7. conclus. 6.* 32. Error.

The Protestants.

IT is a most absurd and grosse thing, that *Indulgence* should not onely dispense, with the penance alreadie inflicted by the sentence of the Church, but to giue licence for that which may after-

ward be incurred: for what is this else but to giue men libertie from sinne, being now exempted from the censure of the Church?

Argum. Saint *Paul* doth not so, but onely forgiueth the young man and releaseth that censure which he was then vnder for his sinne past, 2.Cor.2.6. *It was sufficient for the same man, that he was rebuked of many*: he speaketh of the rebuke and censure already past, he deliuereth him not from any sentence of the Church, which he might incurre afterward.

Gelasius to this purpose saith notably: *Audetum sub cœlo non legitur, quod eorum voce deprimitur, dare nobis veniam, dum iuxta nostra errare duremus: nescio inter quæ mundi prodigia hoc possit admitti: remittit culpa de præterito patefit, correctione fine dubio subsequente: nam si deinceps sinitur mensura perversitas, non est benignitas vt mentu, sed consentientis assentio*: It was neuer heard vnder heauen, as they say, giue vs pardon, while we notwithstanding continue in error: I cannot tell among what monsters this may be accounted: the fault may be remitted for the time past, correction or amendment following: but if by this meanes their peruersitie doe remaine, it is not a benignitie in the remitter, but a conspiracie in the consenter: *Gelas. epist. ad Faustum*: Thus then the remission of punishment to come, is a further instigation vnto sinne.

THE THIRD QVESTION, WHETHER AN Indulgence be a remission of the fault, or punishment.

The Papists.

Bellarmine alleageth to this purpose certaine distinctions, there is a double guilt, eyther of the sinne, or punishment: the punishment is either *naturall*, as death, sickness; or *personall*, as was the plague sent vpō the people in *Dauids* time: and it is either in the *internal* court of the conscience; or the *external* court of the Church: the internal is of two sorts, either to satisfie God, or the Church.

Then he setteth downe this position, that by the Indulgence of the Church we are not deliuered from the guilt of any sinne, veniall or mortall, but of the punishment onely. 33. Error.

The Protestants.

First, I note certaine absurdities and contradictions in the foresaid distinctions, 1. Whereas he maketh the plague in *Dauids* time to be a personall punishment, and he thinketh that Indulgences may take away personall punishments, I aske whether the Popes Iubile-Pardons and indulgences can preuent, or turne aside the pestilence: If they were of such force, I thinke the Pope would not suffer the plague so often to visite Rome. 2. He maketh the satisfaction of the Church to belong to the internall court, whereas the court of the Church is externall.

Secondly, we say that the spirituall indulgence of Christ in the Church, being applied and apprehended by faith doth deliuer vs both from the sinne and paine: but the ecclesiasticall indulgence doth onely release the externall punishment not before God, but before men.

Thirdly, this position of *Bellarmine* is contrarie to the Popes Iubile-pardons, which go vnder this tenure: *Boniface. 8. Non solum plenam & largiorem, sed plenissimam concedimus veniam omnium peccatorum: extra. commun. lib. 5. tit. 9. c. 1.* We grant not onely full, and larger, but most full remission of all their sins: so likewise *Clement 6.* in his Bull: *Suorum omnium obtinerent plenissimam veniam peccatorum*: That they should obtaine most full pardon of all their sins: *Sixtus* the fourth also doth call them, *indulgentias & remissionas peccatorum*, indulgences and remissions of sinnes.

Bellarm. we answereth, 1. That whereas sometime mention is made in the letters of absolution, *à pœna & culpa*, from the punishment and the fault, it is so said, because ordinarily absolution is ioyned with confession, whereby the fault is pardoned: 2. By pardon or remission of sinnes we must vnderstand the punishment. *c. 7. propos. 1.*

Contra 1. But your indulgences are properly granted, you say, without a Sacrament: as *Bellarmine* defineth it, *Indulgentia est absolutio &c. extra sacramentum data*: Indulgence is absolution giuen without a Sacrament. *c. 8. in fine*: Then cannot an indulgence take away the fault, which is onely released in the Sacraments: that clause therefore, *à pœna & culpa*, in their indulgences is contrarie to their owne doctrine.

2. Neither by plenarie remission of sins can the punishment in any sense be vnderstood, 1. It is called *plenissima*, a most full pardon, *omnium peccatorum*, of all sinnes: if most full, and of all, how are the sins themselues excluded? 2. I pray you how doe you vnderstand your beliefe: *credo remissionem peccatorum*, I beleeue the remission of sinnes: doe ye beleeue the punishment only remitted, and not the sinne? vnlesse your Bull beleeueth otherwise then the Creed, as it doth indeed, and bringeth in a new faith. 3. *Boniface* in his Bull maketh this preface: *Quia iuxta officij nostri debitum, salutem appetimus singulorū*: Because according to our bounden dutie, we seek the saluation of all: but to saluation, not the releasing only of the paine, but the remitting of the debt belongeth.

Fourthly, that the satisfactions of Christ applied (for satisfactions of Saints applicable, we acknowledge none) doe deliuer *à pœna & culpa*, both from the sinne and the punishment, it is euident

uident out of Scripture, Iohn.13.10. He that is washed by Christ, *est mundus totus*, is cleane euerie whit: there remaineth then nothing to be washed away: And they themselues confesse, that baptisme doth wash away both the sinne and punishment: likewise the Apostle, Hebr.7.25. *He is able perfectly to saue them, that come vnto God.* If Christ then do saue vs perfectly, then both from sinne and the penaltie.

Peter Lombard confesseth as much: *Per ipsius pœnam, quam in cruce tulit, omnis pœna temporalis, qua pro peccato conuersis debetur in baptismo penitus relaxatur, vt nulla à baptizato exigatur, &c.* By Christs paine, which he suffered vpon the crosse, all temporall paine, which is due for sin to them, which are conuerted, is altogether released in baptisme, that none at all is exacted of him that is baptized. *lib.3 dist.19 liter.d.* If then there remaine no punishment after baptisme, your indulgences are nothing worth.

I will conclude with Saint *Ambrose*: who speaking of the gathering of *Manna*, Exod. 16.18. *He that had gathered much, had nothing ouer, and he that had gathered little, had no lacke: Hoc plenius de sanguine Christi intelligitur, &c. Etsi parum sumas, et si plurimum haurias eadem perfecta est omnibus mensura redemptionis:* This is more fully vnderstoode of the blood of Christ, though you take little or draw much, there is the same perfect measure of redemption to all, *Epist.1.* Wherefore if by Indulgences, neuer so little of Christs blood be applied, the redemption is perfect, both from the sinne and penaltie, for otherwise it should not be perfect.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, WHETHER THE INDVLgences of the Church, deliuer from the punishment of sinne, not onely before the Church, but before God.

The Papists.

IT is so affirmed by *Bellarmine*, that by the censure of the Church imposed vpon offenders, they doe not onely satisfie the Church, but God also, and so consequently the Indulgence of the Church doth set them free from the guilt of the punishment of sinne, both before God and men. 34 Error.

Argum.1. Matth.18.18. *Whatsoeuer ye loose in earth, shall be loosed in Heauen:* if it be loosed in heauen, then before God. 1

2. Penance voluntarilie assumed, or priuatly enioyned, cannot be for example sake to satisfie men, therefore thereby God is satisfied: as Psalm.6.6. *I water my couch euery night with teares.* 2

3. *Tertullian* saith: *Qui per delictorum pœnitentiam instituerat domino satisfacere:* Which had purposed to satisfie God by the penance of his sinnes: *lib. de pœnitent. Cyprian* also is alleaged: *Dominus nostra satisfactione placendus:* God is to be pleased with our satisfaction. Likewise *Augustine: De iis, quæ facta sunt, satisfiat Deo per pœnitentiæ dolorem:* God must be satisfied for the things that are done by the sorrowe of repentance: *Ergo*, God is satisfied by penitentiarie workes: *Bellarm.c.7.prop.4.* 3

The Protestants.

Confutat. FIrst, we graunt that the spirituall dispensation of the Church doth truely loose the penitent persons by faith in Christ, both from the sinne and punishment: but that Indulgence which onely releaseth the punishment, is but a relaxation before the Church, therefore this place, which is vnderstoode of loosing and binding of sinnes, is vnproperly alleaged for the release of the punishment onely. 1

Secondly, 1. Voluntarie and priuate repentance, though it be not to the eye of the world, to satisfie men: yet it is profitable more effectually to humble their owne soule: as *Augustine* saith speaking of prayer, which may be applied also to outward sorrowe for sinne: *Gestu corporis, vt flexione genuum, extensione manuum seipsum magis homo excitat ad orandum, illisque rursus visibiliter factis, inuisibilis animi affectus augetur:* By the gesture of the bodie, as the bowing of the knees, the spreading of the hands, a man doth stirre vp himselfe to prayer: and these things being visiblie done, the inuisible affection of the soule is encreased: *de cur. mort. lib.5.* 2. It followeth not then in priuate repentance, man is not satisfied: *Ergo*, God is satisfied: for there is another satisfaction beside, when a man by sufficient sorrowe and punishment, as it were taken of himselfe, doth satisfie his owne soule: and beside priuate repentance, though it preuaile not to satisfaction, yet it is auailable to effectuall contrition, and vnfained conuersion. 2

Thirdly, concerning the testimonie of the Fathers. First, we deny not but some of them doe vse that phrase of speech, *to satisfie God by repentance:* but not in the popish sense, to satisfie Gods iustice, for *Tertullian* speaketh of satisfying for sinne: yet the Papists themselues holde no satisfaction in penance for sinne, but for the punishment onely. Secondly, God then is said to be satisfied, that is pleased with the worke of repentance: as the Apostle saith, Hebr.13.17. *With such sa-* 3

crifice, God is pleased or delighted: his iustice is not satisfied, but his will pleased in Christ, when he seeth his pleasure obeyed by our repentance. So *Bernard* vnderstandeth satisfaction. *Condigna satisfactio est malefacta corrigere, & correcta non iterare*: It is condigne satisfaction, to correct euill deeds, and not to iterate or do them againe, *prælect. de inter. dom.* But this is no satisfaction to Gods iustice for a man to turne from his euill wayes, otherwise then as God through Christ is well pleased therewith. Thirdly, there are then foure kinds of satisfactions: the *first* is to God: the *second* to the Church publikely: the *third* to men whom we haue offended priuately: the *fourth* to a mans owne soule: the first by vs can be no way perfourmed: for as *Iob* saith, 9.3. *We cannot answere God one thing of a thousand: Vix millesimæ partis debitorum quis valeat respondere*: a man can scarce answere the thousandth part of his debt to God: *Bernard. de quadrupl. debit.* This satisfaction to Gods iustice we must wholly remit vnto Christ. The other three satisfactions are in mans power: first, to satisfie the Church, 2. Cor. 2.6. *It is sufficient for the same man, that he was rebuked of many: Arausican. concil. 1 decret. ex Gratian.* The ancient forme of excommunication was this: *Authoritate Dei & iudicio sancti spiritus è gremio sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ eliminamus, quousque respiscant & Ecclesiæ satisfaciant &c.* By the authoritie of God and his holy spirite, we cast them out of the bosome of the Church, vntill they repent, and satisfie the Church. Secondly, our brother whome we haue offended, must be satisfied; as *Zacheus* restoreth foure foulde, that which he had wrongfully gotten, Luke 19.8. *Augustine* also saith: *Peccasti in fratrem, fac satis & sanatus es*: Hast thou offended against thy brother, satisfie him, and thou art healed: *Serm. 16. in Matth.* Thirdly, by godly repentance a man doth satisfie his owne soule, and cleare his conscience by punishing of himselfe: as 2. Cor. 7.11. this godly sorrow, *what great care hath it wrought in you, &c. what punishment, &c. you haue shewed your selues in all things that you are pure in this matter.* To this purpose S. *Augustine, Quid aliud est ieiunium, quam debita membrorum satisfactio? membra enim satisfacere debent propter peccata, quæ commiserunt; vnde si quis in gula peccauerit, satisfaciat ieiunio, si in oculo claudatur*: What else is fasting, but a due satisfaction of the members? for the members must satisfie for the sinne they haue committed: if a man haue sinned in gluttonie, let him make satisfaction by fasting; if in his eye, let him keepe it shut: *Ad fratres in erem. serm. 24.* All these kinds of satisfactions we admit, but Gods iustice cannot be satisfied by vs: Christ onely hath so satisfied God for vs, both for sinne and punishment, and appeased his wrath, and *slaine hatred by his crosse, and reconciled vs to God*, Ephes. 2.16. *Augustine* well saith (to conclude this poynt) *Fateor, quia peccaui & conscientia mea maretur damnationem, & pœnitentia mea non sufficit ad satisfactionem; sed certum est, quod misericordia tua superat omnem offensionem*: I confesse I haue sinned, and my conscience deserueth damnation, but my repentance sufficeth not for satisfaction; but it is certaine, that thy mercie exceedeth all transgression: *Tom. 9. medit. c. 39.*

Lastly, we haue one of their owne side against them: *Petrus Paludanus*, who affirmeth, that veniall sinnes and not the punishment onely are released by Indulgences: *In 4. dist. 20. qu. 4.*

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE DIVERS kinds of Indulgences.

The Papists.

35. Error. *Bellarmine* rehearseth fiue kindes of Indulgences, and he iustifieth them all: 1. There is an Indulgence of fortie dayes, which is a release of the penance which was to be done fortie dayes.

36. Error. 2. There is an Indulgence of the third or fourth part of their sinnes, that is, of the punishment due for so much of their sinnes.

37. Error. 3. An Indulgence plenarie was from the whole punishment: and sometime Indulgences are graunted for ten or twentie thousand yeares: for euery mortall sinne deserueth a penance of three or seuen yeares: then so many blasphemies and other sinnes, as are by some committed euery moment, deserue many thousand yeares penance: which notwithstanding by the sharpnes of Purgatorie paine, may be satisfied for in three or foure hundred yeares.

38 Error. 4. Indulgences are graunted to some in their life time, to some in the poynt of death.

39. Error. 5. Some are *temporarie*, for a time, as limited to dayes or yeares, some are *perpetuall*, which are tied to places, Churches, altars, or to things moueable, as to *rosaries, holy graines, &c.* All these kindes of Indulgences *Bellarmine* holdeth to be good and godly: but for this we must take his word, for Scriptures or good reasons he hath none.

The Protestants.

1 FIrst, 1. if your Indulgences doe release the punishment due to Gods iustice, what great presumption is it for you, to limite God to fortie dayes, that the punishment of the offender should for that time be suspended: this was the sinne of Israel, Psalm. 88.41. *Circumscripserunt Deum Israel*: They limited the God of Israel. 2. Likewise *Bellarmine* hath this position, that Indulgences

dulgences doe not take away the paines, that are inioyned in courts ecclesiasticall: *cap. 7. prop. 3.* and yet here he saith, that *indulgentia quadragena*, this indulgence of fortie daies is a release of penance, which was to be done fortie daies: which penance is inflicted by the Church. Thus he is found contrarie to himselfe. 3. I haue shewed before that the release of punishment to be inflicted, is contrarie to the Scriptures and the ancient practise of the Church: see before *err. 32.*

Secondly, if your indulgences doe release from punishment before God, then they should not release from the third or fourth part onely, but from the whole punishment: for where God pardoneth, he forgiueth al: he worketh perfectly, Psal. 68 28. *Finish, O Lord, that which thou hast wrought in vs:* and the wise man saith: Eccles. 3. 14. *I know, that whatsoeuer God doth, it shall be for euer, to it can no man adde, and from it can none diminish.* 2. Neither when the Church forgiueth, doth it pardon onely in part, but wholly; as 2. Cor. 2. 8. *Confirme or ratifie your loue toward him;* vers. 10. *I forgaue in the sight of Christ*, that is freely from the heart: thus was the young man fully restored to the Church, and not in part only: likewise Philem. 15. Saint *Paule* writeth vnto him to receiue his seruant *Onesimus, Who had offended him for euer;* vers. 17. *receiue him as my selfe*: that is, freely, frankely, wholly, fully. 3. But this releasing of the third or fourth part of penance is but a popish tricke for their further aduantage: that looke how many parts men would be released of, they should pay so many pounds more. 2

Thirdly, 1. Plenarie indulgence from the whole punishment of sinne, is but an encouragement to sinners, and a meanes to make them more secure: for though they sinne, yet they are free from punishment: Christ saith otherwise to the lame man, Ioh. 5. 14. *Sinne no more, least a worse thing happen vnto thee:* Christ releaseth him for that present of the punishment of his sinne, the lamenes of his bodie, but he giueth him no generall warrant. To this purpose *Gelasius* as I cited him before, and as he is alleaged, *caus. 24. qu. 2. c. 2. Date veniam dummodo nos in errore duremus:* pardon vs, that we may continue in error still. Secondly, they are blasphemous indulgences, that are made for twentie thousands of yeeres: for thus they take vpon them to release eternall punishment, which is contrarie to their owne doctrine: for that punishment which is extended beyond the time of purgatorie, which shall end with the world, must needes be the euerlasting punishment of hell. 2. If then they can giue indulgence for hell punishment, they can deliuer damned soules, which is an horrible blasphemie, and contrarie to the Scripture, Luk. 26. 16. *They cannot come from thence to vs:* and how farre are they then from that heresie, that diuels and all in the end should be saued, which is confuted by Saint *Augustine lib. 21. de ciuitat. c. 17. 23.* 3. It is true, that a mans sinnes may be so great and so many, as that he may be worthie not onely of twentie thousand yeeres but euerlasting punishment: as he giueth instance of such as blaspheme euery moment: but doe ye thinke such obstinate and incorrigible sinners capable of your indulgences? you are verie lauish of the treasure of the Church, to grant it to such. 4. And seeing your purgatorie paine is imagined to be so great, that one day of punishment there is answerable to many yeeres of penance in this life, how can three or foure hundred yeeres paines in purgatorie satisfie for twentie thousand? and miserable comforters are ye, to appoint men so many hundred yeeres punishment in purgatorie: it is nothing else but to feare them, that they may giue the more money not to come there. 5. But though *Bellarmine* be not ashamed of these blasphemous indulgences for twentie thousand yeeres, who taketh vpon him euerywhere to defend the most grossest points in poperie: yet some of the learned Papists are more modest, who thinke that such indulgences are neuer granted by the Pope, but deuised of the pardoners for their gaine: *Gerson in tract. de absolut. sacrament. Dominic. à Soto in 4. distinct. 21. qu. 2. artic. 1.* and so *Bellarmine* himselfe alleageth. 3

Fourthly, 1. I pray you from what punishment doe you release men at the point of death? seeing there remaineth none but in hel, fro the which (say you) you release not: for your purgatory fire is but a popish scarbugge to feare those with, that beleeue your lies: seeing the theefe, that had so many sinnes to be purged of, and made no satisfaction for them, went straight from the crosse to Paradise, which I thinke you will not say was in purgatorie. 2. A man vpon his deathbed being truly contrite, may be comforted with the declaration of the forgiuenes of his sinne in Christ, as it is in Iob. 33. 24. *His soule draweth neere to the graue, and his life to the buriers: if there be a messenger with him, to declare vnto man his righteousnes:* but punishment there remaineth none to be released to him, that dieth in the faith of Christ: 3. Vnlesse we count it a punishment for the bodie to lie in the graue: but from this not your *indulgence*, but Christs *omnipotence* shall free vs at the latter day; as your master saith: *A temporali pœna non penitus liberabit in futuro, cum nouissima mortis inimica destruetur, adhuc enim exspectamus redemptionem corporis:* From temporall paine he shall fully free vs hereafter, when as the last enemie death shall be destroyed, for we yet looke for the redemption of our bodies, *lib. 3. distinct. 19. lit. c.* 4

Fiftly, it is most grosse and absurd, to limit the power of indulgences to altars, Churches, or any other thing without life and sense. 1. The Pharises were not so blinde, for they held this as a 5

principle, *that none can forgiue sinnes but God*, Mark. 2.7. What then doe ye elſe, but make ſtones and walles as Gods to forgiue ſinnes? 2. The Prophet *Haggie* ſheweth that a mans *garment touching holy fleſh is not holy*, Hag. 2.13. your altar ſtones haue no greater vertue, then the holy fleſh of the ſacrifices, nor yet ſo much, becauſe that was of Gods inſtitution, the other is of your owne inuention; how can they then make holy thoſe that touch them? 3. We may ſay then as *Ambroſe* of the poſtes and ſtones of the Ieues houſes, which they ſtriked with the bloud of the Lambe: *Quid ligna & saxa prodesse possunt?* What can wood or ſtones profit. *serm. 12 in Psal. 119.*

6 Sixtly, to conclude then: we may finde that in the ancient former times, there were diuers kindes of penance enioyned for yeeres more or leſſe according to the qualitie of the offence: As players at dice had one yeeres penance appointed. *Eliberin. 79.* They which were preſent at the pagans feaſtes, two yeeres. *ibid. can. 55.* They which, though conſtrained, did eate in idoll temples, foure yeeres. *Ancyran. c. 5.* They which obſerued diuinations, fiue yeeres. *concil. Ancyran. can. 23.* They which were threatened and ſo ſacrificed, did penance ſix yeeres. *ibid. c. 6.* They which did twice ſacrifice to idols, ſeuen yeeres. *Ancyran. can. 8.* They which perſwaded others to ſacrifice, tenne yeeres. *ibid. can. 9.* They which lay with brute beaſtes, twentie yeeres. *Ancyran. can. 16.*

We alſo confeſſe that this power was left to the gouernors of the Church, to ſhorten theſe times of penance according to the contrition of the offender: as it was thus decreed. *Nicen. 1 can. 11. Quicunque cum omni timore & lachrimis conuersationem suam non verbis solum, sed opere demonstrant, licebit episcopo humanius circa eos aliquid statuere:* Whoſoeuer with feare and teares doe not onely inword, but in deed ſhew their conuerſation, it ſhal be lawfull for the Biſhop to ſhew them fauour, &c. But theſe were relaxations of penance inflicted by the Church, no indulgences of puniſhment not enioyned by the Church before God.

THE FIFT PART, TO WHOM INDVLGENces are profitable

The Papiſts.

40. Error. THey hold that indulgentes are profitable to all whoſoeuer, not onely to notorious and publike offenders, but euen to thoſe that are tending to perfection: his reaſon is this: becauſe it is profitable to all to be deliuered from thoſe things, which hinder them from eternall life; but ſuch is the temporall paine of purgatorie, which keepeth them backe a while, that they cannot go to heauen. *Bellarm. cap. 19.*

Anſw. 1. We grant that all men though neuer ſo perfect haue need of Chriſts indulgence in the remiſſion of their ſinnes, for there is none that ſinneth not: as Saint *Iohn* ſaith, 1. 1, 10. *He that ſaith he ſinneth not, is a lyar.* 2. But as for the externall indulgences of the Church (for other indulgence from the puniſhment onely we acknowledge none) they belong not to the innocent and vertuous liuers, but to offenders that muſt be reſtrained by the cenſures of the Church: for as the Apoſtle ſaith, *lex non est posita iusto:* the law is not giuen to a righteous man, 1. Tim. 1. 10. 3. Doth your purgatorie paine then hinder mens going to heauen? it is a ſhame for you then to driue ſo many ſoules thither, if you can keepe them from thence by your plenarie indulgences. 4. If purgatorie were ſuch a place as you imagine it, where men are purged from their ſinnes, and ſo made fitter to go to heauen, it is no hindrance but a furtherance to them: like as the fire doth no hurt to the gold that is purified by it: as *Iob* ſaith, *exibo vt aurum*, I ſhall come forth like golde. Iob. 23. 10. 5. And they which are perfect, in your owne doctrine ſhall not goe to purgatorie, but ſtraight to heauen: as *Paul* preſently vpon his diſſolution knew he ſhould be with Chriſt, Phil. 1. 23. And it is an approued ſaying among you: *Iniuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre:* He doth iniurie to a martyr that prayeth for him, that is, ſuppoſing him to be in purgatorie, for they only of the dead are to be praied for in your ſenſe: if all then need not feare purgatory, then indulgences are not profitable to all.

The Proteſtants.

THat indulgences of the Church are not profitable to the iuſt and righteous, it is thus proued.

Argum. 1. It profiteth not to be deliuered from that which worketh vnto a mans ſaluation: but the afflictions and puniſhment of this life are ſuch, as the Prophet ſaith, Pſal. 119. 71. *It is good for me that I haue beene afflicted*, and the Apoſtle ſaith, 1. Pet. 1. 23. Chriſt ſuffered for vs, leauing for vs an example that we ſhould follow his ſteps: *Ergo*, from ſuch temporall afflictions, indulgences are not to be ſought.

2. It is better for a man to liue by himſelfe and his owne faith, then to ſeeke ſatisfaction by an other: but the iuſt liueth by his faith, Rom. 1. 17. *Ergo*, he needeth not another mans ſatisfaction.

Anſw. 1.

Anſw. First, ſuch afflictions as further their ſaluation, are not to be ſhunned: but ſuch as withhold from entring into heauen, as is the temporall paine of Purgatorie. 1

Secondly, as it is better for a man to goe vpon both legges, than one: ſo to relie vpon other mens ſatisfactions as well as his owne, is a ſafer and more ſure way: *Bellarm. cap. 10. reſpond. ad 1. & 3. obiect.* 2

Contra. First, if you graunt all temporall paines profitable, but onely the ſuppoſed torments of Purgatorie, then are no paines or puniſhments at all left, to be releaſed by your Indulgences: for your purgatorie fire hath been long agoe quenched by the water of life flowing from the Scriptures: 1. *Chriſt hath by himſelfe purged our ſinnes*, Hebr. 1. 3. wee doe not purge them our ſelues. 2. The Scripture acknowledgeth but two places after this life, *heauen* or *hell*: Rom. 2. 9. *Tribulation and anguiſh ſhall be vpon the ſoule of euery one that doth euill: but to euery one that doth good, glorie and honour.* So ſaith Saint *Ambroſe*: *Qui non intrat regnum, neceſſario remanet in inferno*: He that entreth not into the kingdome, remaineth in hell, *ſerm.* 22. 3. That ſtate wherein a man dyeth can not be altered, 2. Cor. 5. 10. *Euery man ſhall receiue according to the things done in the bodie.* *Ambroſe* alſo ſaith: *Mors deteriorem ſtatum non infert, ſed qualem in ſingulis inuenerit, talem iudicio ſeruat*: Death maketh not a mans ſtate worſe, but as it findeth euery one, ſo it reſerueth them to the iudgement to come, &c. But concerning the vanitie of this deuice of Purgatorie, I haue treated before at large, *Contr. 9. qu. 1. part. 1.* 2. If Purgatorie be ſuch a place, as they imagine, which ſerueth to purge away the reliques of ſinne, it is no hindrance but a furtherance: like as the rodde of correction is profitable to the childe, and *doth deliuer his ſoule from hell*, Prou. 23. 14. 3. If Purgatorie be a let becauſe it ſtayeth the ſoule a while from heauen: by the ſame reaſon alſo all the afflictions of this life are lets: for as the Apoſtle ſaith, *While we are at home in the bodie, we are abſent from the Lord*, 2. Cor. 5. 6.

Secondly, 1. the ſimilitude which he vſeth is not fitly or properly applied, which rather may be turned thus: that as it is better for a man to go vpon his owne legs, than to leane vpon anothers ſtaffe; and if he can goe vpright of himſelfe, to lay hold of another is but an hindrance: ſo in the matter of ſaluation it is better to truſt to a mans owne faith. 2. So the Scripture ſaith, Rom. 1. 17. *The iuſt ſhall liue by faith*, that is, euery one by his owne faith: As, *The ſoule that ſinneth ſhall dye*, Ezech. 18. 20. No man ſhall beare anothers puniſhment: ſo no mans faith can profit another: *Qui per vos peccaſtis per vosmetipſos caſtis*: They that ſin by themſelues, muſt repent by themſelues: *Caus. 33. diſtinct. 1. c. 88.* 2

THE SIXT PART, TO WHOM THE POWER to graunt Indulgences belongeth.

The Papiſts.

FIrſt, the power of graunting Indulgences doth reſt onely in the Popes the ſucceſſor of *Peter*, to whom Chriſt ſaid, *Whatſoeuer you looſe in earth, ſhall be looſed in heauen*, Matth. 16. 19. 1

41. Error.

Secondly, plenarie Indulgences can onely bee graunted by the Pope, neither by Cardinals, whoſe indulgences exceede not an hundred dayes, neither by Biſhops or Metropolitanes, who can graunt indulgences but for one yeere in the dedication of Churches, and for fortie dayes at other times: nor yet by generall Councels. 2

42. Error.

Thirdly, Biſhops receiue this power to giue indulgences not immediatly from God, but from the Pope, from whom alſo they receiue their iuriſdiction: and this is an argument thereof, becauſe the Pope may make voyde indulgences graunted by Biſhops: but ſo can he not Orders or Sacraments miniſtred by them. 3

43. Error.

Fourthly, Pariſh paſtors haue no power to giue indulgences, but by commiſſion from the Pope, or their Biſhop; becauſe they are the princes of the people of God, to whom it belongeth to diſtribute the common goods of the Church. 4

44. Error.

Fiftly, the power of order is not neceſſarie to giue indulgences, but the power of iuriſdiction onely, and therefore the Pope or Biſhop may graunt indulgences, though they haue not the Orders. 5

45. Error.

Sixtly, neither is this power of indulgences loſt by any deadly ſin: *ſic Bellar. lib. de Indulg. c. 11.* 6

46. Error.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, the keyes of the Church to binde or looſe, open or ſhut, were no more committed to *Peter*, than vnto the reſt of the Apoſtles: as Saint *Hierome* well noteth: *Cauillentur regni cœlorum accipiunt, & ex æquo ſuper eos eccleſiæ fortitudo fundatur*: All the Apoſtles receiue the keyes of the kingdome, and the ſtrength of the Church equally is founded vpon them all, *lib. 1. aduerſ. Iouinian.* For as in this place the words ſeeme to be ſpoken to *Peter*, though for, and in the name of the reſt: ſo elſewhere the commiſſion is graunted generally to all, Matth. 18. 18. *Whatſoeuer you binde in earth, &c.* And Ioh. 20. 23. *Whoſe ſinnes you remit, they are remitted.* 1

Secondly,

2 Secondly, 1. plenarie Indulgences neither Pope, Cardinall, nor Bishop haue power to graunt, but they are reserued onely to Christ: 1. Ioh. 1. 7. *The blood of Christ* (onely purgeth) *from all sin.* 2. In the administration of the Church-keyes, the Pope hath no preeminence before other Bishops, but they haue the same power in their diocesse, which he hath in his: as Saint *Peter* disdaineth not to call the rest of the pastors Elders, and himselfe συμπρεσβύτερον, a fellow Elder, 1. Pet. 5. 1.

1 *and he exhorteth them to feede the flocke:* not taking this office of feeding wholy to himselfe. 3. Yet though *Peter* bee prooued to haue had a superioritie, it is not straight deriued to the Pope, who is not his true successor. Saint *Ambrose* saith: *Oues Christi non solum tum suscepit beatus Petrus, sed & nobiscum eas suscepit, & cum illo eas suscepimus omnes:* The sheepe of Christ blessed *Peter* did not then onely receiue, but he tooke them together with vs, and wee with him: *de dignit. sacerdot. c. 2.* 4. As for that distinction of plenarie Indulgences for fortie, an hundred dayes, for a yeere, it is but a Romish deuice, and of no antiquitie, for the Popes aduauntage, and as a steppe to lift vp the Pope into his chaire of pride, that in euery case still a prerogatiue may be reserued to him. 5. The office and calling of Cardinals is one of the Popes creatures, and what priuiledge they haue, wee do not greatly force: it is grounded rather vpon custome, than any law, as *Bellarmine* confesseth *cap.* 11. we hold both the calling of them, with all their immunities to be Antichristian, as I haue shewed before, *Contr. 3. qu. 3. part. 3.* 6. Concerning generall Councels, that they haue authoritie aboue the Pope, I haue likewise prooued before, *Contr. 3 qu. 7.* whither I referre the reader: And that Councels may also giue plenarie Indulgences as well as the Pope, it appeareth both by their practise: for so did the Councell of Basill, wherein *Panormitane* alloweth the act of the Councell, a great popish Doctor, though *Bellarmine* call it a schismaticall Councell: And beside of this iudgement are *Felinus ser. de indulg. num. 28. Dominic. à Soto, Nauarrus,* with others cited by *Bellar. cap.* 11.

3 Thirdly, Bishops and pastors receiue their calling from God, and not from the Pope: Act. 20. vers. 28. *Spiritus sanctus constituit vos Episcopos, &c.* The holie Spirit hath made you Bishops. *Cyprian: Christus dicit ad Apostolos, ac per hoc ad omnes præpositos, qui Apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt:* Christ saith to the Apostles, and to all gouernours of the Church, which succeede the Apostles as their Vicars, *lib. 4. epist. 9. Hieron. Omnes episcopi Apostolorum successores:* All Bishops are the Apostles successors, *Gregorie.* Their authoritie then is not deriued to them from the Pope: 2. neither can the Pope infringe or make voide the acts of other Bishops by right, but therein he is an vsurper: As *Cyprian* saith: *Nec quisquam episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannidis terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, &c.* None of vs must make himselfe a Bishop of Bishops, or with tyrannicall feare compell his colleagues to obey, &c. *in concil. Carthag.*

4 Fourthly, 1. that Bishops are princes of the Lords people, is contrarie to the Apostle, 1. Peter 5. 3. *Not as though ye were Lords ouer Gods heritage.* Saint *Hierome* saith: *Patres se sciant esse, non dominos:* Let them know themselues to be fathers, not Lords, *Hieron. ad Theophil.* 2. All pastors, to whom the preaching of the word is committed, by the same word haue authoritie to bind and loose: that which our Sauiour spake to his Apostles, Ioh. 20. 23. *Whose sinnes you remit &c.* is vnderstood of all pastors: and the Rhemists confesse in their annotations vpon this place, *that this speciall faculti'e of the Priesthood consisting in remitting of sinne, is here bestowed vpon them.* Saint *Paul* sheweth, that all pastors and teachers are giuen, for *the gathering together of the Saints, the worke of the ministrie, the edification of the bodie of Christ,* Ephes. 4. 12. But these duties cannot be performed without the power of binding and loosing. *Hierome* saith, *Quid facit excepta ordinatione episcopus, quod non facit presbyter?* What doth a Bishop, beside ordination, which a presbyter doth not? *Hierom. Euag. Origen* saith: *Episcopis & presbyteris credita sunt cathedræ:* The chaire of the Church is committed to Bishops and Priests, *tract. 15. in Matth.* Your owne decrees witnesse: *Qui vult absolueri quoras sacerdotem scientem ligare, & soluere:* Hee that will confesse, let him seeke a priest, that knoweth how to binde and loose, *Caus. 33. dist. 1. c. 88.* Lastly, some of your owne Doctors doe affirme, that euery priest that heareth confessions, hath authoritie to absolue and graunt Indulgences: *Angelus in summa verb. indulgent. num. 5. Bartholom. Fumus. in summa verb. indulgent. num. 2.* And thus much *Bellarmine* acknowledgeth.

5 Fiftly, 1. that the power of Indulgence may be dispensed by any which are not entred into the Orders of the Church, nor admitted to the ministrie of the word, it is contrarie to the Scriptures: for Christ speaketh to his Apostles, whom hee had chosen and appointed to that office before, Matth. 10. 1. *Whatsoeuer you binde in earth, &c.* And Iohn 20. 22. hee first doth breath vpon them the holie Ghost, and saith, *Whose sinnes ye remit, &c.* Saint *Ambrose* saith, *Verbum dei dimittit peccata, &c.* The word of God forgiueth sinnes, *qui soluendi ius non habet ligandi non habet, &c. ius hoc solis permissum est sacerdotibus:* They that haue not power to loose, haue not power to binde, &c. this power is onely permitted to priests, *lib. 2. de Cain & Abel. cap. 4.* Therefore he must bee a priest, and a minister of the word, which hath power to binde or loose. Yea, the Rhemists confesse, *that to*

remit

remit sinnes is a speciall faculties of the priesthood, as I alleaged before: wherefore none can execute this power that is not in orders.

Sixtly, 1. this last assertion is contrarie to the Scripture, *for he that hath a beame in his owne eye* 6
cannot see clearely to cast out the moate out of his brothers eye: Matt. 7. 5. for how can a man iudge rightly of another mans sinne, that doth not iudge it in himselfe? 2. *Origen* saith: *Quo funibus suorum peccatorum constringitur, frustra vel ligit, vel solvat*: He that is tyed with the cordes of his owne sinnes, bindeth or looseth in vaine: *tract. in Matth.* 1. 3. *Nicholaus* 1. one of their Popes, *Epist. ad Michaelem*, thus saith: *Qui ligati sunt ligare, & qui ipsi mortui sunt alios mortificare non possunt*: They that are bound themselues cannot binde others, and they which are dead themselues, cannot mortifie or giue ouer others to death, &c. And to the same purpose he alleageth his predecessor *Celestinus*: *Non iudicamus eum remotum, quia non poterat quenquam eius removere sententia, qui se iam prabuerat ipse removendum*: We doe not iudge him as remooued, because his sentence coulde not remooue any, who did shew himselfe worthie to be remooued, &c. He then that is in any damnable sinne, and is worthie to be cast out himselfe, hath no power to cast out others.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, WHETHER Indulgences may be graunted without great and waightie cause.

The Papists.

WHere as the popish diuines are diuided about this question, some affirming that so the cause be lawfull and honest, not euill, vaine or worldly, but belonging to Gods glory, though it be not otherwise a matter of great *waight*, indulgences may be granted: as when the Pope vpon Easter day giueth plenarie indulgence to the people that stand about the gate of Saint *Peters* Church; which seemeth to be but a small matter: *sic Thomas in 4. d. 20. qu. 1. ar. 3 qu. 2. Durand. Antoninus*, and others by *Bellarmine* produced: others do thinke, that the cause must not onely be honest and godly, but proportionable in greatnes to the indulgence graunted: *sic Bonauentura. Richard. Ioan. Gerson. Adrianus Papa*, with others rehearsed by *Bellarmine*: to the latter opinion he 47. Error.
seemeth to encline, giuing notwithstanding such cauteles, as that he alloweth indulgences granted for the smallest matters: as first the cause, which is light in it selfe may tend to a great ende, as the standing of the people before Saint *Peters* Church gate, is a meane to testifie their faith of the head of the Church, to the honour of the Apostolike Sea: secondly, it is not for the subiect to iudge 1
which are great and waighcie causes: they may be great, which seeme but small to them: *Bellarm. de indulgent. lib. 1. c. 12.*

The Protestants.

FIrst, who seeth not how this captious and quaint distinguisher by his quirkes and subtilties goeth about to maintaine all the ridiculous & rash indulgences, which are granted by the Popes: for if standing at Saint *Peters* Church doore, and looking vpon it, be a matter of so great waight, to deserue a plenarie indulgence, you shall neuer want waightie causes for your pardons: and to barre the people (whom you call the Popes subiects) from estimating or valuing the greatnesse or smalnesse of causes, you doe but make a waye, to doe what you liste with your pardons.

Secondly, whereas then you require these conditions in giuing of pardons, they must not be granted, first, for euill works: secondly, for worldly matters: thirdly, but such as tend to the honour of God: fourthly, and are not light or vaine, but of some waight and importance. It is euident that the Popes pardons haue offended against all these rules: first, forty daies pardon was proclaimed vnder *Longland* Bishoppe of Lincolne to as many as brought a fagot to burne the poore seruants of Christ, which was an euill and vncharitable worke. *Fox. p. 983.*

2. Full remission of sinnes was granted to as many as did assist *Spencer* Bishop of Norwich to fight for Poope *Vrbane* the sixt, against the Antipope *Clement*: p. 446. which was but a meere worldly and temporall matter.

3. *Sixtus* the fourth granted great indulgences to those that did celebrate the feast of the conception of the virgin *Mary*, adding this clause to the *Aue Marie*: *Haile Mary full of grace, &c.* and blessed is *Anna* thy mother, *of whom thy virgins flesh hath proceeded without spot of originall sinne. Fox p. 800.* this cause was not to the honour, but to the dishonour of Christ; whose onely conception was without sinne: as is before shewed, *contr. 9. qu. 9. part. 1.*

4. When as the Friar *Tetzelius* went about with the Popes pardons, offering for ten shillings, that who so would, should deliuer one soule out of purgatorie. *ex Christian. Masf. lib.* 10. This was no waightie or great cause, being but a matter of ten shillings.

Thirdly, the Popes friends then should giue him counsell to be more sparing and not so lauish of the Church treasure: *Eugenius* the fourth being requested to ioyne with the counsel of Basil

Basil to graunt generall Indulgences for the reducing of the Greeke Church, answered, *Ne clanes ecclesia contemnerentur, velle se maturius incedere:* That hee would take pause in the matter, least the keyes of the Church should be contemned, *epist. synodal.* 8. If the Pope would be aduised in so great a matter, it is intolerable rashnes to lash out with his Indulgences, where no such cause is.

Fourthly, Saint *Paul* would not graunt pardon or indulgence lightly to the young man, but after he perceiued his sorrow and heauines to be so great, that *he was like to be swallowed vp of it, if he were not comforted*, 2. Cor. 2. 7.

Saint *Cyprian* saith, as he is cited in the Decrees, *dist.* 50. *c.* 27. *Satis est temerarius, qui remissionem peccatorum cunctis se dare posse confidit:* He is very rash, that thinketh he can giue remission of sinnes to all, &c. as the Pope doth, when hee giueth plenarie Indulgence to whole multitudes together.

THE SEVENTH PART, OF THE DISPOSITION required to be in them that receiue Indulgences.

The Papists.

48. Error. 1 FIrst, Indulgences may be graunted to a sinner, and for such workes as are done while hee is in the state of sinne, as if a sinfull man doe contribute toward the recouering of Ierusalem: *Bellarm. cap.* 13.

49. Error. 2 Secondly, yet a man cannot perceiue the fruite of such indulgences, vnlesse hee be in the state of grace, *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *c.* 13. *quæst.* 1.

50. Error. 3 Thirdly, if the good worke enioyned to be done be accompanied or ioyned with veniall sinne, it hindreth the fruite of indulgence, *Bellarm. ibid.*

51. Error. 4 Fourthly, hee that will receiue benefite by these indulgences, must confesse and be truly penitent.

52. Error. 5 Fiftly, he cannot enioy the indulgence, that doth not performe all the workes that are enioyned, *ibid. qu.* 4.

53. Error. 6 Sixtly, Indulgences may be profitable to those that will not, though they can, satisfie for themselues, but doe rest in the satisfaction of others, *ibid. qu.* 5.

The Protestants.

1 FIrst, 1. the Apostle saith, *without faith it is impossible to please God*, Heb. 11. 6. how dare ye then graunt indulgence or remission to them which are yet in their sinnes, and not reconciled to God? 2. This is also contrarie to their owne doctrine: for they say, an indulgence is a release of the punishment of sinne, which remaineth after the fault it selfe is remitted: but now it is affirmed, that indulgence may be graunted to them which are yet in their sinnes. 3. It is contrarie to their owne law: *Peccati venia non datur nisi correcto:* The pardon of sinnes must be graunted to none, but to them that are amended, *sext. decretal regul. iuris.* 5.

2 Secondly, as we willingly graunt, that a man being not in the state of grace, cannot be partaker of the true indulgence and remission of sinnes: for as the Apostle saith, Ephes. 2. 8. *By grace are ye saued through faith:* so this position is flatly opposite to the popish error of indulgences: for if a man be in the state of grace before the indulgence be graunted, which they say is but a release of the punishment, then is their indulgence altogether superfluous: for to a man being in the state of grace, there remaineth neither sinne nor punishment of sin: Rom. 5. 1. *Being iustified by faith, we are at peace with God:* vers. 9. *Being iustified by his blood, we shall be saued from wrath through him.* If wee are then presently vpon our iustification at peace with God, and deliuered from his wrath, then there remaineth no punishment of sinne: for God doth not punish for sinne but in wrath. Saint *Ambrose* saith, *Qui fidem habet, habet regnum cœlorum:* He that hath faith, hath the kingdome of heauen, *in Luc.* 13. And he that is in the state of grace hath faith, he hath then alreadie the kingdome of heauen, and so your Indulgences come too late.

3 Thirdly, 1. If euery veniall, that is small offence, should hinder the true indulgence and remission of sinnes, then it were impossible for any man to attaine vnto it: for our best workes are blemished; as the Prophet saith, Isai. 64. 6. *All our righteousnes is as a stayned cloath.* And *Origen* verie well noteth vpon these words of our Sauiour, Luk. 17. 10. *When you haue done all, say, you are vnprofitable seruants: Nec enim si verè bona essent, quæ facimus, scriptum esset, vt facientes ea dicamus nos inutiles seruos, &c.* For if they were truly good things which wee doe, it should not be written, that doing such things, wee should say wee are vnprofitable seruants: in comparison of other mens workes they are called good, *sed quantum ad veritatem bonum nostrum non est bonum:* But in respect of the veritie it selfe, our good workes are not good, *Tract.* 8. *in Matth.* 2. And concerning your owne indulgences, think you, that when vnder *Clemens* 6. in the Iubile celebrated *ann.* 1350. there were numbred 500. euery day going and comming to Rome, and an hundred thousand

wayting

wayting at the Popes gates for pardons, that none of these had any veniall faules? 3. And are your Iubile pardons of so small force, that whereas they can release Purgatorie paines for many thousand yeeres, they cannot remoue one poore veniall sinne? If this doctrine were generally knowne to your friends and welwillers, I think your Iubile pardons would not finde many chapmen to buy them

Fourthly, 1. If your Indulgences profit not, vnlesse they bee truly penitent and confesse their sinnes which doe receiue them, what neede the poore people take so long iourneyes to come to Rome for pardons? for if they be truly contrite, they shall finde forgiuenes at home: yea, *if they examine their heart vpon their beds, and tremble*, Psal.4.4. it shall be a good sacrifice to God: *A broken and a contrite heart God will not despise*, Psal.51.17. *To whom will I looke, saith the Lord: to him that is poore and of a contrite spirit*, Isai.66.2. Whereseouer a man repenteth, and whensoeuer, hee shall finde remission. *Ambrose* saith: *Iob in stercore sedens, omnia, quæ amiserat, recuperauit: Iob* sitting vpon the dunghill, recouered al he lost, *de pœnit. lib.1.c.1.* No place can be so meane, or base, where true repentance is not accepted of God. 4

2. But how standeth this with your doctrine of Indulgences, to require repentance and confession, whereby we obtaine remission of sinnes, and not of the punishment onely? and you say indulgence releaseth onely the punishment remayning after remission: but now your Indulgences are proclaimed, before remission of sinnes by repentance and confession: for in the Bull of Indulgences this clause is inserted: *Pœnitentibus & vere confessis, vel qui vere pœnitebunt & confitebuntur:* The Indulgence is graunted to them that are truly penitent and confessed, or which shall be truly penitent, and confesse, *Bonif.8.extrau.lib.5.tit.9.c.1.* And thus they are promised a release of the punishment, before they haue repented of the sinne.

3. It is an hard matter, for your poore suppliants, by this meanes to finde repentance: for your yeere of Iubile maketh them secure, and many doe sin willingly in hope of forgiuenes then. But this is no true repentance, to sinne that grace may more abound, and *to doe euill, that good may come of it*, Rom.3.8. Of such Saint *Ambrose* saith: *Alij proposita spe agenda pœnitentiæ, licentiam sibi peccandi propagatam putant:* Some vpon hope of penance propounded or published, doe thinke their libertie of sinning enlarged, *lib.2.de pœnitent.c.9.* And it is *Bellarmines* owne position, that if a man in hope of the yeere of Iubile doe willingly fall into sinne, he may notwithstanding be absolued, *lib.1.de Indulg.c.10.p.60.*

Fiftly, it is an hard condition, that a man cannot enioy a Popes pardon, vnlesse he performe all workes that are inioyned: First, pardon with God is more easily obtained: for he requireth of vs no such painfull workes, but onely to *cease to doe euill, and to learne to doe well*, Isai.1.16. Secondly, he requireth not of vs to goe ouer the sea in pilgrimage, to Ierusalem, to Rome, or to any other place: Deuter.30.13. *Neither is it beyond the seas, that thou shouldest say, who shall goe ouer the sea for vs, to bring it vs?* Thirdly, Saint *Ambrose* saith of *Dauids* repentance: *Dauid exclamauit, peccaui, & mox audiuit, Deus abstulit peccatum; quantum valent tres syllabæ: tres enim syllabæ sunt, peccaui, sed in istis tribus syllabis flamma sacrificij cordis eius ad cœlum ascendit: Dauid* cried out, I haue sinned, and straight he heard, God hath taken away thy sinne: see how much three syllables auaile: *I haue sinned* are but three syllables, yet in these three syllables the flaming sacrifice of his heart ascended: *exhortat. ad pœnitent.* Here are all the workes required of *Dauid*, with a sorrowfull heart to pronounce three syllables. Fourthly, *Augustine* also saith: *Nunquam spernit pœnitentiam, si ei syncerè & simpliciter offeratur, etiamsi quis explere non poterit omnem satisfaciendi ordinem:* He neuer despiseth repentance, if it be syncerely and simply offered him, although a man doe not fulfill all the order of satisfaction, *de tempor. serm.181.c.16.* God then forgiueth, though a man cannot fulfill all that is enioyned: but the Pope will not pardon, vnlesse the whole satisfaction enioyned bee performed. 5

Sixtly, against the last proposition Cardinall *Caietane* reasoneth thus: That Indulgences can not profit them, that haue not a purpose to satisfie for themselues. 6

1. Because such are vnworthie of indulgence, but the Church intendeth not to bestow Indulgences vpon the vnworthie.

2. It is not fit for a man to aske of his friend to satisfie for him, if hee be able himselfe to doe it.

3. In a well constituted common-wealth, the common treasure must not be employed to pay their debts, that are able themselues, &c.

4. Indulgences are graunted to such as are truly penitent; but they are not that refuse to bring forth fruits of repentance: *sic Caietan. tract.10.de suscipient. ib. indulg.c.1.*

Answ. 1. *Bellarmine* answereth, that such bee not vnworthie, but *non digni*, not worthie onely.

2. A man may craue his friends satisfaction in such a case of fauour, because his friend hath no neede himselfe.

Cccc 3. There

3. There may be cause, when it is fit their debts should be payd of the common treasurie, that are able to discharge them of their owne.

4. They are truly penitent, that haue a purpose to satisfie themselues, if others did not satisfie for them, *Bellarm c.13.*

1 *Contra.* 1. This is a very nice distinction, to make a difference betweene *indignum*, vnworthie, and *non dignum*, not worthie: the Scripture vseth them both indifferently: as Heb.11.36. *Of whom the world was not worthie:* was not the world vnworthie of them also? So Matth.22.8. *They which were bidden, were not worthie:* were they not also vnworthie? And so the Apostle saith, Act.13.46. *You iudge your selues vnworthie of euerlasting life:* so to bee *vnworthie*, and not *worthie*, are all one. 2. The spirituall treasure of the Church is not bestowed vpon any, but such as are thought worthie, 2.Thess.1.11. *That our God may make you worthie of his calling:* therefore it is not to be giuen to those that *are not worthie.*

2 Secondly, 1. If it bee no fault for a man to borrow of his neighbour when hee hath enough himselfe, why did *Dauid* iudge him worthie of death, that hauing many sheepe of his owne, fetcht his poore neighbours sheepe to entertaine his friend with? 2.Sam.12.4,5. 2. One friend vseth not to lend to another, but when he needeth, as it is in the Parable, Luk.11.6. *One commeth to his friend at midnight, and saith, Lend me three loaues, for a friend of mine is come out of the way vnto me, and I haue nothing to set before him:* vers.8. *Though he would not arise and giue him, because he is his friend, yet because of his importunitie, he would rise and giue him as many as he needed.* Here we see that one friend is not to trouble another, but when he hath neede. 3. In spirituall things a man hath neede of all himselfe, Matth.25.9. *Lest there be not enough for vs and you.*

3 Thirdly, Saint *Paul* commaundeth the contrarie, that where there is sufficient beside, none should be at the common charge, 1.Tim.5.16. *If any faithfull man or woman haue widowes, let them minister vnto them, and let not the Church be charged:* and this reason is giuen, *that there may be sufficient for widowes indeede:* that is, for them which haue no maintenance of their owne. So then, if the commonwealth should spend their treasure vpon them that are able of themselues, the poore should want it.

4 Fourthly, 1. the Scripture saith, *Haue salt in your selues*, Mark.9.50. Euery man must be seasoned in himselfe, and not looke to be seasoned by another. 2. And *Iohn Baptist* sheweth who they are that bring forth fruits worthie of repentance by the example of a tree, Matth.3.10. *Euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen downe and cast into the fire.* It excuseth not a barren tree, to haue another tree that is fruitfull to grow by it: so neither can one man be saued by anothers workes. 3. *Ambrose* therefore saith: *Ablue igitur te lachrymis tuis, si tu ipse te fleueris, alius te non flebit: nam si Saul deflesset peccata sua, Samuel eum non fleuisset:* Therfore wash thy selfe with thine owne teares, if thou weepe for thy selfe, another shall not neede to weepe for thee: for if *Saul* had wept for his sinne, *Samuel* would not haue wept for him: *lib.5.in Luc.* Like as then *Samuels* teares did not profit *Saul*, because he lamented not for himselfe, so neither can other mens workes helpe them that doe not worke for themselues. Wherefore *Caietane* doth here come somewhat neere the marke, and *Bellarmine* hath mist the cushin.

THE EIGHT PART, WHETHER INDVLGENCES doe profit the dead: This part is diuided into fiue questions.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER THE dead haue any benefit by the Indulgences of the Church.

The Papists.

54.Error. BEllarmine proueth the question thus:

Argum. 1. The prayers of the liuing and other workes by way of impetration profit the dead: *Ergo*, the same workes, as prayer, fasting, being also satisfactorie, doe also benefit them by way of satisfaction.

2. The faithfull departed make one bodie, and one Church with the faithfull liuing: therefore the satisfactions of the liuing may be applied to the dead.

3. And if priuate men may applie their satisfactions to the rest of the members being dead, much more may they applie vnto them the satisfactions of Christ, and of the Saints: *Bellarm. cap.14.qu.1.*

The Protestants.

1 *Confut.1.* FIrst, the argument followeth not, we may pray for the dead: *Ergo*, we may also satisfie for them: for we grant that we may one pray for another while we liue, but wee can not satisfie one for another, because supplication is of mercie: but satisfaction is of desert. Secondly,

condly, neither is it true that the prayers of the liuing doe profit the dead: request or intercession auaileth not after sentence giuen, and iudgement past, which is in the finall end and departure in this life: for *after the gate is shut*, there is no entring, Matth. 25. 10. and your Canons say, *Mortuorum causa Deo reseruanda est*: The cause of the dead must be reserued to God. *Conf. 24. qu. 2. c. 1. Leo.*

Secondly, First the Apostle saith, *Of whom is named the whole family in heauen and in earth*; we acknowledge a glorious part of the family of the Church to be in heauen: but of any part thereof to be in purgatorie we reade not: 2. If this be a good reason, the soules in purgatorie are our fellow members: *Ergo*, wee may satisfie for them, it will follow as well, that they may satisfie for vs, because we are their members also; and much rather, because the torments of purgatorie being so exceeding painefull, they are so much the more eable to satisfie. 3. It is not sufficient warrant to pray for the dead, because they are members; for then we should pray also for the spirits of the iust that are in heauen: but our prayer must be in faith, Iam. 5. 15. *the prayer of faith*: We must haue a particular knowledge of their state, for whom we pray, and an assurance that our prayers shall be heard: but concerning prayer for the dead, we can haue neither knowledge of their state, neyther haue we any such warrant out of the word that our prayers are heard.

Thirdly, 1. It followeth not, a man may dispense his own goods, *Ergo*, another may doe it for him: the Saints satisfactions are (as the Rhemists say, *annot. in Colos.* 1. vers. 24.) applicable by *the sufferers speciall intention*: *Ergo*, a man hath more right to dispose of his owne, then the Pope hath. 2. No man can satisfie for himself at all, & we denie absolutely that there are any such satisfactions applicable, priuately or publikly to the liuing, or to the dead: some of our reasons are these.

Argum. 1. The Prophet saith, Psal. 49. *A man can by no meanes redeeme his brother, nor giue his ransome to God*: but to deliuer soules out of purgatorie, and to satisfie for them, is to redeeme them: *Ergo*, by satisfactions soules cannot be helped out of purgatorie, if there were any.

2. No man can satisfie for himselfe, much lesse for any other: for when a man hath done all, he is but an vnprofitable seruant, Luk. 17. 10. if he be an vnprofitable seruant for himselfe, he cannot be profitable for another.

3. *Dauid* ceaseth to pray for his childe, when it was dead: though he were out of hope of life for it in this world, yet he might haue prayed, and fasted, and satisfied for the soule of his childe being departed, if so be any such course to be taken for the dead, were acceptable to God: But so *Dauid* doth not, but reasoneth thus: 2. Sam. 12. 23. *Now being dead, wherefore should I now fast?* He seeth no reason why he should fast or vse any other satisfaction for the dead.

4. Saint *Ambrose* saith directly: *Nihil prosunt flagella post mortem, & ideo Dauid, dum esset in istius corporis vita, in flagella se præparauit, vt cum Dominus reciperet castigatum*: Stripes profite not after death, and therfore *Dauid* while he was in the life of this bodie, prepared himselfe for stripes, that the Lord might receiue him now alreadie chastised and corrected.

5. *Gelasius* saith, as he is cited, *Conf. 24. qu. 3. c. 4. Deus qui in diuino est iudicio constitutus, nobis fas non est aliud decernere præter id, in quo eum dies supremus inuenit*: Of him that is now appointed to the diuine iudgement, it is not lawfull for vs otherwise to discerne and iudge, then as his last day found him, &c. How then can any man thinke to alter the state of the dead, by satisfactions, or indulgences whatsoeuer?

6. The wordes of the Popes Bull of indulgences are these: *Vere pœnitentibus & confessis plenissimam concedimus veniam peccatorum*: We grant plenarie forgiuenes of sinnes to them that are truely penitent and confessed: but in purgatorie there is no repentance, which must be done in the bodie, when they may bring forth fruites of repentance: neyther is there any Priest there to bee confessed vnto: *Ergo* the benefite of indulgences cannot extend to them.

7. Wee haue testimonie heere of some of our aduersaries: these are of opinion, that indulgences doe not profit the dead: *Ostiens. in Summa. lib. 5. tit. de remissionib. Num. 9. Gabriel lect. 39. in canon. miss. Iohan. Maior. in 4. dist. 20. qu. 2.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE MANner how Indulgences are applied to the dead.

The Papists.

FIrst, some of them affirme, that the Pope may iudicially absolue the soules in purgatorie, and that they doe belong vnto his iurisdiction, and so he may extend his indulgences vnto them, as vnto the liuing: *Michael Medina disput. 7. de indulgens. c. 34. Bellarmine* with other Papists mislikeeth this opinion, who denie not, but that the Pope may apply indulgences to the dead, but not iudicially, or as exercising any iurisdiction ouer them. *Bellarm. c. 14. qu. 2.*

1 55. Error.

2

2 Secondly, *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that indulgences are profitable to the dead, *per modum suffragij*,
56. Error. after the manner of the suffrage of the Church, that as the suffrage or prayer of the Church doe helpe by way of merite, impetration, satisfaction; so indulgences are granted to the dead, as they are satisfactorie, and so *per modum suffragij satisfactorij*: after the manner of a suffrage as it is satisfactorie. *Ibid. qu.* 3.

3 Thirdly, some of them thinke, that indulgences doe profit the dead, *ex condigno*, of condignitie and worthines: *Dominicus à Soto in* 4. *dist.* 22. *qu.* 2. *art.* 3. *Nauarr. in Manual. cap.* 22. *num.* 20.
57. Error. Other of them rather thinke, that indulgences are not auaileable for the dead, otherwise then by the mercie of God, and so of *congruitie*, rather then of *condignitie*, so *Caietanus, Petrus à Soto, Cordubens.* to whom *Bellarmine* subscribeth: their reason is, because one liuing cannot satisfie for another of condignitie, much lesse for the dead. *Bellarm. c.* 14. *qu.* 4.

4 Fourthly, to apply indulgences to the dead, there is required a supreame and high authoritie,
58. Error. and therefore Bishops and other inferior prelates cannot apply indulgences to the dead, but onely the Pope. *ibid. qu.* 5.

5 Fiftly, the Pope cannot deliuer at his pleasure soules out of purgatorie, but there must be some
59. Error. particular iust cause belonging to the glorie of God, and the profit of the Church, &c. a generall cause is not sufficient, for then Christ himselfe should haue deliuered all the soules alreadie out of purgatorie. *Bellarm. ibid. qu.* 5.

6 Sixtly, indulgences directly belong to the liuing, indirectly to the dead, no otherwise, then as
60. Error. the liuing doe performe the workes enioyned for the dead. *Bellarm. ibid.*

7 Seuenthly, indulgences doe not profite the dead in common, otherwise then as they reioyce one
61. Error. for anothers good, but onely those soules are deliuered therby, to whom they are particularly intended. *Bellarm. c.* 14. *qu.* 6.

8 Eightly, the Pope may release vnto a man liuing by indulgence, the paine of purgatorie, which
62. Error. otherwise he were subiect vnto. *c.* 6. *resp. ad obiect.* 1.

9 Ninthly, concerning the greatnes of the paine of purgatorie, *Bellarmine* thinketh, that though
63. Error. it be greater then all the paines of this life, yet the voluntarie punishment of this life is more effectuall for the expiation of sinne, then the more grieuous paine of purgatorie: because this is a time of mercy, that of iustice: others doe thinke contrarie, that one day of paine in purgatorie is more auaileable then many yeares of most seuere penance in this life. *Dominicus à Soto in* 4. *dist.* 21. *qu.* 2. *artic.* 1. *Bellarm. c.* 9.

The Protestants.

1 FIrst, 1. the Pope hath no power to extend his indulgences anie way at all to the dead, either iudicially by way of absolution, or *ministerially* by way of dispensation: for the Scripture is euident, *whatsoeuer you binde in earth shall be bound in heauen*, Matth. 18. 18. *Gelasius* vrgeth these words, *super terram*, vpon the earth: *in hac vita sine dubitatione suspensum dixit absolui*, he no where saith, that a man dying being bound, can afterward be absolued. *caus.* 24. *qu.* 3. *c.* 2. And whereas *Bellarmine* telleth vs, that this is spoken onely of *iudiciall absolution*: the words are generall of all binding and loosing, that it must be done vpon earth, and therefore cannot be extended to them, which are dead.

2. Yet contrarie to this doctrine of *Bellarmine*, the Pope taketh vpon him as a iudge to absolue and condemne the dead. 1. Because he doth excommunicate the dead: which although *Bellarmine* saith is nothing else but a declaration of that sentence, which should haue beene pronounced, while they liued: yet it is euident by their owne law, that *indulgentia non prosunt nec subditis*, that indulgences, absolutions (and so consequently, ligations, excommunications) doe not profite (and so likewise disprofit or preiudice) them that are no subiects. *decr. Greg. lib.* 5. *tit.* 38. *c.* 4. Wherfore if the dead be not subiect to the Popes iurisdictio, the sentence of excommunication or absolution doth not bind or loose them. 2. It is *Bellarmines* owne position, *vt indulgentia detur, requiritur iurisdictio*: that indulgences may be granted, there is required a iurisdiction. *lib.* 1 *de indulg. c.* 14. *qu.* 3. If the Pope then haue no iurisdiction ouer the dead, he can graue no indulgences vnto them. 3. One of their owne Doctors saith: *Animæ existentes in purgatorio, sunt de iurisdictione papæ*: Soules being in purgatorie are of the Popes iurisdiction, *Iohan. Angelus.* 4. And though they will not be bound to the opinion of one Doctor, yet they cannot refuse the iudgement of the Pope: *Clemens* 6. thus saith in his Bull, *Mandamus Angelis paradisi*: We commaund the Angels of Paradise, to carry the soules deliuered out of purgatorie to the glorie of Paradise, &c. If the Pope then doe commaund Angels, and so doe exercise iurisdiction ouer them, much more ouer purgatorie soules: the Pope then cannot giue indulgence, but where he hath iurisdiction: but their new Doctors ashamed of the grossenes of the elder Papists, allow the Pope no iurisdictio ouer the dead, then consequently he cannot graunt them any indulgence.

2 Secondly, 1. We deny y the suffrages & the praiers of the liuing, are satisfactory for one another, but only deprecatorie & impetratorie: for praier receiueth all the force thereof from faith: Ia. 5. 15.

the

the prayer of faith : and faith is grounded vpon grace and fauour : as the Apostle saith, Ephes.2.8.
By grace are ye saued through faith. It is one thing to pray and intreate, another to satisfie: as Ori-
gen sheweth the difference; *Caeteri precibus, solus Christus sola potestate dimisit*: Others by pray-
ers, Christ by his power onely remitteth sinnes : hom.24. in Numer. If then we cannot satisfie by
our praiers for the liuing, much lesse for the dead.
2. Some of the Papists do thinke, that indulgences do not profit the dead, but *sola vi suffragio-
rum*, onely by the force of suffrages or prayers : *Ostiens.* If indulgences then are not auailable
but by prayer, indulgences are superfluous and needlesse. But I haue shewed before, that neither
prayers profit for the dead.
Thirdly. 1. If an indulgence be an application of Christs merits, it must needs be auailable 3
ex condigno, of condignitie: for Christ, Iurdo, hath worthily satisfied, and done all necessarie things
to our redemption, Reuel.5.9. *thou art worthie.* 2. A satisfaction must be *ex condigno*, of condignitie,
or worthinesse: for how can a man *fauore satisfacere*, that is fully content, if he do it not sufficiently?
An acceptation is not properly a satisfaction: the one is of fauour, the other of debt, Rom 4.4. *To
him that worketh, the wages is not counted by fauour but by debt* ; but satisfaction is a worke, there-
fore what is due vnto it, is by debt, and so of condignitie, congruitie is of fauour. 3. But we affirme
that neither indulgences, nor any other workes of the liuing doe benefit the dead at all, and so
neither of congruitie, nor condignitie, Reuel.14.13. *They that die in the Lord, their workes follow
them* : their owne workes, and not any bodies else. Leo Epist.89. *Multum vtile & necessarium est
vt peccatorum reatus ante vltimum diem sacerdotali supplicatione soluatur* : It is verie profitable and
necessarie, that the guilt of sinnes should be loosed by the supplication of the Priest before the
last day, that is the day of death, &c. if it be necessarie before, then it commeth too late afterward.
Fourthly, 1. That the Pope hath no more iurisdiction in the Church then other Bishops in 4
their dioces, I haue shewed before in the confutation of the 41. error: so that I need not to repeat
the same here. 2. If the Pope haue no iurisdiction at all ouer the soules in purgatorie, & so no more
then any other prelate hath; he hath no more authoritie to conferre indulgences vpon them,
then others. 3. All the authoritie that Saint *Peter* had, was to feed his sheepe, when Christ said,
pasce oues, feed my sheepe, John.21. but the soules in purgatorie are not his sheepe, because they
cannot be fed, as *Bellarmine* confesseth, c.14. ad 3. therefore neither *Peter*, nor the Pope from *Peter*
can chalenge any prerogatiue more then other ouer the dead. 4. That prerogatiue which *Peter*
had ouer hell, when Christ said; *Hell shall not preuaile against it*, Matth.16.18. was giuen to his faith
and confession, and so is common to all faithfull : as *Ambrose* well expoundeth : *Non de carne Pe-
tri, sed de fide dictum est, quia portae mortis non praeualebunt, sed confessio vicit infernum*: Not of the flesh
of *Peter*, but of his faith it was said, the gates of hell shall not preuaile, &c. his confession ouer-
came hell.
Fiftly, first if the Pope cannot deliuer all soules out of purgatorie, then is one of your great 5
Doctors proued a lyar and a false prophet : *Papa si vellet posset totum purgatorium euacuare* : the
Pope if he would, could euacuate and emptie all purgatorie. *Iohan. Angel.* 2. But what parti-
cular cause I pray you doth moue the Pope to deliuer some soules, more then other? hath he some
speciall reuelation, to know the particular needs of the purgatorie soules? or is not the generall
cause of Christs glorie in sending so many soules to be Angels fellowes, to be preferred before the
Popes particular cause, in bringing so many Angels to his purse? for if they would speake plaine-
ly, this is the *particular* cause, that moueth the Pope, when he or his are *particularly* waged and
feed to deliuer some particular soules. 3. Wherefore this old obiection against the Popes pur-
gatorie is not yet answered : that if the Pope can deliuer all soules at once, and will not,
hee is vncharitable; if he would and cannot, then Saint *Peters* keyes doe fayle and are not
auaileable. 4. But concerning your respect of particular cause, *Clemens* the sixt derideth
it : for hee in his Bull giueth authoritie *cruce signatis*, to those, that tooke vpon them the
crosse, *vt tres vel quatuor animas, quas vellet*, to deliuer out of purgatory three or foure soules, which
they would, &c. this power was left to the libertie of their will, not tyed to the necessitie of the
cause : 5. And doe you doubt, whether Christ hath cleered purgatorie? you say, that by his des-
cent he harrowed hell, and deliuered all the Patriarches : hath he done lesse for beleeuers since his
death, then for those which before by faith, expected his death? the Apostle saith, *the bloude of
Christ doth cleanse vs from all sin*, 1.Ioh.1.7. what remaineth then to be cleansed in purgatorie? Saint
Ambrose saith, *Qui hic non acceperit remissionem peccatorum, illic non erit, quia vita aeterna remissio pec-
catorum est* : He that hath not receiued here the remission of sinnes, shall not be there, that is in
heauen, for eternall life is the remission of sinnes : de bon. mort. c.2. He then that hath here recei-
ued remission of sinnes, is presently in heauen, and so not in purgatorie; he that hath not, shall ne-
uer come to heauen, and so is in hell.
Sixtly, 1. It is straunge doctrine, that satisfactorie workes may be enioyned the liuing in be- 6
halfe of the dead : *Bellarmine* himselfe reporteth this to haue been an erronious practise of the

Montanists and Marcionites, to baptize the liuing in the name of the dead; to the which custome some thinke Saint *Paul* had relation, where he saith, 1. Cor. 15. 29. *Why are they baptized for the dead? Bellar. lib. 1. p. 1800.* But if a man may pray, and fast, and giue almes for the dead, why not also be baptized for them? 2. The Disciples, when *Dorcas* was dead, did not vndertake any works for her of theirs, but onely shewed her owne workes, the coates and garments which she had made, Act. 9. 39. whereof Saint *Cyprian* saith, *Non prodesse suis vestibus, sed ipsius operibus deprecantes:* Not making request for the dead with their vayces, but with her workes, *serm. de eleemos.* And againe: *Confiteantur fratres vos singuli delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit, in seculo est, dum admitti confessio eius potest, dum satisfactio & remissio per sacerdotem facta apud dominum grata est.* Confesse (brethren) euery one his fault, while hee that sinned is yet in the world, while his confession may be admitted, while satisfaction and remission giuen by the Priest are accepted with God, *ser. de lapsi.* Ergo satisfaction done afterward, is not accepted.

7 Seuenthly, 1. What reason haue you to thinke, that your *Limbus* was emptied all at once at Christs comming, and that Purgatorie shall be but *successiuely* cleered, and one after another deliuered? If some are freed, while other frie in Purgatorie, because of some particular prayers, the same reason may be alleaged for the Fathers that were in *Limbus*, that they also might haue been holpen by particular prayers. If you say Christ was not then come, and therefore hell could not be harrowed; so neither is Christ yet come to iudgement, before which time you say all Purgatorie shall not be cleansed. 2. To see others exempted from paine, and themselues still in bondage, it can bee no great ioy: the Scripture saith, Luk. 13. 28. there *shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when they see all the Prophets in the kingdome of God, and your selues thrust out at the doores.* The beholding then of other mens felicitie doth not minister ioy, but encrease torment to them that are still in miserie. 3. And why are not the common prayers of the whole Church for all soules as effectuall to deliuer all, as particular prayers are of some to deliuer their friends? what letteth then but all soules should bee let loose by common prayers? vnlesse it bee this, as the truth is, then the Pope should want vtterance for his Iubile pardons, and soule-priests for their Masses for the dead. 4. That all the soules of the faithfull and iust men (for as for vnbeleeuers, they haue their part in the lake, Apocal. 21. 8.) are altogether in heauen, the Apostle witnesseth, Heb. 12. 22. *We are come to celestiall Ierusalem, to the congregation of the first borne, &c. to the spirits of iust and perfect men.* Where these iust men are, if not in celestiall Ierusalem? they are then all out of Purgatorie. *Cyprian* saith: *Ad refrigerium iusti vocantur, ad supplicium rapiuntur iniusti, datur velocius tutelis, dentibus, perfidis pœna:* The iust are called to rest and refreshing, the vniust are haled to paine. Pardon is quickly giuen to the beleeuing, to the perfidious paine: *serm. de immortal.* All men are either iust, or vniust: the iust are speedily carried to heauen, the vniust to punishment: no iust men then are out of heauen, nor none vniust shall come thither. 5. If the Pope know how to deliuer some, and not all out of Purgatorie, hee hath not Saint *Peters* spirit: of whom S. *Ambrose* thus saith: *Hic est Petrus, qui respondit pro cæteris Apostolis, &c. quia nouit non solum proprium sed commune seruare, &c.* This is *Peter*, which answered for the rest of the Apostles, and therefore is called a foundation, (or a rocke or stone) because he knew how to saue not himselfe onely, but in common: *de incarnat. c. 4.*

8 Eightly, 1. no thankes to the Pope to deliuer a man from that, which hee shall neuer taste of: for, *there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Iesu*, Rom. 8. 1. such needs neither feare hell, nor Purgatorie. 2. And is it in the Popes power to deliuer a man that he shall neuer goe to Purgatorie? how commeth it then to passe, that he cannot deliuer his owne soule from thence? for, you doe not thinke otherwise, but that some of your Popes are in Purgatorie; it were in vaine else to say so many Masses for the Pope when he is dead. The Scripture thus reasoneth, Ezech. 14. vers. 20. *Noe, Iob, Daniel, though they were in the middest of it, shall neither deliuer sonne nor daughter, but onely their owne soules.* A man may saue himselfe, though he saue not another: but if he saue others, not *instrumentally*, as one that giueth counsaile, but *efficiently*, as one hauing power, as they imagine of the Pope, he must needes also saue himselfe: he therefore that seeth the Popes soule broyling in Purgatorie, will neuer thinke he can pull others out of the fire. 3. It is not the Popes pardon, but a mans owne faith that preserueth him from condemnation: Ioh. 5. 24. *He that beleeueth shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death to life.* Saint *Ambrose* well saith: *Alia crucis, nihil mihi prosunt, sola crux Christi mihi vtilis est, per quam mihi mundus crucifixus est, &c.* Other crosses profit me little, onely the crosse of Christ is profitable to me, whereby I am crucified to the world, and the world to me, &c. *lib. 6. in Luc.* Wherefore no crosses of penance, of any satisfactorie or painfull workes, but onely faith in Christs crosse doth deliuer vs.

9 Ninthly, 1. *Bellarmine* saith truly, that repentance in this life is more effectuall to doe away sin, than penance or punishment afterward: for *Augustine* well saith, *Ibi erit pœnitentia dolorem habens, sed medicinam non habens:* There shall be repentance hauing griefe, but no reliefe: *tom. 9. de recti. ind. cathol. conuers.*

2. For

2. For it is euident that after this life there is no place at all for repentance, but for iudgement: *Where there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinnes, but a horrible looking for of iudgement*, Hebr. 10. 26. But after this life, there is no sacrifice for sinnes: *Ergo*, an horrible expectation of iudgement. *Augustine* againe saith, *Corrigant se, qui tales sunt, dum viuunt, ne postea velint & non possint, quia subito venit mors, & non est qui corrigatur, sed ut [illegible]*: let them that are such, correct themselues while they liue, lest afterward they would and cannot; because death commeth suddainely, that they can bee no more corrected, but committed to the fire. *serm.* 164.

3. When they are so deuided themselues about purgatorie: some holding, that a man cannot, though he be a notable sinner, be aboue twentie yeeres in purgatorie, *Dominic. à Soto in 4. dist.* 21. *qu.* 2. *art.* 1. others, that purgatorie paynes may continue an hundred, yea, a thousand yeeres, *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *de indulg. c.* 9. some that purgatorie paine exceedeth all paines in this life, *Dominic. à Soto ibid.* other that the penance of this life is more effectuall: doe they not now by their vncertaintie make all the world beleeue, that purgatorie fire is but a fantasticke dreame of their owne?

4. But if there were any such purgatorie paine, it should farre exceede all the griefes of this life, and so consequently more effectually purge sinne: as Origen saith, *Sicut vehementius corpus cruciant verbera nudum, quam vestitum, sic anima carnis indumento deposita, subtilius sentiet tormenta*: Like as the bodie naked feeleth stripes more, then clothed; so the soule being vnclothed of the flesh hath a more liuelie sense of torment. *Origen. ex Pamphil.*

5. *Bellarmines* reason is verie good vtterly to ouerthrow Purgatorie penance, because that is a time of iustice, this of mercy; this sheweth well, not that repentance onely is more effectuall in this life, but that it is onely here to be found: as S. *Augustine* well applieth the wordes of the Apostle, 2. Cor. 6. 2. *Behold now the accepted time, behold the day of saluation: Ecce nunc tempus salutis, tempus est nunc remissionis poenitentibus, sed tempus erit post mortem vindicationis negligentibus confiteri peccata*: Behold now the time of saluation, the time of remission to the penitent, but after death it is a time of vengeance to all them that neglected here to confesse their sinnes. *serm.* 66.

6. Lastly, because *Bellarmine* seemeth to extenuate the paines of purgatorie, preferring the sufferings of this life before the torments thereof: I will to the same purpose adioyne the notable testimonie, and most godly sentence of the blessed seruant of God Master *Latimer*, a reuerend Bishop and holy Martyr: who doubteth not to say, that he had rather be in purgatorie, then in Lollards Tower the Bishoppe of Londons prison, for diuers reasons, whereof some I will set downe.

1. I might in the one die for lacke of meate and drinke, but not in the other.
2. In this I might lacke charitie.
3. Loose my patience.
4. I might be in perill of death.
5. I might be without suretie of saluation.
6. In this I might murmur against God.
7. I might displease God.
8. I might be iudged to perpetuall prison.
9. I might be brought to beare a fagot.
10. I might be separated from Christ.
11. I might be a member of the diuell.
12. An inheritour of hell.

(2–12) In that I could not.

13. In this my Lord & his chaplēs might manacle me by night,
14. They might strangle me and say I hanged my selfe.
15. They might haue me to their consistorie and iudge me after their fashion.

(13–15) In that they could not.

Ergo, I had leuer be there then here, for though the fire be called neuer so hot, yet and if the Bishops two fingers can shake away a peece, a friars coule, an other part, and *scala coeli* altogether, I will neuer found Abbey, Colledge, nor Chantrey for that matter: thus much Master *Latimer*. *Fox. p.* 1742.

Thus this godly Martyr derided long since, this popish scare-bug of purgatorie fire, making it inferior to the Bishops prison. And *Bellarmine* much dissenteth not, making the penance which a man may suffer in this life of greater efficacie and vertue, then purgatorie paines: This being so, men may learne to be wiser, and seeke to be reconciled to God in this life, & not much care for Popes pardons, which are not so much worth, as to be set free out of their Bishops prisons, and Inquisitors purgatorie.

Thus haue I briefly discouered the errors of the Popes Iubile, and Indulgences; whereby I trust it is euident, how they delude the world with their fooleries, and seeke to snare men with their toyish ceremonies, and to blinde them with their phantasticall deuices. They that haue not visited Rome this Iubile yeere, neede not repent them, that they went not so farre to see nothing: they that are gone, at their returne (I trust) will remember what they haue seene, and regard such toyes but as a stage play, and think, that they may finde a much better Iubilee at home in their countrie by the faith of the Gospell, than they could see at Rome in the Popish pompous vanitie.

I haue now spun out (by Gods assistance) this meanie taske, and found out an end of this long twined thread: the cause which I haue handled, is of God; the strength wherewith I haue trauailed in it, was from God; the end wherefore I haue laboured in it, is to God his glorie. And as to his honour I referre all these my labours, as the principall end; so to the iudgement of the true Church of God I submit my selfe and my penne, as the meane, whereby I may attaine that chiefe end. I say no more, but with *Augustine: Siquid in scriptis meis veri comprehenderis, existendo enim est meum; at intelligendo & amando & tuum sit & meum: siquid falsi conuiceris, errando fuerit meum; sed iam cauendo, nec tuum fuerit, nec meum:* If you finde that is true in my writings, it is mine in being, but in vnderstanding, and louing the same, let it be both mine and thine: if thou conuince any thing that is false, it was mine in erring, but let it be neither mine nor thine in heede taking: *lib. 3. de Trinitat. praefat.* But as I am not guiltie to my selfe of any error escaped, but am perswaded that I haue throughout the truth defended; so I would desire the Christian reader to be aduised in iudging, that which was not without aduisement written. And here againe I remember *Augustines* words in the same place: *Sicut lectorem meum nolo mihi esse deditum, ita correctorem nolo sibi: ille me non amet amplius, quam catholicam fidem; iste se non amet amplius, quam catholicam veritatem.* As I would not haue the reader addicted to me, so neither the corrector wedded to himselfe: let not him be more affected to me, than to the veritie; nor the other loue himselfe more than the truth, &c. And so I conclude: *Videor mihi debitum huius ingentis operis reddidisse adiuuante Deo, quibus parum, vel nimium est mihi ignoscant; quibus autem satis est, non mihi sed domino mecum gratias congratulantes agant:* I haue now by Gods assistance rendred the debt of this great worke, to whom it is short or ouer, let them forgiue me; to whom it seemeth sufficient, let vs to God giue thankes together, &c. who enableth vs to euerie good worke, to whom be praise through Iesus Christ in his Church for euer. Amen.

Soli Deo immortali, Patri, Filio cum Spiritu sancto, sit omnis honor & gloria.

HERE FOLLOW TWO SEVERAL TABLES, THE FIRST OF THE PLACES OF THE SCRIPture handled and expounded in this treatise: the second of the particular matter *and questions which are contained therein.*

In the first Table the first figures note the chapter, the second the verse, the third the page.

BVt here I must aduertise the Christian Reader of two things concerning this present Table: first, that I haue not set downe the words of the texts whereunto this Table directeth, but the chapter onely and verse: for that had been too long and tedious, and the other way I trust is as sufficient to finde out any scripture, though it bee more compendious. Secondly, I must desire the reader, that whereas the verses of the seuerall chapters are not digested in order for want of time, and that for the same cause one verse is quoted in diuers places, that it would please the reader, when he searcheth for any scripture, to runne ouer with his eye all the verses expressed vnder any chapter. Howsoeuer, I trust that the carefull reader shall finde himselfe much helped by this direction to finde out the places of scripture in controuersie, in the true vnderstanding whereof consisteth the deciding of all questions in religion.

Genesis.

Chap.1. vers.1.p.350.v.28. p.676.v.26.p.745.& 1085.
Chap.2.v.8.412.v.10.p.748 v.20.p.676.v.13.p.748.v.14. p.748.& 749.v.16.p.751.767 vers.17.p.978.vers.24.p.767. & 980.
Chap.3.v.19.p.390.& 447. v.3.p.350.v.13.p.767.& 768. ver.15.p.763.v.17.p.767.v.15. p.998.v.22.p.750.& p.751.
Chap.4.v.3.p.567.v.7.p.855 vers.4.p.922.v.26.p.283.v.2. p.469.v.13.p.1011.
Chap.5.v.3.p.983.
Chap.6.ver.5.p.217.& 272. & 844.846.vers.6.pag.20.v.9. p.846.
Chap.7.v.20.p.749.
Chap.8.v.21.p.772.
Chap.9.v.4.p.980.
Chap.12.ver.1.p.887.ver.3. p.801.ver.7.p.887.v.4.p.305. v.16.p.801.
Chap.13.v.18.p.887.
Chap.14.ver.20.p.887.v.23. p.567.v.18.p.568.& 569.
Chap.15.ver.6.p.887.ver.1. p.936.
Chap.16.ver.3.p.118.v.6,9. p.818.vers.2.p.818.v.6.p.680. v.9.p.880.
Chap.17.v.7.p.47.p.382.& 467.485.486.491.& 816.v.9. p.461.v.11.p.199.461.p.678. p.513.v.14.p.490.v.10.p.513. v.18.p.802.
Chap.18.vers.2.p.375.v.17. p.375.v.25.p.375.
Chap.19.ver.8.p.527.
Chap.21.v.10.p.118.& 680. v.13.p.118.
Chap.22.vers.2.p.136.v.6, 10.p.469.v.14.p.418.
Chap.24.v.14.p.852.vers.2. p.379.v.57.p.704.
Chap.25.ver.1.p.118.v.15. p.118.v.23.p.800.v.28.p.802. v.34.p.802.
Chap.26.v.35.p.681.v.31. p.700.v.34,35.p.802.
Chap.27.v.29.p.801.v.40. p.639.& 845.v.41.p.802.v.4. p.802.
Chap.28.ver.6.p.697.v.20. p.290.292.301.388.
Chap.29.vers.26.pag.697. vers.31.pag.822.
Chap.31.v.30.p.100.v.38. p.802.v.46.p.379.
Chap.32.ver.2.p.418.ver.6. p.802.v.13.p.376.v.10.p.1092. v.31.p.418.
Chap.33.ver.3.p.375.v.11. p.574.
Chap.35.v.2.p.100.
Chap.37.v.21.p.1050.v.35 p.1051.& 1053.1055.
Chap.41.v.41.p.324.v.23. p.353.
Chap.42.v.38.p.1055.
Chap.43.v.8.p.1028.1029 v.9.1029.
Chap.47.v.27.p.324.
Chap.49.v.4.p.703.v.17. p.200.v.31.p.367.
Chap.50.ver.2.p.367.v.10. p.368.v.24.p.391.v.26.p.367

Exodus.

Chap.1.ver.21.p.844.v.15. p.845.
Chap.2.v.16.p.543.v.17. p.700.
Chap.3.v.10.p.578.
Chap.4.v.25.p.489.

Chap.7.

Chap.7.vers.3.p.758.v.12.p.419.
Chap.12.v.11.p.462.513.575.537.538.539.v.3.p.514.v.10.p.540.v.6.p.541.v.16.p.542.v.46.p.535.&606.v.4.p.579.v.8.p.558.v.4.p.1078.
Chap.13.v.19.p.391.
Chap.14.v.31.p.93.
Chap.15.v.5.p.653.&1051.v.8.p.1056.
Chap.16.v.18.p.1099.
Chap.19.v.6.p.222.ver.15.p.710.v.10.p.710.
Chap.20.v.4.p.402.
Chap.21.v.4.p.118.
Chap.22.v.16.p.704.
Chap.23.v.13.p.378.
Chap.24.v.8.p.577.
Chap.26.v.27.p.412.
Chap.28.v.20.p.135.
Chap.30.vers.7.p.377.v.8.p.441.710.v.10.p.578.v.33.p.716.v.32.p.716.
Chap.32.vers.5.p.402.v.4.p.402.v.13.p.382.v.32.p.811.v.33.p.995.
Chap.33.v.23.p.999.
Chap.40.v.29.p.377.v.26.p.377.

Leuiticus.

Chap.4.v.3.p.587.
Chap.4.v.5.p.581.
Chap.5.ver.5.p.468.v.12.13.pag.467.
Chap.6.v.2.3.p.467.ver.4.p.468.v.7.659.
Chap.13.v.2.p.184.ver.46.p.178.
Chap.16.v.17.p.25.ver.10.p.981.v.8.p.981.v.21.p.981.v.22.26.pag.896.
Chap.17.v.14.p.980.
Chap.18.ver.6.p.703.v.7.p.695.v.10.p.695.v.11.p.760.v.12.p.695.ver.14.p.695.696.700.701.v.17.p.695.&p.700.v.16.p.697.ver.24.p.698.v.21.22.p.698.ver.18.p.700.702.v.19.p.700.
Chap.19.v.27.p.313.v.28.p.730.
Ch.21.v.5.p.313.v.13.p.270.
Chap.23.ver.7.p.579.v.5.p.540.v.7.p.542.
Chap.24.ver.3.p.741.ver.5.p.556.
Chap.25.vers.10.11.12.p.1075.v.8.p.1075.&1079.ver.4.p.1082.ver.12.p.1082.v.28.p.1083.v.32.p.276.
Chap.27.v.26.p.290.

Numbers.

Chap.3.v.10.p.184.
Chap.5.v.2.p.181.
Chap.9.v.10.p.549.
Chap.13.ver.1.p.197.v.8.p.197.
Chap.14.v.12.p.652.v.20.p.652.v.34.p.193.
Chap.15.v.39.p.313.
Chap.18.v.6.p.223.v.26.p.277.v.28.p.278.
Chap.20.v.12.p.914.
Chap.24.v.17.p.78.
Chap.30.v.4.p.705.
Chap.35.v.5.8.p.275.v.33.p.590.
Chap.36.v.6.p.699.

Deuteronomie.

Chap.1.v.17.p.790.
Chap.4.v.15.p.399.&402.v.17.p.401.v.8.p.620.v.18.p.840.v.37.p.840.
Chap.6.v.6.7.8.p.23.v.13.p.378.
Chap.7.ver.2.p.914.ver.3.p.705.v.4.p.706.
Chap.11.v.10.p.748.
Chap.12.v.32.p.48.
Chap.14.ver.1.p.313.673.730.
Chap.15.ver.11.p.318.v.4.p.318.v.5.p.318.
Chap.16.v.2.p.542.&572.
Chap.17.v.9.p.35.&p.36.v.12.p.35.36.120.v.8.p.36.148.ver.5.p.185.330.ver.6.p.332.v.11.p.36.v.17.p.702.
Chap.18.v.2.p.222.
Chap.21.v.15.p.822.v.22.p.1044.
Chap.22.v.22.23.p.309.
Chap.23.v.21.p.291.
Chap.25.ver.4.p.34.v.3.p.702.v.6.p.697.v.17.p.681.
Chap.27.v.26.p.753.
Chap.30.v.11.p.32.v.14.p.851.1051.v.13.1084.v.19.p.852.
Chap.31.v.11.12.p.23.

Josua.

Chap.2.v.19.p.813.
Chap.5.v.6.p.19.
Chap.6.v.5.p.1075.
Chap.11.v.20.p.758.v.15.p.914.
Chap.13.v.3.p.748.
Chap.24.v.15.p.105.292.840.852.

Judges.

Chap.3.v.9.p.450.
Chap.4.v.6.p.6.
Chap.6.v.30.p.100.v.36.p.445.
Chap.11.v.36.p.293.v.38.p.445.
Chap.13.v.19.p.1029.
Chap.17.ver.3.p.402.v.6.p.320.
Chap.18.v.1.p.183.
Chap.19.v.1.p.183.
Chap.20.v.26.p.953.
Chap.21.v.25.p.183.v.1.p.705.v.7.p.705.

1. of Samuel.

Chap.1.v.11.292.293.
Chap.2.ver.17.p.184.v.24.p.184.v.25.p.758.
Chap.3.v.1.p.183.ver.13.p.184.v.3.p.441.
Chap.4.v.17.p.637.
Chap.9.v.15.p.386.
Chap.13.v.25.p.385.v.18.23.p.486.
Chap.15.v.17.p.329.
Chap.17.v.12.p.11.v.34.p.947.
Chap.20.v.24.p.292.
Chap.21.v.4.p.676.&710.
Chap.28.v.14.p.14.
Chap.31.v.2.6.p.354.v.13.p.368.

2. of Samuel.

Chap.2.v.5.p.366.
Chap.3.v.31.p.953.
Chap.6.v.16.p.1086.
Chap.7.ver.14.p.5.ver.2.p.294.417.v.5.p.417.
Chap.8.v.2.p.350.
Chap.12.vers.24.p.5.v.23.p.354.v.13.p.630.632.&651.v.14.p.652.
Chap.16.v.10.p.755.
Chap.24.v.10.p.630.v.12.p.840.v.16.25.p.583.

1. of Kings.

1. Kings.

Chap.3.ver.18.p.689.v.11. p.840.v.5.p.840.
Chap.4.v.30.33.p.3.v.21. p.131.
Chap.18.v.39.p.388.v.38. p.415.v.31.p.415.v.42.p.574 v.48.p.636.v.49.p.637.v.47. p.644.vers.30.p.954.vers.49. p.942.
Chap.10.v.4.p.4.
Chap.11.v.41.p.5.v.4.p.4. v.32,34.p.382.
Chap.12.v.28.p.402.
Chap.13.v.2.p.30.196.
Chap.15.vers.4.p.382.v.5. p.914.
Chap.18.v.26.p.208.673. v.29.p.376.
Chap.19.v.10.p.55.v.18. p.55.
Chap.20.v.39,41.p.1029.
Chap.21.v.29.p.845.v.25. p.954.

2. Kings.

Chap.2.ver.15.p.174.v.14. p.397.v.11.p.749.
Chap.3.v.20.p.316.
Chap.4.v.27.p.380.v.23. p.613.
Chap.12.v.3.p.59.
Chap.14.v.4.p.59.
Chap.16.vers.3.p.61.v.11. p.117.& 327.
Chap.19.v.3.p.526.
Chap.21.v.2.p.61.
Chap.22.v.8.p.41.
Chap.23.v.22.p.59.v.30. p.391.v.25.p.914.
Chap.24.v.23.p.613.

1. Chronicles.

Chap.1.v.32.p.118.
Chap.5.v.19.p.118.
Chap.12.v.31.p.946.
Chap.15.ver.3.p.112.v.16. p.946.
Chap.16.v.4,7.p.112.v.36 p.946.

2. Chronicles.

Chap.9.v.29.p.5.28.&.43.
Chap.11.v.17.p.6.
Chap.12.v.4.p.1011.
Chap.13.v.11.p.441.
Chap.17.v.14.p.702.
Chap.19.v.11.p.185.
Chap.20.v.20.p.878.
Chap.22.ver.3.p.184.ver.2. p.118.
Chap.26.v.19.p.112.v.20. p.178.& 181.v.18.p.181.
Chap.29.v.30.p.27.
Chap.34.ver.30,31.p.112. & 117.
Chap.35.v.24.p.20.v.21. p.845.&.914.

Ezra.

Chap.6.v.10.p.583.

Nehemiah.

Chap.5.v.19.p.939.
Chap.8.v.3.p.22.v.7.p.22. vers.4.p.413.v.11.p.434.v.3. p.943.v.18.p.59.
Chap.9.v.1.p.434.v.3.p.645 v.4.p.953.
Chap.10.v.9.p.293.
Chap.13.v.22.p.939.v.31. p.939.v.4.p.164.

Esther.

Chap.2.v.16.p.9.
Chap.4.ver.16.p.956.v.17. p.953.
Chap.6.v.3.p.9.v.7.p.10.
Chap.8.v.3.p.10.
Chap.9.v.22.p.956.
Chap.11.v.2.p.9.v.1.p.10.
Chap.15.Apocr.v.10.p.10.
Chap.16.v.10.p.10.

Iob.

Chap.1.vers.1.p.568.v.21. p.1055.v.22.p.922.
Chap.3.v.6.p.1078.
Chap.6.v.4.p.989.& 1006. ver.4.p.1038.v.4,14.p.1056. v.1.p.1090.v.2.p.1091.
Chap.9.vers.2.p.636.vers.3. p.1031.&357.655.656.1092.
Chap.13.v.4.p.797.v.26,27 p.999.& 1091.
Chap.14.v.4.p.847.
Chap.15.v.15.p.901.
Chap.19.v.11.p.976.988. v.25.p.988.v.11.25.p.989.
Chap.23.v.10.p.1102.
Chap.26.v.14.p.18.
Chap.30.v.21.p.988.1007 & 1042.
Chap.31.ver.1.p.294.v.16. p.318.
Chap.33.v.22.p.1005.v.23 p.1101.
Chap.35.ver.5.p.933.ver.7. p.940.v.8.p.940.
Chap.36.v.25.p.838.
Chap.37.v.18.p.527.
Chap.42.ver.5.p.456.v.17. p.568.v.6.p.665.

The booke of the Psalmes.

Psal.1.v.6.p.804.
Psal.2.v.12.p.20.& 105.
Psal.4.v.2.p.620.v.4.p.922.
Psal.5.v.4.p.756.v.3.p.942 v.7.p.1086.
Psal.6.v.6.p.637.v.1.p.941 v.9.p.941.
Psal.7.v.6.p.922.& 1099.
Psal.12.v.2.636.&.901.914
Psal.13.v.3.p.846.
Psal.14.vers.2.p.844.ver.3. p.847.v.8.p.847.
Psal.16.v.10.p.393.1005. 1054.vers.11.p.1006.vers.8. p.1037.v.12.p.1006.
Psal.18.vers.2.p.939.vers.5. p.999.& 1017.v.20.p.939. v.43.p.329.& 1017.
Psal.19.ver.4.p.18.& p.58. v.13.p.640.v.12.p.646.
Psal.21.v.16.p.18.
Psal.22.ver.7.p.557.vers.1. p.1015.1040.v.6.p.1044.
Psal.24.v.1.p.291.1084.v.4 p.901.v.7.p.527.
Psal.25.vers.3.p.922.ver.9. p.1087.
Psal.26.v.16.p.296.
Psal.31.vers.2.p.997.v.22. p.989.1007.& 1014.& 1041. v.20.p.1042.
Psal.32.v.5.p.640.& 649.
Psal.33.v.1.p.653.721.772 & 1089.v.5.942.v.9.p.874.
Psal.34.v.8.p.903.918.
Psal.35.v.6.p.754.
Psal.37.v.29.p.312.
Psal.38.v.3,8.p.658.1036.
Psal.39.ver.3.p.1028.v.11. p.1037.v.3.p.1038.
Psal.40.ver.12.p.317.v.17. p.317.v.6.p.456.v.7.p.1001. & 1012.
Psal.41.vers.9.p.207.ver.7. p.1012.v.1.p.1089.v.1,2. p.41.

Psal.42.v.4.p.988.
Psal.44.v.1,2.p.41.
Psal.49.v.7. p.663.& 669.
& 959.v.8.p.959.v.5.p.999.
Psal.50.v.15.p.217.& 378.
& 664.v.9.14.p.574.v.8,14.
p.377.v.1.p.1034.
Psal.51.ver.5.p.442.& 764.
v.17.p.630.& 633.& 954.v.1
p.954.& 654.v.4.p.1033.&
645.v.13.p.635.v.10.p.634.
& 772.& 859.v.12.p.632.&
639.v.16.p.659.v.19.p.660.
Psal.55.v.17.p.943.
Psal.59.v.5.p.1009.
Psal.66.v.12.p.354.& 942.
Psal.67. vers.12.p.20.v.23.
p.21.
Psal.69.v.5.p.1024.
Psal.70.v.1.p.857.
Psal.71.v.20.p.1050.
Psal.73.v.25.p.388.& 593.
v.13.p.901.
Psal.74.v.9.p.8.& 78.
Psal.76. vers.11. p.290.v.12.
p.290.v.1.p.290.
Psal.78.v.67,68.p.801.
Psal.79.v.9.p.467.
Psal.82. vers.2.p.389.ver.6.
p.380.
Psal.84.v.1,2.p.576.
Psal.86.v.13.p.389.& 1017.
& 1050.v.3.p.1017.
Psal.88.v.3.p.1017.& 1050
Psal.89.v.36,37.p.60.v.5.
p.999.v.46.p.1010.& 1038.
v.36.p.1040.
Psal.95.v.11.p.34.
Psal.98.v.4.p.1075.
Psal.99.v.5.p.375.
Psal.103. v.17.p.613.v.18.
p.927.v.4.p.932.& 936.v.13
p.1051.
Psal.105.v.25.p.758.
Psal.106.v.23.p.652.
Psal.109.v.21.p.640.
Psal.110.v.1.p.580.
Psal.115.v.1.p.658.&.1082
v.8,9.p.194.
Psal.116.ver..13,14.p.660.
v.15.p.100.
Psal.118. v.25.p.197.v.24.
p.437.v.24.p.828.
Psal.119.v.106.p.293.v.32
p.828.& 911.v.108. p.634.
vers.62.p.942.vers.97.p.943.
vers.144.p.943.v.136.p.637.
v.71.p.657.v.67.p.1091.v.12
pag.657.vers.36.p.853. v.35.
p.853. v.71.p.1092.& 1102.
v.17.p.658.
Psal.124.v.7.p.1017.
Psal.128.v.1.p.886.vers.26.
p.886.
Psal.130.ver.2.p.922.ver.7.
p.1009.v.3.p.1091.
Psal.131.v.2.p.293.
Psal.132.v.15.p.21.
Psal.133.v.2.p.922.
Psal.135.v.6.p.837.
Psal.139.v.15.p.30.& 1049
& 1054.v.8.p.1054.
Psal.141.v.2.p.574.
Psal.143.v.2.p.921.& 922
v.3.p.922.
Psal.149.v.9.p.620.

Prouerbes.

Chap.1. ver.1. p.49.v.25.6.
p.286.v.7.p.41.& 886.v.28.
p.509.
Chap.2.v.17.p.307.& 308.
Chap.3.v.28.p.959.
Chap.6. ver.7.p.357.v.1.2.
p.1029.
Chap.8.v.15.p.320.
Chap.9.v.5.p.546.
Chap.10.v.23. p.834.v.11.
p.929.
Chap.14.ver.9.p.834.v.27.
p.886.
Chap.15.ver.8.p.942.v.28.
p.957.v.15.p.1013.
Chap.16. ver.11.p.20.v.4.
p.782.& 806.v.4.p.783.v.8.
p.841.v.1.p.840.
Chap.17.v.15. p.255.ver.1.
p.515.v.24.p.592.
Chap.19.v.21.p.841.
Chap.20.v.9.p.101.& 923.
Chap.21.v.1.p.802.
Chap.23.v.14.p.1103.
Chap.24.v.16.p.659.
Chap.26.ver.22. pag.182.
& 255.v.2.p.642.
Chap.29.v.27.p.835.
Chap.30.v.8.296.
Chap.31.ver.8.9. pag.296.
v.18.p.1086.
Chap.35.v.6.p.754.

Ecclesiastes.

Chap.2.v.9.p.3.v.12.p.4.
v.3.p.3.& p.4.v.8.p.4.
Chap.3.ver.16.p.4. ver.14.
p.14. & 799.& 1101.ver.21.
p.901.v.19.p.901.v.4.p.901.
v.7.8.p.902.v.5.p.301.v.18.
p.778.
Chap.4.v.11.p.311.v.17.
p.433. v.12.p.292.
Chap.7.v.17.pag.4.ver.20.
p.923.v.31.p.755.& 832.&
842.& 844.
Chap.9. v.5. pag.363.v.1.
p.901.v.11.p.901.v.2.p.901.
Ch.11.v.3.p.360.v.5.p.764
Chap.12.v.8.p.4.v.11.p.36.
v.14.p.360.v.5.p.368.v.13.
p.641.v.7.p.764.

Canticles.

Chap.1.v.5.p.58.v.3.p.828.
v.14.p.928.v.4.p.494.
Chap.2. ver.3.p.389.v.10.
p.1017.
Chap.3.v.11.p.1025.
Chap.4.v.16.p.716.
Chap.5.v.1.p.586.
Chap.7.v.5.p.1020.

Esay.

Chap.1. ver.6.p.169.v.16.
p.922.ver.15.p.942. ver.12.
p.312.v.19.p.851.ver.16.17.
p.365.& 465.& 635.ver.14.
pag.439.v.11.p.465. ver.22.
p.545. ver.18. p.625.ver.17.
p.630.& 666.v.17.18.p.659.
Chap.3.v.7.p.749.
Chap.5.ver.20.p.834.v.4.
p.1009.
Chap.6.v.7.p.625.& 1010.
v.61.p.1088.
Chap.7.v.8.p.195.
Chap.8.v.19.p.988.
Ch.9.v.6.p.18. v.15.p.329.
Chap.10.v.1. p.1001.
Chap.11.v.1.p.196.vers.10.
p.39.
Chap.15.v.20.p.255.v.13.
p.1006.
Chap.16.v.14.p.195.
Chap.19.v.19.p.290.v.18.
p.290.v.21. pag.378.& 290.
v.14.p.1077.
Chap.21.v.16.p.195.
Chap.26.v.12.p.841.
Chap.27.v.3.p.751.
Chap.29.v.1.p.12.
Chap.30.ver.33. pag.782.
& 1021.
Chap.32.v.9.p.11.
Chap.40.v.13.p.14. v.12
Chap.38.v.3.p.939.
p.399.v.17.p.399.
Chap.42.v.1.pag.18. ver.8.
p.1082.v.3.p.793.
Chap.43.v.25.p.658.

Chap.

Chap.44.v.18.p.30.vers.1.
p.196.v.22.p.653.
Chap.45.v.22.p.1061.
Chap.48.vers.11.p.658.&
1092.
Chap.49.v.8.p.1079.
Chap.53.vers.5.p.653.v.4.
p.658.&1019.&986.&1002
&1037.&899.&997.&998
v.6.p.896.&976.&1001.&
1011.&1016.&1018.&1027
v.11.p.1002.&1024.&896.
&986.v.12.p.1007.&1046.
&896.&899.v.2.p.1025.v.3
p.1009.ver.10.p.984.&995.
v.5.1038.
Chap.54.v.10.p.419.
Chap.56.v.7.p.574.
Chap.58.v.3.p.312.&631.
v.13.p.433.v.7.p.318.&631.
v.6.p.631.vers.5.p.954.ver.7.
p.631.
Chap.59.v.21.p.60.&573
&145.&233.&176.
Chap.60.v.13.p.419.
Chap.63.v.1.p.99.vers.16.
p.388.v.5.p.1092.v.17.p.758
Chap.64.v.6.p.923.&1106
Chap.66.v.2.p.634.

Jeremie.

Chap.2.ver.28.p.428.v.18.
p.748.
Chap.5.ver.22.p.640.v.21.
p.640.
Chap.6.vers.2.p.9.vers.16.
p.1076.
Chap.8.v.16.p.100.
Chap.9.v.1.p.636.
Chap.10.vers.23.p.841.&
852.
Chap.12.v.7.p.87.
Chap.13.v.19.p.181.v.17.
p.1044.ver.18.p.1044.ver.1.
p.385.v.10.p.1044.
Chap.16.v.7.p.368.
Chap.17.ver.7.p.217.ver.5.
p.383.&944.v.9.p.846.
Chap.18.v.7.p.654.
Chap.20.v.14.p.1044.
Chap.23.v.23.p.528.ver.9.
p.1039.
Chap.27.v.6.p.320.
Chap.30.v.9.p.196.
Chap.31.ver.13.p.18.v.34.
p.550.&653.&654.
Chap.32.v.40.p.813.v.23.
p.851.
Chap.33.v.18.p.573.v.17.
p.573.
Chap.34.v.5.p.367.
Chap.35.v.6.p.192.ver.14.
p.956.v.11.p.298.
Chap.41.v.5.p.376.vers.1.
p.949.
Chap.50.v.20.p.659.
Chap.51.v.10.p.567.ver.63.
p.643.
Chap.52.v.18.p.949.ver.4.
p.949.

Ezechiel.

Chap.1.v.20.p.700.
Chap.2.v.5.p.791.
Chap.4.v.5.6.p.143.
Chap.5.v.1.p.313.
Chap.8.v.17.p.412.
Chap.9.v.4.p.409.
Chap.14.v.20.p.388.v.14.
p.669.v.18.p.1093.
Chap.18.vers.24.p.6.v.21.
p.365.&635.&663.&770.
v.22.p.625.&653.&657.&
1051.v.27.p.639.v.31.p.639
ver.2.p.1002.&1028.ver.20.
p.657.&662.&896.&983.
&1000.&1093.&1103.&
753.v.23.p.756.&781.v.24.
p.907.v.16.p.769.
Chap.27.v.23.p.749.
Chap.28.v.3.p.211.
Chap.29.v.20.245.
Chap.33.v.12.p.657.
Chap.34.v.24.p.196.
Chap.36.v.22.p.659.v.24.
p.659.
Chap.37.v.35.p.196.
Chap.38.v.39.p.210.
Chap.39.v.23.p.210.
Chap.44.v.20.p.313.

Daniel.

Chap.1.v.8.p.611.
Chap.2.v.37.p.131.
Chap.3.v.18.p.100.
Chap.4.v.24.p.286.&639.
654.&845.&958.
Chap.6.v.10.p.313.
Chap.7.ver.8.p.210.v.20.
p.210.
Chap.8.v.11.p.573.ver.14.
p.573.
Chap.9.v.25.p.196.vers.9.
p.932.v.15.p.932.v.18.p.952.
v.26.p.1006.ver.27.p.201.&
202.v.3.p.643.v.18.p.940.&
942.v.27.pag.1078.&1079.
v.4.p.645.
Chap.10.v.21.p.129.ver.3.
p.953.
Chap.11.v.37.p.206.&213
&573.v.21.p.286.v.19.p.210
v.18.p.210.v.43.p.210.v.38
p.213.v.13.&p.215.
Chap.12.ver.11.p.194.&
573.ver.12.p.194.&1072.&
1073.v.8.p.1073.

Hoseah.

Chap.3.v.33.p.1934.
Chap.14.ver.3.p.625.ver.2.
p.860.v.11.p.660.ver.5.p.660.
v.10.p.669.

Joel.

Chap.2.ver.28.p.78.v.32.
p.509.v.13.p.633.v.12.p.636.
&p.637.&665.v.13.p.664.
&954.v.15.949.

Amos.

Chap.3.v.6.p.735.v.7.p.
Chap.6.v.10.p.957.

Jonas.

Chap.3.v.6.pag.833.v.10.
p.954.&1089.

Micheas.

Chap.5.v.2.p.18.v.7.p.312
Chap.7.v.19.p.635.

Nahum.

Chap.2.v.10.p.664.

Habbacuck.

Chap.3.v.3.p.197.

Haggeus.

Chap.1.v.4.p.294.
Chap.2.ver.13.p.410.v.10.
p.419.v.23.p.1102.

Zacharie.

Chap.3.v.2.p.139.v.5.p.196
v.4.p.1025.
Chap.4.ver.10.p.286.v.12.
p.896.
Chap.7.v.5.p.312.&949.&
956.v.3.p.956.v.6.p.956.
Chap.8.v.19.p.194.&956.
Chap.9.ver.9.p.196.ver.11.
p.350.

p.350.&354.
Chap.12.ver.10.p.557.v.1.p.764.
Chap.13.v.7.p.1001.

Malachie.

Chap.1.v.11.p.415.&575.v.8.p.546.&640.v.10.p.574.v.6.p.574.&640.v.2.p.802.
Chap.2.ver.2.p.182.ver.15.p.681.
Chap.3.ver.3.p.365.ver.8.p.574.v.14.p.574.
Chap.4.v.5.p.564.&1066.

Esdras.

Chap.4.v.6.p.6.v.4.p.6.

Tobit.

Chap.3.v.8.p.13.v.7.p.12.
Chap.4.ver.10.p.958.ver.9.p.959.v.19.p.1089.
Chap.5.v.13.p.13.
Chap.6.v.1.p.13.
Chap.7.v.11,13.p.680.
Chap.8.v.3.p.13.
Chap.13.v.15.p.13.

Judith.

Chap.5.v.18.p.13.

VVisdome.

Chap.2.v.24.p.834.
Chap.4.v.13.p.13.

Ecclesiasticus.

Chap.3.v.33.p.1089.
Chap.15.v.14.p.832.&835
Chap.10.v.14.p.760.v.13.p.760.
Chap.16.ver.14.p.20.v.12.p.935.
Chap.24.v.31.p.748.
Chap.25.v.26.p.767.
Chap.29.v.12.p.959.v.13.p.959.
Chap.46.v.20.p.14.&353.v.11.p.353.v.15.p.353.
Chap.48.v.10.p.1067.

1.*Maccabees.*

Chap.1.v.12.p.573.v.30.p.573.v.57.p.573.
Chap.4.v.52.p.194.&573.
Chap.6.vers.6.p.15.vers.16.p.195.&1072.
Chap.11.v.33.p.194.&573.

2.*Maccabees.*

Chap.2.v.16.p.15.
Chap.3.v.13.p.15.v.26.p.15
Chap.9.v.28.p.15.
Chap.10.v.33.p.1072.
Chap.12.ver.45.p.15.v.45.p.585.
Chap.14.v.42.p.16.ver.41.p.585.v.45.p.585.
Chap.15.v.39.p.15.

Matthew.

Chap.1.v.18.p.307.&309.&439.&445.v.20.p.309.v.21.p.443.vers.3,5.p.442.ver.21.p.1091.
Chap.2.v.6.p.18.v.18.p.18.v.18.p.837.
Chap.3.v.12.p.51.ver.11.p.208.v.6.p.260.v.1.p.283.vers.1.p.304.&p.311.ver.29.p.345.v.32.p.355.v.11.p.358 vers.10.p.1066.v.11.p.365.&501.v.2,8.p.365.v.6.p.463.&626.&628.&430.v.11.p.482 v.8.p.626.v.12.p.1010.v.17.p.1036.v.8.p.651.v.7.p.655.vers.10.p.655.v.8.p.655.v.15.p.658.v.2.p.664.v.11.p.664.v.6.p.668.
Chap.4.v.15,16.p.18.v.40.pag.189.v.4.p.189.v.1.p.311.v.10.p.376.v.17.p.634.v.23.pag.786.v.23.pag.1019.v.16.p.1056.
Chap.5.v.22.p.20.358.v.14.p.54.v.32.p.273.v.48.p.287.&288.v.p.296.v.25.p.357.v.23.p.414.v.4.p.542.v.24.p.645.&657.v.29.p.682.v.32.p.682.ver.32.p.684.&686.&688.v.20.p.686.v.22.p.755.&753.v.25.p.752.v.45.p.845 ver.18.p.847.&1012.ver.17.p.913.v.16.p.923.v.12.p.930.&935.v.3.p.944.
Chap.6.v.34.p.20.vers.11.p.21.v.9.p.584.ver.24.p.500.v.6.p.587.v.16,17.pag.673.v.22.p.884.v.1.p.921.v.21.p.921.v.12.p.921.v.22.p.922 ver.6.p.940.ver.7.p.940.v.8.p.940.v.32.p.941.v.2.p.959.vers.5.p.959.ver.12.p.1035.&1089.v.8.p.1089.v.6.p.1089.
Chap.7.vers.22,25.pag.73.&78.v.16.p.373.vers.22,23.pag.373.v.6.p.643.v.22,23.pag.752.v.17.p.769.v.18,13.p.859.v.18.p.866.v.22.p.879 v.22.p.883.v.16.p.902.v.19.p.911.v.14.p.919.v.19.p.919 v.28.p.918.v.5.p.1105.
Chap.8.ver.4.p.279.ver.29.p.370.v.26.p.878.v.2.p.878.v.2.p.931.v.17.p.997.ver.11 p.1014.&1015.
Chap.9.v.12.p.630.v.19.p.644.v.12.p.643.v.28.p.876.v.19.p.884.v.28.p.884.v.13.pag.924.vers.15.p.946.v.24.p.1015.&1022.v.17.p.1063.
Chap.10.v.1.p.233.ver.40.p.189.v.40.p.277.v.37.p.305 v.9.p.516.ver.23.p.479.ver.9.p.592.v.28.p.940.v.20.p.640 v.13.p.791.v.42.p.847.v.42.p.940.v.29.pag.1011.ver.32.p.1091.ver.1.p.1164.
Chap.11.vers.5.p.296.v.28.p.301.v.11.p.310.v.25.p.439 v.28.p.551.v.21.p.622.&630 ver.7,18.p.664.v.26.p.794.v.27.p.829.v.12.p.859.v.28.pag.892.ver.30.p.909.ver.14.p.1066.
Chap.12.vers.18.p.18.v.50.p.145.&448.v.32.p.352.v.1,3,5.11.p.430.v.46.p.439.ver.33.p.847.v.34.p.847.v.35.p.847.v.32.p.926.v.50.p.944.v.29.p.1035.v.40.p.1051.&1055.
Chap.13.ver.17.p.48.v.47.p.51.v.11.p.794.v.20.p.876.v.26.p.1071.
Chap.14.vers.2.p.392.v.22.p.439.v.22.p.666.v.31.p.878.v.31.p.905.
Chap.15.v.3.p.48.v.13.p.95 v.5.p.480.ver.17.p.518.v.19.p.712.v.19.p.847.v.13.p.847 v.28.p.892.v.13.p.907.ver.16 p.931.v.11.p.952.v.19.p.952.v.9.p.1092.v.8.p.1093.
Chap.16.ver.19.p.36.v.18.p.57.&157.&60.v.16.p.103.v.18.133.v.13.133.v.1.p.134.v.14.p.298.ver.13.p.439.v.18.p.641.v.18.p.1111.v.19.p.650 v.23.p.875.v.23.p.915.v.19.p.1103.
Chap.17.v.25.p.133.&324.&325.v.24.p.179.v.1.p.439.v.20.p.893.v.3.p.1053.ver.13 p.1066.v.11.p.1066.
Chap.18.v.17.pag.36.&54.

&

& 59.& 182.v.2.& 373.v.20.
pag.368.& 416.& 614.& 414.&
416.v.13.p.135.vers.20.p.166.
ver.18.p.134.& 135.& 136.&
249.& 254.& 614.& 642.&
650.v.21.p.295.ver.15.p.337.
v.10.p.344.347.v.34.pag.337.
vers.10.343.v.35.p.337.v.2.
p.357.v.1.p.439.v.18.p.925.
ver.34.p.1834.v.18.p.1094.&
1099.

Chap.19.v.11.p.286.& 283.
& 289.vers.9.p.286.& 682.&
648.& 688.& 707.& 682.&
683.& 684.v.12.p.287.& 299.
& 302.v.14.p.503.v.17.p.498.
v.29.p.536.v.8.p.681.& 701.
ver.4.p.681.v.6.p.681.& 707.
v.3.p.683.& 687.v.11.p.689.
v.18.p.1110.v.17.p.851.v.17.
p.911.v.17.p.930.v.26.p.993.
v.28.p.1070.& 1071.

Chap.20.vers.9.p.21.v.23.
p.372.v.8.p.656.v.15.p.656.
v.17.p.797.v.23.p.797.v.25.
p.833.

Chap.21.v.30.p.11.vers.11.
p.196.v.9.p.196.& 197.ver.18.
p.423.

Chap.22.v.37.p.27.vers.19.
p.42.v.35.p.286.v.36.p.370.
v.39.p.433.v.30.p.448.v.11.
p.549.v.14.p.786.v.13.p.1056.
v.8.p.1108.

Chap.23.vers.2.p.58.ver.23.
p.279.v.5.p.313.& 416.v.29.
p.390.v.29.p.420.v.20.p.618.
vers.13.p.642.v.3.p.648.v.15.
p.826.v.27.p.828.v.16.p.847.
ver.37.p.841.v.26.p.958.v.37.
p.987.

Chap.24.v.16.p.21.v.18.p.54.
v.19.p.81.v.22.p.193.vers.26.
p.194.v.29.p.201.v.21.p.265.
ver.30.p.412.v.15.p.573.v.12.
pag.907.vers.14.p.1068.v.21.
p.1068.ver.38.p.1068.ver.15.
p.1069.v.17.p.1071.

Chap.25.v.34.p.1881.v.41.
pag.370.& 777.& 780.vers.25.
p.641.v.34.41.p.807.vers.41.
p.807.v.9.p.917.v.12.p.918.
v.24.p.930.v.20.p.930.v.14.
pag.917.vers.41.p.103.v.30.
pag.1055.ver.41.p.1076.v.34.
p.1089.v.9.p.1080.& 1090.
1109.

Chap.26.v.29.p.355.& 719.
v.1.p.437.& 438.v.27.p.437.
v.11.p.512.v.10.p.515.v.26.
p.519.& 547.& 532.v.5.p.542.
vers.55.p.532.v.17.p.542.v.17.
p.547.v.59.p.543.v.63.p.543.
v.67.p.543.v.29.p.544.& 545.
v.27.p.548.v.28.p.550.& 575.
v.75.p.517.v.28.p.721.v.38.
p.986.& 1005.v.39.p.993.&
1001.& 1033.ver.42.p.993.&
994.v.41.p.1001.& 1037.v.31.
p.1001.v.64.p.1064.

Ch.27.v.9.p.3.v.33.p.22.v.3.
p.335.v.24.p.412.v.2.p.541.
& 542.v.12.p.541.v.19.p.1031.
v.46.p.1032.v.47.p.1040.v.54.
p.1040.v.46.p.1041.

Chap.28.v.20.p.30.& p.80.
& 49.vers.18,19.p.36.& 543.
v.19.p.149.& 166.& 176.v.15.
p.62.v.19.p.388.& 474.& 475.
v.19.p.457.& 482.& 484.&
490.& 499.& 505.& 778.v.2.
17.p.490.v.6.p.511.& 517.&
604.& 571.v.16.p.517.& 590.
v.32.p.28.v.19.p.717.vers.19.
pag.791.vers.20.p.1052.v.22.
p.1083.p.18.p.1103.

Marke.

Chap.1.ver.4.p.503.& 617.
vers.14.p.603.vers.45.p.876.&
877.

Chap.2.ver.7.p.362.ver.10.
p.361.& 668.v.7.p.642.& 668.
vers.9.p.660.ver.18.p.731.v.5.
p.1096.

Chap.3.vers.17.p.153.v.22.
p.342.v.15.p.733.v.29.p.926.

Chap.5.v.41.p.20.ver.34.
p.668.v.7.p.875.v.7.p.877.v.7.
p.882.v.7.p.903.v.7.p.904.

Chap.6.v.18.p.698.ver.23.
p.730.& 731.& 732.

Chap.7.v.8.p.314.v.40.p.488.
vers.19.p.536.v.13.p.541.v.7.
p.666.v.23.p.732.v.7.p.987.

Chap.8.v.34.p.196.ver.15.
p.511.vers.6,7.p.547.vers.23.
p.782.

Chap.9.vers.5.p.182.& 184.
v.24.p.550.v.23.p.601.& 668.
v.18.p.732.v.24.p.793.v.14.
pag.968.vers.23.p.888.v.24.
p.896.v.25.p.916.v.44.p.1014.
v.14.44.p.1022.v.29.p.1425.
v.30.p.1108.

Chap.10.v.18.p.1296.ver.5.
p.286.v.21.p.287.v.24.p.1196.
v.30.p.532.v.14.p.488.& 492.
& 559.v.11.p.686.v.16.p.721.
v.19.p.917.

Chap.11.v.24.p.565.v.17.
p.414.v.15.16.p.420.vers.22.
p.439.v.24.p.877.v.24.p.878.
v.24.p.942.v.13.p.995.

Chap.12.ver.24.p.251.v.24.
p.1286.v.31.p.910.v.33.ibid.

Chap.13.ver.19.p.54.v.32.
p.995.ver.19.p.1068.ver.27.
p.1068.vers.7.p.1063.ver.33.
p.1072.v.33.p.1073.

Chap.14.v.55.p.117.vers.51.
p.568.v.35.p.987.v.33.p.990.
v.36.p.990.v.36.p.993.v.45.
p.993.v.35.p.996.v.9.p.1086.

Chap.15.v.43.p.542.

Chap.16.v.16.p.360.& 487.
472.& 463.& 497.& 538.&
792.v.14.p.498.v.17.p.675.
& 714.v.18.p.731.& 732.v.7.
p.517.v.23.p.537.& 538.&
560.v.12.p.540.& 542.& 572.
v.2.p.542.v.17.p.879.vers.16.
p.889.v.15.p.890.v.16.p.890.
v.16.p.1019.

Luke.

Chap.1.vers.28.p.21.v.15.
p.132.v.74.p.291.v.80.p.310.
v.39.p.121.v.65.p.330.v.47.
p.443.v.28.p.445.v.50.p.449.
v.48.p.449.v.16.p.501.v.34.
p.527.v.10.p.590.v.2.p.872.
v.26.p.915.v.74.p.1004.v.16.
p.1066.vers.56.p.1078.v.26.
p.1078.

Chap.2.v.14.p.20.v.21.22.
p.279.v.51.p.310.446.v.55.
p.445.v.3.p.526.& 527.v.22.
p.1676.& 7101.v.6.p.914.v.51.
p.944.v.3.p.953.v.52.p.973.
v.29.p.973.v.35.p.998.v.37.
p.1085.v.111.p.971.vers.52.
p.972.

Chap.3.v.14.p.320.vers.39.
p.503.& 626.v.22.p.503.v.7.
p.628.v.28.p.763.v.28.p.944.
v.6.p.980.v.23.p.1078.

Chap.4.v.28.p.22.& 730.&
716.& 971.

Chap.5.vers.8.p.562.v.18.
p.1063.

Ch.6.v.24.p.296.v.44.p.847.

Ch.7.v.26.p.232.v.47.p.435.
v.11.p.443.v.48.p.622.v.47.
p.638.& 658.v.10.p.656.v.50.
p.668.v.7.p.876.v.47.p.876.
& 877.v.50.p.884.v.47.p.886.
v.50.p.888.v.70.p.910.

Chap.8.vers.3.p.317.v.55.
p.355.v.31.p.370.v.46.p.396.
v.28.p.813.v.50.p.888.v.48.
pag.888.vers.18.p.907.& 813.
p.907.& 908.v.31.p.1056.

Chap.9.v.58.p.316.vers.29.
p.1007.
Chap.10.v.42.p.42.& 472.
v.16.p.799.v.21.p.716.v.36.
p.855.v.29.p.911.v.7.p.930.
v.42.p.1033.
Chap.11.v.23.p.8.vers.32.
pag.622.v.42.p.786.& 795.
v.36.p.922.v.41.p.957.v.39.
pag.958.vers.33.p.1006.v.6.
p.1108.
Chap.12.v.56.p.99.v.42.
p.122.v.23.p.170.v.58.p.357
v.27.p.416.v.50.p.488.v.32.
p.641.v.39.p.752.v.21.p.804
v.32.p.821.v.50.p.1006.v.5.
p.1020.v.58.p.1034.
Chap.13.v.3.p.638.& 689.
& 913.ver.3.pag.936.ver.28.
p.1070.v.28.p.1112.247.
Chap.14.v.21.p.318.v.26.
p.439.
Chap.15.v.31.p.8.v.8.p.21.
v.10.p.344.v.7.p.630.
Chap.16.vers.29.p.21.v.39.
pag.48.v.22.p.343.v.26.23.
p.352.v.9.p.387.v.28.p.385.
v.29.p.345.v.18.p.686.v.26.
p.1014.v.26.p.1018.vers.23.
p.1022.v.26.p.1051.vers.26.
p.1056.v.1.16.p.1101.
Chap.17.v.21.p.66.ver.10.
p.288.& 1109.v.4.p.336.v.9.
p.368.v.5.p.550.v.14.p.643
vers.10.p.662.& 664.vers.18.
p.686.& 710.ver.10.p.917.&
932.v.9.p.957.v.20.p.1071.
vers.23.p.1071.v.34.p.1071.
vers.10.p.1089.v.10.p.1092.
v.9.p.1092.v.10.p.1106.
Chap.18.v.13.p.630.v.14.
p.663.v.5.p.664.v.22.p.795.
v.13.p.876.v.13.p.900.v.14.
p.913.v.12.p.954.v.9.p.955.
Chap.19.v.12.p.439.v.21.v
p.541.v.8.pag.626.& 630.&
631.ver.9.p.626.ver.8.p.957.
v.41.p.987.v.8.p.1100.
Chap.20.v.24.p.624.
Chap.21.ver.1.p.419.v.34.
p.1068.v.27.p.1071.
Chap.22.v.31.p.164.v.11.
p.164.v.25.p.239.v.20.p.494
& 538.v.54.vers.19.p.437.&
514.vers.34.p.512.v.7.p.540.
v.17.p.544.v.16.p.549.v.19.
p.475.v.18.p.545.v.15.p.545.
v.21.p.564.v.42.p.877.v.31.
32.p.940.v.31.p.987.vers.47.
p.988.v.44.p.991.& 996.&
1006.v.44.p.1032.
Chap.23.v.43.p.354.v.42.
p.379.v.41.p.486.v.23.p.541
v.43.p.750.v.34.p.1016.v.50
p.1025.v.41.p.1033.vers.34.
p.1039.
Chap.24.vers.21.p.58.v.39.
p.520.& 543.v.5.p.528.v.30.
p.557.v.1.p.875.v.25.p.1038
v.26.p.1061.

John.

Chap.1.vers.5.pag.844.v.9.
pag.868.vers.33.p.469.v.50.
pag.876.vers.17.p.910.v.39.
p.1019.& 1024.v.7.p.1104.
vers.18.p.1.v.51.p.361.v.47.
p.439.v.51.p.347.v.9.p.493.
vers.29.p.494.v.2.39.p.497.
v.33.p.501.v.29.p.501.v.16.
pag.501.& 971.v.33.p.502.
v.33.p.531.v.11.p.971.vers.
p.634.v.16.p.663.v.19.p.754
vers.9.p.788.vers.4.p.788.v.4.
p.836.v.10.p.839.v.4.p.839.
v.13.p.983.ver.9.p.839.v.14
p.998.
Chap.2.vers.19.pag.5.v.4.
pag.443.v.19.p.5.& 448.v.9.
pag.534.& 535.& 536.ver.3.
p.558.v.2.p.597.v.17.p.753.
v.12.p.892.v.13.p.892.v.47.
p.901.v.14.p.978.
Chap.3.v.16.p.49.v.1.p.73
v.7.p.199.v.13.p.856.v.18.
pag.355.& 357.& 560.v.34.
p.253.v.1.p.430.v.14.p.401.
v.3.p.469.v.5.p.481.& 483.
& 484.& 486.v.8.p.504.v.5.
p.508.v.9.p.529.v.21.p.532.
v.15.p.668.v.16.p.724.v.6.
p.846.v.3.p.848.v.14.p.886.
v.39.p.886.v.16.p.888.v.16.
p.889.v.21.p.905.v.18.p.927
v.6.p.983.v.3.p.1060.vers.8.
p.1084.
Chap.4.v.22.p.26.v.9.p.26
v.16.p.26.v.11.p.26.v.1.p.96
& pag.102.vers.3.p.103.v.18.
p.176.v.25.p.196.v.24.p.217.
v.21.p.415.& 416.v.20.p.416.
v.11.p.483.v.2.p.501.v.33.p.501
v.14.p.508.v.14.p.580.& 564.
v.3.p.554.v.23.p.574.& 575.
v.20.p.574.v.14.p.908.v.24.
p.941.v.12.p.944.v.46.p.944.
v.34.p.984.v.21.p.1084.v.21.
p.1088.
Chap.5.v.29.p.75.& 40.47.
v.34.p.30.& 38.v.36.p.30.v.9.
p.31.vers.46.p.43.v.43.p.188.
& 205.v.43.p.200.v.24.p.352
& 360.& 462.& 463.vers.16.
p.364.v.6.p.545.v.24.p.575.
v.44.p.881.v.24.p.892.v.24.
pag.1112.ver.22.p.906.v.16.
pag.916.ver.5.p.918.v.46.47.
pag.944.vers.26.p.1058.v.22.
pag.1070.vers.14.p.1101.v.3.
p.1113.
Chap.6.vers.15.p.179.v.44
p.302.& 809.v.56.p.459.v.32
p.466.v.34.p.466.& 508.v.46
p.467.v.53.p.484.& 508.v.55
p.507.& 509.v.51.p.507.v.32
p.507.v.38.p.507.v.63.p.508
v.35.p.508.v.33.p.508.v.47.
p.509.& 607.v.48.pag.509.&
607.v.51.p.509.& 787.& 512
v.54.p.509.& 594.& 598.v.58
pag.509.& 557.v.57.p.509.&
554.v.35.p.509.& 532.& 551
564.v.30.p.510.v.60.p.510.
vers.62.pag.510.& 511.&
518.& 520.ver.9.pag.511.&
795.v.56.p.512.& 518.vers.5.
pag.532.v.55.p.555.& 556.&
564.ver.11.p.557.v.53.p.558.
ver.29.p.772.& 797.& 792.&
868.v.22.p.795.ver.39.p.798.
v.37.p.811.v.45.p.811.v.39.
p.812.& 813.v.45.pag.829.
ver.45.pag.830.ver.44.p.835.
& 853.& 869.& 892.& 944.
v.29.p.884.& 888.v.35.p.892.
v.29.p.893.v.40.p.903.v.24.
p.998.v.51.p.978.v.55.p.979.
Chap.7.v.49.p.22.vers.27.
p.310.v.40.41.p.510.ver.38.
p.483.& 512.& 827.& p.551.
v.39.p.483.v.37.p.143.v.54.
p.550.
Chap.8.v.32.p.250.ver.11.
p.637.v.44.p.779.& 834.v.36.
p.829.& 836.v.36.p.829.&
836.v.36.p.842.v.56.p.878.
v.41.p.893.
Chap.9.v.22.p.115.ver.12.
p.439.vers.35.p.643.vers.29.
p.944.
Chap.10.v.3.p.23.vers.16.
p.51.& 52.vers.4.p.52.& 78.
v.16.p.89.v.28.p.53.ver.26.
p.53.v.11.p.189.v.21.p.200.
v.9.p.511.v.7.p.532.ver.15.
p.575.v.15.p.793.v.16.p.794
v.26.p.794.v.28.pag.797.&
813.v.11.p.798.ver.3.p.799.
v.14.p.804.v.26.p.809.v.29.
pag.813.vers.28.pag.813.&
824.vers.26.pag.821.ver.18.
pag.1000.& 1042.vers.17.

p.1005.v.17.p.1007.ver.47.p.1012.& 1036.v.22.p.431.

Chap.11.v.52.p.13.ver.51.p.164.v.13.pag.268.ver.52.p.492.v.52.pag.584.& 793.v.25.p.798.v.27.p.876.v.24.p.877.ver.26.pag.877.v.38.pag.986.v.42.p.994.ver.50.p.1032.v.24.p.1090.v.4.971

Chap.12.ver.26.p.6.v.13.p.196.ver.18.p.295.vers.48.pag.250.vers.14.pag.439.v.26.p.521.v.28.p.525.v.39.p.758.& 809.vers.47.p.787.v.42.p.881.v.27.p.975.v.26.p.1052.v.48.p.1070.vers.20.p.423

Chap.13.v.35.p.372.v.10.p.467.ver.1.p.495.& 541.& 628.& 792.v.29.p.541.v.15.p.549.v.8.p.549.v.10.p.550.& 470.v.5.p.549.v.8.p.753.v.1.p.813.& 824.v.17.p.822.v.1.p.904.v.10.p.925.v.10.p.1099

Chap.14.v.26.p.47.v.14.pag.439.v.18.p.521.ver.18.p.522.v.23.p.522.v.16.p.522.v.10.p.787.v.1.p.791.ver.5.p.835.v.6.p.839.v.17.p.950.p.23.p.921.v.16.p.943.ver.6.v.944.v.16.p.944.v.21.p.945.v.30.p.999.v.23.p.1013.v.30.p.1024.v.6.p.1054.

Chap.15.v.26.p.44.vers.4.p.52.v.9.p.52.v.27.p.91.v.2.p.175.v.21.p.292.v.13.p.483.v.13.p.488.v.1.p.511.v.13.p.794.ver.18.p.796.ver.22.p.796.v.14.p.796.v.16.p.804.v.5.p.809.v.16.pag.821.v.5.p.829.& p.846.v.3.pag.847.v.16.p.847.v.16.p.848.v.5.6.p.853.v.3.p.854.v.2.p.907.v.13.p.1006

Chap.16.ver.12.13.pag.47.v.13.p.116.v.26.p.584.v.22.p.525.v.7.p.522.& 529.v.15.p.520.v.16.p.529.v.28.p.530.v.7.p.607.v.18.p.604.v.29.p.605.v.23.p.662.v.9.p.772.v.23.p.94

Chap.17.v.17.p.57.ver.20.p.57.v.5.p.744.v.25.pag.57.v.21.p.189.& p.522.ver.22.p.522.v.11.p.530.v.9.p.559.& 585.& 1090.ver.19.p.339.v.14.p.787.v.23.p.787.v.25.p.787.v.2.p.788.ver.19.p.795.& 796.v.14.795.& 797.& 798.v.2.p.796.& 797.v.22.p.797.v.26.p.799.v.12.p.812.vers.6.p.914.v.24.p.945.v.19.p.986.v.21.p.987.v.13.p.996.ver.58.p.1036.v.19.p.1061.& 1062.v.5.p.1062.v.19.p.1061.& 1062.v.24.p.1070.

Chap.18.v.31.p.185.v.39.p.541.v.28.p.542.v.24.p.543

Chap.19.v.10.p.185.ver.40.p.367.v.36.p.355.v.14.p.541.& 543.v.11.p.541.v.15.p.541.v.21.p.543.v.30.p.574.v.37.p.578.v.36.p.578.vers.30.34.p.979.v.30.pag.997.vers.30.p.1026.v.34.p.1066.

Ch.20.v.31.p.23.& 45.v.22.p.133.& 532.v.23.p.13.& 249 & 254.v.21.p.252.v.22.p.384.v.25.p.458.v.15.p.528.ver.28.p.529.v.22.p.624.& 642.v.29.p.876.v.28.p.877.v.23.p.925.v.19.p.973.v.23.p.1094.v.20.p.1094.v.23.p.1103.& 1104.

Chap.21.v.21.p.138.vers.16.p.138.& 165.vers.18.p.867.& 1001.v.15.p.1094.

Actes.

Chap.1.v.4.pag.108.ver.7.p.133.v.8.p.176.v.15.pag.225.v.25.p.238.v.7.p.437.vers.14.p.446.v.7.p.448.v.2.p.592.v.8.p.166

Chap.2.v.11.p.25.208.v.44.p.283.& 286.& 295.vers.41.p.283.v.38.p.482.v.38.p.474.502.& 503.v.42.p.557.& 558.v.4.p.557.v.38.pag.623.& 632.v.41.p.623.v.37.625.vers.23.p.781.& 754.& 757.& 760.& 781.v.24.p.747.v.27.p.747.vers.39.p.471.& 795.v.47.p.795.v.44.p.840.v.38.p.947.v.24.p.989.v.23.p.1001.ver.27.pag.1007.v.24.p.1017.vers.27.p.1017.v.29.p.1018.v.23.p.1032.v.27.p.1040.v.24.p.1061.

Chap.3.v.1.pag.315.& 415.v.21.p.386.v.21.p.389.vers.6.p.395.v.16.p.396.v.12.p.397.v.6.p.482.v.21.p.521.917.v.5.p.958.v.21.p.605.v.19.p.632.v.19.p.638.v.16.p.848.vers.15.p.1031.ver.14.15.ibid.vers.21.p.970.& 1086.v.12.p.1094

Chap.4.v.8.23.p.236.ver.35.p.296.v.34.p.795.v.33.p.840.v.12.p.963.

Chap.5.ver.34.p.235.vers.2.p.283.v.2.p.295.ver.4.p.296.v.23.p.326.v.19.23.p.327.v.4.p.820.v.19.p.983.

Chap.6.v.3.p.42.v.13.p.105.v.2.p.307.ver.6.p.285.& 722.v.5.p.338.

Chap.7.v.19.p.370.389.v.33.p.490.v.43.p.456.v.36.p.525.& 527.v.2.p.525.ver.58.p.541.v.51.p.607.v.55.p.695.ver.51.p.620.& 651.

Chap.8.ver.30.p.41.ver.14.p.138.v.2.p.366.ver.37.p.461.v.17.p.508.v.16.p.502.ver.32.p.632.v.17.p.714.v.19.p.714.& 717.v.19.p.715.vers.17.19.p.716.v.27.p.876.v.36.p.877.v.21.p.908.v.37.p.423.v.39.p.1112.

Chap.9.ver.13.p.68.ver.17.p.68.& 718.& 721.v.7.8.p.141.v.4.p.425.v.4.p.1074.

Chap.10.v.34.p.369.v.47.pag.467.& 482.& 486.v.47.p.505.v.43.p.626.v.25.p.746.v.17.p.715.v.44.p.716.& 717.v.35.p.790.v.43.p.889.v.43.p.890.v.35.p.922.v.4.p.957.v.2.p.958.v.14.p.990.v.25.p.990.v.35.p.414.

Chap.11.vers.24.p.53.v.26.p.65.& 289.ver.2.p.237.ver.2.p.104.v.28.p.623.v.23.p.633.& 635.

Chap.12.v.2.p.67.v.6.p.439.v.10.p.526.v.15.p.349.

Chap.13.vers.3.p.68.& 225.v.2.p.177.v.15.p.231.& 616.v.4.p.223.v.3.p.728.v.2.p.722.v.46.p.794.v.48.p.794.& 809.v.39.p.889.v.39.p.890.v.38.p.900.vers.22.pag.914.v.27.p.943.ver.3.pag.948.ver.46.p.1108.

Chap.14.v.23.p.129.& 232.v.14.p.976.v.27.p.642.v.16.p.815.v.17.p.815.

Chap.15.vers.21.p.22.v.29.p.48.v.4.p.54.v.6.p.108.v.22.p.110.v.7.p.112.v.19.p.112.v.10.p.112.& 128.v.28.p.112.& 125.& 216.v.16.p.126.v.6.p.127.v.22.p.127.v.10.p.139.ver.2.p.143.ver.7.p.143.v.29.p.170.v.29.p.171.v.23.24.26.p.225.v.21.p.414.v.19.p.464.v.9.p.544.v.9.p.633.v.9.p.847.ver.9.p.872.ver.2.p.884.v.10.p.907.v.10.p.913.v.10.p.915.vers.11.p.914.v.9.p.959.v.21.p.943.v.29.p.956.v.9.p.958.v.10.p.428.v.21.p.429.& 432.

Chap.

Chap.16.v.17. pag.123.v.15. p.261. v.33. p.491. v.14. p.899. v.31. p.912.

Chap.17. v.11. p.166. & 457. v.11. p.36. v.10. p.45. v.11. p.117. & 15. p.121. v.28. pag.121. v.28. p.757. v.30. p.815. v.18. p.838.

Chap.18. v.26. p.123. v.11. p.418. v.26. p.490. v.18. p.559.

Chap.19. v.12. p.93. & 396. v.1. p.483. v.45. p.469. p.501. & 561. & 563. ver.43. p.504. ver.4. p.504. v.18. p.643. v.3. p.716. v.12. p.923.

Chap.20. v.27. pag.48. v.28. p.108. v.17. p.109. v.28. p.136. & 176. & 238. v.27. p.214. v.17. p.238. v.7. p.434. & 414. ver.17. p.557. v.28. p.728. v.7. p.947. v.28. p.1090. v.28. p.1094. v.28. p.1104. v.16. p.427. v.7. p.429. & 430.

Chap.21. v.18. p.108. v.24. p.313. v.19. p.380. v.8. p.490. v.8. p.718. v.24. p.427.

Chap.22. v.2. p.22. v.6. p.41. v.16. p.462. v.14. p.525. v.38. p.525. v.30. p.541.

Chap.23. v.15. p.541. v.10. p.541. & 992.

Chap.24. v.14. pag.101. & p.103. v.17. p.318. v.10. p.637.

Chap.26. v.22. p.48. v.16. p.525. v.13. p.525. v.20. p.626. v.22. p.626. v.23. p.626.

Chap.27. v.4. pag.389. v.19. p.948.

Chap.28. v.22. p.143. v.1. p.389. v.8. p.396. v.12. p.949.

Romanes.

Chap.1. v.5. pag.168. v.23. p.398. & 402. v.17. p.463. & 492. & 627. v.22. pag.537. v.17. p.598. & 727. v.26. p.757. v.28. p.758. v.29, 30. pag.802. v.4. p.821. v.20. pag.838. v.21. p.845. v.17. p.882. v.17. p.905. v.16. p.912. v.3. p.979. & 980. ver.17. pag.733. & 1093. ver.32. p.1093. v.17. p.1102.

Chap.2. v.18. p.468. 471. v.4. p.654. v.5. p.752. v.9. p.778. v.4. p.786. v.10. p.790. v.28. p.801. v.12. p.815. v.14. p.815. v.29. p.820. v.14. p.744. & 838. & 839. ver.14, 15. p.843. ver.14. p.845. v.15. p.846. v.6. p.929. v.11. p.930. v.9. p.1103.

Chap.3. v.2. p.8. & 12. v.23. p.442. & 443. v.28. p.492. & 495. v.28. p.473. 598. v.8. p.605. & 760. v.24. p.639. v.25. p.639. & 665. & 668. v.26. p.640. & 658. v.24. p.654. & 664. v.22. p.658. v.33. p.658. v.25. p.721. v.3. p.813. & 819. v.12. p.847. v.10. p.883. v.20. p.883. v.22. p.883. v.24. p.883. v.25. p.883. v.28. p.885. & 887. v.27. p.888. v.14. p.889. v.17. p.892. v.22. p.894. v.22. p.898. v.6. p.898. verf.22, 24. p.899. v.22. p.900. v.28. p.910. v.20. p.912. v.21. p.912. verf.28. p.919. & 920. & 960. verf.22. p.920. v.4. p.920. v.18. p.920. v.27. p.932. v.24. pag.936. & 937. & 958. ver.26. p.1029. v.25, 26. p.1032. v.24. p.1082. v.8. p.1107.

Chap.4. v.2. p.40. v.7. p.351. v.3. p.352. v.9, 10. p.361. verf.11. p.453. & 462. & 463. & 467. & 481. v.13. p.461. v.14. p.461. verf.16, 18. p.403. v.23. p.463. v.10. p.465. v.7, 8. p.494. v.11. pag.499. & 513. v.11. p.627. & 628. v.5. p.638. v.4. p.639. v.5, 6. p.639. v.4. p.656. v.13. p.787. v.11. p.787. v.19, 20. pag.872. v.14. p.872. v.11. p.876. v.14. p.878. verf.7. p.878. v.5. p.884. ver.2. p.887. ver.5. p.889. v.11. pag.890. v.3. p.893. v.2. p.897. verf.4. p.936, 938. v.7, 8. p.897. v.4. p.897. v.13. p.905. ver.12. p.906. ver.5. p.910. v.7. p.921. ver.4. p.930. verf.3. p.930. v.4. p.933. v.21. p.934. v.5. p.934.

Chap.5. ver.9. p.848. ver.12. pag.870. v.5. p.871. v.3. p.871. v.1. p.878. & 884. & 895. v.19. 894. & 1004. v.16. p.834. v.15. p.894. v.17. p.894. v.11. p.894. verf.18. p.895. v.9. p.896. v.8. p.896. v.15. p.897. v.18. p.897. v.24. p.898. v.9, 10. p.898. & 1007. v.10. p.899. v.11. p.900. verf.21. p.938. verf.5. p.938. v.4. p.938. v.1. p.939. v.19. p.983. verf.18. 1984. ver.7. p.1006. & 1007. verf.20. p.1103. & ver.12. p.1035. ver.10. pag.1061. v.1. p.1106. & 8. p.1106. v.11. p.1150. ver.18. p.888. & 443. v.11. p.934. v.12. p.443. v.10. p.443. ver.1. pag.462. & 465. & 466. ver.8. p.488. v.19. p.494. & 743. v.16. p.494. & 764. v.2. p.501. ver.4. pag.625. v.1. p.630. & 658. & 664. v.14. p.745. & 754. & 763. & 764. v.17. p.747. v.19. p.768. & 784. & 765. ver.12. p.763. & 765. & 768. & 767. v.12. p.772. v.17. p.788. v.16. p.788. & 822. v.16. p.794. v.2. p.813. verf.12. p.815. v.16. p.815. v.19. p.816. v.19. p.826. v.11. p.827. verf.5. p.827. v.1. p.827.

Chap.6. v.23. p.217. & 358. & 359. & 362. v.13. p.293. v.4. p.293. v.8. p.368. & 529. ver.6. p.359. & 770. v.17. p.359. v.25. p.360. v.5. p.486. & 529. v.12. p.495. ver.3, 4. p.550. v.9. p.554. & 579. v.4. p.625. & 628. & 630. & 632. v.8. p.631. v.23. p.656. & 762. v.3. p.719. v.23. p.727. & 753. & 771. v.6. p.709. v.22. p.769. v.12. p.770. & 772. v.10. p.773. v.11. p.773. v.20. p.775. v.26. p.842. v.16. p.867. v.23. p.888. v.5. p.895. v.22. p.895. v.24. p.885. v.8. p.877. verf.12. p.913. v.6. p.913. v.19. p.920. v.22. p.921. v.23. p.929. & 934. v.9. p.981. & 982.

Chap.7. v.7. p.42. & 217. v.3. p.271. v.24. p.300. v.25. p.495. & 770. v.7, 8. p.496. & 635. v.2. p.687. v.20. p.754. & 770. v.18. p.764. & 771. verf.20. pag.765. verf.24. pag.765. verf.23. p.766. verf.17, 18. pag.769. ver.17, 20. p.771. v.19. p.771. & 774. v.15. p.771. v.24. p.771. v.7. p.771. v.16. p.771. v.11. p.771. v.23. p.772. v.24. p.774. v.14. p.775. v.25. p.775. v.19. p.779. v.18. p.832. v.18. p.848. v.18. p.853. v.20. p.866. v.18. p.897. ver.9. p.910. v.7. p.910. & 912. v.14. p.913. ver.25. p.913. v.6. p.913. v.20. p.913. v.21. p.913. v.23. p.913. v.19. p.914. & 915. v.18. p.915. v.7. p.915. v.10. p.915. v.8. p.917. v.22. p.940. ver.12. p.1032. & 1033.

Chap.8. v.14. p.6. v.17. p.53. v.9. p.54. v.1. p.360. v.1. p.361. v.1. pag.739. v.16. p.361. v.30. p.632. & 638. v.3. p.633. v.33. p.658. v.30. p.661. v.17. p.662. v.8. p.676. v.7. p.676. v.9. p.676. v.1. p.772. ver.7. p.771. ver.23. p.775. v.32. p.786. v.30. p.793. v.29. p.803. v.38. p.812. v.30. p.820. v.19. p.820. v.28. p.825. v.30. pag.828. v.8. p.852. v.16. p.852. v.26. p.857. v.26. p.867. v.38. p.872. v.32. p.884. v.24. p.886. & 888. v.25. p.888. v.7. p.892.

p.892.v.14.p.892.v.29.p.895.
v.15,23.p.895.ver.30.p.895.
ver.2.pag.897.ver.3.pag.899.
verf.2.p.899.verf.30. pag.90e
v.16.p.902.v.15.p.903.& 909
v.17.p.903.v.38.p.903.ver.3.
p.910.v.15.p.912.v.4.p.914.
v.3.p.915.v.30.p.920.ver.18.
pag.932.v.18.p.936.& 937.&
1092.v.17.p.937.& 1010.v.26
940.v.38.p.995.v.32.p.1002
& 1009.v.3.p.1025. & 1032.
& 1046.
Chap.9.v.11.p.492.ver.14.
p.781.v.19.p.786.v.15.p.789
v.20.p.790.v.22.p.797.v.13.
p.799.v.11.p.804. & 805. &
806.v.14.p.805. v.15.p.805.
v.18.p.805.v.16.p.805.& 809
v.19.p.806. v.20. p.806.v.19.
p.811. v.3.p.812.v.21.p.821.
v.16.p.821.v.11.p.821.& 822
v.23.p.821.v.3.p.995.& 1007
Ch.10.v.6.p.32.v.17.p.37.&
717.v.10.p.121.v.14.p.383.v.13
p.462.ver.8.p.464.v.17.p.492
v.17.p.458.v.17.p.562. v.14.
p.664. v.8. p.852.v.9. p.876.
v.11.p.877.v.14.p.877.v.17.
p.872.883.v.14.p.884.v.7,8.
p.928.v.7.p.1051.v.18.p.1064.
Chap.11.ver.12.p.19.v.34.
p.13.v.12.p.19.v.1.p.55.v.31
p.78.v.3. p.201.v.25.p.201.
ver.4.p.465.ver.29.p.494.v.2.
p.628.v.6.p.473.655.& 656.
& 663.v.29.p.763.& 813.v.1
p.780.v.32.p.788.v.33.p.816
v.14.p.821.v.33.p.822.v.29.
p.824.v.36.p.841.v.6.p.866.
ver.6.pag.885.v.6.p.900.v.6.
p.910.& 933.v.9.p.934.v.28.
p.1037.v.33.p.1056.
Chap.12.v.3.p.20.v.6.p.39
v.1.p.378.v.1.p.573. & 581.
v.3.p.817.v.1.p.953.v.1.p.999
Chap.13.v.1.p.155.& 175.
v.7.p.175. v.1. p.175. & 179.
& 246.& 180. & 322.& 325.
v.10.p.287.v.4.p.298.& 330.
ver.5.p.325. v.4. p.327. v.13.
p.433.ver.7.p.666.v.4.p.712.
v.1.p.729.v.10.p.753.& 914
v.5.p.959.
Chap.14.v.10.p.255.v.20.
p.289.v.23.p.294.& 592.v.22
p.294. v.4.p.372. v.17.p.384.
v.15.p.812.v.21.p.812. v.20.
p.812.v.4.p.812.v.23.p.846.
v.23.p.887. v.11,12.p.1049.
v.5,15.p.425.
Chap.15.v.4.p.26.& 42.&
44.v.30.p.382.v.14.p.904.
Chap.16.v.16.p.8.v.23.p.25
v.17.p.143. v.1,2. p.261.v.16.
p.389.v.25.p.453.v.3.p.676.

1. Corinth.

Ch.1.v.9.p.232.v.17.p.233.
v.17.p.409. v.30.p.550.v.10.
p.807.v.2,3.p.807.v.30.p.898
v.30.p.911. & 914.v.3.p.914.
ver.4.p.914. v.17.p.998. v.30.
1057.verf.13.p.1091. verf.30.
p.1092.& 1093.
Chap.2. ver.15.p.37.& 179.
v.21.p.252.v.11.p.345.v.27.
p.716.v.15.p.769.v.21.p.770.
v.23.p.770.v.14.p.809.ver.16
pag.817.v.10,16.p.817.v.12.
p.855.v.9.p.874.
Chap.3.verf.11.p.38.& 103.
ver.11.pag.157.v.16.pag.202.
verf.11. pag.217. v.17. p.220.
v.4. p.285. verf.21,22. p.285.
v.23.p.290. v.21. p.290. v.13.
p.355.& 356.v.15.p.355.& 356
ver.13.p.365.ver.2.p.570.v.6.
p.578. v.16. p.581. v.5.p.728.
verf.2.p.791.v.11.p.884.v.12.
p.922.v.8.p.936.v.5.p.944.
Chap.4.v.3.p.32. v.5.p.372.
v.7.p.656.v.1.p.678.v.1.p.723
& 728.ver.7.p.797.v.7.p.829.
v.7.p.850.v.7.p.854.v.4.p.902
v.4.p.939.& 1091.v.3.p.1091
Chap.5.v.4.p.90.v.6.p.152.
v.18.p.161.v.1.p.251.v.4.p.251
v.4.p.373.v.7.p.572.v.5.p.624
verf.1.p.698.ver.19.p.787.v.5.
pag.813.v.19.p.1060.verf.18.
p.1093.v.5.p.1095.
Chap.6.v.5.p.59.v.19.p.202
v.10.p.230.v.10.p.358.v.17.
p.576.v.20.p.769.v.11.p.777.
ver.2.p.1070.& 1071.ver.20.
p.1093.
Chap.7.v.33.p.19.v.23.p.97
v.13.p.119. v.40. p.144.v.29.
p.256. v.37.p.257. & 303.v.4.
p.261. v.2.p.262.ver.9.p.269.
v.5.p.272. & 273. v.25. p.286.
& 287.& 289.ver.40.p.286.&
287.v.7.p.286.& 289.& 300.
ver.9.p.286.ver.24.p.287.v.6.
287.& 289.& 302.v.12.p.287
v.15.p.287.v.16.p.287.verf.2.
pag.289. & 300. & 309.v.23.
pag.298. v.36,37.p.306.v.5.
p.307.& 434.ver.6 p.307.v.8.
p.307.v.24.p.707.v.27.p.307.
& 308.& 309.v.10.p.307.v.5.
p.307.v.39.p.309.v.31.p.359
v.14.p.486.& 485.& 491.v.23
p.499.v.20,21.p.488.verf.34.
p.676.v.14.p.472.& 677.
Chap.8.ver.23.p.238.ver.8.
p.295.v.5.p.380.v.10.p.614.
v.17.p.611.v.11.p.882.verf.3.
p.959.v.12.p.998.
Chap.9.v.22.p.21.v.5.p.136
& 135.& 273.v.16.p.236.v.11.
p.377. & 381. v.14,15. p.677.
& 281.v.27.p.311. & 664.v.1.
p.525.v.16.p.578.v.27.p.775.
v.27.p.812.& 907.& 954.v.24
p.1091.
Chap.10.verf.31.p.94.v.32.
p.94.& 289.v.27.p.270.v.30.
p.296.v.19.p.397.& 398.v.20
p.402.v.21.p.414.v.16.p.455.
& 556.& 476.v.3,4.p.466.v.2.
p.503.v.2,3.p.506.v.3.p.510.
& 511.& 518.v.4.p.511.& 513.&
518.v.16.p.733.v.17.p.511.& 519
& 520. & 543. & 549. & 555.
& 556.verf.16.p.514.& 516.&
519.& 520.& 539.& 538.v.16
pag.575.& 576. & 589.ver.18.
p.576.v.21.p.576.& 592.v.17.
p.586. & 587. v.23. p.588. v.6.
p.652.v.11.p.800.v.25.p.952.
v.29. p.952. v.13.p.988. v.32.
p.1086.v.6,11.p.432.
Chap.11.v.6.p.15.v.21.p.59.
ver.19.p.71.verf.23.p.92.v.29.
p.250.v.23.p.250.v.28.p.250
v.14.p.314.v.10. p.474. v.25.
p.366. v.1. p.372. v.33.p.424.
v.25.p.470. v.27.p.473. v.26.
pag.414. & 456. v.28.p.433.&
468.v.23.p.454.ver.24.p.457.
v.27.p.508.& 515.& 550.v.25
p.514.& 553.& 555.v.17.p.515
v.29.p.515.v.26.p.519.& 520
& 523.& 539.& 555.& 556.&
557. & 560.v.26,27,28.p.519
& 533.ver.24.p.539. & 547.&
558.v.39.p.549. ver.28.p.551.
v.34. p.552. v.21. p.552. v.33.
p.553.v.23.p.560.v.25.p.559
v.29.p.561.v.27.p.563.v.26.
p.577.v.34.p.584. ver.25,26.
p.585.v.22.p.588.v.33.p.588
v.20.p.589.v.23.p.589.v.21.
p.589.v.26.p.590.v.29.p.590
& 591.& 646.v.27.p.631.v.31
pag.656.verf.26.p.1096.v.28.
p.1096.
Chap.12. v.12.p.51.ver.20.
p.222.v.28.p.238.& 241.v.10
p.253. v.1.p.284.v.26.p.364.
&

& 547. v. 13. p. 574. v. 23. p. 678. v. 30. 714. v. 29. p. 714. v. 9. 10. pag. 731. 916. p. 842. 1085. p. 873. v. 24. 1187. v. 10. p. 904. ver. 15. p. 1093.

Chap. 13. v. 3. p. 888. p. 889. & 488. v. 4. p. 1100. v. 2. p. 1545. ver. 17. p. 881. v. 13. p. 1871. v. 8. p. 873. v. 35. p. 873. v. 21. p. 893. v. 1. p. 894. v. 2. p. 880. & 881. ver. 11. p. 881. v. 8. p. 908. v. 3. p. 1091. v. 5. p. 1096.

Chap. 14. v. 11. p. 35. ver. 14. ibid. v. 26. p. 25. v. 14. p. 26. & 27. v. 9. p. 26. 1268. p. 212. & 325. & 590. & 598. & 599. v. 33. p. 237. v. 40. p. 238. v. 36. p. 240. v. 16. p. 314. v. 35. p. 490. v. 28. p. 495. v. 24. p. 561. v. 19. p. 599. v. 9. p. 999. v. 20. p. 719. v. 20. p. 874. ver. 19. p. 945. v. 14. 19. p. 592.

Chap. 15. v. 47. p. 19. vers. 51. p. 21. & 200. v. 12. p. 59. vers. 34. p. 89. v. 16. p. 138. v. 29. p. 358. & 1110. v. 12. p. 443. & 559. v. 8. p. 525. v. 51. p. 570. v. 55. p. 652. v. 21. p. 766. & 787. v. 22. p. 788. v. 9. 10. p. 817. v. 10. p. 828. & 859. v. 28. p. 831. v. 28. p. 859. v. 33. p. 502. v. 31. p. 978. v. 56. 57. p. 1037. v. 23. p. 1067. v. 58. p. 1092.

Chap. 16. ver. 22. p. 373. v. 8. p. 436. v. 2. p. 617. v. 2. p. 431.

2. Corinth.

Ch. 1. v. 20. p. 571. v. 6. p. 663. v. 22. p. 469. v. 10. p. 667. vers. 7. pag. 667. & 668. & 674. vers. 16. p. 607. v. 22. p. 728. v. 3. p. 943. v. 19. p. 1084.

Chap. 2. v. 16. p. 187. & 350. v. 17. p. 545. v. 7. p. 624. & 636. & 645. v. 21. p. 716. v. 22. p. 716. v. 16. p. 911. v. 17. p. 923. v. 16. pag. 1094. ver. 7. p. 1095. v. 10. p. 1097. v. 6. p. 1098. & 1100. v. 8. p. 1101. v. 10. p. 1101. v. 7. p. 1106.

Chap. 3. v. 6. 9. p. 635. vers. 6. p. 723. v. 5. p. 772. v. 5. p. 853. & 844. v. 6. 9. p. 912.

Chap. 4. v. 3. p. 32. & 506. v. 16. p. 495. v. 16. p. 470. & 769. v. 6. p. 847. v. 17. p. 919. v. 17. p. 934. v. 18. p. 934. v. 18. p. 1023. v. 9. p. 1040. & 1042.

Ch. 5. v. 19. 4. 98. v. 18. p. 253. & 254. v. 19. p. 253. v. 20. p. 277. vers. 5. p. 360. v. 2. p. 360. v. 10. p. 361. v. 2. 3. 4. p. 363. v. 1. p. 370. ver. 9. p. 420. ver. 15. p. 443. v. 7. p. 735. v. 16. p. 447. v. 10. p. 498. v. 7. p. 530. v. 17. p. 624. & 786. v. 16. p. 642. v. 20. p. 642. ver. 19. p. 644. v. 15. p. 786. v. 10. p. 815.

Chap. 6. v. 2. p. 827. v. 7. p. 895. v. 21. p. 896. & 898. v. 21. p. 911. v. 21. p. 1024. v. 20. p. 1046. v. 19. pag. 1060. v. 10. p. 1103. vers. 6. p. 1095.

Chap. 6. ver. 14. p. 495. v. 15. p. 495.

Chap. 7. v. 10. pag. 633. v. 8. p. 636. v. 11. p. 637. v. 10. p. 845. v. 1. p. 920. v. 11. p. 988. & 1100.

Chap. 8. v. 5. p. 152. v. 7. p. 917. v. 7. p. 959.

Chap. 9. v. 7. p. 852. v. 8. p. 852. v. 15. p. 852. v. 13. p. 852. ver. 10. p. 920. v. 7. p. 959.

Chap. 10. v. 4. p. 419. & 504. ver. 4. p. 750. ver. 5. p. 844. v. 5. p. 871.

Chap. 11. ver. 23. p. 138. v. 26. p. 1091.

Chap. 12. vers. 4. p. 352. v. 21. p. 623. v. 4. p. 749. & 817. vers. 9. p. 992. v. 4. p. 1067.

Chap. 13. ver. 5. p. 459. & 468. & 549. & 551. v. 5. p. 473. & 905. v. 6. p. 907. v. 7. p. 907.

Galath.

Chap. 1. v. 8. p. 36. & 45. & 97. v. 1. p. 68. & 144. v. 16. 17. p. 68. ver. 8. p. 97. ver. 10. p. 97. v. 8. 9. p. 121. v. 9. p. 207. v. 10. p. 298. & 500. ver. 8. p. 499. v. 6. p. 819. v. 6. p. 907. v. 9. p. 1076.

Chap. 2. v. 6. p. 36. v. 12. p. 36. v. 9. 11. p. 57. v. 9. 14. p. 116. v. 9. p. 135. & 136. & 137. v. 11. p. 137. & 139. v. 14. p. 139. v. 8. p. 148. v. 11. p. 142. v. 2. p. 143. ver. 2. 9. p. 237. v. 2. 9. p. 237. v. 20. p. 463. v. 16. p. 467. v. 24. p. 633. ver. 20. p. 664. v. 10. p. 726. v. 18. p. 812. v. 20. p. 859. v. 20. p. 877. v. 16. p. 902. v. 20. p. 904. v. 20. p. 905. v. 18. p. 907. v. 16. p. 910. v. 20. p. 919. v. 6. p. 930.

Chap. 3. v. 1. p. 59. v. 20. p. 386. v. 19. p. 451. v. 21. p. 498. v. 13. p. 499. & 653. v. 1. p. 506. v. 10. p. 752. v. 19. p. 344. v. 1. p. 819. v. 24. p. 851. v. 10. p. 850. v. 16. p. 876. v. 8. p. 883. v. 11. p. 883. ver. 26. pag. 893. ver. 14. p. 896. ver. 13. p. 896. ver. 9. p. 905. v. 3. p. 907. v. 24. p. 909. v. 16. p. 911. v. 24. p. 911. v. 24. p. 912. v. 13. p. 913. v. 10. p. 916. v. 13. p. 916. v. 12. p. 916. v. 11. p. 919. v. 17. p. 955. v. 13. p. 1009. & 1025. & 1032. v. 13. p. 1044. & 1046.

Chap. 4. v. 24. p. 83. v. 14. p. 34. v. 9. p. 89. & 465. v. 29. pag. 101. v. 19. p. 298. v. 8. p. 379. v. 25. p. 513. v. 3. p. 635. & 706. v. 10. p. 710. v. 29. p. 800. v. 29. p. 801. ver. 6. p. 903. v. 4. p. 912. v. 26. p. 944. v. 9. p. 955. v. 10. 11. p. 417.

Chap. 5. v. 9. p. 89. v. 3. p. 291. & 293. v. 26. p. 330. v. 17. p. 495. v. 6. p. 505. & 551. & 633. & 813. v. 17. p. 775. v. 20. p. 775. ver. 22. p. 844. v. 17. p. 848. v. 6. p. 874. & 880. & 893. v. 4. p. 907. v. 17. p. 924. v. 1. p. 1076.

Chap. 6. v. 16. p. 39. v. 15. 16. p. 49. v. 1. p. 139. v. 17. p. 198. v. 14. p. 198. v. 6. p. 222. & 278. & 281. v. 14. p. 409. & 576. v. 5. p. 662. vers. 8. p. 848. v. 8. p. 866. v. 14. p. 1005. ver. 16. p. 1008. v. 14. p. 1027. v. 12. ibid.

Ephes.

Chap. 1. vers. 22. p. 162. v. 21. p. 355. & 341. v. 23. p. 469. v. 4. p. 613. & 804. & 793. v. 11. p. 745. & 804. v. 5. p. 781. & 804. v. 9. p. 781. v. 4. p. 821. v. 11. p. 827. v. 23. p. 872. & 899. v. 7. p. 979. v. 7. p. 1000. v. 18. p. 1090.

Chap. 2. v. 10. p. 21. v. 20. p. 37. & 30. & 54. & 96. & 103. & 133. & 136. vers. 6. p. 387. v. 12. p. 467. v. 15. p. 467. & 556. v. 22. p. 515. v. 13. p. 556. v. 14. p. 556. v. 8. p. 1111. v. 8. 9. p. 658. v. 14. 16. p. 666. v. 5. p. 793. v. 9. p. 797. v. 9. p. 827. v. 13. p. 836. vers. 2. p. 848. v. 13. p. 856. v. 8. p. 885. vers. 9. p. 887. v. 10. p. 887. v. 16. pag. 976. ver. 8. p. 889. ver. 5. 6. pag. 889. v. 8. p. 892. v. 8. p. 895. v. 17. p. 908. v. 8. p. 911. vers. 10. p. 927. v. 8. p. 929. v. 5. 6. p. 934. v. 9. 10. p. 934. v. 8. p. 937. ver. 6. p. 1011. v. 2. p. 1018. v. 2. p. 1023. & 1085. v. 16. p. 1032. v. 3. p. 1032. v. 2. p. 1050. v. 6. p. 1071. v. 16. p. 1100. v. 8. p. 1106.

Chap. 3. v. 15. p. 53. & 55. v. 10. p. 78. & 124. v. 15. p. 364. v. 28. p. 364. v. 1. p. 492. v. 18. p. 492. & 839. v. 15. p. 788. v. 12. p. 871. v. 19. p. 872. vers. 6. p. 883. v. 17. p. 893.

p.893.v.12.p.904.v.12.p.905. v.18.p.905.v.17.p.906.v.17. p.907.v.17.p.938.v.19.p.938. v.22.p.938.v.22.p.938.

Chap.4.v.5.p.47.& 470.v.11 pag.57.v.14.p.57.v.15.p.57.& 130.v.21.p.60.& 144.ver.30. p.469.v.11.p.109.v.15.p.122. v.16.p.131.& 132.& 233.& 236.ver.4.11.p.132.& 230.& 238.ver.15.16.p.178.ver.30. p.199.v.11.p.219.v.19.p.238 v.23.p.495.v.24.p.743.vers.5. p.503.v.15.p.515.v.4.p.586. v.22.p.635.& 773.v.8.p.639. & 745.971.ver.11.p.718.v.24. p.745.& 772.& 775.vers.23. p.769.& 772.v.25.p.769.v.22 p.856.v.26.p.983.v.13.p.973. v.30.p.1027.v.10.p.1049.v.9. p.1056.vers.16.p.1085.v.12. p.1104.

Chap.5.v.19.p.26.ver.1.p.26 v.23,25.p.52.& 559.v.26,27. pag.53.& 89.v.30.p.56.v.27. p.57.& 443.& 494.v.25.p.96. v.12.p.83.v.23.p.53.v.23.p.122 v.2.p.377.v.26.p.462.& 464. & 412.& 570.& 794.vers.32. p.570.& 574.v.29.p.664.v.31 p.676.v.25.p.717.v.23.p.794 v.27.p.794.v.22.p.848.ver.30 p.980.v.22.p.1007.v.2.p.1035 v.29.p.1037.

Ch.6.v.6.p.198. v.4.p.526. v.12.p.341.& 342.& 720.v.6 p.959.v.18,19.p.382.

Philippians.

Chap.1.v.18.p.89.& 459.& 574.vers.14.p.142.v.1.p.238. v.23.p.370.v.13.p.829.v.23. p.835.v.23.p.904.& 1052.& 1054.v.13.p.1094.v.23.p.1102

Chap.2.ver.11.p.25.ver.28. p.142.v.25.p.238.v.12.p.394 & 632.& 638.v.27.p.496.v.2 403.v.13.p.809.v.12.p.825. v.15.p.831.v.13.p.855.v.12. p.857.v.13.p.859.v.14.p.859 ver.13.p.868.v.12.p.902.v.7. p.980.v.8.p.1004.v.7.p.1006 v.7.p.1049.v.10.p.1049.v.9. p.1049.1061.& 1062.v.17. p.1093.

Chap.3.v.6.p.54.v.17.p.284 v.18.p.409.v.9.p.498.ver.21. pag.522.v.8.p.663.v.9.p.887. vers.8.p.888.v.9.p.900.v.8,9. p.902.v.15.p.915.v.12.p.915 v.12.p.923.v.8,9.p.939.v.20. p.1014.v.9.p.1091.

Chap.4.ver.18.p.142.v.15. p.276.v.3.p.798.& 799.

Colossians.

Chap.1.vers.16.p.341.v.20. pag.559.& 651.& 788.ver.21. pag.559.& 653.v.24.p.559. vers.24.pag.662.ver.16.p.788 v.18.p.788.v.19.p.937.v.20. p.940.v.20.p.959.v.20.p.1013 v.13.p.1034.v.6.p.1064.v.23 pag.1064.v.24.p.1093.v.25. p.1094.

Chap.2.ver.1.p.28.v.21,22. pag.290.& 653.& 717.v.23. pag.294.& 302.& 311.& 673. v.22.pag.312.& p.500.v.21. p.311.& 500.v.17.p.313.& 504 & 598.v.11.p.468.& 770.v.18 pag.298.& 769.ver.16.p.427. vers.18.348.v.23.p.348.v.11. p.465.v.23.p.665.v.16.p.710 ver.15.p.719.v.13.p.856.v.2. p.872.v.17.p.909.v.16.p.951 v.20.p.952.v.23.p.954.v.22. p.955.v.20.p.655.v.14.p.955. vers.21.p.957.v.9.p.986.v.14. p.998.& 1076.ver.11.p.1019. v.20.p.1026.v.15.p.1034.& 1053.v.17.p.421.& 422.

Ch.3.v.23.p.297.v.4.p.370. v.5.p.495.v.9.p.495.v.1.p.522 v.9.p.630.& 769.v.5.p.770.& 772.v.18.p.842.v.10.p.743.

Chap.4.v.16.p.28.& 43.v.11 p.242.v.3.p.382.v.8.p.409.v.5 p.664.& 681.

1. Thess.

Chap.1.v.2.p.284.v.5.p.812

Chap.2.v.2.p.47.

Chap.3.v.2.p.238.

Chap.4.ver.12.p.318.v.16. p.361.vers.17.p.412.& 521.& 527.ver.18.p.644.v.19.p.644. v.8.p.904.v.17.p.1070.v.18. p.1093.

Chap.5.v.17.p.315.& 416. v.21.p.874.v.17.p.941.ver.4 p.1066.v.11.p.1093.

2. Thess.

Chap.1.vers.1.p.317.v.7,8. p.317.v.11.p.318.v.5.p.930. & 935.vers.6.p.1033.vers.11. p.1108.

Chap.2.ver.4.p.52.v.3.p.62. v.7.p.63.v.9.p.72.v.8.p.81.v.4. pag.98.v.6,7.p.102.v.10,11. p.169.v.7.p.289.v.7.p.190.v.8 p.195.v.11.p.100.v.4.p.202. v.4.p.205.& 206.& 212.& 217 v.7.p.206.v.10.p.206.ver.11. pag.206.& 648.ver.9.p.209. ver.8.pag.212.vers.6.pag.219. ver.15.p.47.& 240.v.4.p.381. v.15.p.560.v.10.p.794.ver.8. p.1068.

Chap.3.v.10.p.317.

Chap.4.v.13.p.366.

1. Timothie.

Chap.1.ver.19.p.165.v.7,5. p.233.v.5.p.294.& 433.v.20. p.373.v.17.p.376.v.7.p.513. v.14.p.710.v.19.p.813.v.15. p.902.v.20.p.902.v.19.p.907. v.4.p.955.v.15.p.1091.v.20. p.1102.

Chap.2.v.15.p.20.& 39.v.7. pag.144.v.2.p.178.v.5.p.182. v.3.p.256.ver.8.p.315.& 412. ver.2.p.327.ver.21.p.346.v.5. p.394.v.8.p.416.v.1.p.416.& 584.v.8.p.574.vers.2.p.596.& 712.v.15.p.634.& 675.ver.14. p.731.& 767.& 768.v.8.p.941 v.5.p.1059.v.6.p.1059.

Chap.3.v.2.p.20.v.16.p.45. & 49.& 64.v.17.p.46.v.15.p.57 vers.14,15.pag.57.vers.15. p.116.v.5.p.184.v.2.p.257.& 261.& 278.v.4,11.p.257.v.2, 11,12.p.261.v.5.p.273.v.11. p.273.v.2.p.313.v.16.p.453. & 675.& 510.v.17.p.454.vers. p.728.v.2,12.p.728.v.3.p.729 v.15.11.p.817.v.13.p.938.

Chap.4.v.1.p.62.v.15.p.941 ver.4.p.119.ver.14.p.176.v.17 p.190.v.1,2.p.206.v.14.p.224 & 236.& 237.& 235.vers.18. p.233.v.1.p.262.v.2.p.269.v.5 p.410.v.5.p.456.& 548.& 625 & 678.& 680.v.14.p.462.& 720.& 722.& 730.& 731.v.13 p.616.v.3.711.v.13.p.729. v.4.p.764.v.10.p.809.v.10. p.919.v.8.p.930.ver.7.p.939. v.5.p.940.v.16.p.944.v.16. p.945.ver.3.p.951.v.3.p.952. v.1.p.952.v.8.pag.954.v.7,8. p.954.& 1032.v.5.p.422.

Chap.5.vers.22.pag.181, ver.19.pag.232.ver.1.pag.132 v.1.p.236.vers.17.p.243.v.12. p.255.

p.25.v.11.p.255.v.14.p.267.v.9.p.269.v.16.p.297.&304.v.17.p.281.v.12.p.293.ver.12.pag.299.&706.v.14.p.299.&304.&706.v.13.p.300.v.9.p.304.v.23.p.394.v.8.p.706.&686.v.22.p.726.&723.&730.v.8.p.881.v.25.p.933.v.13.pag.955.v.23.p.956.v.6.p.978.v.16.pag.1108.

Chap.6.v.10.p.91.v.17.pag.296.v.18.p.96.v.20.p.760.

2. *Timothie.*

Chap.1.vers.10.p.177.v.6.p.235.& 721.vers.6.p.730.

Chap.2.ver.20.p.51.ver.25.p.336.&409.v.10.p.159.v.19.p.780.&813.v.20.p.820.v.19.p.823.v.7.p.829.v.19.p.903.

Chap.3.v.15.p.22.&45.v.16.p.29.v.15.17.p.42.v.16.pag.45.vers.17.p.46.v.17.p.294.v.12.p.361.v.14.pag.928.v.15.17.pag.728.

Chap.4.v.11.p.442.ver.16.p.142.v.5.p.226.v.13.p.332.v.8.p.656.v.5.p.728.v.4.pag.729.v.8.p.812.v.8.p.825.v.8.p.835.v.5.p.872.v.8.p.877.v.8.p.888.v.8.p.903.&904.&918.v.8.p.930.v.8.p.937.v.9.p.1070.

Titus.

Chap.1.v.5.p.238.v.7.p.238.v.5.p.239.v.8.p.714.&728.v.9.p.729.v.15.p.846.v.15.p.958.

Chap.3.ver.13.pag.110.v.5.p.463.&512.v.5.7.p.497.v.5.p.882.v.5.p.887.vers.8.p.889.v.5.2.p.890.v.6.p.896.v.18.14.p.985.v.25.p.927.v.8.p.960.vers.10.pag.960.ver.5.p.1096.&1470.

Philemon.

Chap.1.v.5.p.93.v.14.pag.852.v.18.p.1030.v.20.p.1030.v.15.p.1101.

Hebr.

Chap.1.v.14.p.242.&248.v.20.pag.365.&533.&598.&1057.&1085.v.3.p.121.ver.6.p.861.&1062.&1078.&1086.

Chap.2.v.9.p.342.&44.v.16.p.171.&979.v.14.p.528.&972.&p.1003.&1083.&1018.&1027.& 1033.&1038.v.14.p.555.&733.&985.&1003.&1011.&1034.v.15.pa.753.&1003.v.10.pag.786.& 986.&1038.v.11.p.786.& 985.v.12.p.786.& 980.v.9.p.1045.v.1.pag.1061.

Chap.4.v.3.p.34.1004.v.8.pag.197.& 675.v.16.p.348.v.10.p.217.v.16.p.383.v.14.pag.527.v.15.pag.899.&970.&1018.&1024.& 1027.v.17.p.1041.v.7,8.p.428.v.3,5.p.430.v.10.p.432.

Chap.5.v.11.p.567.ver.12.p.570.ver.1.p.582.v.6.p.609.v.7.p.941.&976.&987.&993.&994.&997.ver.8.pag.984.&1031.&1041.

Chap.6.v.18.p.292.&837.&993.&528.v.16.p.294.v.5.pag.355.&627.v.6.p.468.&470.&496.&802.&827.&926.&936.v.1,2.p.496.&926.v.19.p.532.&637.v.7.p.986.ver.2.p.570.&715.v.11.p.631.v.2.3.p.720.v,45.p.813.v.10.p.872.v.4.p.907.

Chap.7.v.2.p.34.&568,&570.vers.27.p.130.&386.&570.&607.v.12.pag.130.&&180.&570.&591.&909.v.4.p.280.v.23.pag.281.v.23.p.881.&570.&609.v.26.p.563.v.9.p.568.v.3.p.570.&1060.v.8.p.571.v.24.p.571.&598.&609.&1060.&1099.v.23,24.p.578.&480.v.26.p.582.&1024.v.17.p.583.

Chap.8.v.5.p.129.v.11.p.875.v.2.p.986.v.3.p.986.v.1.pag.1060.

Chap.9.v.24.p.130.&413.& 571.& 590.&1000.v.7.p.312.v.8.pag.349.v.45,37.p.366.v.16.p.510.v.20.p.513.&579.v.23.pag.568.&592.v.22.p.596.&579.v.26.p.576.&1026.vers.25.p.577.v.18.p.577.& 583.v.13.p.583.v.9.p.192.&659.v.14.p.198.v.12.p.609.&979.v.17.p.979.v.25,26.p.985.v.11.p.986.vers.10.p.1000.v.28.p.1000.vers.14.pag.1002.&1006.vers.25,28.p.1078.

Chap.10.v.24.25.pag.311.v.5.p.456.&979.&998.v.14.p.195.&571.&576.&578.&583.& 598.& 940.&986.&1004.v.11.p.577.v.29.p.497.&627.&802.&925.&927.&585.v.26.p.497.&627.&926.v.18.p.582.vers.19.20.p.589.v.38.p.611.vers.27.p.802.&907.v.28.pag.927.v.35.p.938.v.22.p.939.v.12.p.985.v.10.p.998.&1000.&1026.v.20.p.1000.

Chap.11.v.40.p.349.v.1.p.351.&530.&899.&886.&929.v.21.p.375.&401.v.22.p.391.v.6.p.885.&488.&582&632.&628.&844.&846.&848.&872.889.&892.&903.&906.&931.&936.&958.&1106.v.10.p.800.v.2.p.879.v.33.34.pag.879.v.4.p.883.&895.vers.8.pag.887.vers.7.p.891.&892.ver.15.pag.936.vers.35.37.pag.1045.vers.36.p.1108.

Chap.12.v.8.pag.21.ver.18.23.24.p.55.v.23.p.96.&352.&370.v.16.pag.483.&800.&802.&804.v.24.p.568.v.9.p.786.&666.vers.2.p.990.&1045.vers.26.pag.1066.v.22.p.1112.

Chap.13.v.4.p.256.vers.3.p.261.vers.15.p.281.&344.&366.&829.&574.&596.&954.&958.v.16.p.294.&576&931.& 935.& 934.&959.v.17.p.322.& 1099.v.7.p.371.v.2.p.391.v.13.p.396.vers.10.pag.414.&572.&576.ver.12.p.414.v.5.p.467.v.4.p.710.&676.&728.v.6.p.846.v.15,16.pag.923.

Iames.

Chap.1.ver.7.pag.365.v.17.p.984.v.17.p.634.v.25.p.732&732.v.17.p.822.&823.v.13.p.827.v.17.pag.843.&845.&899.v.14.p.859.&866.v.6.p.871.v.10.p.897.v.6.p.878.v.6.p.906.vers.12.p.937.v.5.p.940.v.6.p.941.v.17.p.1036&1050.

Chap.2.v.21.p.48.v.17,19.p.165.v.21.p.369.v.19.p.641.v.10.p.753.v.19.p.879.&880.v.14.pag.881.vers.24.p.881.vers.19.p.881.vers.17.p.881.vers.26.pag.881.v.19.p.904.v.20.p.916.v.18.p.919.v.21.p.920.v.25.p.920.v.18.p.931.v.13.p.940.

Chap.3.v.12. p.847.verſ.2. p.901.&.902.v.6.p.1022.
Chap.4.v.12.p.172.verſ.[illegible] p.841.v.12.p.957.
Chap.5.v.[illegible].p.277. verſ.26. p.644.&.645.646.v.14.p.644 &.739.713.verſ.15.pag.664. v.15.pag.878.&.1109.&.884. v.15.p.941.v.20.p.944. v.16. p.945. v.13.pag.945. verſ.19. p.1002.

1.Peter.

Chap.1.v.1.p.7.v.12.p.510. &.521.v.10.p.820. v.7.p.923. v.7.p.934. v.19.pag.937.v.2. p.998.v.2.3.p.1102.
Chap.2.verſ.5.pag.54.v.23. p.143.&.144.v.13.p.155.v.13. p.322.v.5.344.&.574. &.582. v.13. p.596.v.24.p.658.v.21. p.989.v.24.p.997.v.21.p.998 v.24. p.1006. v.23.pag.1012. v.24.p.1019.&.1024.&.1027. v.24.1037.
Chap.3. verſ.15.p.24.v.19. pag.350.&.357.&.752.ver.7. p.365. verſ.21.p.461.&.464.& 481.&.506.&.556.v.15.p.619 v.18.p.657.verſ.4.p.775.v.13. p.874. v.18.p. 1000.v.19.20. p.1051.
Chap.4. verſ.8.pag.39.v.19. p.189.v.6.p.351.v.13.p.489. v.18. p.658.v.18.p.924. v.15. p.980.v.15.p.1012.v.1.p.432.
Chap.5.v.13.p.98.&.140.& 141.&.123.v.15.p.155.verſ.2. p.178.&.224.verſ.3.p.222.& 233.v.1.pag.221.&.238.verſ.4. p.235.&.312.v.13.p.804.v.3. pag.728.verſ.2.pag.1094.v.1. p.1104.v.3.1104.

2.Peter.

Chap.1.v.21.p.6.&.10.&.21. v.19.p.42.&.8.verſ.15.p.384. v.10.pag.613.&.632.&.791.& 825.v.5.p.902.v.10. pag.919. v.13.p.919.v.10.p.921.ver.10. p.932.&.939.v.13.p.1093.
Chap.2.v.4.pag.370.ver.7. p.895.v.4.p.1018.v.2.p.1023. v.19.p.1029.v.4.p.1056.
Chap.3.v.15.p.7.v.1.pag.7. v.16.p.31.&.32.v.8.p.193.v.9. pag.760.&.781.&.782. verſ.8. p.1064.
Chap.4.v.18.p.926.

1. John.

Chap.1.v.1.p.358.v.8.p.495 &.631.v.9.p.527.&.644.&.770 &.772.v.8.p.897.v.5.p.923. v.5.p.924.&.1002.v.7.p.1062 v.7.p.1071.v.10.p.1102.
Chap.2.v.19.p.53.v.18.p.189 &.196.&.198.&.204.verſ.22. p.205.&.217.v.2.p.386.&.559. &.658.&.348.v.1.p.451.ver.3. p.793.v.4.p.802.v.19.p.907. &.908.v.2.3.p.944.v.2.p.1030 v.5.p.1090.
Chap.3.v.4.pag.214. &.358. v.14,15.p.358.v.2.p.370.v.2. p.386.v.9.p.476.&.529.v.14. p.638.v.20. p.644. v.4.p.752. v.6.p.882.v.8.p.897.v.9.p.897 v.20.p.902.v.21.p.903. v.14. p.904.v.19.p.905.v.21.p.905. v.9.p.908.v.4.p.921.v.4.p.922 verſ.5.p.997. v.4.p.998.v.16. p.1007.v.16.p.1031.
Chap.4.v.3. p.103.v.2.p.96. &.100.v.3.p.205.v.12,16,17. p.287.ver.18.p.363.v.3.p.374. v.17,18.p.641.v.10.p.797.v.8. p.871.v.16,17.p.877.v.7.p.882 verſ.6.p.882.v.18.p.903.v.13. p.904.v.17.p.905.v.18.p.918. &.991.v.9.p.1007.v.9.p.1030. v.16.p.1032.
Ch.5.v.6.p.30.v.9.p.30.v.7. p.44.v.14.p.349. v.16.p.364. v.1. p.876.877.v.1.p.832.& 892.896. verſ.19.p.904.v.10. p.904.v.18,20.p.904.ver.10. p.905.v.6.p.979.ver.8.p.980.

Jude.

Ch.1.v.6.p.1056.v.4.p.782. v.14.p.692.v.23.p.752.

Reuelation.

Chap.1.v.11.p.42.v.1.p.192 ver.6.p.222.ver.6.p.281.v.13. p.312.v.10.p.435.v.6. p.573. &.581.ver.6.p.723.v.6.p.944. v.16.p.1072.v.10.p.431.
Chap.2.v.5.p.169.v.3.p.236 &.726.v.26.p.327.v.13.p.729 v.14.p.728.
Chap.3.v.7.p.134.v.11.p.387 v.20.p.512. v.18.p.549.ver.8. p.642.v.4.p.930.&.935.ver.7. p.1081.
Chap.4.v.8.p.1000.
Chap.5.v.2.p.32.v.14.p.101 ver.8.p.385.v.10.p.285.ver.9. p.385.v.5. p.993.v.9.p.1000. v.9.p.1002.v.10.p.1002.v.16 p.1002.v.9.p.1061.v.9.p.1111.
Chap.6.v.9. p.99. &.350.& 366.&.386.v.10.p.364.&.370 v.9.p.385.v.9.p.386.v.9.p.389 v.10.p.1002.
Chap.7.ver.14.p.17.&.512. v.17.p.364. v.3.p.409. v.14. v.15.v.14.p.936.
Chap.8.v.9.p.344.v.3.p.348 v.4.9.p.936.v.8.p.1075.
Chap.9.v.20.p.101.&.206. v.1.p.208.&.216.v.3.p.216. ver.7.p.216.ver.11.p.216.v.4. p.285.v.10.p.305.v.20.p.402
Chap.10. v.1.p.1072.ver.2. p.1072.
Chap.11.v.12.p.192.ver.13. p.193.v.8.p.202.v.2.p.202.
Chap.12.v.7.p.129.verſ.10. p.129.v.13.p.129.v.19.p.135 v.16.p.193.v.4.p.208. v.7,9. p.[illegible].
Chap.13.v.11.p.102. v.15. p.102. v.18.p.189.v.1.p.189. v.7.p.189.v.12.p.192.ver.15. pag.192.ver.18.p.194.&.195. &.196.&. 197. &.199.ver.16. p.198.v.2.p.203.v.1.pag.205. v.13.p.207.v.1.p.208.ver.14. p.209.&.201.v.17.p.411.v.8. p.570.&.571.
Chap.14. verſ.5.p.100.v.11. p.199.v.2.p.199. v.13.p.361. &.374. &.380.&.488. verſ.4. p.380.&.970.&.709.v.6.p.527 v.20.p.1073.v.13.p.1111.
Ch.17.v.5.9.p.98.v.1.p.102 verſ.6.p.102.v.18.p.102.v.8. p.102.v.8.p.192.&.473.ver.5. pag.203.verſ.18. pag.203.v.3. pag.203.v.1.p.203.v.9.p.203 ver.18.p.216.ver.1.p.217.v.5. p.635.v.8.p.798.v.16.18.906
Chap.18. v.4.p.611.&.616. verſ.7.p.776.verſ.8.p.777.v.6. p.1068.
Chap.19.v.10.p.346.
Chap.20.v.3.p.63.v.1.p.192. v.3.p.194.v.2.p.195.v.8.p.210 ver.13.p.366.v.15.p.777.
Chap.21.v.22.p.129.v.14. p.136.v.8.p.777.v.8. p.1021. &.1112.
Chap.22.v.18.p.2.&.48.v.20 p.192.v.8.p.304.v.9.p.346.& 373.v.9.p.376.v.17.p.485.v.9 p.405. verſ.1,2. p.556.&.750. v.18.p.559.v.11.p.921.verſ.5. p.1056.v.9.p.1085.

THE SECOND TABLE SETTING FORTH THE GENERALL CONTROVERSIES AND PARTICVLAR QVESTIONS, HANDLED IN THE FIVE

Centuries or bookes of this treatise, with the names of the witnesses of the truth both of our Martyrs, and their owne writers.

THE FIRST BOOKE OR CENTVRIE CONTAINETH SEVEN Controuersies, with the questions.

THE FIRST CONTROVERSIE OF THE SCRIPtures, diuided into seuen questions.

The first question, of the bookes of Canonicall Scripture.
- 1. Of Ecclesiastes. 1. What time it was made by Salomon. pag.4
- 1. Of Ecclesiastes. 2. Whether Salomon were a reprobate. pag.5.
- 2. Of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues. p.7.
- 3. The booke of Baruch. p.9.
  - Witnesses. Ed. Allin. mar. p.9
  - Witnesses. Driedo. Pap. p.9
- 4. The seuen chapters of Esther. p.9.
  - Witnesse. Lyranus. Sixtus Senens. Pap. p.10
- 5. The storie of Susanna, of Bel and the Dragon, of the 3 children. p.10
  - Driedo. p.12
- 6. The booke of Tobie. p.12
- 7. The booke of Iudith. p.13
- 8. The booke of Wisdome. p.13
- 9. The booke of Ecclesiasticus. p.14
- 10. The booke of Machabees. p.15

Not Canonicall bookes. Arias Montanus, Caietan. Pag.8

2. quest. of the authentikall edition of Scripture. p.17
The Hebrue not corrupted: Andrad. Galatinus. p.18
3. quest. of the vulgar translation of Scripture. p.21
- Witnesses. Master Latimer mar. p.23
- Witnesses. Pet. Lombart. Pap. p.24
An appendix of diuine seruice in the vulgar tongue. p.25
- Witnesse. Mart. M. Rogers, M. Bradford. p.28
- Witnesse. Pap. Nichol. 1. p.25. Innocen. 3. p.27

4. quest. of the authoritie of Scripture. p.28
- Witnesses. Mart. M. Gloster, Drakes. p.31
- Witnesses. Pap. Thomas Aquinas. p.30

5. quest. of the perspicuitie and plainenes of Scripture. p.31
- Witnesses. Mart. D. Taylor. p.33
- Witnesses. Pap. Eleenc. p.33

6. quest. of the interpretation of Scripture, foure parts.
1. Of the diuers sences of Scripture. p.33
witnesse Bellarmine. p.34
2. Scripture may to be allegorized. p.34
witnesse Synod. Aurel. 35
3. To whom the authoritie of Scripture is committed. 35
- Wits. Mar. Rog. Holland. 38
- Wits. Pap. Innocen 3. 38

4. Of the meanes to expound Scripture. 38
witnesse Pet. Lombard. 39

7. quest. of the perfection of Scripture, three parts.
1. Scripture necessarie. 41
witnesse Innocen. 3. Pap. 43
2. Scripture sufficient. 43
- Witnesses. Doctor Taylor, Martyr. 46
- Witnesses. Master Haukes. 46
- Witnesses. Iohn. 22. Pap. 46

3. No traditions belonging to faith beside Scripture. 47
- Witnesses. Sir Iohn Bornwike, Iohn Fortune, Martyrs. 49
- Witnesses. Iohn. 22. Pap. 50

The second Controuersie of the Church hath fiue questions.

The first question, of the definition of the Church, two parts.
1. Wicked men are no true members of the Church. 51
- Witnesses. Mart. Iohn Hus, D. Ridley, Master Latimer. 54
- Witnesses. Pa. Ioan. de tur. cremat. 53

2. The Catholike Church inuisible. 54
- Witnesses. Mart. M. Bradford, M. Philpot, M. Glouer. 56
- Witnesses. Pap. Ioannes Selig. Cæsar. 56

The 2. quest. whether the Church may erre, 2. parts.
1. The Church may erre. 57
- Witnesses. Mart. Bilney, Bainham. 60
- Witnesses. Pap. Ioann. de tur. cremat. 59
- Innocent. 3. 59

2. The visible Church may faile vpon the earth. 60
- Witnesses. Mart. Philpot. Pap. Rheimists. —— p.62

The 3. question of the notes of the Church.
Of the false notes.
1. Antiquitie. 62
- Witnesses. Mar. Philpot. 65
- Witnesses. Pap. Gratian. 64

2. Vniuersalitie. 65
- Witnesses. Mart. Philpot. Pa. Nichol. 1. p.65

3. Succession. 67
- Wit. Mar. Philpot, Bradford. 69
- Wit. Pap. Grat. decr. 69

4. Vnitie. 71
- Wit. Mar. Latimer, Holland. Pap. Ioann. 22. 72

5. Power of miracles. 72
- Wits. Mar. James Bainham. 77
- Wits. Pa. Lodou. Vines. Adr. 6. 74

6. The gifts of prophesying. 78
Witnesse. Pap. decr. Gracian. 79

Vncertaine

Vncertain notes.
- 7. The continuance and duration of the Church. 81
- 8. Conspiration in doctrine. 81
  - Protestants no heretikes. 82
- 9. Holines of doctrine. 82
- 10. Efficacie of doctrine. 83
- 11. Holines of life. 83
- 12. Confession of aduersaries. 83
- 13. The vnhappie end of the enemies of the Church. 84
- 14. Externall happines. 87

True notes of the Church, The VVord and the Sacraments. 88
- VVitnesses, Mar. D. Ridley, Bradford. 90
- Pap. Interrelig. Cæsar. 90

The 4. question, of the authoritie of the Church, 3. parts.
- 1. The Church hath no power to ordaine articles of faith beside scripture. 91
  - VVitnesses, Mar. B. Hooper, Rogers. 92
  - Pap. Concil. Basil. 92
- 2. An appendix, whether wee must beleeue in the Church. 93
  - VVitnesses, Mar. Hen. Voes. 93
  - Pap. decr. Gratian. 93
- 3. Of the circumstances of the Church. 94
  - VVitnesses, Mar. Iohn Fortune, Richard Gibson. Pap. Innocent. 3. — 95.

The 5. question, of the true visible church, 3. parts.
- 1. Church of Rome not the Catholike Church. 96
  - VVitnesses, Mar. Master Philpot. 96
  - Pap. Synod. Basiliens. 97
- 2. The Church of Rome not a true visible Church. 98
  - VVit. Mar. Thomas Man, Richard Feurus, M. Saunders. Pap. Gratian. decr. 98
- 3. The Church of the Protestants a true Church. 99
  - VVitnesses, Martyrs, Bishop Crammer, Hooper, &c. 100

The third Controuersie of generall Councels, diuided into eight questions.

The first question, 1. Councels not necessarie. 104
- VVitnesses, Mar. Richard Feurus. 105
- Pap. Cardin. Arelatens. 105

The second question, by whose authoritie Councels must be assembled. 106
- VVitnesse, Pap. Concil. Constan. Basiliens. 108

The third question, of what persons Councels ought to consist. 108
- VVitnesse, Pap. Synod Basiliens. 109

The fourth question, who ought to be president in Councels. 111

The fift question, Councels may erre. 115
- VVitnesses, Mar. M. Rogers. Pap. Panormitanus. — 120

The sixt question, Councels must not determine without Scripture. 120
- VVitnesses, Martyrs, Latimer. 120
- Bradford. 121
- Pap. Concil. Florentin. 122

The seuenth question, Councels aboue the Pope. 122
- VVitnesse, Pap. Synod. Basiliens. 123

The eight question, of the conditions required in Councels. 128

The fourth Controuersie, of the B. of Rome called the Pope, tenne questions.

1. VVhether the regiment of the Church be Monarchicall. 130
- VVitnesses, Mar. Iohn Hus. 131
- Pap. B. Longland. 132

2. Peter not prince of the Apostles, not assigned by Christ to be head of the Church. 132
- VVitnesses, Mar. Lambert, Bradford. 137
- Pap. Tonstal, Gardiner. 140

3. Of Peters being at Rome, two parts.
- 1. VVhether Peter were at Rome.
  - VVitnesses, Mar. Bradford. 141
  - Pap. Espence. 142
- 2. VVhether he were Bishop of Rome. 143
  - VVitnesses, Mar. Bradford. 144
  - Pap. Tonstal. 143

4. VVhether the B. of Rome be the true successor of Peter. 145
- VVitnesses, Mar. Iohn Hus. Pa. Gratian. decr. — 146

5. Of the primacie of the See of Rome, sixe parts.
- 1. VVhether the Bishop of Rome be aboue other Bishops. 147
  - VVitnesses, Mar. Bennet. 149
  - Pap. Tonstal. 148
- 2. Appeales not to be made to Rome. 150
  - VVit. Mar. Iohn Hus, B. Cranmer. 153
  - Pap. Concil. Basiliens. Tonstal, Stokesley. 152
- 3. VVhether the Bishop of Rome be subiect to the iudgement of any. 153
  - VVitnesses, Mar. Bradford. Pap. Pet. Lombard. 154
- 4. VVhether the Pope may be deposed from his Papacie. 155
  - VVitnes. Pap. Ioann. de turre cremat. Concil. Basiliens. Caietanus. 157
- 5. The originall of the primacie of Rome. 157
  - VVitnesses, Mar. Tindal. 159
  - Pap. Æneas Siluius, Tonstal, Stokesley. 158
- 6. Of the name and titles of the B. of Rome, sixe titles.
  - 1. Of the name Pope. 160
  - 2. Not prince of Priests. 161
  - 3. Not Christs Vicar. VVit. Mar. Hus. 161; Pa. Ioan. 22. 161
  - 4. Not head of the Church. VVit. Mar. Hus, Hooper, Rogers. Pa. Conc. Basiliens. 162
  - 5. Not Apostolike. Wit. Mar. B. Ridley. Pa. Agatho. 162
  - 6. Not vniuersal Bishop. VVit. Pa. Eckius, Synod. Basiliens. 164

6. quest. whether
- The Pope of Rome may erre. VVitness. Mar. Tindal. 168; Pap. Alphons. Melchior Canus. 168
- The Church of Rome may erre. VVitnesses, Pa. Paulus Iouius. 169

7. Of the spirituall iurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.
- 1. VVhether he may make lawes to binde the conscience. 170
  - VVitnesses, Mart. Bilney. Pap. Synod. Moguntin. 173
- 2. VVhether all Bishops doe receiue their Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction from the Pope. 174
  - VVitnesses, Papists, Franciscus Victoria, Alphons. 177

8. Of the temporall iurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.
- 1. VVhether he be aboue Kings and Emperours. 177
  - VVitnesses, Mar. B. Cranmer. Pap. Eccles. Leodiens. Extrauag. 180
- 2. VVhether he haue power to excommunicate Kings. 181
  - VVit. Mar. Lambert. 182
  - Pap. Espenc. Leodiens. Eccles. 183
- 3. The Pope no temporall prince. 383
  - VVitnesses, Mar. Swinderbie. 186
  - Pa. Ægidius Viterbiens. 186
  - Pope Nicholas. 186

9. Of the Popes prerogatiues, 3 parts.
- 1. Of his power & dispensation, VVit. Mar. Latimer, Cranmer, Pap. Gratian. decret. 187
- 2. Of his power to excommunicate. VVitnesse. Rhemists. 188
- 3. Of his power to make lawes. VVitnesse. Decrees. 188

VVhether one principall Bishop.

10. quest. of Antichrist. 10 parts.
- VVitnesses, Mar. Wickliffe, Hus. 191
- VVitnesses, Pap. Bruno, Espenc. 190
- VVhether Antichrist be yet come. 191
- VVitnesses, Mar. Bilney, Tindal. 195
- VVitnesses, Pap. Heistenius. 195
- 3. Of the name of Antichrist. 195
- VVitnesses, Mar. Wickliffe, Hus. Pap. Lyranus, Primasius. 198
- 4. Of the characters & signes of Antichrist. 198
- VVitnesses, Mar. B. Cranmer, Bradford. Pap. Gratian. decrees. 200
- 5. Of the generation of Antichrist. VVitnesse. Mar. B. Ridley. 202 Pap. Bellarm. 209
- 6. Of the seate of Antichrist. 200
- VVitnesses, Mar. B. Ridley. Pap. Rhemists. 204
- 9. Of the doctrine of Antichrist. 205
- VVitnesses, Mar. Walter Brute. Pap. Espenc. 207 208
- 8. Of the miracles of Antichrist. 207
- VVitnesses, Mar. John Tewkesbury. Pap. Paul Venetus. 210 209
- 9. Of Antichrists worke. 210
- VVitnesses, Mar. Master Rogers. Pap. Decr. Gratian. 211
- 10. That the Pope is Antichrist. 207
- VVitnesses, Mar. Hus, Bilney, Tindal. Pap. Concil. Rainspurg. 220 219

An appendix of Pope Ioane. VVitnesse. Pap. Maritan. Scot. Theodoric. Niem. 218

The fift generall Controuersie of the Clergie, sixe questions.

1. Of the name of Clergie. 221 VVitn. Mar. Walter Brute, Iohn Lambert. Pap. Concil. Colonien. 223

2. quest. 3. parts.
- Of the election of Bishops. 223
- VVitnesses, Mar. Bennet, Philpot. Pap. Decr. Gratian. 227
- 2. Of the election of the Pope. 227
- VVitnesses, Mar. Wicliffe. Pap. Decr. Gratian. 229

3. quest. 4. parts.
- 1. Of the seuen degrees Ecclesiasticall. 229
- VVitnesses, Mar. Bishop Ridley, Cranmer. Pap. Espenc. Lombard. 232 231
- 2. Of the difference of Bishops, and other Ministers. 232
- VVitnesses, Mar. Lambert. Pap. Decr. Gratian. 235 234
- 3. VVhether it be grounded vpon the law of God. 235
- VVitnesses, Mar. Lambert. Pap. Groper, Espene. 233 236
- Of the priuiledges of Bishops, Ecclesiasticall. Temporall. 241 242
- VVhether the popish Bishops be Antichristia. 243
- 4. Of the office of Cardinals. VVitnesse. Pap. Onuphrius. Espenc. 247 248
- 1. VVherein the authoritie of the keyes consisteth. 249
- VVitnesses, Mar. Brute, G. Wisehart. Pap. Concil. Colonien. 251 250
- 2. To whom the authoritie of the keyes is committed. 251
- VVitnesses, Mar. Walter Brute. Pap. Interrelig. Czlat. 252
- 3. VVhether the pastors of the Church haue also this power to remit sinnes. 252
- VVitnesses, Mar. Lambert, Carpenter. Pap. Lombard. 254
- 4. VVhether whatsoeuer is bound in earth is bound in heauen. 254
- VVitnesses, Mar. Walter Brute, Iohn Lambert. Pap. Lombard. Leodiens. Eccles. 255

4. quest. of the keyes of the Church, 4 parts.

5. quest. of the lawfulnes of Ministers mariage, three parts.
- 1. It is lawfull for Ministers to marrie. 256
- VVitnesses, Mar. Lambert, Tindal. Pap. Decr. Gratian. 169
- 2. Men may be admitted to orders after second marriage. 269
- VVitnesses, Mar. Cranmer. Pap. Decret. Gratian. 272
- Of Bigamie. 270
- 3. Ministers whether they are to refraine the company of their wiues. 272
- VVitnesses, Mar. D. Taylor, M. Saunders. Pap. Concil. Lateranens. 274 273

6. Of the maintenance of the Church.
- 1. It is lawfull for the Church to haue temporalties beside tithes. 274
- 2. Ministers may inherite. 276
- 3. Of tithes.
  - 1. They cannot be alienated to any Ciuill vse. 276
  - 2. People are bound in conscience to pay tithes. 277
  - 3. Tithes not abolished. 277
  - 4. Tithes must not be left to mens will or discretion. 278
  - 5. Tithes not commanded by the law of God precisely. 278
  - 6. Yet it is the most safe and best prouision for the Church. 278
  - 7. Of the manner of paying tithes.
    - 1. It is not necessarie. VVitn. Mar. Bohemians. 280 Pap. Bellarmine. 280
    - 2. VVherfore tithes are due. 281
    - VVitn. Mar. W. Thorp. Pap. Decr. Gratian. 281

The sixt generall Controuersie of Monkes. 6. questions.

1. Of the originall of Monks, 2. parts.
- 1. VVhen Monkes began. 283
- VVitnesses, Mar. Iohn Borthwicke. 284
- Pa. Thomas Aquinas. 283
- Syn. Cyzicen. 283
- 3. Of the diuers sortes of Monkes. Witnesses, Martyrs, Iohn Wicliffe, Master Tindall. 286
- Papists, Innocent. 1. Iohan. 22. 287

2. Of the Counsels of perfection. 286

VVitnesses, Mar. Iohn Hus, Claudius Minerius. 289
Pap. Nichol. 289

3. quest.

3. quest. Of vowes in generall.
1. Whether vowes pertained only to the old law. 290
Witnesses. Mart. Tindall. Pap. Gloss. Ordinar. 291.
2. Whether we vowe in Baptisme. Witn. Pap. Alphons. Domin. à Soto, Lombard. 295
3. Whether certain vowes no part of Gods worship. 293
Witnesses. Mart. Bainham. Pap. Innocent. 3. 295

4. Of Monasticall vowes in particular.
1. What things are to be vowed. 296
Witnesses. Mart. Lambert. Pap. Iohn. 22. 297
2. Of the vowe of obedience 297
Witnesses. Mart. Iohn Husse. Pap. Concil. Senon. 299.
3. Of the vowe of chastitie. 299
1. It may be altered. Witnesses, Mar. D. Taylor. Pap. Boniface. 302
2. Every one containeth not the gift of continencie. Wit. Mar. Tindal. Pap. Decret. Gratian. 303

5. Of Monasticall persons. 4. parts.
1. Young men not to be admitted to Monkerie. Witness. Syluest. conc. Agothens. 305
2. Children not without consent of Parents. Boniface. 8. 306
3. Married persons not with mutuall consent. 306
Witness. Innocent. 3. Alexander. 3. 308
4. Parents espoused cannot without consent become Monkes. 308
Witness. Innocent. 3. Alexand. 3. Espencæus. Pet. Lombard. 309

6. Of the discipline of Monks.
1. Of their solitarie life. Witness. Clemens. 5. Gregor. 9. 312
2. Of the habite and shauing of Monkes. 312
Witnesses, Mar. Bilney. Lambert. Pap. Syn. Coloniens. Clem. 3. 314
3. Of canonicall houres. Witn. Mar. Claud. Minerius. Pap. Winchester. 315
4. Monkes must not beg. Witnesses. Mart. Wicliffe. Pap. Iohn. 22. 316, 319
5. Christ no begger. 316. Witness. Iohn 22. 317

The seuenth generall Controuersie of the Ciuill Magistrate, three questions.

1. Of the power of the Ciuill Magistrate.
1. That there ought to be Magistrates among Christians. 320
2. That they are to be obeyed. 320
3. That they may wage battell against the Turke. 321
4. The Pope the chiefe cause of the rising of the Turkes. 321
Ecclesiasticall persons subiect to them. Wit. Mar. Cranmer, Bradford. Pap. Clem. 3. 323

2. Of the authority of the Prince in matters Ecclesiasticall, 4. parts.
2. Ecclesiasticall goods. Witnesses. Mar. D. Taylor. Pap. Leo X. cum alijs. 325
3. Ecclesiasticall causes. 326
Witnesses, Pope Nicholas, decret. Gratiani. 328
4. Princes how head of the Church. Witnesses, Mar. Cranmer. 330 Pap. Winchester. 329

3. Of the authoritie of the Prince in punishing of heretikes. 330
1. The independence of Ecclesiasticall persons to the Prince. Witnesses. Mart. Philpot. Pa. Decret. Gratian. 331
2. An heretike to be tried by the Scriptures. Witn. Mar. Husse. Pap. Leo. 332
3. The manner of proceeding against heretikes.
1. Whether without an accuser. 332
2. Whether by the parties oath. 333
3. Whether by torture. 334
An appendix of the Spanish Inquisition. 336

THE SECOND BOOKE containeth 6. Controuersies.

The first Controuersie, which is the eight in the whole, concerning Angels, 3. questions.

1. Of the hierarchie of Angels, two parts.
1. Of the diuers orders of Angels. 341
2. Whether Michael bee the prince of Angels. 342

2. Of the ministrie of Angels, 3. parts.
1. Of their externall ministerie in the protection of the Church.
1. Whether Michael be the protector. 343
2. Whether every man haue his Angel. 343
2. Of their spirituall office about our prayer. 344
3. Whether Angels know our hearts. 344

3. Of the worship of Angels, two parts.
1. Of their worship in generall. Witnesses. Mar. Lambert. Pap. Adrian. 347
2. Of the inuocation of Angels. 348

The ninth generall Controuersie, of Saints departed, two parts.

The first, of those which are in punishment, 2 questions.

1. quest. of those which are in punishment of the this life.
1. Of Limbus Patrum. 349
Witnesses, Mar. Ferrus, Bishop Ridley. Papist. Concil. Aquisg. 353, 152
An appendix of the apparition of Samuel. 354

2. quest. of Purgatorie.
1. There is no purgatorie after this life. 355
Witnesses, Mar. Frith, Latimer. Pap. Decr. Gratian. Espencæus. 361, 362
2. Of the circumstances of purgatorie.
1. Not necessarie to bee beleeued. 362
2. Not for veniall sinnes. 362
3. Whether the soules there do sinne. 363
4. Whether they be certaine of saluation. 363
3. Whether prayers profit the dead. 364
Witnesses, Mar. Hawkes. Pap. Decret. Gregor. 366
4. Of the buriall of the dead.
1. Of the place: William Tracie. 367
2. Of the burning of candles at funerals. 368
3. Of the monethly commemorations, with other circumstances. 368

The second part of those Saints which are in icy and thicke, 9 questions.

1. question of the blessed estate of the Saints, foure parts.
- 1. Saints haue not yet their perfect blessednes: Innocent. 3. 371
- 2. VVhether Saints are to be canonized: Anastasius. 2. 379
- 3. It belongeth not to the Pope to canonize Saints. 372. VVitnesse Lindanus. 374

2. quest. of the adoration of Saints, foure parts.
- 1. Saints not to be adored. 375
- VVitnesses, Mart. Lambert. 378; Pap. Driedo.
- 2. Vowes not to be made to Saints. 378
- VVitnesses, Mart. W. Thorpe. 379; Pap. Pope Pius.
- 3. Of the diuers kinds of worship. 379. VVitnesse Lodouic. Vives. Nicen. 2. 380
- 4. Of the kissing of holie mens feete. 381

3. quest. of the inuocation of Saints.
- 1. VVhether prayers are to be made to Saints. 281
- May. Hawkes, Lambert. 384
- VVitnesses, Pap. Boner. 383
- 2. VVhether Saints doe pray for vs. 386
- VVitnesses, Mart. Fr. Rebenet. 386; Pap. Bellarmine. 386
- 3. Saints vnder Christ not our prayers. 387
- VVitnesses, Mar. Tindall. 389; Pap. Decr. Gratian. 389

4. quest. of the reliks of Saints.
- 1. Of the worship of reliks. 389
- VVitnesses, Mart. Lambert. 391; Pap. Innocent. 3. 391; Synod August. 390
- 2. Of the bodies of Saints not to be translated. 391
- VVitnesse Synod. Mogunt. Decr. Grat. 391
- 3. Of the preseruing of reliks: Innocent. 3. 393
- 4. Of the miracles of Saints. Interrelig. Caesar. 394
- 5. Of visions and apparitions. Witnesse Abbas Cluniacens. 395
- 6. The power of miracles not actuallie in the Saints. 397
- 7. Miracles not wrought by reliks. VVitn. Mart. Bilney. 397; Pap. Nicen. 2. 397

5. quest. of Images.
- 1. Idols and Images differ not. VVitn. Mar. Haukes. 398; Pa. Caietan. 398
- 2. Not lawfull to haue the images of the Trinitie, Christ, Angels. 398
- VVitnesses, Mar. Nic. Shetterden. 401; Pap. Abulens. Durandus, Pereius. 399. Caranza. 400
- 3. Images not to bee worshipped. VVitn. Mar. Claud. Minerius, G. Wiseheart. 403; Pap. Decr. Gratian. 404
- 4. What manner of worship due to Images. 405

6. quest. of the signe of the crosse, 4 parts.
- 1. The true crosse not to bee worshipped. Wit. Mar. Haukes. 407; Gelas. 407
- 2. The image of the crosse not to be worshipped. Wits. Mar. Tho. Man. 162; Thrasius, Nicen. 2. 162
- 3. Of the signe of the crosse in the forehead. Bruno, Decret. Gratian. 409
- 4. Of the efficacie of the crosse. VVit. Mart. Rob. Cooper. 411; Nicen. 2. 411

An appendix of the name of Iesus. Synod. August. 612

7. quest. of temples & Churches.
- 1. Of the first erection of Churches. VVit. Mar. Walter Brute. 433; Constantin. 6. 433
- 2. Of false formes of Churches. Gloss. ordinar. 413
- 3. Of the end of Churches.
  - 1. They are not for sacrifice. Mar. G. Wiehart. 415; Pap. Synod. Colonien. 415
  - 2. Not more holie places in them then others. VVit. Mart. Tindall. 417; Pa. Decret. Gratian. 417
  - 3. Not dedicated to Saints. 417. VVitnesse Espencaeus. 418
- 4. Of the adorning of Churches. 419
- 5. Of the dedication of Churches. Concil. Colonien. 422
- 6. Of things haloued for Churches. VVit. Mart. Lambert. 423; Pa. Synod. Mogunt. 423

8. quest. of pilgrimages and processions. VVit. Mart. Sweeting, Geffrey, cum alijs. 424; Pap. Innocent. 3. 424

An appendix of the holie land, and warres for the same. 426

9. question, of holy and festiuall dayes.
- 1. Of holy dayes in generall.
  - 1. Whether holy in themselues. 426
  - 2. Whether the keeping of them be necessarie. 429
- 2. Of the Lords day.
  - 1. Of the principall exercise thereof. 429
  - 2. Of the workes to be done therein. 429
  - 3. Whether the Sabbath may be altered. 431
  - 4. Whether it be a tradition only. 432
  - 5. Whether it be mysticall and kept to that end. 432
  - 6. Whether we are bound therein to abstaine from sinne. 432
  - 7. Whether it be vnlawfull to fast vpon the Lords day. 434
  - 8. Of the name of Sunday. 435
- 3. Of the festiuals of Christ. 436. Decret Gratian. 437
- 4. Of the solemnities of Saints.
  - 1. Not dedicated to their honour. Leo. 438
  - 2. Of the number of them. 438
  - VVitnesses, Mar. Tindal. 439; Pap. Bonif. 8. 439
  - 3. Not necessarie to be kept. Synod. Treuerens. 440
  - 4. Of the vigils of Saints. Decret. Gregor. 441

10. quest. of the Virgin Marie.
- 1. VVhether she were conceiued without sinne. VVit. Mart. Master Philpot. 444; Pa. Conc. Basilien. 444
- 2. VVhether she vowed virginitie. 444. Thomas Aquinas. 445
- 3. Of her assumption into heauen. Gelas. 447
- 4. She is not to bee worshipped. VVits. Mart. Helen Stirk. 449; Pap. Sext. decret. 449
- 5. She married not. Mar. Helen Stirk. 449
- 6. The Aue Marie no prayer. Mart. Bennet Romaine, Bishop Latimer. 451

The tenth Controuersie, of the mediation of Christ.

Christ onely our Mediatour. 452

VVitnesses, Mart. Lambert. 453; Pap. Extrauag. 453

The

The eleuenth Controuersie, concerning the Sacraments in generall, three questions.

- 1. quest. of the name and definition of a Sacrament.
  - 1. Of the name. 453
  - 2. Of the definition.
    - 1. Of the efficient cause or author Christ only. 454
    - VVitn. Mart. Philpot. Pa. Concil. Florentin. Hugo. Lombard. 454
    - 2. Of the forme of the Sacrament. 456
    - VVitn. Innocent. 3. Pa. Syn. August. Pa. 456
    - 3. VVhether the forme may be altered: Dominic. a Soto. 457
    - 4. Of the matter. Pap. Hugo. 458
    - 5. Of the Ministers intension. Mart. Bland, Shetterden. Pa. Syn. Colonien. Catharinus. 460
    - 6. VVhether Sacraments be seales. 460
    - VVitnesses. Mar. John Careleffe. 462
    - Pa. Lombard. 463
- 2. quest. of the efficacy and vertue of the Sacrament, 4 parts.
  - 1. The Sacraments do not conferre grace. 462
  - VVitnesses. Mar. George Carpenter. 464
  - Pa. Synod. Colonien. Espencæus. 464
  - 2. Of the difference of the olde and new Sacraments. 464
  - VVitnesses. Mar. John Frith. 461
  - Pa. Innocent. 3. Alexander, Bonaventur. 461
  - 3. Of the indelible character. Martyr, Walter Brute. 471
  - 4. Of the necessitie of the Sacraments. 472
- 3. quest. of the number and order of the Sacraments.
  - 1. Of the number. Mart. Thomas Whittle. 473
  - 2. Of the order and degree. 475

THE THIRD BOOKE containeth these Controuersies following.

The twelfth Controuersie, of the Sacrament of Baptisme, eight questions.

- 1. quest. whether Baptisme actually infuse. Decr. Gratian. 431
- 2. quest. of the parts of Baptisme.
  - 1. Of the forme, which is out of the Scriptures. Mar. Philpot. 483
  - Pap. Lombard. 481
  - 2. Of the matter. 482
- 3. question, two parts.
  - 1. VVhether Baptisme is necessarie. VVit. Mar. R. Woodman. Pap. Lombard. Decr. Gregor. 487
  - 2. VVhether Baptisme may bee otherwise supplied Dominic. a Soto. 488
- 4. quest. whether women and lay men ought to baptize. Decret. Gregor. 491
- 5. quest. of such as are to be baptized, 3. parts.
  - 1. Baptisme of Infants grounded upon Scripture. 491. Innocent. 3. Pap. 492
  - 2. Infants haue faith. VVitn. Mart. R. Woodman. Pap. Decr. Gratian. 493
  - 3. They baptize bels. Pap. Conc. Colonien. 494
  - 1. Sins whether cleane remitted in Baptisme 495 Pet Lombard. 496
- 6. quest. of the effects of Baptisme.
  - 2. VVhether Baptisme forme onely for sins past 495 Pet. Lombard. 498
  - 3. Of the libertie obtained by Baptisme.
    - 1. To be Baptized were profest onely saith. Decret. Gratian. 499
    - 2. VVe are not tied to obedience of men. Decr. Gratian. 499
    - 3. No vow made in sinne to baptisme, but only to God. 500
- 7 qu. The baptisme of Christ and Iohn all one. Lombard. 564
- 8. qu. Of the ceremonies of Baptisme. VVitnesses. Mart. Thomas Haukes, Denley. 505
- Pap. Innocent. 3. 505

The thirteenth Controuersie, of the Eucharist, two parts.

The first part, of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, 11 questions.

- 1. Christ is not carnally present. VVitn. Mar. B. Ridley, Bradford, Bland. 524
- Pap. Cusanus, Caietanus. 510
- Clemens 5. 517
- Decret Gratian. 524
- 2. VVhether the carnall presence stand with the will of God. 524
- VVitnesses, Mar. Master Denley. 530
- Pap. Decret. Gratian. 530
- 3. There is no transubstantiation. 531
- VVitnesses. Mar. Fluse, Bishop Ridley. 535
- Pap. Durandus. 535
- 4. The Sacrament whether to be reserued. 537
- VVitnesses, Mar. John Philpot, Woodman. 540
- Pap. Clemens. 540
- 5. Of the elements.
  - 1. VVhether vnleauened bread must be vsed. Mar. Paul Burgen. 542
  - Pa. Henricus. Pa. 543
  - 2. The wine not to be mingled with water. 544
  - Decret. Gratian. 546
- 6. Of the words of consecration. 547
- Witnesse, Mar. Philpot. Pa. Lombard. 548
- 7. Of the effect of the Sacrament to assure vs of remission of sinnes. 552
- VVitnesses, Mar. Philpot. Pap. Concil. Florentin. Nicholaus. 552
- 8. Of the manner of receiuing.
  - 1. Whether falling. Wit. Mar. Alice Holting. Pap. Decr. Gratian. 553
  - 2. Whether once in the yeare sufficeth. Lombard, Gratian. 553
- 9. Of receiuing in one kinde. 554. VVit. Mar. Philpot. B. Cranmer. 561
- Pap. Pet. Lombard. 561
- 10. The Eucharist not to be adored. 561. Wit. Mar. Iohn Fortune. 563
- Pap. Concil. Florentin. 563
- 11. The wicked receiue not Christs bodie. 563. Wit. Mar. Bradford. 565
- Pap. Pius Nicholas 2. 565

The second part of the Sacrifice of the Masse, 8. questions.

- 1. Of the diuers representations of Christs death. 568
- 2. Of the sacrifice of the Masse.
  - 1. Of the name. VVitnesses, Mart. Philpot. 566
  - Pa. Decret Gratian. 567
  - 2. Of the sacrifice of the Masse. 567. And whether Melchisedech sacrificed bread and wine. 568. adde. 572
  - VVitnesses, Mart. 605, 606
  - Pa. Gabriel Biel, Decret. Gratian. 580
  - 3. Of the name of Priests. 580

3. Of the vertue and efficacie of the Masse.
- 1. Whether it be a sacrifice propitiatorie. VVit. Mar. D. Taylor. 583; Pap. Innoc. Cæsar. 583
- 2. Not available for temporall blessing. 583

4. For whom the Masse is available, whether for them that are alreadie dead. 584

VVitnesses, Mart. D. Taylor, John Bradford. 586; Pap Innocent. 3. cum alijs. 586

5. Of private Masses. 586

VVitnesses, Mart. Philpot. 589; Pap. Decret. Gratian. 589

6. Of the manner of saying Masse, not in an vnknowne tongue. 589

Pap. Innocent. 3. 590; Concil. Basilien. 591

7. Of the ceremonies of the Masse,
- 1. Of Masse vessels. 592
- 2. Of Masse garments, Masse mansicke, &c. 594

8. Of the forme of the Masse,
- 1. Of the prayers before the Canon. 595
- 2. Of the Canon
  - 1. Not ordained by the Apostles, &c. 595
  - 2. Of 32. errors in the Canō 596. ad 600
  - Synod. Caloniens. Lindanus. 601

The fourteenth generall Controuersie of Penance, nine questions.

1. Of the name of penance. 621. Pap. Rhemist. synod. Coloniense. 623

2. Penance is no Sacrament. 624

VVitnesses, Mar. Agnes Smith. 626; Pap. Lombard. 626

3. No Sacrament of Penance beside Baptisme. 627. Synod. Colonien. 626

4. Of the essentiall parts of penance,
- 1. Of the meere bodily part. Gropper. Pap. 629
- 2. Of the spirituall parts, contrition, confession, satisfaction.
  - VVitnesses, Marty. Lambert. 632; Pap. Durand. 631
  - 3. VVhether Repentance goe before Faith. 632. Bellarmine. 633

5. Of Contrition.
- 1. True contrition, not from mans freewill. 638
- Witnesses, Mar. Iho. Spicer, cum alijs. 634; Pap. Peter Lombard. 634
- 2. Contrition by the Lawe. 635
- 3. In contrition a formall purpose of amendment of life necessarie. 635
- 4. Contrition, whether it must be perfect. Gratian. Decret. 636
- 5. What kind of sorrow is required in contrition. 636
- 6. True contrition hath alwaies ioyned therewith assurance of remission.
  - VVit. Mar. Husse. 638; Rep. Synod. Colonien. 637
- 7. Contrition no meanes of Iustification. 638
- 8. Contrition doth not merit. Capitol. Dominic. a Soto. Pap. 640
- 9. Necessarie for small offences. 639
- 10. True contrition proceedeth not from feare of hell. 641

6. Of Auricular confession. 642

VVitnesses, Mart. Bradford, cum alijs. 647; Pap. Pet. Lombard. 647

An appendix of the circumstances of auricular confession.
- 1. Auricular confession, no diuine ordinance Decret. Gratian. 649
- 2. Not necessarie to make such confession.
  - Mart. Colins. 651; Papist. Gloss. Ordinar. 650
  - VVit.
- 3. Not once in the yeare sufficient. Mart. Math. Dymonetus. 654

7. Of Satisfaction.
- 1. The punishment remaineth not, after the sinne pardoned. 652. Pet. Lombard. 654
- 2. Temporall punishment not satisfied for. 654
- 3. Gods wrath cannot be satisfied. 656

VVitnesses, Mart. M. Tindal. 666; Pap. Pet. Lombard. 666

4. VVhether one may satisfie for another. VVit. Mart. Borthwike. 662; Pa. Lombard. 663

1. VVhether penall workes necessarie to repentance. 663

An appendix, which be the penall workes. Pap. Durand. Paludanus. 664

2. By whom they are to be enioyned. 665. Scotus, Gabriel. Pa. 666

8. Of Indulgences and pennall iniunctions.
- 1. The Pope hath no authoritie to giue pardons. 668
- 3. Of Pardons and Indulgences.
  - VVit. Mar. Thomas Clarke, Latimer. 668; Pap. Clem. 5. 666
  - 2. VVhether satisfactions of Saints, ground of pardons. 669
- 3. Of the reseruation of cases. 669
- 4. Twentie seuerall abuses in the Popish Church, in the administration of the keyes. 670

9. Of the circumstances of penance.
- 1. Of pulling their heads.
- 2. Of fasting.
- 3. Of the time of penance. 673.

The fifteenth generall Controuersie, eight questions.

1. Matrimonie is no Sacrament. 675

VVitnesses, Mart. R. Woodman, Master Benbridge. 679; Pap. Alphons. Durand. Espencæus. 678

2. Of Polygamie,
- 1. Successiue lie. 680
- 2. Of Polygamie, that is, the marriage of many Wiues at once. 680. Decr. 682

3. Of the causes of Diuorce.
- 1. VVhether more causes of diuorce then Fornication. Gratian. Decret. 684
- 2. VVhether he that is diuorced for marrie after diuorce for Fornication.
  - Concil. Vehetic. 690; Pap. Caietan. 687
  - 286 Gregur. 3. 689

4. Of the degrees of Marriage.
- 1. Of the supputation of degrees in the
  - 1. Right line. 692
  - 2. In collaterall,
    - Equall. Alexander. 3. 693
    - Vnequall. Celestin. 3. 694
  - An appendix of Consanguinitie, the rule of Affinitie. 695
- 2. VVhether any degrees in the law prohibited, may be dispensed with. 696

Pap. Zachar. Pope. Decr. Gratian. 699

3. VVhether any other degrees, may by humane lawe be allowed, as
- With the Vncles Wife. 700
- VVith Consen Germanes. 701

An appendix, whether any other degrees may be restrained, as
- 1. To the seuenth degree. 702
- 2. Of spirituall kinred. 702
- 3. Of Affinitie by espousals. 702

Lateranens. 703

4. Of the impediments of marriage.
- VVit.
  - 1. Of the consent of Parents. 706
    - Mart. Tindal. 706
    - Pap. Espenc. 705
  - 2. Of the Vowes of Chastitie. 706
  - Mariage of Infidels. 707

5. Of the comparison betweene Virginitie and Mariage. 709

6. Of the times of Mariage prohibited. 710. Mart. Lambert. 711

7. To whom Matrimoniall causes doe properly belong. 713

8. Of the ceremonies of Mariage. 713

The sixteenth Controuersie, three questions.

1. Of Confirmation, 3. parts.
- 1. Whether it be a Sacrament. 714
  - VVit. Mar. M. Benbridge. 715
  - Pap. Decr. Gratian. 715
- 2. Of the
  - 1. Matter. 716. Pap. Caietanus. 717
  - 2. Of the forme. Interrelig. Cæsar. 717
  - 3. Of the ministrie of confirmation. 8. Paludan. 718
- 4. Of the efficacie of confirmation. Pet. Lomb. 719
- 5. Of the ceremonies. 719. VVit.
  - Mart. John Husse. 720
  - Pap. Concil. Moguntin. 720

3. quest.

2. quest. of Orders, 4. parts.
- 1. Whether a Sacrament. 720
- Witnesses: Mart. Lawr. Maxwel. 721
- Witnesses: Pap. Pet. Lombard. 721
- 2. Of the materiall part of Orders. Dominic. à Soto. Gregor. 9. 722
- 3. Of the efficacie. 723
- Witnesses: Mart. John Tewksburie. 723
- Witnesses: Pap. Iohan. 22. cum alijs. 723
- An appendix of the indeleble character. 724
- 4. Of the minister of Orders. Espenc. Decret. Gratian. 725
- An appendix, shewing the calling of Bishops in England not to be Antichristian. 726
- 5. Of the ceremonies. Innocent. 3. 730

3. quest. of extreme Vnction, 3. parts.
- 1. Whether it be a Sacrament. 730
- Witnesses: Mart. John Denley. 731
- Witnesses: Pap. Innocent. 732
- 2. Of the matter and forme. 733
- 3. Of the effects. 734
- 4. Of the Minister. Pap. Alexand 4. 734

THE FOVRTH BOOKE containeth these Controuersies following.

The seuenteenth generall Controuersie, of the state of man before his fall, three questions.

1. quest. Of the perfection of the soule of man. 743
2. quest. Of the qualities of the bodie of man by creation. 746

3. Of the place where Adam was created, 3. part.
- 1. Whether it were a place vnknowne. 747
- Iansenius. Pa. 749
- 2. Whether the terrestriall Paradise doe yet remaine. 749
- 3. Of the tree of life in Paradise. 750

The eighteenth Generall Controuersie of mans fall, foure questions.

1. quest. Of the difference of veniall and mortall sinnes. 752
Gerson. Roffens. 754
2. quest. Whether sinne any way standeth with the will of God. 754
Pap. Thom. Aquin. 758. Lombard. 757

3. question concerning the sinne of Adam.
- 1. Whether Adams sinne by permission onely. 757
- 2. Which was the first sinne of Adam. 760
- Pap.: Clem. 5. 761
- Pap.: Lombard. Bonauentur. 762
- 3. Whether his sinne was veniall or mortall. 762
- 4. Of the greatnes of Adams sinne. Lombard. 763

4. quest. of originall sinne, 6. parts.
- 1. It is not onely a priuation of righteousnes. Pap. Henric. Ariminens. Driedo cum alijs. 766
- 2. Of the beginning, whether from Adam or Eue, or from both. Synod. Mogunt. Lombard. 767
- An appendix, which of their sinnes was the greater. 768
- 3. Whether it remaine after Baptisme. Lombard. 769 773
- 4. Whether it bee hurtfull to the regenerate. Espenc. Pap. 774
- 5. Of the seate of concupiscence. Lombard. 776
- 6. Of the punishment: Eternall. Moguntin. 777; Temporall. 779

The nineteenth Controuersie, of the reparation of man, foure parts.

The 1. part of predestination.
- 1. Of the definition, what it is. 786
- 2. Of those which are predestinate, two parts.
  - 1. Of reprobation. Lombard. 783
  - 2. Of the vniuersalitie of grace.
    - 1. Christ dyed onely for the elect. Lombard. 785
    - 2. Election absolute not conditionall. 799
    - 3. Not of the foresight of faith. 803
    - 4. It is not in mans power to beleeue. 808
    - 5. Gods effectuall calling can not be resisted. 811
    - 6. Election cannot be lost. 811
    - 7. Incredulitie not the onely cause of damnation. 815
    - 8. Predestination a great mysterie. 816
    - Wit.: Mart. John Careless. 816
    - Wit.: Pa. Lombard. 818
- 3. Of the cause of predestination. 820
- 4. Of the certaintie of predestination.
  - 1. Before God. Pap. Espenc. Aquinas, Lombard. 822
  - 2. In the perswasion of man. Mar. Tindal, Bradford 826

The 2. part of the grace of God.
- 1. quest. whether it be a qualitie inherent. Pap. Albertus, Pighius. 827
- 2. Of the difference of effectuall and sufficient grace. Lombard. 828
- An appendix of the efficacie of grace. 829
- 3. Of helping and working grace. Pap. Lombard. 831

The 3. part of free will.
- 1. qu. of the nature of free will.
  - 1. Of the power: Aquinas, Alphonsus. 833
  - 2. Of the obiect of free will. Lombard. Ockam. 835
  - An appendix, whether the end bee the obiect of free will. Capreolus. Pap. 835
  - 3. Whether it be actiue or passiue. Lombard. Espencæus. 836
  - An appendix, whether the vnderstanding doe worke actiuely. Gabriel. Pasudan. 837
  - 4. Of the subiect of free will, whether in God or Angels there bee free will. Lombard. 837
- 2. qu. of the power of free will.
  - 1. In naturall things.
    - 1. Whether the Godhead may bee knowne by the light of nature. Pap. Espencæus. 839
    - 2. Whether man have free will. 841
    - An appendix of the difference of mans free will before his fall and after. Lombard. 842
  - 2. In morall duties.
    - 1. Whether man doth naturallie vnderstand what is good, &c. 843. Pa. Capreol. Ariminens. 845
    - 2. Of the power of free will in morall duties.
      - 1. Whether without faith a man may doe that is good. 845. Lombard. 849
      - 2. Of free will in morall duties. 849
      - Wit. Mar. Woodman, cum alijs. 845
      - Pa. Lombard. 855

- 3. In spirituall things.
  - 1. Whether the strength of free will be lost. 855
  - 2. Man hath no power in spirituall things. 857
  - VVits. Mart. Bradford, cum alijs. 860; Pap. Gratian. Lombard. 861
  - An appendix of Saint Augustines iudgement of free will.
    - 1. Of the places obiected ius of Aug. 862. 863
    - 2. Aug. places against free will. 865
- 1. What faith is.
  - 1. Whether a confidence of the heart. 871
  - VVitn. Mar. Bradford, Philpot. 873; Pap. Lombard. Elpenc. 872
  - 2. Whether knowledge be necessarie to faith. 874
  - VVit. Mar. Lambert. 875; Pap. Lombard 875
  - 3. A particular application necessarie in faith. 875
  - VVit. Mar. Bradford, cum alijs. 879; Pap. Lombard. 879
- 1. qu. of faith A parts.
  - 2. Of the diuers kindes of faith, Lombard Decret. 880
  - 3. Whether faith may be separated from charitie. 880
  - VVit. Mar. Bradford, Tindal. 883; Pap. Lombard. Elpenc. 882
- 4. Of the validity of faith.
  - 1. Faith iustifieth onely instrumentally. 883
  - VVitnesse. Lombard. 885
  - 2. Faith onely iustifieth. 886
  - VVit. Mar. Lambert. 891; Pap. Lombard. 891
  - 3. Faith not the beginning only of iustification. 892
  - Pap. Concil. Basilienſ. 893
- The 4. part of iustification, cõsisting of 2. questions: first, of faith: secondly, of iustification by faith.
- 2. qu. of iustification.
  - 1. Inherent iustice not the formall cause of iustification. 893. Albertus Pighius. 900
  - 2. Of the certaintie of iustification. 901
  - VVit. Mar. Bradford, Philpot. Pa. Catharinus, Dominic. a Soto. 900
  - 3. Iustification cannot be lost. Mar. Bradford. 909; Pap. Lombard. 909

The fift part of good workes: first in generall, secondly in particular.

- 1. Of the Law 3. parts.
  - 1. Of the difference betweene the Law and the Gospell.
    - 1. False differences. Lombard. 910
    - 2. True difference. Mar. Patricke Hameltõ. 912; Pa. Decr. Gratian. 912
  - An appendix of the libertie of the Gospell. 913
  - 2. Whether it bee possible to keepe the law. 914
  - VVitn. Mart. Master Tindall, Hamelton. 916
  - An appendix of the diuision of the law. 917
  - 3. Of the workes of supererogation. 918
  - 4. Whether God be to be serued for hope of reward, or feare of punishment. 918
- 1. Of good workes in generall.
  - 1. Of the necessitie. Mar. Hamelton. 919
  - 2. Of the efficacie of workes: we are not by them iustified. 921
  - 3. Of the impediments of good workes.
    - 1. Whether the workes of the righteous be perfect. 922 Pap. Clemen. Elpenc. 924
    - 2. Whether a righteous man may fall into mortall sin. 924
    - 3. Of the third impediment, of sin against the holy Ghost. 925 Master Tindal. Mar. 927
- 2. Of good works
  - 1. Which be the good workes of Christians. Elpenc. 928
  - 2. No good works without faith. Lombard. 928
  - 3. Of the vse of good workes, whether they be
    - 1. Applicatorie. 929
    - 2. Expiatorie. 929
    - 3. Meritorious. 930
    - Mar. Alexan. Seton. 935
  - 4. Of the dignitie of good works.
    - 4. An appendix.
      - 1. Of the name of merits. 936
      - 2. Of the diffinition of merits. 936
    - 5. Of the manie of meriting. 937
    - 6. Workes doe not merit ex condigno: Thom. Wald. Durandus. Pap. 938
    - 7. Whether confidence be to be reposed in good workes. 939

Secondly, of good workes in particular 3. parts, of prayer, fasting, almes deedes.

- The 1. part of prayer.
  - 1. Of the fruits. 940
  - 2. Of the conditions required in prayer. Elpencæus. 941
  - 3. Of the order of prayer.
    - 1. Of canonicall houres. Raban. Pap. 943
    - 2. Of the matter. Lindanus, Nicholaus, Clemingius. 945
    - 3. Of the manner. 946
    - 4. Of the persons bound to canonicall houres 947
- The 2. part, of fasting.
  - 1. Of the time of Lent. Mar. G. Marsh. 947
  - 2. Of the prescript times of fasting. 948
  - VVitnesse, Martyrs, Thomas Loseby, H. Ramley. 950
  - 3. Of the difference of meates and drinkes. VVitnesse. Mart. George Marsh. 952; Pa. Decr. Gratian. 951
  - 4. Of abstinence only from some kinds. George Marsh. 953
  - 5. Whether fasting be meritorious. Mart. G. Marsh. 955; Pap. Synod. Moguntin. 955
  - 6. Of the necessitie of fasting. 956
- The 3. part of almes deedes.
  - 1. Of the fruits of almes deedes.
    - 1. Not meritorious. 957
    - 2. Not a disposition to iustification. Decr. 958
    - 3. Not satisfactorie. Iohn Warne. Mar. 959
  - 2. Of the manner in distributing of almes.
    - 1. Not with an intention to please God. 959
    - 2. The Gospell no enemy to good works. 960

THE

THE FIFTH BOOKE containeth these Controuersies following.

The twentith generall Controuersie, concerning the person and natures of Christ, three parts.

1. Part of the humanitie of Christ, 6. quest.
- 1. Of the Vbiquitie or omnipotencie of Christ. 971
- 2. VVhether Christ encreased in knowledge. 971
- An appendix of the maner of our Sauiours birth. 973
- 3. Whether Christ suffered in soule, 10. par.
  - 1. VVhether the bodily death of Christ, were sufficient for mans redemption. 979
    - Lombard. 984
  - 2. Of the cause of Christs feare and astonishment in the garden. 987
  - 3. VVhether Christ suffered properly and immediately in soule. 997
  - 4. VVhether Christ in his soule suffered the torments of hell upon the Crosse. 1008
    - An appendix, whether hell fire be materiall only and corporall. 1023
  - 5. VVhether Christ appeared before Gods tribunall, as guiltie of our sinne. 1023
  - 6. VVhether Christ were perplexed in conscience for our sinnes. 1026
  - 7. VVhether Christ in respect of our sinnes died inwardly. 1028
    - An appendix, Christs blood not giuen as a price to the diuell. 1034
  - 8. Christ in his soule, did truely feele his Fathers wrath. 1036
  - 9. How Christ was forsaken of God. 1039
  - 10. That Christ was made a curse for vs. 1043
  - VVitnesses, Mart. Bishop Latimer, Iohn Warne. 1047
  - VVitnesses, Pap. Cusanus, Feurus, Durand. 1047
- 4. VVhether Christ descended in soule to hell to deliuer the Patriarkes. 1049
  - Durand. Pap. 1053
  - An appendix of the place of hell. 1055

2. Part, of the diuine nature of Christ.
- 1. VVhether Christ be God of himselfe. Pet. Lombard. 1059
- 2. VVhether Christ be mediator only as man. 1061
- 3. VVhether Christ merited for himselfe. 1061
- VVitnesses, Mart. Tindal. 1063
- VVitnesses, Pap. Lombard. 1603

3. Part, of Christs comming to iudgement.
- 1. Of the signes of Christs comming.
  - 1. VVhether the Gospell be alreadie preached to the whole world. 1063
  - 2. Of the comming of Henoch and Elias. Pap. Iansenius. 1067
  - 3. VVhether the most grieuous persecutions shall be toward the end of the world. 1068
- 2. Of the manner of Christs comming to iudgement.
  - 1. VVhether the Saints shall be iudges. 1070
  - 2. Of the place of Christs appearing. 1071
  - 3. VVhether with the signe of the Crosse. Espencæus. 1072
  - 4. Of the time of Christs appearing. 1073

AN ADDITION OF TWO CONTROuersies, first of the Papall Iubilee, second of the Popes Indulgences.

The first Controuersie of the Iubilee, 4. parts.

1. Part, of the name and institution of Iubilee.
- 1. Of the name. 1075
- 2. From whom it is borrowed. 1076
- 3. By whom first instituted. 1076
- 4. The difference in the institution. 1077
- 5. The repugnance of Sixtus 4. to his predecessors. 1077

2. Part, of the errors of time in the Popes Iubilee.
- 1. In beginning their account from the nativitie, not from the conception. 1077
- 2. In reckoning the nativitie before the conception. 1078
- 3. In making Christs birth to fall out in a Iubilee yeare. 1078
- 4. In the celebration of the nativitie. 1079
- 5. In not beginning their account from the death of Christ, which was in a right yeare of Iubilee. 1079

3. Part, of the ende of the Popes Iubilee.
- 1. It is blasphemous. 1081
- 2. Sacrilegious. 1081
- 3. Superfluous. 1083
- 4. Iniurious. 1083
- 5. Contrary. 1083

4. Part, of the manner of solemnizing the Popes Iubile.
- 1. Superstitious. 1084
- 2. Idolatrous. 1084
- 3. Ambitious. 1085
- 4. Scandalous. 1086
- 5. Ridiculous. 1086

The second Controuersie of Indulgences and Iubilee pardons, diuided into eight parts.

1. Part, of the name of Indulgence. 1088

2. VVhether there be any Indulgence in the Church, 2. parts.
- 1. Of the spirituall treasure of the church, foure propositions.
  - 1. VVhether good workes be satisfactorie. 1089
  - 2. VVhether they may be applied to others. 1089
  - 3. Of the spirituall treasure. 1090
  - 4. VVhether the satisfactions of the Saints belong to the spirituall treasure. 1090
    - Durand. 1092
- 2. Of the power of distributing the spirituall treasure.
  - 1. VVhether the satisfactions of the Saints are communicated to others. 1093
  - 2. Whether the pastors of the Church haue power to distribute the satisfactions of the Church. 1095
  - 3. Of the originall of Iubilee pardons. 1095
  - 4. Of the manner of applying the satisfactions of the Saints. 1096

3. Part, what Indulgence is, 4. quest.
- 1. VVhether it be a spirituall solution, or a iudiciarie absolution. Francis. Mairon. 1097
- 2. VVhether Indulgence be for penance enioyned, or to be enioyned. 1097
- 3. VVhether Indulgence be a remission of the fault, or punishment. 1098
- 4. VVhether before God. Pet. Paludan. 1099

4. Part, of the diuers kindes of Indulgences. Gerson. 1101

5. Part, to whom Indulgences are profitable. 1101

6. Part, to whom the power to graunt Indulgences belongeth. 1103
- Angelus, Bartholomæus Fumus. 1105
- An appendix, whether Indulgences may be graunted without great and weightie cause. Bonauentur. Gerson. 1146

7. Part, of the disposition required in them, that are to receiue Indulgences. Pap. Caietan. 1107

8. Part, whether Indulgences doe profite the dead, 2. questions.
- 1. VVhether the dead haue any benefite by Indulgences. Pap. Ostiens. Gabriel cum alijs. 1109
- 2. Of the manner how Indulgences are applied to the dead. 1110

The end of the second Table.

Page.91.Line.33. Let this be added, that we make not the Scripture in such sort iudge in matters of faith, as though we excluded the Church: but like as the ciuil Iudge determineth controuersies according to the lawe; for the Iudge is the mouth of the lawe, and the lawe is a rule and direction to the Iudge: so in matters of faith the Church iudgeth according to the word. It hath authoritie to explaine and interpret and iudge according to Scripture, but not against it: So Master *Philpot* saith, *I will be tried by the word, and such as will iudge according to the word*, Fox. pag.1808.

Page.189.Line.17. Our further answere is this: First, the saying of our Sauiour is indefinite and conditionall: *If another come, &c.* but prophecies are vttered definitely, as Deuter.18.18. *The Lord thy God will raise vp vnto thee a prophet like to me, &c.* Christ then doth not here prophecie of any particular man. Secondly, this word another ἄλλον, doth not necessarily signifie a particular man: as 1.Cor.3.10. *I haue laid the foundation, another hath builded thereon, but let euery man take heede, &c.* Here ἄλλος another, is expounded, ἕκαστος, euery one. Thirdly, our Sauiour speaketh directly to that present generation of the Iewes, when as Antichrist was not to be reuealed. Fourthly, whereas *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that this place cannot be vnderstoode of other false prophets, because they came not in their owne name, as the others shall, but they vse the name of God: our answere is, that although the false prophets pretend the name of God, yet they come in their owne name: Ierem.28.21. *I haue not sent these prophets, yet they ran; I haue not spoken to them, yet they prophecied:* and if false prophets came not in their owne name, and Antichrist doth, then it would followe by his argument, that Antichrist is no false prophet, contrarie to the Scripture. Fifthly, see a further answere to this place, pag.200.lin.50.

Page.189.lin.35. see a further answere pag.196.lin.3.

Page.955.lin.32. see further of the immoderate fasting of Monkes. pag.311.lin.34.

Page.978.lin.37. Of Christs soule no such death can be affirmed, by the feare, doubt, horror or daunger of damnation, as it may be of ours, but onely by the feeling and fearing of Gods wrath and indignation, as is expressed. lin.21. *ibid:* And still we affirme that very improperlie in any sense Christs soule is said to die, which phrase I wish rather to be forborne.

Page.990.lin.17. *All his prayer while he was not in this traunce.*

Page.996.lin.46. *You must either graunt no agonie or astonishment at all, or continue it all the while of his prayer, as the Euangelists doe:* these speeches may seeme in shew to be contrarie: but they are easily reconciled: for the agonie of Christ continued all the while of his prayer in the garden, as it may appeare by the thrice rehearsall of the same request for the passing of the cup, but yet there was some intermission of the agonie fittes, and the *infirmitie*, as *Ambrose* calleth it, as *tentation* of his flesh (as *Damascene*) had their entercourse: so it continued, but not alwayes in the same measure or degree of working, as is expounded pag.989. *resp.2.4.ad argum.3.*

Page.1003.lin.27. The meaning is this, that there is the same spiritual efficacie of Christs body and bloud, yet a diuers sacramentall vse and application.

Page.1006.lin.17. We meane not, that the heart hath any power of it selfe to allay the ordinarie passions thereof, but onely comparatiuely in respect of the extraordinarie, which it hath lesse power of: like as the wise man saith, Pro.16.1. *The preparations of the heart are in man, but the answere of the tounge is from the Lord,* not that a man hath power to prepare his heart simplie, but this is rather in his hand and power then the other.

If in any other place some doubts may occurre, as I denie not, but some things may escape me, as *Ambrose* saith, *Nescio quomodo prater imprudentiæ caliginem quæ me circumfundit vnumquemque fallunt sua scripta, & aurem prætereunt, atque vt filij deformes delectant, &c.* I cannot tell how beside the cloud of darknes, which compasseth me, euery man is deceiued in his owne writings, as children though deformed please the parents: I desire the godly and charitable reader, to examine euery thing according to the rule of charitie, not to wrest any thing to a diuers sense, then wherein it was spoken, but to interpret the words to the best meaning: for as Saint *Paul* saith, *Loue thinketh not euil,* and againe, *loue beleeueth all things, it hopeth all things.* 1.Cor.13.7. and so I conclude with that saying of *Ambrose* to the Christian reader: *Malo tuo castigatus iudicio si quid mouet, quam laudari à te, quod ab alijs reprehendatur:* I had rather, if any thing moue thee, in thy iudgement to amend it, then to winke at it, that others should reprehend it: *Epistol.40.*

The

The faults escaped, may be thus amended.

Pag.4.lin.7.reade assigne his repentance p.6.l.vlt.reade *Tecla* p.12.l.10.r.did commend.p.22.l.21.r.obscured.p.33. l.28.r.100.pag.25.l.49.r.dispense.l.49.these.p.24.l.44.r.*Theotisicum*.p.34.l.7.r.Psa.95.l.38.r.properly.p.48.l 5.r.supplie. *lib.5.in Luc*.p.55.l.38.r.11000.p.65.l 45.r.thus. p.75.lin.34.r.hoasts.p.72.50.r.*captiuus*.p.90.l.2.r.looke. p.113.l.48.r.22. Psal.145.l.25.r.Rome.p.120.l.53.r.*reges*. p.135.l.6.r.*Adulpho*. p.188.l.45.r.much more. p.195.l.40.r.*Henricus*.p.198. l.11.r. *Arrys*, p.218.l.31.r.*Marcia*.p.241.l.14.r.Patriarkes eight, p.248.l.vlt.r.sometime more. p. 266.l.2 r.*Clichoueus*. p.269.l.21.r.Bulgarians.p.347.l.37.r.they pray. p 380.l.27.r.saluation.p.388.lin.52.r.*flatus*.p.432.l.10.r.scripture also. p.471 l.7.r.Rom.2.28. p.485.l.42.*Adeodatus*.p.500.l.6.r.in no sense.p.599.lin.46.r.affected. p.643.l.11.r.any thing hurt. p.649.50. r.keepe counsell. p.664.l.34. r.Publicanes.p.663.l.52. for lecond part, reade an appendix to this part.pag.682. l.25.r.hese.p.689.l.10.r.insufficient.p.715.l.28.r.was this.p.719.l.53.r.*circuitus*.p.721.l.18.r.orders.p.734.l.7.r.Mark.6.13. p.721.l.9. r.Rom.3.25.p.728.l.40. for many among them, reade all of them. pag.784.l.27.r.*Socianus*.and so throughout. p.753.l.24. r.Isay.18.20.p.793.l.18.r.Isay.42.p.831.l.21. r.the will, God.p.841.l.17.r.free and.p.842.l.18.r. *voluere curuare*.p.860.l.1.r.then to good.p.878.l.29.r. *prophetis*.p 930.l.59.r.that it is. p.974.l.18.r. *Fenerdentius*. l.50.r.in him heth. p.978.l.37.r.doubt.p.989.l 26.r.though.p.1001.l.3.r.the place.p.1002.l.59.r.4.p.1003.l.50.*Clichoueus*.p.1007.l.9.r.Exodus 32.p.1027.l.8.r.was purchased.p.1038.l.22.r.dispensed.p.1046.l.14.r.beside.p.1011.l.29.r.Luk.1.16.p.1108.l.42.for fiue, reade two questions.

I further aduertise the reader, that whereas I throughout this booke alleage that worthie historie of the Martyrs, set forth by Master Fox, *I followe the edition printed* ann.1583. *and whereas pag.*374.381. *and elsewhere I alleage diuers things of the acts of the Popes, forgetting to cite the authors, I referre the reader to the collections of Master* Bale *out of* Platina, Functius *and others in his booke* de actis Roman. Pontificum.

Sedenti super thronum & agno benedictio, honor & gloria, Amen. Apocal.5.13.